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6 Abraham Cowley's 1656 *Poems*

Form and Context

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I

This chapter attempts to set the achievement of Cowley's 1656 *Poems* within the literary context from which it emerged, focusing on the sources and parallels for the formal innovations which are such a marked (indeed, emphasised) feature of the volume, and briefly surveying some of the evidence for its early readership and reception. Although the Latin poetry of a handful of prominent English poets – principally Milton, though to a lesser extent also Cowley – has attracted critical attention in its own right, almost no work has been devoted to Anglo-Latin literary culture of this period more generally.[1] As a result, a great deal of Latin poetry which was demonstrably popular and influential at the time has come under no scholarly scrutiny, and equally, discussions of the Latin work of well-known poets, such as Marvell and Cowley, have been limited by the lack of a wider understanding of the Latin literary fashions and conventions of the period. This is a particularly pronounced limitation upon the interpretation of the 1656 *Poems*, since Cowley in that collection insists repeatedly (but, I argue, partly disingenuously) upon his own formal originality.

II

The *Poems* combines several elements: a collection of *Miscellanies*; a reprint of *The Mistresse* (first published in 1647); the *Pindarique Odes* (with its own preface and notes) and the four English and one Latin books of the *Davideis*, again with extensive notes. The title page for the volume as a whole draws particular attention to the *Davideis*, setting it in much larger type, with the full title ('*Davideis, or, a Sacred Poem of the Troubles of David*') taking up the central third of the page. The book is, as has often been noted, a peculiarly self-conscious volume, with marked use of paratext and authorial commentary, especially in the prefatory material and the authorial notes provided for the final two sections. In a much-cited passage in the preface, Cowley states that he

has come to terms with the Cromwellian regime, and not only excluded from publication, but actually destroyed his *Civil War*:

> I have cast away all such pieces as I wrote during the time of the late troubles, with any relation to the differences that caused them [...] when the event of battel, and the unaccountable *Will* of God has determined the controversie, and that we have submitted to the conditions of the *Conqueror*, we must lay down our *Pens* as well as *Arms,* we must *march* out of our *Cause* it self, and *dismantle* that, as well as our *Towns* and *Castles*, of all the *Works* and *Fortifications* of *Wit* and *Reason* by which we defended it. *We* ought not sure, to begin our selves to revive the remembrance of those times and actions for which we have received a *General Amnestie*, as a *favor* from the *Victor*. The truth is, neither *We*, nor *They*, ought by the *Representation* of *Places* and *Images* to make a kind of *Artificial Memory* of those things wherein we are all bound to desire, like *Themistocles*, the *Art* of *Oblivion*. [...] And I would have it accounted no less unlawful to *rip up old wounds*, then to *give new ones*; which has made me not only abstain from printing any things of this kinde, but to burn the very copies, and inflict a severer punishment on them my self, then perhaps the most rigid Officer of *State* would have thought that they deserved.[2]

This prose preface is, however, preceded by a Latin poem dedicating the entire volume to the University of Cambridge (from which Cowley was ejected for his royalism in 1643), which has attracted much less attention. Despite Cowley's advocacy of the 'Art of Oblivion', the Latin elegy is marked by nostalgia and regret, and not only laments the loss of studious (and potentially apolitical) leisure but, more sharply, recalls the events of the civil war and regicide. In the prose preface, Cowley condemns the 'ripping up of old wounds' as no better than the giving of new ones. The final lines of the Latin poem, however, return insistently to imagery of wounding and blood:

> At nos exemplis *Fortuna* instruxit opimis,
> Et documentorum satque supérque dedit.
> Cum *Capite* avulsum *Diadema*, infractáque *sceptra*,
> Contusaque *Hominum Sorte* minante minas,
> *Parcorum ludos, & non tractabile Fatum,*[3]
> Et versas fundo vidimus orbis opes.
> [...]
> Ah quanquam iratum, pestem hanc avertere *Numen,*
> Nec saltem *Bellis ista* licere, velit!
> Nos, tua progenies, pereamus; & ecce, perimus!
> In nos jus habeat: Jus habet omne malum.

Tu stabilis brevium genus immortale nepotum
    Fundes; nec tibi *Mors* ipsa *superstes* erit.
Semper plena manens uteri de fonte perenni
    Formosas mittes *ad mare Mortis* aquas.
Sic *Venus* humanâ quondam, *Dea* saucia dextrâ,
    (Namque solent ipsis *Bella* nocere *Deis*)
Imploravit opem superûm, questùsque cievit,
    Tinxit adorandus candida membra cruor.
Quid quereris? contemne *breves* secura dolores;
    Nam tibi ferre *Necem vulnera* nulla valent.

(Cowley 1656, A2r)[4]

But Fortune has instructed us by excellent examples and given us more than enough proof [that human affairs are as nothing], *since we have seen a Crown torn from a Head, sceptres broken, the threats of Men crushed by threatening Chance, the games of the Fates, and Fate itself, which is not to be overcome, and all the wealth of the world turned upside down. [...] Ah would that Divine power, although angered, should choose to avert this plague, or if Wars at least could be ruled out. Let us, your offspring, perish (and behold, perish we do), let every evil hold sway over us – as it does. Unmoved, you [the University of Cambridge] will pour forth an undying train of short-lived alumni, nor shall Death itself outlive you. Ever abiding, your womb full, from your constant fountain you shall send out beautiful waters towards the sea of Death. In the same way, the goddess Venus, wounded once by human hand (for wars tend to hurt even the gods themselves) implored the other gods for help, and uttered her laments, and the sacred blood stained her white limbs. Why complain? You who are free from care can scorn short-lived pain, for no wounds can bring you death.*

The opening pages of the volume thereby set up a tension between Cowley's voice in English prose, and what is suggested by his own Latin poem, which stands first. This chapter takes its cue from the programmatic disjunction between the dedicatory poem and the prose preface, in examining how Cowley's repeated statements of formal originality in the 1656 *Poems* stand up to scrutiny within a wider (and specifically a Latin, as well as English) literary context, and what might be at stake if these, too, can be read as artful misdirection.

III

Cowley's unfinished biblical epic, the *Davideis*, which was published both in English (Books 1–4) and Latin (Book 1 only) in the 1656 *Poems*, has usually been discussed either as a precursor of, and in relation to, Milton's *Paradise Lost* or as an instance of classical reception.[5] Philip Hardie describes the poem as 'the first fully neoclassical (in the sense of a conscious effort to reproduce the formal qualities of classical

models) epic in English on a Biblical subject' and his chapter on the poem focuses on Cowley's use of classical, especially Virgilian material.[6] The dense annotation Cowley provides for the English poem echoes this emphasis, offering wide-ranging references to a large number of classical and biblical works. As noted by McBryde, Cowley's self-annotation strikingly avoids, however, referring to the practice of more recent or contemporary poets, whether in English or Latin.[7] In other words, both modern scholarship and the terms of Cowley's own presentation of the work emphasise its classical rather than contemporary context.[8]

Cowley uses the notes to the first book of the English version of the poem to make three explicit claims of generic and formal originality. First – as echoed by Hardie – that the genre of biblical epic in a classical style (which he calls a '*Divine Poem*') is new to English; second, that no previous English poet had imitated Virgil's half-lines, as Cowley does in the *Davideis*; and, third, in the most strongly expressed claim, that his inclusion of an inset lyric in an epic poem has 'no authority or example'.[9] Like Cowley's pointed preface, in which an acceptance of the Cromwellian victory contrasts with the nostalgic royalism of the opening Latin poem, these notes are both highly self-conscious and, we might say, 'decodably' misleading. While there is some, albeit exaggerated, foundation for Cowley's claims of innovation in English verse, each of these features looks quite different when read within the context of contemporary Latin poetry, and, most sharply, in relation to the Latin verse produced by English royalists in the preceding decade.

The *Davideis*, as Cowley himself hints in his mention of 'some [poems of this kind] in other Languages', sits within a wider practice of biblical verse in both Latin and English: a category which includes both verse paraphrase of the biblical books and works more loosely or imaginatively connected to scripture (such as biblical epic and short epic), and which had been a productive Latin literary form since late antiquity.[10] Scriptural verse paraphrase of this kind was particularly characteristic of the literary culture of England in the first part of the seventeenth century.[11] The choice of the life of King David as a subject unites the widespread use of the story of Samuel, Saul and David to discuss anointed kingship with the influential tradition of versified psalm paraphrase (since the psalms were traditionally considered to have been wholly or largely composed by King David).[12] Cowley further emphasises his blending of these two traditions by including in his 'epic' *Davideis* inset lyric paraphrases of the psalms (a formal feature discussed further below). Psalm paraphrase was strongly associated with the display of metrical and formal variety in both Latin and (subsequently) English poetry, and several of the most influential collections of psalm paraphrases became reference works of form and metre in their own right.[13] The same association between formal experimentation and scriptural song animates the central section of the volume, the *Pindarique Odes*, in which Cowley

emphasises the (traditional) association between the inspired poetry of Pindar and that of the poets of the Old Testament: the collection of Pindaric odes begins with two translations of Pindar (*O.* 2 and *N.* 1) and ends with two scriptural paraphrases in Pindaric form ('Isaiah 34' and 'The Plagues of Egypt').[14]

The *Davideis*, however, belongs not just to the literary context of the seventeenth century as a whole, but more specifically to the political and cultural moment of the mid-1650s. It is this local and politically specific situation which Cowley's notes apparently seek to obscure by their dual claim upon ancient precedent and contemporary originality. Despite Cowley's insistence upon his formal originality – he mentions only Quarles and Heywood as (vernacular) examples of works he is aiming to surpass – the publication of the *Davideis* in fact follows closely upon a flurry of classicising verse paraphrases of biblical texts published in the previous decade.[15] These include Robert Hatcher, *Institutio, Epithalamium, & Militia Viri* (London, 1645) and *Paideutica* (London, 1646), which contain Latin verse paraphrases of proverbs, the Song of Songs and parts of the Book of Job; Robert Horsman, *Sionis certamina et triumphus* ([London: s.n.], 1651, reprinted in 1653); Henry Oxinden, *Iobus triumphans. Vincit qui patitur* ([London: s. n.], 1651); Patrick Panter, *Metamorphoseon, Quae in S. Scriptura Extant, Libri VI* (London: R. I. pro Tho: Vere, 1651); and, in Greek, James Duport, *Solomon enmetros* (Cambridge: Rogeri Danielis, 1646, paraphrase of the Song of Songs, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes); Henry Stubbe, *Horae subsecivae* (London: Du-Gardianis, 1651, paraphrase of Jonah and Susannah) and John Ailmer, *Musae Sacrae* (Oxford, 1652, paraphrases of Jonah, Lamentations, Daniel and David's lament over Saul and Jonathan).

These publications are not all by declared royalists (both Hatcher and Horsman, for instance, were captains in the parliamentarian army in the early and mid-1640s), but they are almost all politically inflected, and, as the preference for biblical texts concerned with personal and national suffering suggests, marked by lament: Hatcher, Stubbe and Ailmer each present their work as a consolation in troubled times.[16] Horsman's *Sionis certamina et triumphus*, published anonymously in 1651, without place or printer, and reprinted in 1653, is a curious combination of thematically arranged scriptural verse paraphrases and interpretations, in four sections – the first identifying the 'morbi', diseases or illnesses which afflict the church; the second the means of cure (such as faith and repentance); the third the process of cure itself and the fourth hymns celebrating the outcome. Although Horsman praises Cromwell in a long explanatory poem at the end of the volume heralding peace and stability, and includes a paraphrase of Psalm 125 titled 'Ecclesiae Stabilitas, & Securitas' ('The Stability and Security of the Church'), the shape of the work as a whole emphasises the suffering of the people and of the church in a time of trial.[17]

Henry Oxinden's *Iobus Triumphans*, also published anonymously and without place or printer, is the most straightforwardly royalist of these volumes.[18] A series of commendatory poems is prominently dated at the end '8th July 1649', setting the collection in the immediate aftermath of the regicide. Oxinden's own brief prose dedication (A7^r) is addressed not to any single patron or worthy, but to 'Oppressis Terrarum Dominis' ('the oppressed Lords of the Earth'). Oxinden writes: 'Egregiam Jobi patientiam olim Regis totius Orientis [...] Regibus procellis hujus seculi vehementioribus expositis imitandam proposui; Quibus enim potius quàm Principibus legenda & meditanda sunt heroica magnorum Principum gesta?'

> I have set out the extraordinary suffering of Job, once King of all the East [...] for imitation by Kings exposed to the still more violent storms of this age; for what could be more appropriate for Princes to read and meditate upon than the heroic deeds of great Princes?
> (A7^r)[19]

True kingship is praised as a conqueror of tyrants and compared to a phoenix, light shining in the darkness (as in John 1), Hercules, and Christ.

Cowley's choice of biblical subject is itself suggestive: the political deployment of the biblical treatment of kingship in the mid-seventeenth century has been frequently discussed.[20] The emphasis upon the divine endorsement of David's kingship, and the injustice of those who oppose him, was much used by royalists. On the other hand, David came to power only after taking up arms against Saul, also a divinely anointed king (whom however he refused to harm), setting a precedent of obvious utility to those opposed to King Charles I. There is an element of fantasy, too: Jonathan is condemned to death by his own father, Saul, for an unwitting violation of a decree – but saved by the kindness and justice of the people, who refuse to carry out the martyrdom. This episode forms the climax of Book 4 of the *Davideis*, and it is hard not to read such a passage as, in part, a fantasy of averted regicide. Attention to the Latin literary context, however, sharpens our sense of the intrinsically political associations of biblical verse paraphrase in Latin in the mid-1650s. Though Cowley's notes almost audibly avoid saying so, the *Davideis* belongs to a fertile subgenre which was already strongly associated with political lament and repentance for the suffering of the Church and people of England.[21]

The choice of biblical paraphrase is not the only aspect of the *Davideis* that relates it closely to its immediate literary context. Cowley himself emphasises the originality of two other formal features of the work in his notes: the use of Virgilian half-lines and the incorporation of an inset lyric in a different metre. As Henry Power has pointed out,

Cowley's insistence that 'none of the *English poets*, nor indeed of the ancient *Latine*, have imitated Virgil in leaving sometimes half Verses' could be considered disingenuous: Spenser's *Faerie Queene* includes half-lines, as does the passage of Virgilian imitation in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.[22]

Cowley had already, as Power demonstrates, made use of Virgilian half-lines to add pathos in *The Civil War*, composed in the first half of the 1640s, but by the time he wrote the *Davideis* he was also likely to have been aware of the use of half-lines in several closely contemporary translations of Virgil. The use of half-lines in Richard Fanshawe's 1648 translation of *Aeneid* IV and in John Ogilby's 1649 translation of the entire *Aeneid*, works by royalist poets, are probably important models.[23] But several examples of Virgilian half-lines in contemporary verse in both English and Latin demonstrate that, even outside the context of Virgilian translation, the device was associated with moments of heightened emotion and, latterly, with the specific political context of the civil war. In manuscript, an elegy for Robert Cotton, who died in 1631, uses half-lines (though in elegiacs), as does a St John's College, Oxford, piece commemorating and lamenting the execution of Archbishop Laud in 1645.[24] Emotive half-lines are in fact common in the Latin verse found in Oxford and Cambridge commemorative collections from the 1620s onwards. Payne Fisher's Cromwellian panegyric the *Irenodia Gratulatoria* (1652), an otherwise very unVirgilian poem, employs the technique to emphasise the pathos of the Scots, surrounded like deer and on the verge of defeat, at the battle of Worcester in 1652.[25] In English, Alexander Brome's poem in commemoration of Henry, Lord Hastings breaks off with a half-line:

> Thus the great *Hastings* di'd;
> *The Young-mens Glory, and the Scholars Pride;*
> *Envie's* just *Zenith* ---
> But why should I *lament* his *death*? since he
> Loseth not by't:[26]

Brome's poem appears in a commemorative volume for Hastings, *Lachrymae Musarum*, published in 1649. The royalist undertones of the volume, in which the death of Hastings functions as a kind of proxy for that of the king, have often been noted.[27] Indeed, a surviving 1649 Latin verse broadsheet on the regicide incorporates a related motif, breaking off under the weight of what it describes. Though not a true 'half-line' (because if read without any audible gap, moving straight from 'Labor' to 'Ditissima', the passage is formed of complete metrical lines) the visual and syntactic disjunction serves a similar purpose:

> Condensant oculi; paulatim fallere vires
> Sentio; nec corpus crura tenere valent.

Brachia sustolli nequeunt; Vitalia sudant;
        Vulnus & extremum cor penetrare parat.
Quae Metamorphosis? Labor ------------
-------------------------------- Ditissima Summi
        Consilia! excelsi mira beata Dei!
Quam nihilum sapiunt Mortales! Omnia vorsum
        Inscia Naturae lumina caeca vident.[28]

My eyes are dimming; I feel my strength beginning to fail;
        My legs can no longer support my body.
My arms cannot be lifted up; my vitals are starting to sweat;
        The wound is preparing to penetrate even my innermost
          heart.
What Transformation is this? The toil -----
                                        ----- O richest counsel
        Of the most high! Blessed miracles of God!
How little do Mortals know! Blind eyes see all
        The secrets of Nature turned upside down.

In Richard Crashaw's *Steps to the Temple with the Delights of the Muses* (London, 1648), one Latin poem (an appeal for help with the refurbishment of the chapel at Peterhouse College, Cambridge) includes both a true half-line and a sequence of interrupted but metrically complete lines: Cowley and Crashaw were friends and Crashaw's formal innovations anticipate Cowley's in several respects.[29] Finally, William Ball's allegorical *Europa lachrymans*, another politically pointed publication, also includes an incomplete hexameter line in the speech of 'Hispania' (Spain) lamenting her recent war-torn history:

Per Mare, per terras, hinc tanta clade tot annis
Opprimor, atque premo, voluens discrimina Martis,
AETERNUM SIC VELLE POTENS -----[30]

By sea, by land, I have been overwhelmed by such calamaties
Over so many years, and I insist, considering the dangers of
  War,
That ETERNAL POWER WILLS IT SO …

Cowley uses half-lines much more frequently in the single Latin book of the *Davideis* than in English (five examples in one book of Latin; four across four books in English). The device consistently indicates moments of strong emotion, at the prospect of Jonathan's unjust execution:

Could it before (scarce can it since) be thought,
The *Prince* who had alone that morning fought

A *Duel* with an *Host*; had th'*Host* orethrowne,
And threescorethousand hands disarm'dwith *One*;
Washt off his Countreys shame, and doubly dyde
In *Blood* and *Blushes* the *Philistian* pride,
Had sav'ed and fixt his *Fathers* tott'ering Crown,
And the bright *Gold* new *burnisht* with renown,
Should be ere night b's *King* and *Fathers* breath,
Without a fault, vow'd and condemn'd to death?
Destin'ed the bloody *Sacrifice* to be
Of *Thanks Himself* for his own *Victorie*?
Alone with various fate like to become,
Fighting, and *Host*, *Dying*, an *Hecatombe*?
Yet such, Sir, was his case.

(Book 4, lines 1033–46)

But the half-lines also mark, as in the examples from Crashaw, Brome and Ball (and much more noticeably in the Latin version), the acknowledgement of divine power and mystery:

Who with his *Word* commanded *All* to *Bee*,
And *All* obey'd him, for that *Word* was *Hee*.
Onely he spoke, and everything that *Is*
From out the womb of fertile *Nothing* ris.
Oh who shall tell, who shall describe thy throne,
Thou Great *Three-One*?

(Book 1, lines 365–70)

Ipse *Polus* fixam sedem & loca jussa relinquet
Sphaerarumque hilarum cessabit lubricus orbis,
Diffugient nitidi huc illuc *picta agmina* coeli,
Ipse etiam *Deus* illorum.

(198–201)

The Pole *itself shall leave its fixed place and ordered positions,*
And the gliding circuit of the jocund spheres shall cease,
The painted ranks of gleaming heaven shall scatter in all directions,
Even their God as well [shall flee]

Non *Homines* illum nobis, non *Sidera* coeli,
Non *Deus* eripiet.

(377–8)

Not Men, not the stars of the sky, not even
God shall take him from us.

Quondam immane fuit *Vacuum*; *Sint omnia* dixit;
Ille simul dixit, parent simula omnia *Verbo*,
Nam *Verbum* fuit *Ipse* suum. *Turgescere* coepit
Foecundum Nihil, & plenâ cuncta edidit alvo.
Quis vos, O *Deus*, aut quis vestra palatia pandet
Tres-une! [sic]

(414–19)

There was once a great Vacuum; 'Let all be', he said;
And as he said it, so did all things likewise obey his *Word*,
For *His Word* was *He*. The fertile *Nothing* began
To coalesce, and brought forth all that is from its full womb.
Who, O God, could lay open you or your palaces,
O three-in-one!

The half-lines of the *Davideis* are, as Power argues and as Cowley claims, a Virgilian motif. Cowley's use of this feature builds upon his own *Civil War*, and probably intentionally recalls some of the contemporary royalist translations of Virgil, which emphasised Virgilian pathos. But the feature is far from a purely Virgilian one at this period: its repeated use in highly emotional contexts in both Latin and English is not limited to narrowly Virgilian contexts, but is found in Latin poems in unVirgilian style and in elegiac couplets as well as hexameters, as well as in English poems with no strongly Virgilian content or allusion. This feature associates Cowley's *Davideis* with the emotional intensity of largely royalist poetry of the civil war, with the Jesuit-influenced religious high style of Crashaw (and others) and perhaps specifically with the reaction to the regicide.

The third of the formal features of the *Davideis* to which Cowley draws the reader's attention is his incorporation of inset lyrics (in this case, psalm paraphrases) into a 'heroic' poem, stating explicitly that he has no model for the practice: 'For this liberty of inserting an *Ode* into an *Heroick Poem*, I have no authority or example' (Cowley 1656: 37). Cowley attaches this note to the inset paraphrase of Psalm 114 included in the first book of the *Davideis*, at which point David averts Saul's anger against him by bursting into song:

Thus *Davids Lyre* did *Sauls* wild rage control,
And tun'd the harsh disorders of his *Soul*.

When *Israel* was from bondage led,
Led by th'*Almighties* hand
From out a foreign land,
The great *Sea* beheld, and fled.

(481–6)

The point about salvation from danger is made twice over: Psalm 114, which here averts Saul's anger from David, is itself a celebration of the Israelite's escape from Egypt. In the English *Davideis*, the inset lyric is in Pindarics (consistent with the strong traditional association between Pindar and David), whereas in Latin it is in alcaics, a common Horatian metre.[31] Once again, however, we might consider Cowley's claim to brash originality disingenuous, since inset lyrics of just this kind are found both in an English verse treatment of the story of David published in 1638, and in several very closely contemporary Latin verse works of the previous few years, all of which are strongly royalist elegies for the personal and institutional losses occasioned by the civil war.

The English work is Robert Aylett's *David's Troubles Remembered*, divided into six books and published in London in 1638. The work includes a single inset psalm paraphrase (Psalm 51), presented as David's song of repentance when he realises the sinfulness of his actions in securing Bathsheba:

So it with *David* fares, whose heart relents,
And shakes and trembles at Gods *menacements*,
His sinne confessing, but his *Faith* holds fast,
And sings this *Penitentiall Psalme* at last.

Psal. 51.

Of thy great goodnesse, Lord, some pitty take
On me whom sinne
Doth now awake,
If thou in loving kindnesse wilt begin,
All mine offences easely may,
Be by thy mercies done away.[32]

Most of Aylett's work (though not, apparently, the David poem) was republished in his 1654 *Divine and Moral Speculations in Metrical Numbers*. Aylett was one of the nine men appointed by William Laud to the Court of High Commission in 1628 to enforce his church reforms, and he worked for Laud until his fall in 1641.

Of the Latin works with formal similarities to the *Davideis*, the first is a verse sequence also linked to Laud, the *Sors Caesarea*. Produced by Laud's college (St John's, Oxford), it commemorates the death of Laud under the guise of the lamented 'Polydorus'.[33] It includes emotive half-lines, several changes of metre and two inset lyric songs (in sapphics and asclepiads). Dated by Martin Wiggins to 1645 or early 1646, Cowley himself may have been at the college at the time it was composed: Cowley

was attached to St John's while in Oxford.[34] A second, and stronger, parallel is a Latin royalist satire on the parliamentarian purge of the University of Oxford, composed (possibly by Adam Littleton) in hexameters with inset speeches in iambic trimeter. The poem was published (anonymously, and without place or printer) as *Tragi-Comoedia Oxoniensis* in 1648, but it was circulating in manuscript under the much more explicit title 'Lachrymae academicae fatum Caroli suumque deplorantes'.[35]

The third of the Latin examples, and the closest parallel, is the opening and eponymous poem of Peter du Moulin's *Ecclesiae Gemitus*, composed largely in iambic trimeters with an inset ode in alcaics (the same metre as Cowley uses for the Latin inset ode of *Davideis* 1).[36] In du Moulin's strange allegorical poem, the beleagured Church of England is represented by a nymph threatened by violence and (it is implied) rape by a rabble of soldiery who suggest parliamentarian forces. At the moment of greatest danger, collapsed at the foot of a tree and bleeding heavily, with the soldiers now right upon her, the nymph cries out for rescue. By divine intervention, her wounds are healed by the blood and tears of Christ, and she is saved from death. As in *Davideis* 1, the moment of salvation is marked by an inset ode in alcaics:

> […] quae vigil, & compos sui
> Admotaque Coelo, magna, mira illustria,
> Accepit oculis visa perspicacibus,
> Carnis tenebroso non videnda lumine.
> [Hebente carnis non videnda lumine]

> Obsessa nullis lucida nubilis
> Laetis refulsit aethra coloribus,
> Risúsque diducti benigno
> Sponte fores patuêre Coeli.[37]

> *[…] She who, watchful, and composed*
> *Accepted the great and marvelous visions come from Heaven,*
> *Which she watched with her perceptive and attentive gaze –*
> *Things that cannot be seen by the darksome light of the flesh.*
> *The bright heaven, unbeset by any clouds,*
> *Shone with glorious colours,*
> *And the gates of Heaven of their own accord*
> *Were laid open, split by the blessing of a smile.*

All three of these works share a common theme of royalist lament alongside their formal similarities; and though Peter du Moulin is not known to have been resident in Oxford in the late 1640s, his brother, Lewis du Moulin, was Camden Professor of History at Oxford from 1648.

In a volume opening with a declaration of resignation to the Cromwellian order, Cowley alerts his readers to a series of formal devices – biblical epic, Virgilian half-lines and an inset lyric – all of which he claims are, to varying degrees, innovations of his own.[38] Yet all three are found repeatedly, and in some instances in the same publications, in royalist works of the late 1640s and early 1650s, written predominantly (though not exclusively) in Latin.

IV

These observations about the formal features of the *Davideis* support Stella Revard's reading, based upon the *Pindarique Odes*, of the politics of the 1656 volume as essentially royalist.[39] Indeed, in the preface to the *Pindarique Odes* Cowley makes another self-conscious claim to formal originality, remarking that '[Pindar's way and manner of speaking] has not been yet (that I know of) introduced into *English*, though it be the noblest and highest kind of writing in Verse' (Aaa2^{v}). Several commentators, including Revard, have pointed out the oddity of this statement, given the high profile of Ben Jonson whose work includes multiple experiments in Pindaric form.[40] Given the observations on Cowley's authorial misdirections in the notes to the *Davideis*, we may suspect that this remark invites the reader to reflect not so much on Cowley's formal originality, as on his contemporary models.

Both Ben Jonson's development of English Pindaric lyric from around 1600 and Cowley's experiments in the form in the 1650s were derived from fashionable features of contemporary Latin verse: whereas Latin poets of the latter sixteenth century experimented (like Jonson) with 'regular' Pindaric stanzas (in both triadic and non-triadic structures), Latin poetry of the 1630s and 1640s shows an increasing interest in 'irregular' Latin verse composed either of a series of varied stanzas or without stanza divisions.

Pindar's odes are in 'regular' Pindarics: that is, with complex metrical schemes comprising multiple strophes, each of which has eight to twelve lines of varying lengths and metrical structures. But a regular overarching structure is created by the repetition of the strophes themselves (in strophic verse) or in the repetition of strophe, distrophe and epode (in triadic verse). It was this effect of complex structures repeated over relatively large distances but in a regular fashion that Jonson imitated in his English Pindaric poems.[41] Pindaric form of this kind did not, however, come into English directly from Greek. Regular Pindarics of this kind, though never found in classical Latin, were a well-established neo-Latin form when Jonson began experimenting with them in English. Indeed, Jonson himself owned a volume of neo-Latin poetry, by the Polish poet Szymon Szymonowicz, which included several examples of this form.[42]

Julius Caesar Scaliger, one of the most admired Latin poets and theorists of the sixteenth century, also offered influential examples of regular Latin Pindarics.[43] As is often the case, Jonson's technical innovation consisted in importing to English a form already well established in contemporary Latin poetry.[44]

Though it has not been much reflected in criticism, Cowley's experiments with 'free' Pindarics in the 1650s similarly represent an importation into English verse of an established form found prior to this point mostly (though, as discussed below, not exclusively) in Latin.[45] The case here has been somewhat obscured by terminology: prior to Cowley, most examples of the Latin poems which combine a variety of classical metrical lines in different patterns, but without grouping them in precisely repeating strophes, were termed not Pindaric but 'dithyrambic'.[46] A widely quoted example is Hugo Grotius' dithyrambic chorus from his biblical play *Adamus Exul* (1601). The 1647 edition of Sarbiewski's verse prints a commendatory dithyramb at the end of the volume: 'Nicolai Kmicii è Societatis Iesu Dithyrambus'.[47]

We find several examples of this irregular Pindaric, or dithyrambic form in mid-seventeenth century England prior to Cowley. One of the earlier examples is Robert Waring's *carmen lapidarium* commemorating (appropriately enough) the death of Ben Jonson. First printed in Brian Duppa's commemorative volume *Jonsonus Virbius* of 1638, it is also found in manuscript sources.[48] The final poem of Henry Birkhead's anonymously published *Poematia* of 1645, a markedly royalist collection, is a Latin dithyramb commemorating the death of Archbishop Laud.[49] Henry Oxinden's sharply political scriptural paraphrase, *Iobus triumphans*, discussed above, is preceded by a dedicatory ode by William Nethersole of the Inner Temple which is also in dithyrambic form (A2^{r-v}). There are also several examples of this form in commemorative university collections.[50]

The majority of the likely models for Cowley's formal experiments in the *Pindarique Odes* were, therefore, composed in Latin; and many of the English examples were produced in an explicitly or implicitly royalist context. In other words, the most original feature of Cowley's Pindarics is his choice of English. Even here, though, he is not quite alone. Cowley's friend Richard Crashaw experimented widely with irregular and mixed metres in both Latin and English in the 1630s and 1640s. Several of his Latin poems, such as an impressive paraphrase of the first psalm, incorporate multiple changes of metre.[51] As Crashaw's editor Martin has pointed out, several of Crashaw's English poems, in print nearly a decade before the *Pindaric Odes*, also anticipate them in their irregular metrics.[52] Cowley and Crashaw knew each other from Cambridge, and are believed to have spent time together in Paris: Cowley's ode on Hope and Crashaw's response to it stand at the end of Crashaw's *Steps to the Temple*. The formally experimental Latin hymns of Peter

du Moulin are probably also influenced directly by Crashaw.[53] As noted above, the structural similarities between the *Davideis* and du Moulin's *Ecclesiae Gemitus* suggest a link between Cowley and du Moulin. Similarly, the dithyrambic poem by William Nethersole published in 1651 functions as a preface to a scriptural paraphrase with royalist force. This is the literary context in which Cowley's Pindaric (that is, in contemporary terms, 'dithryambic') odes were first received.

V

I have argued that the formal features of Cowley's 1656 *Poems*, if read within the Anglo-Latin literary context from which they emerged, appear less (formally) original than generally assumed, and than Cowley himself implies. The wealth of parallels and correspondences suggest that Cowley's assertions of originality function at least in part as legible misdirection – pointing us towards various aspects of contemporary poetics, in both Latin and English, which emphasise the continuities between David and Pindar, and the links between scriptural paraphrase, religious allegory and formal innovation, and which in many (though not all) cases suggest a royalist connotation. There is evidence that both these elements – Cowley's royalism, and the religious significance of the 1656 collection – were important to those reading him in the decade or so following the publication of the 1656 *Poems*, and also that some of his contemporary readers made similar connections in terms of formal similarities between Cowley and significant, though now less well known, contemporaries.

Several contemporary manuscript sources demonstrate the strong association between Cowley and Latin verse. Thomas Birch's notes on modern poets, made in the early eighteenth century, list Cowley under both Latin and English poets – Milton is the only other author to appear in both.[54] Moreover, several manuscripts preserve translations of Cowley's own English verse into Latin. BL Add. MS 29241, for instance, dating from the later seventeenth century, includes a translation of the beginning of the second book of the *Davideis* into Latin hexameters

(72r-70v, book reversed) and a further translation of the poem 'Love Given Over' from *The Mistresse* (76r-75v).[55] The Latin translation of the *Davideis* includes half-lines for dramatic or emotive effect (see 71v and 72r), and the same technique is used in a religious poem in hexameters, 'In Resurrectionem Christi' (53v). The collection as a whole also includes two poems in Latin Pindarics, translations of Samuel Woodford's English scriptural paraphrases into Latin, and ends with a Latin verse paraphrase of Psalm 137, suggesting that both the *Davideis* (including its inset lyrics) and the *Pindarique Odes* were influential on Latin literary practice in the later seventeenth century, and that those two traditions were perceived as belonging together.[56]

One of the most lavish early testimonies to Cowley's importance, written during his lifetime, is found in the opening pages of a long Latin poem, *Votum Candidum*, by the English Jesuit poet Maurice Newport.[57] Leicester Bradner noted in passing that Newport's description of Boscobel wood is similar to that of Cowley in the sixth book of his *Plantarum Libri Sex* (1668), suggesting that Cowley knew Newport's poem.[58] Indeed, it is unsurprising that Cowley should have read Newport's poem with attention: not only was the *Votum Candidum* apparently markedly popular, going through four increasingly expanded editions between 1665 and 1679, but it also praises Cowley himself in the opening pages, singling him out in particular for being *Pindarica fidens, & versicolore Camoena* ('loyal to a Pindaric and versicoloured Muse').[59] Newport's poem is hard to define: it includes elements of myth, history (both the battle of Worcester and its aftermath and earlier English history), scriptural paraphrase and even contemporary science, with a long digression on William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood. Cowley's enthusiasm for this topic is evident both in his ode on Harvey and in the treatment of this topic in the *Plantarum Libri Sex*.[60] Newport describes Harvey as an infant Aesclepius, visited by snakes, with possible links to the Hercules narrative of Pindar, *Nemean* 1.[61]

One of the most interesting pieces of evidence for Cowley's contemporary readership, however, belongs probably to the years just before the Restoration. Bodleian MS Tanner 466 is a large composite volume with portions dating from between the early and late seventeenth century. The first section is a collection of verse extracts copied largely from printed books (complete with page references) in the hand of William Sancroft (later Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge and eventually Archbishop of Canterbury). Cowley's 1656 *Poems* is the latest of the identifiable sources, and the sequence probably dates from shortly after their publication.[62] The selection is devotional, and dominated by biblical verse paraphrase (in both Latin and English), though including also personal poems of praise and thanksgiving. The scriptural paraphrases include psalm paraphrases by Henry Wotton, Donne, Crashaw, Herbert, Milton, Thomas Mead and Hugo Grotius as well as Cowley, and non-psalm scriptural verse paraphrases by Joannes Tollenarius (Ecclesiastes 12.1–7) and Clement Paman (Judges XI, in quasi-dramatic form) as well as three of Cowley's Pindaric odes ('Isaiah 34', 'The Plagues of Egypt' and 'The Exstasie'). It also includes twelve extracts from the *Davideis*, five in Latin and seven in English.[63]

Aside from the inclusion at the end of the sequence of some poems written for Charles I in the early 1640s, there is nothing explicitly political about Sancroft's series of extracts, though he was himself a loyal royalist who spent the 1650s in retirement or on the continent. Such a sequence reflects, however, several of the formal connections made earlier in this chapter: Cowley's alcaic version of Psalm 114 (f20^{r}, extracted

from the *Davideis*) stands alongside Crashaw's polymetric version of the first psalm (f22^{r}, and mentioned above as a possible formal influence upon Cowley's own Pindarics) as well as Cowley's two scriptural paraphrases in Pindaric form ('Plagues of Egypt' and 'Isaiah 34'). Notably, 'The Exstasie', Cowley's version of Casimir Sarbiewski's widely imitated poem of religious rapture (*Odes* 2.5), is here also titled as a biblical paraphrase: 'Raptus Eliae – 2. Reg. 2' (f28r, referring to the ascension of Elijah). Near the end of the sequence we find the popular and often excerpted dithyrambic second chorus of Hugo Grotius' play *Adamus Exul* (1601) – one of the earlier examples of Latin dithyrambics, which are discussed above as a formal precursor for Cowley's Pindarics. The sequence also includes hymns by Donne, Wotton, William Cartwright and Milton. Overall, Sancroft's selection presents Cowley as a primarily scriptural poet, in which his formal innovations in the English Pindaric ode (including the fashionable imitation of Sarbiewski), 'divine epic' and inset lyric are all presented in terms of a 'Davidic' achievement in scriptural verse.[64]

VI

Cowley's poetry of the 1650s emerged from, and was read within, a bilingual literary culture. The *Poems* of 1656 begins by establishing a counterpoint, if not explicit tension, between the politics of the opening Latin poem and the prose preface which follows. The formal innovations (or apparent innovations) of the volume are striking in themselves, but also heavily marked by Cowley in the notes and paratexts: scholarship has tended to take these statements at face value, even where their unreliability is apparent. I suggest that these statements are meant as 'decodable' misdirections, by which Cowley draws our attention to the parallels and models for his poetry as much as to its originality, and signals, in the pattern of those interactions, his indebtedness to, and allegiance with, largely royalist poets of the previous decade.

Notes

This chapter draws in part upon research conducted as part of the 'Neo-Latin Poetry in English Manuscript Verse Miscellanies' project, funded by the Leverhulme Trust. I am very grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for supporting this work, which would otherwise have been impossible to undertake.

1 James W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990) covers only the period to 1625. Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500–1925* (New York and London: MLA, 1940) contains many valuable observations but largely omits the 1650s, makes almost no reference to manuscript sources and is now very dated. Some supplementary coverage can be found in the introduction to David K. Money, *The English Horace: Anthony Alsop and the Tradition of British Latin Verse* (Oxford, 1998)

and in essays printed in J.W. Binns (ed.), *The Latin Poetry of English Poets* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1974). Many significant genres, however, have attracted almost no critical attention. This chapter therefore relies at several points upon extensive research that has not yet been published and is not otherwise available. For this reason, I have attempted to summarise key evidence in the endnotes. For more detailed discussion, see Victoria Moul, *Latin and English Poetry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

2 Abraham Cowley, *Poems* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1656), (a)4^{r-v}. Whether with Cowley's knowledge or not, copies of his *Civil War* survived. A short extract was printed in the later seventeenth century (Abraham Cowley, *A Poem on the Late Civil War* (London, 1679); the three books Cowley completed survive in two manuscripts in Hertford County Record Office (Panshanger MSS D/EP/F.48 and F.36), on which see Thomas O. Calhoun, Laurence Heyworth, Allan Pritchard and Ernest W Sullivan II (eds), *The Collected Works of Abraham Cowley*. vol. 1 (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 1989) pp. 261–88.

3 Cowley, *Poems* here reads 'Factum', but all subsequent editions emend to 'Fatum', surely correctly.

4 Translations throughout are my own. A complete text and translation of this poem by Dana Sutton can be found here: www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cowleypoems. The translation provided is not however entirely reliable.

5 Philip Hardie, 'Abraham Cowley, *Davideis. Sacri poematis operis imperfecti liber unus*', in Luke Houghton and Gesine Manuwald (eds), *Neo-Latin Poetry in the British Isles* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp. 69–86; Sue Starke, '"The Eternal Now": Virgilian Echoes and Miltonic Premonitions in Cowley's "Davideis"', *Christianity and Literature*, 55 (2006), 195–219; Barbara Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic: The Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained* (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1966), chapters 3–4 and '*Paradise Lost*, The Bible, and Biblical Epic', in K.J. Killeen, H. Smith and R. Willie (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, 1530–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 546–60. Despite the emphasis in scholarship upon Cowley's Virgilianism, his Latin is not very Virgilian in style, and is markedly less so than much of Milton's Latin verse in the 1645 *Poems*. Cowley can appear much more Virgilian in English than in Latin.

6 Philip Hardie, 'Epic Poetry', in Patrick Cheney and Philip Hardie (eds), *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature. Volume 2: 1558–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 225–52 (p. 244).

7 J. McBryde, 'A Study of Cowley's *Davideis*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 2 (1898), 454–527 (p. 514).

8 Readings of the *Davideis* have been constrained by uncertainty around its date of composition: for a summary of the evidence, see Gayle Shadduck (ed.), *A Critical Edition of Abraham Cowley's Davideis* (Garland, TX: New York & London, 1987), pp. 3–12. Whenever Cowley conceived or began the work, there is certainly strong evidence that it was not completed until the mid-1650s.

9 '[T]hough some in other Languages have attempted the writing a [sic] *Divine Poem*; yet none, that I know of, hath in English' (note 3, Cccc4^{v}):

> Though none of the *English Poets*, nor indeed of the ancient *Latine*, have imitated *Virgil* in leaving sometimes half verses (where the sense seem to invite a man to that liberty) yet his authority alone is sufficient, epsecially in a thing that looks so naturally and graefully.
>
> (note 14, Dddd2^{v})

> For this liberty of inserting an *Ode* into an *Heroick Poem*, I have no authority or example; and therefore like men who venture upon a new coast, I must run the hazard of it. We must sometimes be bold to innovate. (note 41, Eeee3^r)

10 I set aside here shorter scriptural verse, from epigrams on biblical verses to medium-length poems keyed to biblical references, though verse of this sort is ubiquitous during this period in both Latin and English. On early modern Latin biblical verse paraphrase (discussing largely though not only psalm paraphrase), see Johannes A. Gaertner, 'Latin Verse Translations of the Psalms, 1500–1620', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 49 (1956), 271–305 and R.P.H. Green, 'Poetic Psalm Paraphrases', in P. Ford, J. Bloemendal and C. Fantazzi (eds), *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 461–69. As noted by Gaertner, the tradition of biblical verse paraphrase in Latin could encompass considerable freedom of expansion and interpretation, often more so than in vernacular material.

11 Several biblical books now considered to be prose (such as the Book of Job) were understood to have been composed in verse in early modernity, a point to which Cowley himself alludes in his preface ('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', Preface, (b) 3^r). Even scriptural books understood as prose, however, were fairly frequently paraphrased in Latin verse. Although there is ample evidence in both print and manuscript for its ongoing productivity, the Latin verse paraphrase of scriptural texts other than the psalms in early modern England has attracted almost no scholarly attention, even in reference works. Examples include Walter Haddon, *Oratio Jesu Christi* (London, 1555), containing verse paraphrases of the Sermon on the Mount, the Epistle of St James and Psalm 130; Thomas Drant, *In Selomonis regis [...] Ecclesiasten* (London, 1571; paraphrase of Ecclesiastes); *Théodore de Bèze, Iobus* (London, 1589; paraphrase of Job and Ecclesiastes); William Vaughan, *Erotopaignion pium* (London, 1597; contains paraphrase of the Song of Songs and various psalm); John Bridges, Bishop of Oxford, *Sacro-Sanctum Novum Testamentum* (London, 1604); Arthur Johnstoun, *Canticum Salomonis* (London, 1633; Song of Songs); John Dawson, *Summa moralis theologiae* (London, 1639; paraphrase of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs). Several authors produced multiple works in this genre, including Jackob Falkenburg in the 1570s, Alexander Julius (multiple Old Testament books between 1609 and 1614) and Alexander Ross (from 1619, all Virgilian centos, with many subsequent editions). Several of these are mentioned briefly in Binns, *Intellectual Culture*, pp. 81–83. Further examples found only in manuscript include, for instance, Andrew Melville's verse paraphrases of the Letter to the Romans (Bodl. MS Cherry 1) and the Letter to the Hebrews (BL Harley MS 6947); John Bridges Latin verse paraphrases of the Old Testament (BL Royal MSS 2 D XIV–XIX, c. 1604–1618); and a large number of examples of lyric paraphrases of the Song of Songs, most if not all influenced by the enthusiasm from the 1630s onwards for the Latin odes of the Polish Jesuit Casimir Sarbiewski. This list does not include psalm paraphrases, of which there are a very large number in both print and manuscript. The genre emerges on average somewhat later in English verse, and is largely limited to the psalms and Song of Songs. Early examples include William Baldwin, *The Canticles or Balades of Salomon* (London, 1549) and Henry Ainsworth, *Solomon's Song of Songs In English Metre* (Amsterdam, 1623). Two particularly prolific authors, across a wider range of biblical texts, are Francis Quarles and Robert Aylett (Quarles, *A Feast*

for Wormes: Set Forth in a Poeme of the History of Jonah (1620); *Hadassa: Or, the History of Queene Ester: With Meditations thereupon, Divine and Morall* (1621); *Job Militant: With Meditations Divine and Morall* (1624); *The Historie of Samson* (1630). Aylett: *The Song of Songs, Which Was Salomons, Metaphrased in English Heroiks by Way of Dialogue* (London, 1621); *Susanna: Or, the Arraignment of the Two Unjust Elders* (London, 1622); *Joseph, or, Pharoah's Favourite* (London, 1623); *David's Trouble Remembered* (London, 1638); *Divine, and Moral Speculations in Metrical Numbers* (London, 1653). The reception of Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine; ou Creation du monde* (1578) is also important; it was widely read in England, in French and Latin as well as in popular English translations.

12 Nevada Levi DeLapp, *The Reformed David(S) and the Question of Resistance to Tyranny: Reading the Bible in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014); Anne Lake Prescott, 'A Year in the Life of King Saul: 1643', in Killeen et al, *Oxford Handbook of the Bible*, pp. 412–26. Cowley himself refers to this debate in note 16 to the fourth book of the *Davideis*. Both *Threnodia, sive Elegia* and *Ad Carolum Secundum, Britanniae Regem, Protrepticon*, two anonymous royalist pamphlets of Latin verse published in 1649, make explicit comparisons to Saul and David.

13 This association is grounded in the understanding of the Psalter itself: 'these holy *Hymnes* [i.e. the Psalms] are not written all in one kinde of *Poesie*, but the Prophet hath made use almost of all sorts' (George Wither, *Preparation to the Psalter* (London, 1619), p. 47). The most influential and widely owned edition of psalm paraphrases was the Latin paraphrases of George Buchanan. Cowley makes an explicit connection between this tradition and his own formal innovations, when he mentions Buchanan in his preface to the *Pindarique Odes*. This is one of the very few mentions of contemporary poetry anywhere in the volume. ('And *Bucanan* himself (though much the best of them [translators of the psalms] all, and indeed a great Person) comes in my opinion no less short of *David*, then his *Countrey* does of *Judaea*', Aaa2^{v}.)

14 David and the other Old Testament poets and prophets were typically compared to Horace and Pindar among classical poets (sometimes also to Homer, Orpheus and others). The importance of the tradition of Latin Pindarics is discussed further below.

15 b(3)^{r} for mention of Heywood and Quarles.

16 Hatcher was a parliamentarian, but stylistically his Latin is strongly influenced by contemporary continental verse, especially that of the Polish Jesuit Casimir Sarbiewski. Sarbiewski is an important, though unacknowledged, model for Cowley's *Pindarique Odes*; 'The Exstasie' is a version of Sarbiewski, *Odes* 2.5. For the popularity and importance of Sarbiewski in the 1640s and 1650s, see Peter Davidson, *The Universal Baroque* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 31–32; Krzysztof Fordonski and Piotr Urbanski, *Casimir Britannicus: English Translations, Paraphrases and Emulations of the Poetry of Maciej Cazimierz Sarbiewski* (London: MHRA, 2010); George Gömöri, '"The Polish Swan Triumphant": The English Reception of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski in the Seventeenth Century', *The Modern Language Review*, 106 (2011), 814–33; David Money, 'Aspects of the Reception of Sarbiewski in England: From Hils, Vaughan, and Watts to Coleridge, Bowring, Walker and Coxe', in Piotr Urbanski (ed.), *Pietas Humainistica: Neo-Latin Religious Poetry in Poland in European Context* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 157–87; Victoria Moul, 'Horace, Seneca and the Anglo-Latin "Moralizing" Lyric in Early Modern England', in K. Winter, M. Stöckinger and T. Zanker (eds), *Horace and Seneca: Interactions, Intertexts, Interpretations* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017),

pp. 345–69. For Sarbiewski and Andrew Marvell, see Victoria Moul, 'The Date of Marvell's *Hortus*', *The Seventeenth Century* (2018), doi:10.1080/0268117X.2018.1482228

17 The anonymous publication also suggests that it was open to royalist, or at least anti-Cromwellian, interpretation.

18 Oxinden's biblical paraphrases are probably influenced by those of Alexander Ross, whose work he praises. The *ODNB* entry for Oxinden describes him as politically neutral, with friends on both sides, and, though he took part in the parliamentary siege of Arundel in 1643, claims that his correspondence shows 'a desire to be left out of the political and military conflict of the time' (Sheila Hingly, 'Oxinden [Oxenden], Henry, (1609–1670)', doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/21053). Nevertheless, both *Jobus triumphans* (1651) and *Religionis funus et hypocritae finis* (1647) are plainly supportive of Charles I, and Oxinden published *Charls Triumphant* heralding the restoration in 1660. Like many of his contemporaries, it is likely that he remained relatively neutral through the mid-1640s, but was shocked and distressed by the execution of the king. His *Religionis funus* (1647), an allegorical poem on the death of true religion, has much in common with Horsman's *Sionis certamina et triumphus* and du Moulin's *Ecclesiae Gemitus*, and belongs to an identifiable subgenre of Latin allegorical political verse at this time.

19 Cowley's comments upon his choice of King David are framed in a similar way:

> For what worthier *subject* could have been chosen among all the *Treasures* of past times, then the *Life* of this young *Prince*; who from so small beginnings, through such infinite troubles and oppositions, by such miraculous virtues and excellencies, and with such incomparable variety of wonderful actions and accidents, became the greatest *Monarch* that ever sat upon the most *famous* Throne of the whole Earth?
>
> (b)2^r

20 See for instance: Prescott, 'A Year in the Life of King Saul: 1643', pp. 412–26; K.J. Killeen, *The Political Bible in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); DeLapp, *Reading the Bible in the 16th and 17th Centuries*; M.A. Radzinowicz, 'Forced Allusions. Avatars of King David in the Seventeenth Century', in D.T. Benet and M. Lieb (eds), *Literary Milton: Text, Pretext, Context* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1994), pp. 45–66.

21 There is also evidence for the politicised reuse at this time of earlier examples of the form. Alexander Ross's *Virgilii Evangelisantis Christiados libri XIII* (London, 1634; expanded and revised, 1638) was reprinted in 1659 with the original panegyric dedication to Prince Charles intact. There is similar political nuance in, for instance, the printed paratexts of the multiple editions of William Harvey's medical works in the 1650s and 1660s.

22 Henry Power, '"Teares Breake Off My Verse": The Virgilian Incompleteness of Abraham Cowley's The Civil War', *Translation & Literature*, 16 (2007), 141–59: 'it is hard not to come to the conclusion that he was deliberately ignoring these precedents when he claimed to the be the first English poet to have imitated this feature of the *Aeneid*' (p. 147). The article discusses Cowley's use of half-lines in his earlier attempt at epic, *The Civil* War, and emphasises their link with Virgil and translations of Virgil. Power does not discuss the half-lines in the *Davideis* explicitly.

23 Power notes that John Denham's translation of *Aeneid II*, the *Destruction of Troy*, was not published until 1656, though Cowley may have seen it in manuscript.

24 Bodl. MS Ballard 50, f24r–26r (elegy for Cotton, half-line on 26r). The lament for Laud is the *Sors Caesarea; sive suspiria et lacrymae: poema* (Bodl. MS Tanner 306, ff. 149r–162v), a polymetric sequence which (like Cowley's poem, and discussed further below) includes inset lyrics as well as half-lines for emotive effect.

25 Payne Fisher, *Irenodia Gratulatoria* (London: T. Newcomb, 1652), D4r: 'Dum turbine tanto / Velle mori mens una fuit'. Fisher later rather wittily reused the half-line, but completed it so as to quite alter the meaning, in an epinicion for Louis XIV (*Epincion: vel Elogium Faelicissimi, Serenissimi, Fortissimi Lodoici XIIII*, 1658), D1r–v, where the line continues '… nisi Gratia *REGIS*, / Et pia mulsisset crudam Clementia mentem'. On Fisher's Latin verse style see Victoria Moul, 'Revising the Siege of York: Payne Fisher's *Marston-Moor* and the Development of Cromwellian Poetics', *The Seventeenth Century*, 31.3 (September 2016), 311–31); online (July 2016): doi:10.1080/0268117X.2016.1200997. Fisher had fought on the royalist side at Marston Moor, and poignant depictions of defeat are found even in his panegyric poetry of the 1650s for Cromwell.

26 Alexander Brome, 'Upon the Unhappie Separation of Those United Souls, the Honorable *Henry* Lord *Hastings*, and His Beloved Parallel', in *Lachrymae Musarum; The Tears of the Muses: Exprest in Elegies* (London: Tho. Newcomb, 1649). The addendum to the volume, containing poems probably added late in the process, includes pieces by Andrew Marvell and a young John Dryden.

27 On this volume as coded elegy for the king himself, see John McWilliams, '"A Storm of Lamentations Writ": "Lachrymae Musarum" and Royalist Culture after the Civil War', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 33 (2003), 273–89 and Susan A. Clarke, 'Royalists Write the Death of Lord Hastings: Post-Regicide Funerary Propaganda', *Parergon*, 22 (2005), 113–30.

28 *Threnodia, sive Elegia In Injustissimam trucidationem sanctissimi, Prudentissimique Principis, Caroli Primi, Magnae Britanniae, Galliae, & Hiberniae, nuperrimè Regis.* ([S. I: s. n.), 1649), p. 5 (A4r). This poem also draws an explicit comparison between Charles I and David, who was mistreated by Saul, but ultimately vindicated by God.

29 Richard Crashaw, *Steps to the Temple with the Delights of the Muses* (London, 1648), 'Ejusdem In caeterorum Operum difficili Parturitione Gemitus' (pp. 87–88), the second of two poems on this topic. Both appear only in the 1648 edition of *Steps to the Temple, Sacred Poems*, and were not included in the 1652 *Carmen Deo Nostro*; they date probably from around 1635. Further links between Crashaw and Cowley are discussed below.

30 William Ball, *Europa Lachrymans: Poema Heroicum* (London: Thomas Harper, 1650), p. 7. All the European countries in turn (including Britain) speak and lament the political situation, seeking advice from personified Europe. A final poem, added in a smaller typeface after the dramatic conclusion of the piece, addresses Britain directly. The author is probably the same William Ball as the astronomer (c. 1631–1690), though I have found no discussion of this poem, and the *ODNB* entry for Ball does not mention it.

31 We find a similar pattern elsewhere in the period: Payne Fisher's accomplished alcaic ode to Cromwell, printed for the first (surviving) time in the 1652 *Irenodia Gratulatoria*, was translated (and hugely expanded) by the translator Thomas Manley into English irregular Pindarics (*Veni; Vidi; Vici. The Triumphs of the Most Excellent and Illustrious, Oliver Cromwell, &c* (London: John Tey, 1652), H6r–I3v).

32 Robert Aylett, *David's Troubles Remembered* (1638), 24v–25r (page numbers as for folios).

33 Bodl. MS Tanner 306, ff. 149r–162v. Edited and translated from this text by Dana Sutton and Martin Wiggins: (www.philological.bham.ac.uk/sors/). Laud, who was President of St John's from 1611 to 1621 and Chancellor of Oxford University in 1630, is never named, but Martin Wiggins is surely correct to identify the lamented 'Polydorus' of the sequence as Laud. Wiggins describes the piece as a 'performance text', and suggests a date for performance. I am less sure that it was performed, since polymetric Latin verse sequences are typical of the period.

34 Cowley was ejected from Cambridge in 1643, and moved to Oxford, where he lived at St John's. He left England for France certainly by early 1646, and perhaps as early as 1644 (Alexander Lindsay, 'Cowley, Abraham (1618–1667)', doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/6499).

35 Bodl. MSS Add B. 109 ff124v–126v and Wood D 19 (2) f87r–91r. Littleton, to whom the work has been ascribed, went up to Christ Church, Oxford from Westminster School in 1644 and was ejected by the parliamentary visitors in 1648. *ODNB* entry Newton E. Key, 'Littleton, Adam (1627–1694)', doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/167890.

36 The speech of the angel is in a third metre, dactylic hexameter.

37 Peter du Moulin, *Ecclesiae Gemitus sub Anabatpisticâ Tyrannide* (n.p., 1649), pp. 39–40. Though published anonymously (and pointedly dated 'in the first year of the era of the martyrdom of Charles I, King of Britain'), at least some readers were evidently aware of its authorship: the Thomason Tracts copy has been annotated 'Du molin' on the title page. (The Bodleian copy of [Henry Birkhead], *Poematia* (n.p., 1645) has a similar annotation on the title page: 'Scripsit Henricus Berket è Coll. Omn. Anim. Oxon'. Henry Birkhead was a fellow of All Souls, Oxford.) Du Moulin seems to have been chiefly responsible for a second anonymous tract against the regicide (and John Milton) designed for European circulation, *Regii sanguinis clamor ad coelum adversus paricidas Anglicanos* (1652). His collected verse also includes Latin verse invective against Milton. Like so much Latin poetry of this period, there is no modern edition or translation of *Ecclesiae Gemitus*, which belongs to a discernible subgenre of Latin political allegory in verse, to which Oxinden's *Religionis Funus* (1647) and William Ball's *Europa Lacrymans* (1650) also belong. Though these works are not themselves scriptural verse, there is a clear area of overlap with the allegorical potential of scriptural verse, as discussed above. Du Moulin's Latin hymns are metrically inventive, and very much indebted to those of Richard Crashaw.

38 Cowley went on to develop the 'inset lyric' form much more extensively in books 3 and 4 of the *Plantarum Libri Sex*, set on the eve of the Restoration in 1660, in which the flowers in the Botanical Gardens at Oxford debate the best form of government, and elect their leaders for the following year. On the *Plantarum Libri Sex*, see Chapter 7 in this volume.

39 Stella P. Revard, 'Cowley's *Pindarique Odes* and the Politics of the Interregnum', *Criticism*, 25 (1993), 391–418 and *Politics, Poetics, and the Pindaric Ode: 1450–1700* (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS and Brepols, 2009). See also Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 143; Ruth Nevo, *The Dial of Virtue* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 119–130.

40 Revard, *Politics, Poetics, and the Pindaric Ode*, 129n.

41 The best known of Jonson's Pindaric odes is the late Cary-Morison ode, composed in triadic structure. He composed several strophic Pindaric odes earlier in his career, which have received less critical attention. On Jonson and Pindar, see Victoria Moul, *Jonson, Horace and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

42 Szymon Szymonowicz, *S. S. Poematia aurea* (Leiden, 1619). David McPherson, 'Ben Jonson's Library and Marginalia. An Annotated Catalogue', *Studies in Philology*, 71 (1974), 1–106 (note 185, at p. 93).

43 Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poemata in duas partes diuisa* (1574) includes a triadic Latin Pindaric, 'Natalia domini nostri Jesu Christi filii Dei viui' (second section (paginated separately) pp. 95–97). For widely read later examples, see for instance the Latin verse collection of Maffeo Barberini, latterly Pope Urban VIII (*Poemata*, Paris, 1623), in which the very first ode is a Latin triadic Pindaric to the King of France (pp. 1–9). The collection contains several other examples of this form. It also includes scriptural verse paraphrase.

44 One widely circulating example of English Latin Pindarics in the 1630s was Thomas Randolph's Latin translation of Jonson's own 'Ode to Himself', found in several manuscripts.

45 The standard view is that the irregular or 'free' Pindaric was, essentially, Cowley's invention (see for example Nethercott, p. 135). Stella Revard's influential discussion of the politics of Cowley's Pindarics relates them to the Commonwealth poetic context (with a focus upon Andrew Marvell). She discusses many pre-Cowley instances of 'Pindaric' style, but accepts the view that Cowley invented the 'free' Pindaric. Her focus is not, however, primarily upon formal features but rather upon 'Pindaric' style, content and influence more broadly understood: many of the 'Pindaric' poems she discusses, for instance, are metrically Horatian rather than Pindaric. Since the teaching of metre was a major element in early modern education, and Latin Pindarics a non-classical form unique to neo-Latin, Revard perhaps underestimates the importance of this formal distinction. She does not discuss the formal innovations of Crashaw, nor the early modern use of the term 'dithyramb', discussed below.

46 Cowley himself uses the term in his translation of Horace, *Odes* 4.2: 'So *Pindar* does new *Words* and *Figures* roul / Down his impetuous *Dithyrambique Tide*' (12–15). In general, the widespread formal experimentalism of sixteenth and seventeenth century neo-Latin lyric, and its relationship to similar developments in English poetry, has received almost no critical attention, though see Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, pp. 106–10 for a very concise overview. Related to dithyrambic verse are polymetric odes with multiple changes of metres, as in the songs in John Barclay's popular Latin novel *Argenis* (1621), and in Latin hymns and psalm paraphrases such as those by Crashaw and Du Moulin.

47 Casimir Sarbiewski, *Lyricorum Libri V. Epodon Liber Unus; Alterque Epigrammatum, cum* Epicitharismate (Dijon: Petrus Palliot, 1647), pp. 370–78.

48 *Jonsonus Virbius* (London: E. P. for Henry Seile), pp. 66–70; a manuscript example is Bodleian Rawlinson Poet. 171, 6r–7r. The Jonson ode was reprinted in the third and subsequent editions of Waring's *Amoris Effigies* (London, 1664, 1668, 1671, 1682). The relation between dithyrambic and 'lapidary' verse is a complex one. On the latter see Iior Kajanto, 'On Lapidary Style in Epigraphy and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 43 (1994), 137–72. 'Lapidary' verse was popularised by Emmanuele Tesauro's *Caesares*, which was printed in Oxford in 1637.

49 [Henry Birkhead], *Poematia* ([Oxford?: s.n.], 1646), pp. 12–14. In the 1656 edition of the *Poematia*, with Birkhead now given as the author, the ode is reprinted but this time titled to make it about Cranmer (*Poematia* printed as part of Henry Stubbe, *Otium literatum* (Oxford, 1656). See Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, pp. 359–60.

50 E.g. by Edward Marlow of New College Oxford, printed in the 1633 Oxford collection *Solis Britannici Perigaeum* (Oxford, 1633), DE3^{v}–DE4^{r}; other

examples in collections of 1623, 1639 and 1654. John Milton's Latin Pindaric ode, 'Ad Joannem Rousium', written in 1647, represents a mid-point between the regular and irregular Pindaric form in Latin: it is in strophes and antistrophes, with a single final epode; but while the metrical patterns of the strophes and antistrophes are similar, they are not repeated precisely. Thomas Manley's 1652 translation of Fisher's Alcaic ode to Cromwell is another kind of hybrid: the first part of the poem is composed of regularly repeating Pindaric strophes of various line-length. The second half of the poem, however, is more irregular, and close to Cowley's 'irregular Pindaric' form.

51 Printed in L.C. Martin, *The Poems: English, Latin and Greek, of Richard Crashaw* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), comprising a polymetric sequence of Phaleucian hendecasyllables, a Sapphic stanza, iambic trimeters and an Alcaic stanza. It is included in Sancroft's collection of Crashaw's verse (Bodl. Tanner MS 465, dating probably from the late 1630s) as well as in Sancroft's personal collection of religious verse (Bodl. Tanner MS 466, discussed further below). Crashaw's practice here suggests the contemporary link between metrical variety and the paraphrase of the psalms.

52 Martin, *Poems of Richard Crashaw*, p. xxxiv. Martin mentions Crashaw's 'On the Assumption'. Other major odes in irregular form in the 1648 edition of *Steps to the Temple* include 'Upon our B. Saviour's Passion', 'On the name of Jesus', 'A Hymne for the Epiphanie', 'An ode which was prefixed to a Prayerbooke given to a young Gentle-woman', 'The same partie Councell concerning her choice' and 'Charitas nimia, or the deare bargaine'.

53 Hymns 8–13 are polymetric. (Peter du Moulin, *Parerga Poematum Libelli Tres* (Cambridge: Joann. Hayes, 1671).)

54 BL Add. MS 4456, ff 107–111. The Latin authors are Buchanan, Cowley, Fracastoro, Grotius, Giraldus, Heinsius, Milton, Petrarch, Rapin, Sannazaro, Vida. English: Beaumont & Fletcher, Chaucer, Cowley, Davenant, Denham, Jonson, Milton, Oldham, Phillips, Earl of Rochester, Shakespeare, Sidney, Spencer, Suckling, Waller. By the early eighteenth century Cowley's reputation was based also upon the *Plantarum Libri Sex* (1668), an extract of which was, for instance, included in the Eton textbook *Epigrammatum Delectus* (London: Sam. Smith, 1686, with several subsequent editions), Ii5r. The volume also includes two Latin poems by Peter du Moulin (Kk1v–Kk2r).

55 Nottingham PwV 1345, though undated, probably belongs to a similar period and contains Latin verse translations from Cowley, Waller and Camden. There are also translations of Dryden, Fletcher and Dr Woodford into Latin verse. Examples of this kind of translation of 'canonical' English verse into Latin are found more frequently in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries than in earlier periods, though in the earlier seventeenth century a large quantity of more topical or popular Latin verse (such as epigrams, satirical songs and so on) circulate in bilingual presentation, accompanied by English translations.

56 Drawn from Samuel Woodford, *A Paraphrase Upon the Canticles, and Some Select Hymns of the New and Old Testament* (London: J. D. for John Baker, 1679), pp. 61–64. Woodford's scriptural hymns are formally indebted to those of Cowley, Crashaw and du Moulin, with examples of both irregular Pindarics and polymetric sequences. He includes an emotive half-line in his 'Job Cursing His Birth', the poem translated into Latin in this manuscript, and dated 1660 in the 1679 print edition. His *Paraphrase Upon the Psalms of David* (1667) translated the entire psalter into Pindaric odes, making explicit the link between sections three and four of Cowley's *Poems*.

57 M[aurice]. N[ewport]., *Seriss. Principi Carolo Secundo Mag. Brit. Fran. Et Hib. Regi Votum Candidum Vivat Rex* (London: Roberti Viti, 1665).

Newport was born Maurice Ewens. Thomas H. Clancy, 'Ewens [*alias* Newport], Maurice (c. 1611–1687)', *ODNB* doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/20036.

58 Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 202. Newport's use of self-annotation in the *Votum Candidum*, though much less profuse than that of Cowley, is probably also modelled upon him. Bodl. MS Ballard 50 includes a Latin hexameter poem on the Boscobel Oak, the opening of which is similar to the passage in Cowley (ff34r–35r), suggesting that this scene may have become something of set piece.

59 Newport, *Votum Candidum*, pp. 2–3. Other contemporary poets identified by name either in the text or the footnotes include Denham (specifically *Cooper's Hill*), Waller and D'Avenant (all p. 2), but Cowley is addressed at greatest length.

60 For the royalist associations of Harvey and his work, see Jonathan Sawday, '"The Chief Mystery of the Seminall Business": Andrew Marvell, William Harvey, Abraham Cowley and the Politics of Fertility in the Seventeenth Century', *English Journal*, 56 (2007), 107–25.

61 Cowley's version of this poem is central to Stella Revard's argument about the implicit royalism of the *Pindarique Odes* (Revard, 'Cowley's *Pindarique Odes*').

62 Other identifiable sources were published in 1651, 1645 and 1632.

63 There is also an anonymous Latin paraphrase of Ps. 151 at the end of the sequence (f36v). The other parts of the manuscript include an English play by Henry Birkhead (author of the strongly royalist 1646 volume *Poematia* discussed above) and Crashaw's translation of Marino's 'La strage de gli innocenti'.

64 Interestingly, Sancroft's personal copy of Crashaw's verse, Tanner MS 465, believed by Crashaw's editor Martin to date from the late 1630s, also includes a Latin hexameter poem, a Virgilian cento, retelling the story of David and Goliath. Martin considers this poem not to be by Crashaw, but it is suggestive of the kind of experiments in classicising biblical verse that Crashaw and Cowley may have shared.

Manuscript Sources

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Bodl. MS Cherry 1
Bodl. MS Rawlinson Poet. 171
Bodl. MS Tanner 306
BL Add. MS 4456
BL Harley MS 6947
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