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**A Commentary on and Edition of
the Shorter Poems of William Browne of Tavistock
in British Library MS Lansdowne 777**

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- 3 The companion English poem 'On the Glorious Passion and Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ'. Folger Library MS V. a. 308, fols. 87v-88r (Original page size 202 x 160 mm).

Abbreviations

BLR	Bodleian Library Record
BQR	Bodleian Quarterly Record
CCC	Corpus Christi College
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
ELH	English Literary History
ELR	English Literary Renaissance
EMS	English Manuscript Studies
IELM	Index of English Literary Manuscripts
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
L777	Lansdowne 777
MLR	Modern Language Review
N&Q	Notes and Queries
n.s.	new series
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PBSA	Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Society of America
PQ	Philological Quarterly
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
RES	Review of English Studies
SB	Studies in Bibliography
SP	Studies in Philology
TCBS	Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society
UTQ	University of Toronto Quarterly

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to provide an annotated edition of the manuscript poetry of William Browne of Tavistock. Apart from *The Inner Temple Masque*, and the facsimile edition of *Britannias Pastorals* Books I-II published by Scolar in 1969, Browne's poetry has not been edited since 1894. My edition is based on the Lansdowne 777 manuscript of Browne's poetry held by the British Library, and also draws on all the available miscellany copies of his poems, both manuscript and print, as listed in the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*. A detailed introduction discusses the Browne manuscripts in the light of recent research into seventeenth-century manuscript transcription and transmission.

The introduction begins with a biographical section, which updates the still-standard essay by Bullen in the 1894 edition of Browne's poetry to take account of the findings of twentieth-century research. In my 'Manuscript Poetry' section, I note that most criticism of Browne's work focuses on his main published poems, *Britannias Pastorals* and *The Shepherds Pipe*, and addresses only those few of his manuscript poems which fall within the main critical categories applied to his printed poetry: treating him as a pastoral, Spenserian poet, nostalgic to the point of anachronism, or -especially in recent studies - as a political writer disaffected with the Jacobean government. I argue that attention to the range of Browne's manuscript verse discloses an oeuvre more varied and with closer affinities to contemporary poetry than has often been supposed, and suggest that recent research into seventeenth-century manuscript poetry provides an appropriate critical context for considering the extent of Browne's unprinted work. While questioning some of the claims of recent scholarship about the disjunction between print and manuscript in the early seventeenth century, I consider how an enhanced understanding of the role of manuscripts in this period can help to account for some curious aspects of Browne's poetic career, such as his comparative neglect of print-publication after 1616, and his popularity within the system of manuscript transmission. I also provide a detailed textual description of Lansdowne 777 and a survey of the other seventeenth-century

manuscripts which include versions of poems by Browne. Comparing the texts of Lansdowne 777 with those of the miscellany texts I argue for the authority of Lansdowne, and also discuss the miscellany versions as evidence for the early reception of Browne's poetry. The edition of Lansdowne 777 is followed by an Appendix describing the elaborate patterning of Browne's acrostic poem 'Behold o God, INRIvers of my teares',¹ overlooked in previous editions of Browne's works, and the transmission of the poem in seventeenth and nineteenth century miscellanies.

Preface

Although William Browne is not the most voluminous of poets, an annotated edition of his entire poetic oeuvre would be beyond the realistic limits of a Ph.D thesis. *Britannias Pastorals*, his longest and best-known poem, is by itself probably too long and too complex, both textually and allusively, to be adequately edited as a thesis, and was an inevitable casualty once I decided to devote attention to his shorter poems, which have traditionally received less critical consideration than his ambitious though unfinished pastoral epic. My decision to concentrate on Browne's manuscript poetry was taken for two reasons. The first is that, as I explain in my introduction, I believe both that recent research into seventeenth-century poetic manuscripts provides an important new context for interpreting Browne's shorter poems, and also that a study of Browne's work in this medium can make a significant contribution to manuscript scholarship. The other is that Browne's principal print-published shorter poems, his elegy on Henry, Prince of Wales, and his eclogues in *The Shepherds Pipe*, are both collaborative projects: the former published with a longer elegy on the same subject by Christopher Brooke, the latter accompanied by eclogues by Brooke, George Wither and John Davies. The status of these poems as constituents within collaborative volumes was obscured in the two nineteenth-century editions of Browne's *Whole Works*, in both of which Browne's elegy and eclogues appeared as independent productions, abstracted from their contexts; but in each case awareness of the larger collection is essential for understanding the aims, claims, inclusions and omissions of Browne's contribution to the volume.¹ A new edition both of the elegy and the poems from *The Shepherds Pipe* would need to provide texts of these accompanying poems as well as Browne's: a requirement all the more compelling since Brooke's and Davies's works are now difficult to obtain. Such an undertaking is outside the scope of this thesis.

My edition of Browne's manuscript poetry takes as its basis the British Library manuscript, Lansdowne 777.² This manuscript has been the copy-text for

all editions of Browne's miscellaneous poetry since 1815, although, as I discuss in my introduction, I believe that its importance has not been adequately explored in previous editions. I have also drawn on the invaluable resource of the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* to collate the Lansdowne text with other seventeenth-century copies of Browne's poems, in both manuscript and printed miscellanies. Unfortunately, I have not been able to include the evidence of the Salisbury Cathedral manuscript of Browne's poems, as the librarian at Salisbury was reluctant to allow me access to the manuscript, and refused permission for any of its readings to be quoted in my thesis. I have also been unable to view the miscellany copies of Browne's poems held at the Rosenbach Foundation in Philadelphia, since according to the curator of the Foundation, they are too fragile to be reproduced.³ My work on Browne's emblem manuscript, Bodleian Ashmole MS 767, has had to be excluded from the thesis for reasons of space, but a version of its main findings has already been published in *Glasgow Emblem Studies* 2 (1997).⁴

My introduction begins with a biographical section, which updates the standard account of Browne's life and works - A. H. Bullen's introduction to Goodwin's 1894 edition of the poetry, and his essay in the *Dictionary of National Biography* - to take account of twentieth-century researches. In 'Manuscript Poetry' I consider the findings of recent research into the seventeenth-century manuscript environment, and assess how the insights of this scholarship can contribute towards elucidating the shape of Browne's poetic career, and provide a more comprehensive context for interpreting Browne's MS poetry, which in previous criticism has often been neglected or addressed only selectively. In subsequent sections I discuss the text of Lansdowne 777, and compare its reading against the copies of poems by Browne provided by other seventeenth-century miscellanies. The main section of the thesis, an annotated edition of the Lansdowne 777 poems, is followed by an account of the various figured copies of the devotional poem, 'Behold ô God, **INRI**vers of my teares', and a list of the miscellany manuscripts which include poems by Browne. My

description of the texts of 'Behold ô God' is published by *English Manuscript Studies* as 'A Pattern Poem by William Browne of Tavistock'.

I should like to thank the many people whose advice, encouragement and material assistance has contributed towards my research for this thesis. The manuscript librarians who have dealt with my inquiries have responded courteously and comprehensively to all my requests. Especial thanks are due to the staff of Glasgow University Library Special Collections and Duke Humfrey's Library at the Bodleian, and to Hilton Kelliher of the British Library Manuscript Department, who provided bibliographical information about Lansdowne 777. Peter Beal informed me of the existence of the Newbury manuscript of 'Behold O God', and allowed me to see reproductions both of this copy and of the transcription of the same poem in the Monckton Milnes manuscript. Katherine Duncan-Jones provided me with a draft copy of the Appendix to her edition of Shakespeare's sonnets. Although my work on Ashmole 767 has had to be excluded from the thesis, Browne's interest in emblems is relevant to several of his other manuscript poems, and I should like to acknowledge advice on English emblems from Michael Bath, and on Browne and Thomas Palmer from John Manning. John Pitcher, by employing me as a research assistant on the OET Samuel Daniel, in Oxford, gave me the opportunity to enjoy regular access to the Bodleian and British Library manuscripts. My fellow research assistant at the Daniel Project, Jason Lawrence, has been an invaluable source of advice and information. Above all I should like to thank my supervisor, Robert Cummings, for his meticulous and encyclopaedic guidance and unfailing patience throughout my work on this thesis.

In my section on manuscript poetry, I allude to the common supposition that there is a certain authenticity inherent in handwritten documents, which can never be attained by the alienated medium of the printed text. Traces of this belief can appear in unexpected places. On 20 May 1998, the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, flew to Northern Ireland to campaign for a 'Yes' vote in the referendum on the Good Friday Agreement. In an attempt to convince the

uncertain that it was safe to give their assent, he offered five pledges of security, and to emphasize his good faith, wrote them out by hand for everyone to see. An enlarged version of these handwritten pledges was used as the backdrop for his last speech of the campaign, and copies of a poster version were circulated around Northern Ireland the day before the referendum. Not only - in the opinion of his publicity advisers at least - did Mr Blair's holograph provide an extra guarantee of his sincerity, but this guarantee was expected to survive and even be perpetuated by the technology of mass reproduction. Whether Mr Blair's handwriting worked its intended magic, I do not know: but the 'Yes' vote in the referendum was 71%.

¹ The collaborative status of *The Shepherds Pipe* is discussed by Joan Grundy in *The Spenserian Poets* (p. 80ff.), Sukanta Chaudhuri in *Renaissance Pastoral and its English Developments* (pp. 220-223), and Michelle O'Callaghan in *Three Jacobean Spenserians* (pp. 58-94). Browne's elegy on Prince Henry is considered by Dennis Kay in *Melodious Tears* (pp. 168-172), and by O'Callaghan (pp. 11-21), both of whom agree that it is best understood when read alongside Brooke's companion elegy.

² For ease of reference, allusions to this manuscript sometimes use the abbreviation 'L777'.

³ For a full discussion of my use of Browne manuscripts, see my 'Textual Introduction'.

⁴ I also exclude from consideration in this thesis BrW 6-12, versions of the 'thoughts' presented by the shepherds to their beloveds in *Britannias Pastorals* I.3, lines 477-482, which I assume to have been copied straight from the printed text and which do not seem to have formed part of a chain of manuscript transmission; BrW 13, a version of *Britannias Pastorals* II.1, lines 242-280, which is edited by Ian Spink in *English Songs 1625-1660* (London, 1971); and BrW 14, versions of an epitaph and songs from *Britannias Pastorals* Book II, which are amply discussed by Geoffrey Tillotson in 'The Commonplace Book of Arthur Capell', *MLR* 27 (1932): 381-392.

Introduction

(i) Life and Works

As with many Elizabethan and Jacobean writers, there is both too little biographical information about William Browne of Tavistock, and too much. We have no contemporary account of his life, and the surviving documentation about him is meagre. The reliability of subsequent testimony about him cannot be taken for granted. The first biography of Browne was by Anthony à Wood, among his memoirs of Oxonian men of letters in *Athenae Oxonienses*.¹ Wood's book was not published until 1691, and is by no means infallible. However, where his account of Browne can be checked against contemporary records, it does appear to be largely accurate, and it has underlain all subsequent attempts to produce a biography of the poet. Prince's note on Browne in *Worthies of Devon* (1701) is Wood with the addition of a little local rumour about the Browne family.² Davies' prefatory memoir in his 1772 edition of Browne's poetry is based entirely on Wood.³ Nineteenth-century editors of Browne, in their prefatory biographies, continued to rely on the *Athenae Oxonienses*, but also began to expand its account with further information gleaned from newly discovered documentary evidence. Sir Egerton Brydges, who first printed Browne's shorter poems from British Museum Lansdowne MS 777 in 1815, expanded his edition in 1816, with an 'Appendix to the Preface', a pedigree for the Browne family which he had discovered in British Museum Harley MS 6164.⁴ Hazlitt's 1868-9 *Whole Works* prints for the first time the record of Browne's admission to the Inner Temple, a manuscript poem addressed to Browne, and the text of a letter by Browne to Sir Benjamin Ruddyerd.⁵ Bullen's biographical introduction to the Muses' Library edition of the poems, in 1894, as well as relying on previous accounts, also draws on recent archive research by Gordon Goodwin.⁶ In the century since Bullen, discussions of Browne's life have included F. W. Moorman's *William Browne: His Britannia's Pastorals and the Pastoral Poetry of the Elizabethan Age*, Geoffrey Tillotson's 'William Browne: His Life and Pastorals', Joan Grundy's *The Spenserian Poets: A Study in Elizabethan and Jacobean Poetry*, Joan Ozark Holmer's 'Internal Evidence for Dating William Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, Book III', Cedric C. Brown and Margherita Piva's 'William Browne, Marino, France, and the Third Book of *Britannia's Pastorals*' and Michelle O'Callaghan's 'Three Jacobean Spenserians: William Browne, George Wither and Christopher Brooke'.⁷ Tillotson, Holmer, Brown, Piva and O'Callaghan have all made significant additions to the stock of

known facts about Browne's life. However, the contributions of Holmer, Brown and Piva relate to only one element of Browne's biography - the composition of *Britannias Pastorals* Book III - and Tillotson's and O'Callaghan's theses both remain unpublished. Moreover, Tillotson's thesis is now almost 70 years old, and O'Callaghan's concentration on political readings of Browne's life and work results in a somewhat partial and, I believe, often distorted representation of both.⁸ My own account of Browne's life adds few new facts and cannot claim to escape bias: biography is inevitably selective, and thus inevitably distorted. However, given the poverty of the extant documentary information about William Browne, the need to be selective is less applicable in his case than with many other subjects. Indeed, the imperative for a new biography of this poet is a widening, not a narrowing, of scope. Probably because of the restricted scope and relative obscurity of much twentieth-century work on Browne, references to his life and poetry by non-specialists tend still to rely on Bullen's introduction, now over a century old, necessarily ignorant of twentieth-century discoveries, and ingenuous in its assumptions about the relationship of poems and life. One of my main aims in this biographical introduction is an attempt to supplement the public consensus on Browne, as represented by Bullen, with the findings of twentieth-century scholarship. It is a conspectus of the known facts about his life, more than an augmentation of them.

In another respect, however, my account of Browne's life, friendships and writings does represent a contraction of scope. A second important aim in this introduction is my attempt to demythologize a poet whose life, despite (or because of) his comparative obscurity, has attracted a surprising number of legends. To this extent, my version of Browne's life has a smaller repertoire of sources for his life than had his nineteenth-century editors, or even the critics of twenty years ago. Beginning with Brydges, biographers and commentators on Browne have attempted to supplement the recorded facts about him by citing the poems themselves as evidence, with an ease and assumption of transparency which a present-day reader is less likely to accept. Brydges himself was comparatively judicious in this area, confining himself to remarking that the frequent references to Oxford and the Pembroke family in Browne's poetry confirmed Wood's account of his education and later life.⁹ Hazlitt, however, took the further step of treating the substance of the poetry as at least potentially confessional. In his preface to the *Whole Works* he confides: 'I suspect that there is an allegorical underplot in the first two Books of *Britannia's Pastorals*. There the Poet paints his courtship; he is his own Remond, and the Marina of the story

is beloved by a rival. In his later productions, we seem to get the unsuccessful result of a long love-suit, and the rejected Remond's expressions of grief and despair'.¹⁰ Of the poems of the Lansdowne manuscript he writes: 'They were the fruits of solitude, and breathe a melancholy vein'.¹¹ His faith in the testimony of the poetry is sufficient for him to doubt the evidence of the Harley MS pedigree when its information and the Lansdowne manuscript appear to conflict. However, Hazlitt at least recognizes that his biographical reading of Browne's poetry, plausible though it seems to him, is speculative. Later commentators often lack this caution. Bullen, for instance, firmly dates the commencement of Browne's courtship of his wife thirteen years before their marriage, on the basis of a subscription to one of the elegies in Lansdowne 777 - even though the manuscript is of uncertain provenance and the elegy does not mention its subject by name. He also alleges that the sonnets to Caelia are 'evidently' addressed to Browne's future wife, and cites the epistle 'Deare soule, the time is come & we must part' as confirmation of their long engagement.¹² F. W. Moorman's 'Introductory and Biographical' chapter in his 1897 monograph on Browne is probably the most ample and determined attempt to supply a consistent biography for Browne by enlisting the 'evidence' of the poetry. His attempts to plot the course of Browne's love-life from the poems lead him to infer a mistress (not, unlike Bullen's interpretation, a first wife) who had already died before the publication of *Britannias Pastorals*; and his assumption that the 'Caelia' mentioned in many of Browne's love-poems represents a historical woman - and always the same one - produces a convoluted story of a courtship which 'probably began about 1617 after the completion of the Second Book of the *Pastorals*', was continued 'in the poem entitled "A Sigh from Oxford", which could not have been written earlier than 1624', but which, in deference to Browne's 'high moral nature', he assumes to have ended with the death of Caelia, some time before Browne's marriage to Timothy Eversfield in 1628.¹³ Moorman ingeniously reconciles his faith in biographical interpretation with Browne's romantic probity by invoking *Britannias Pastorals* as evidence for Caelia's death: 'In all probability the departed loved one of the Third Book is Caelia herself, whom Browne had loved so long and so faithfully'. As recently as 1969, Browne's leading twentieth-century critic, Joan Grundy, could assume without qualification that the allusion by the narrator of Browne's poem *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia* to kindnesses received from the Muses was a claim by Browne himself for his own poetry, and that 'The true hero of Book III [of *Britannias Pastorals*] is Browne himself, grief-stricken, melancholy, and embittered'.¹⁴ Even Brown and Piva fall into the trap: 'In his own lifetime one woman he was

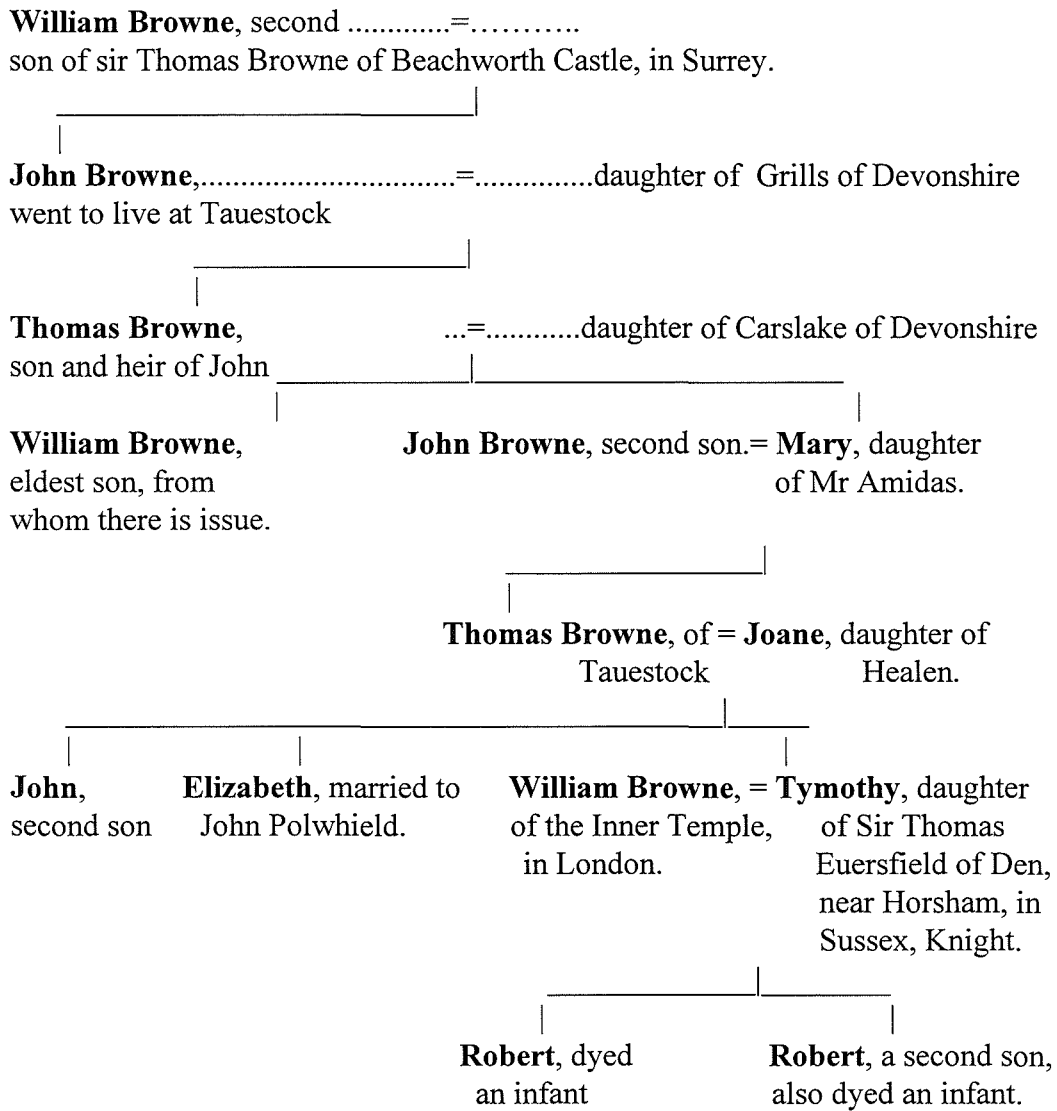
seeking to win was apparently unkind enough to suggest that he was using other men's words too much in the poems he sent her.'¹⁵ Joan Ozark Holmer admits the need to argue that Caelia 'appears to have been not a personified poetic ideal but a real person' with a reference to the poem 'Caelia is gone' (lines 29-31), but seems to have no suspicion that not all the references to 'Caelia' may denote the same woman.¹⁶

Using Browne's poetry to reconstruct his life is evidently a seductive stratagem. The poverty of contemporary information about him makes it all the more tempting to fill the gaps with reference to the poems, many of which avowedly invite the identification of poet and narrator, or poetic persona. Yet, while it is surely unsafe to accept the passages of apparent autobiography in Browne's poetry at face value, the other extreme, of attempting to reject the poetic 'evidence' about the life altogether, without discrimination, would also be mistaken. The poetry - to state the obvious - is the most substantial surviving testimony to the life of William Browne of Tavistock: it is the reason why his name has not passed into utter oblivion. At the very least, the dates of his publications are an important element in his biography. The prefatory apparatus of his publications can yield useful information about his professional circumstances, acquaintances, and other connections. Moreover, while uncritical biographical interpretations of Browne's poems - any poems - are methodologically unsatisfactory, nonetheless, a circumspect reassessment of the poems can be informative about Browne's interests and attitudes. Ironically, the need for compromise between these two extremes is clearly indicated in the most explicit and eloquent defence of the biographical approach to interpreting Browne, by Tillotson. In a reading of 'Deare soule, the time is come & we must part', lines 9-10, he forcefully denounces Bullen's failure, in commenting on the same lines, to 'take Browne's words at their simplest surface valuation. In the biographer of a crafty or highly decorative poet this might be a virtue. But William Browne is a sincere poet, sincere on the surface as well as below, a mere "shepherd" among poets. The Lansdowne MS shows an unmasked directness of feeling and a sincerity in the recording of circumstances which recalls a pocket diary. Browne, for example, treats mere chorography with scrupulous tenderness. In his elegies there is none of the pastoralising which enamels *Lycidas* with symbols and a rich unreality'.¹⁷ As a defence of Browne's sincerity, this is extraordinarily callow. If Browne is a 'mere "shepherd"', then what of the 2000-year history of European pastoral poetry - of which Tillotson, to judge from his reference to *Lycidas*, is presumably aware? Inappropriate, also, is his

use of the word ‘mere’ to refer to chorography, whose intellectual status in Elizabethan and Jacobean England is attested by the labours of Drayton, Selden and especially Camden. Rather than ‘tak[ing] Browne’s words at their simplest surface valuation’ in the matter of chorography, for instance, a biographer might more usefully consider the currency of chorography in the 1610s, its approximate location in the intellectual landscape, and the aspects of ‘Britannia’ which this chorographic poet chose to celebrate. Browne’s poetry becomes evidence for his life only when it is interrogated and assessed, not when it is taken at face value. Passages of apparent autobiography should not be overlooked, but require to be read critically. His choice of subjects and manner of treating them is of biographical as well as strictly literary significance. Choices of poetic subject, style and form, not negligible at any time, were perhaps especially significant in the busy, often controversial literary environment of the early seventeenth century.

Browne was probably born in 1590 or 1591. This can be surmised from an entry in the registers of Exeter College, Oxford: ‘30 Ap. 1624 William Browne son of Thomas Browne gentleman of Tavistock matriculated age 33’.¹⁸ Browne’s place of birth and parentage are confirmed by Anthony à Wood (probably by derivation from the matriculation record): ‘William Browne, son of Tho. Br. of Tavystock in Devonsh. gent. was born there’, and by the family tree discovered by Brydges in Harley MS 6164, f. 37 (see overleaf).¹⁹ There may be an allusion to the family seat, Beachworth Castle in Surrey, in the epistle ‘Hasten, o Hasten, for my loues sake, haste’, line 2: ‘The spring alreadye hath your Beachworth grac’d’.²⁰ Many of Browne’s poems also testify to his detailed local knowledge of the West Country. *Lidford Journey*, in the Lansdowne manuscript, is a satire on the summary justice exercised in stannary courts just a few miles away from Tavistock. ‘A haples Shepherd on a daye’ alludes to the tidal conditions at St Michael’s Mount, nearby in Cornwall. *Britannias Pastorals* advertises itself in its opening lines as the work of a Devonshire poet: ‘I that whilere near Tavy’s straggling spring / Unto my seely sheep did use to sing’ (Book I Song 1, lines 1-2); and the celebration and evident love of the local area in this and subsequent songs are such that, as Tillotson says, ‘*Devonia’s Pastorals* would be a more accurate title for his poem’.²¹ A marginal note to the opening line indicates the poet’s familiarity with the topography of Dartmoor and the environs of the Tavy, and later geographical allusions include the detailed description of Tavy and his romance with Walla in Book II Song 3 (lines 763-1284).²² Browne is also notable for his warm praise of the Devonshire heroes of

Browne Family Tree, from British Library Harley MS 6164



the Elizabethan age. The 'Endymion' in the Vale of Woe described by Aletheia (*Britannias Pastorals* I.4.679-682) is a thin disguise for Raleigh; and in Book II Song 3 the narrator proclaims:

Hail, thou my native soil! thou blessed plot
Whose equal all the world affordeth not!
Show me who can so many crystal rills,
Such sweet-cloth'd valleys or aspiring hills;
Such rocks in whom the diamond fairly shines;
And if the earth can show the like again,
Yet will she fail in her sea-ruling men.
Time never can produce men to o'ertake
The fames of Grenville, Davies, Gilbert, Drake,
Or worthy Hawkins, or of thousands more
That by their power made the Devonian shore
Mock the proud Tagus

(lines 601-613)

There are also references to Drake in *Britannias Pastorals* I.5.150-152, II.4.212, III.1.515-516, and *An Elegie on the Countesse of Pembroke*, lines 39-40. *Britannias Pastorals* Book III Song 1 concludes with the poet's promise to celebrate the countryside around the Tavy so that he too may be ranked for posterity with the great man:

And, Tavy, in my rhymes
Challenge a due; let it thy glory be,
That famous Drake and I were born by thee!

(lines 1000-1002)

Bullen, without citing his authority, says that Browne attended Tavistock Grammar School.²³ No known evidence either supports or refutes this statement, but the idea is plausible. Afterwards, he appears to have studied at Oxford. Wood says that he 'spent some time among the muses in Exeter coll. after K. Jam. I came to the crown' (*Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. II p. 364), though there is no record of his matriculation in the early Jacobean years, nor, perhaps surprisingly, of any acquaintanceships which he might plausibly have formed as an undergraduate.²⁴ As Brydges points out, Oxford is a 'conspicuous figure' in Browne's poetry: he refers to the university as 'our learned Mother' in *An Epiced*

on *Mr Fishbourne* (line 76), makes his narrator resident there in *A Sigh from Oxford*, and claims acquaintance with Oxford dignitaries such as Mr Turner and (perhaps) Dr Prideaux. None of these allusions, however, needs imply undergraduate residence at the university, and some conclusively date from or after Browne's documented period at Oxford in the 1620s. Furthermore, while Browne was to enjoy the acclamation of numerous contemporaries at the Inner Temple and later alumni at Exeter, there seem to be no commendations extant from fellow-undergraduates. However, the absence of documentary evidence does not disprove Wood's assertion; and again, the idea is plausible, since attendance at one of the universities was a typical part of a Jacobean gentleman's education. Wood says that he left Oxford 'without any degree conferr'd upon him', and if this is correct, there would have been no categorical need for him to be matriculated at the university as an undergraduate.²⁵ None of his poetry can be securely attributed to this period, though it is possible that his emblem book (now Bodleian Ashmole MS 767) was the work of his Oxford years. *Britannias Pastorals* may also have been begun at this time. Browne himself claimed to have written Book I before the age of twenty (*Britannias Pastorals* I.5.51-54), i.e. before 1610-11. An intriguing note in Prince Henry's account book for 1608-9 (now among the Exchequer Papers in the Public Record Office) records the payment of £5 'To Mr Browne for a booke given to his highnes' on 8 October 1608, and it has been suggested that this may refer to William Browne and *Britannias Pastorals*.²⁶ The identification cannot be proved, but no one else has been convincingly suggested. Browne's composition of an elegy on the Prince in 1613 need not imply that he had received patronage from Henry - the Prince's death was mourned by an overwhelming number of the poets currently writing in England - but his repetition of the elegy, in slightly altered form, in *Britannias Pastorals* Book I Song 5, suggests, at the very least, the poet's wish to emphasize his sense of grief and loss.²⁷ The elegy on Prince Henry is the one section of *Britannias Pastorals* Book I which must unquestionably be dated *after* 1610-11, and it is at least possible that it is a late alteration.

After Oxford, Browne moved to London. According to Wood's elliptical account he left Exeter College, and 'whence retiring to the Inner Temple, without any degree conferr'd upon him, became famed there for his poetry'.²⁸ Hazlitt's researches in the records of the Inns show that he was in fact registered first at Clifford's Inn, and only later transferred to the Inner Temple. He was admitted to the Temple on 1 March, 1612/3.²⁹

Life at the Inns in the early seventeenth century is comprehensively described by Wilfrid Prest in *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts*.³⁰ As Prest emphasizes, residence at an Inn did not necessarily imply an intention to pursue a legal career. The legal profession, certainly, offered one of the most promising careers available in the sixteenth century: ‘Erasmus had observed that there was no better way for an Englishman to attain fame and wealth than by becoming a common lawyer, and by the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign the law had virtually replaced the church as the career open to talents, the ladder on which able young men could climb to power and riches’.³¹ The same was still true under James I. However, a young man might have other reasons for wishing to acquire at least a rudimentary legal training: ‘During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries a stay at the inns was part of the conventional gentlemanly education and it seems to have been generally accepted that young men, whether or not destined for the bar, should acquire some knowledge of the law while they were there. In a highly litigious society men of means had an obvious need for a modicum of legal skill, which might enable them to deal with the suits of avaricious neighbours and troublesome tenants’.³² Social rather than strictly educational reasons might influence his decision: he might enter an Inn in order to acquire connections or gain some social polish - the Inns were sometimes said to rank as the third university of England - or simply in order to have accommodation in the capital.³³ William Browne’s reasons for entering the Inns are unknown. He was not an eldest son, and there is no record that he ever attempted to practise law. The frequent references to law in his poetry are almost uniformly hostile. In his round ‘Now that the Spring hath fill’d our veynes’ (poem 4) one of his reasons for celebrating is that he has ‘Noe suite in Law to pay a fee’ (line 15); and *A Sigh from Oxford* includes the obscure but evidently jaundiced lines:

And knowe that few are hang'd for Truthe
 Naye the Lawes haue bin more briefe
 To iayle that theft more then a thiefe
 (lines 88-90)

In the elegy ‘Is Death so great a Gamester’ he complains of abuses of the benefit of clergy provisions, by which the literate could gain exemption from the death penalty:

Murd' rers, Theives,
Can haue their Pardons or at least Reprieues
The Sword of Iustice hath been often wonne
By letters from an Execution.

(lines 57-60)

Lidford Journey is an extended satire on an admittedly idiosyncratic legal system in the stannaries of Devonshire.³⁴ However, these indications of Browne's possible disquiet with the profession are evidently not incompatible with an interest in publicizing his membership of the Inner Temple. His two earliest publications both mention it: his elegy on Prince Henry is subscribed 'Defleuit W.B. Inter: Templ:', and the dedicatory letter to *Britannias Pastorals*, Book I concludes 'From the Inner Temple, June the 18th 1613'. Christopher Brooke, the author of the companion elegy on Prince Henry, published with Browne's, was also an Inns man, as was Browne's later collaborator, George Wither. Most of the dedicatory poems to Browne's published works are by members of the Inns. The Lansdowne manuscript - possibly produced at the Inns, or by someone with an Inns connection - refers to Browne as 'of the Inner Temple, Gent'; and implies his membership in the subscription to the epistle 'Hasten, o hasten': 'From an Inner Temple then the Inner Temple'. The subjects of two of his elegies, Francis Lee and Thomas Ayleworth, were lawyers. His masque on Ulysses and Circe, now often known, indeed, as *The Inner Temple Masque*, was apparently written for performance at the Temple in 1614/15. As I describe in 'Manuscript Poetry', insistence on membership of an Inn may have been one means by which a late-sixteenth / early-seventeenth century author could emphasize his gentility at a time when the propriety of print publication was potentially dubious. It would also contribute to the prestige of the publishing poet by associating him with some of the most notable literary works of the past century. Prest quotes P. J. Finkelparl: 'between Wyatt and Surrey and the appearance of Spenser and Sidney, all the poets, in fact almost all writers of any value, were connected with the inns of court ... they were the literary center of England'.³⁵ Writers such as Donne and Marston continued this tradition into the 1590s and early seventeenth-century. Prest claims that it was fading by the later decades of James's reign, but specifies Browne as one of the last significant Inns writers of his era: 'The last masque to be written by a resident member of the society which performed it was William Brown's *Ulysses and Circe*, staged for the Inner Temple Christmas of 1614 ... William Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* (1613-16) was the last poetic work of any consequence written by a resident member before the Civil War'.³⁶

Even after the Inns had lost their pre-eminence as a base for print-publishing poets ‘many members continued to circulate verse in manuscript among their friends’.³⁷ Indeed, the one consistent feature in the curious shape of Browne’s literary career is the importance of the Inns of Court. As I will argue later, Browne’s popularity within this system of manuscript circulation of verse seems to have been at least partly due to his connections at the Inns (and given his gibes against law and lawyers, especially in the Lansdowne 777 poems, it is ironic that the survival of many of these manuscript poems is probably due to a lawyer). The several references to his association with the Inns in the printed works may also have encouraged sales. Certainly Wood associates Browne’s arrival at the Temple with the commencement of his literary fame, and it seems unlikely to be coincidental that the dates of his major print publications concur so nearly with the period he is likely to have spent at the Inns. The elegy on Prince Henry and the first part of *Britannias Pastorals* both appeared in 1613, the year after his admission to the Inner Temple. *The Shepherds Pipe*, a collaborative volume in which Browne contributed 7 out of 11 eclogues, followed in 1614. In the same year poems by Browne were included in a new edition of the Elizabethan pastoral anthology, *Englands Helicon*. *The Inner Temple Masque*, as already mentioned, was written for a performance at the Temple in 1614/15. The second part of *Britannias Pastorals* appeared in 1616. After 1616, however, Browne’s print publications virtually cease, at least for thirty years. There were to be a few miscellaneous items: dedicatory poems to the second part of Drayton’s *Poly-Olbion* in 1622 and James Mabbe’s translation of ‘The Rogue: or the Second part of the Live of Guzman de Alfarache. Written in Spanish by Matheo Aleman ...’ in 1623, a Latin poem in *Epithalamia Oxoniensia*, Oxford’s poetic celebration of the wedding of Charles I and Henrietta Maria in 1625.³⁸ The two complete books of *Britannias Pastorals* were reprinted in 1625, with corrections. There is no reason to believe that Browne was responsible for publications such as the inclusion of his epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke, ‘Vnderneath this sable hearse’, in the 1623 edition of Camden’s *Remaines Concerning Britaine* (the one additional poem in the epitaph section) or the epitaph on Anne Prideaux in the 1636 *Remaines*, or for the use of a version of *Lidford Journey* in Westcote’s *View of Devonshire* (1630). He may, however, have been the ‘W. B.’ who contributed dedicatory verses to Massinger’s *Duke of Milan* in 1623 and *The Bondsman* in 1624, or the ‘William Browne, Gent.’ whose translation of Gomberville’s *Polexandre* was published in 1647.³⁹ With the possible exception of *Polexandre*, Browne’s creative efforts after 1616 seem to have produced only the fragment of *Britannias Pastorals* Book III, a few occasional lyrics, and the manuscript poetry

collected in *Lansdowne 777*. In comparison with the poetic ambition of *Britannias Pastorals I-II* and *The Shepherds Pipe*, this later work is conspicuously slight in scale and scope.⁴⁰

Browne's domestic circumstances during his early adulthood are also unclear. A marriage to Timothy Eversfield, daughter of Sir Thomas Eversfield, of Horsham, Sussex, is recorded in 1628 (and also mentioned in the family tree in MS Harley 6164). Harley 6164 mentions two sons of the marriage, both named Robert, born in September 1629 and March 1631. Both Roberts died as infants. A reference to a third son, unmentioned in the Harley manuscript, was discovered by Tillotson in the Horsham parish register. 'Under "1635 ... Nouember the ... 14" is entered for christening "Ambrose y^e son of William Browne gent by Timothie his wife"'.⁴¹ Nothing else is known of Ambrose Browne.⁴² Bullen authoritatively states that Timothy Eversfield was Browne's second wife, but the only justification for this supposition appears to be the dubious testimony of *Lansdowne 777*.⁴³ Among its many elegies and epitaphs is a four-line poem entitled 'In Obitum M S x^o Maye 1614', which was speculatively read by Bullen as referring to 'Maritae Suae'. Later the manuscript transcribes two consecutive poems headed 'My owne Epitaph' and 'On his Wife an Epitaph', the former dated 1614. Bullen treats these poems as a pair, inferring from them that Browne had a wife who died in 1614. The poverty of this evidence - especially given the uncertain provenance and date of *Lansdowne 777* - is obvious. As Tillotson says, 'A. H. Bullen knew too much'.⁴⁴ The interpretation of 'MS' as 'Maritae Suae', though persuasive (the final line reads 'Mine onely died'), cannot be considered conclusive. Both 'Matris Suae' and 'Meae Sorellae' are also possible, as is 'Mea Sola' (a translation of 'Mine onely'); and Tillotson appositely cites the contemporary analogue of Herrick's epitaph on an 'MS', who proves to have been a woman named Mary Stone, a distant kinswoman of the poet.⁴⁵ Moreover, as Moorman points out, 'the fact that Browne wrote an epitaph on his wife, does not prove that she was dead'.⁴⁶ It need not even mean that he was married at the time of writing. The epitaph on himself, presumably, does not prove his own death. Indeed, if Bullen's biographical suppositions are accepted - if Browne's early marriage, bereavement, and autobiographical transparency are to be given credence - it is perhaps strange that there is no reference to the death of his spouse in any of Browne's 1614-16 publications. The early marriage cannot be disproved, but there is no compelling evidence for believing in it.⁴⁷

A more convincing clue in the poems to Browne's later life is their frequent references to the Herbert family, especially Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, and William, the third Earl. As well as his celebrated epitaph on the Countess, Browne's most popular poem in the miscellanies, Mary Herbert is the subject of his longest elegy. She is also mentioned in his later elegy on her grandson, Charles Herbert (son and heir of the fourth Earl of Pembroke, Philip Herbert), who died in January 1635/6. The third Earl was the dedicatee of *Britannias Pastorals* Book II, and he is also the 'Pembroke' mentioned in *An Elegye on Mr Willm Hopton* and *An Epitaph on Mr John Smyth*. He procured a pass for Browne to go abroad, in 1616.⁴⁸ The status of Browne's connection with the Pembrokes in the 1610s and early 1620s is not known, but by the mid-1620s at least he was employed in their service. The copy of Browne's devotional poem 'Behold ô God, **INRI**vers of my teares' in the Monckton Milnes manuscript, c. 1624, is attributed to 'Will Browne seruiens Com Pembrock'.⁴⁹ Wood says: 'In the beginning of the year 1624 he retired to Exeter coll. again, being then about 34 years of age, and was tutor or gov. to Rob. Dormer of that house, the same who was afterwards earl of Caernarvon, and killed in Newbury fight, 20 Sept. 1643. In the same year he was actually created master of arts, as I shall tell you elsewhere in the FASTI, and after he had left the coll. with his pupil, he became a retainer to the Pembrochian family, was beloved by that generous count, William E. of Pembroke, and got wealth and purchased an estate'. Dormer was ward and later son-in-law to Philip Herbert, William's brother. Wood's source for the assertion that Browne 'got wealth and purchased an estate' may have been John Aubrey, who in his note on Browne in Bodleian MS Aubrey 6, f. 81v. claims that Browne earned £5-6,000 per annum by his tutorship of Dormer, with which he 'bought 300 £ per annum land'. No other evidence survives to support Aubrey's claim, and as Bullen remarks, it sounds unlikely.⁵⁰ However, the story of Browne's return to Exeter College and the tutorship of Dormer are confirmed elsewhere. Brown and Piva cite the Eton Commensals, to show that Browne joined Dormer at Eton in 1623, and left with him in 1624.⁵¹ His supervision of Dormer at Oxford is confirmed in the registers of Exeter College.⁵² Browne's last written record, a letter to Benjamin Rudyerd, credited 'Dorking, Nov. 29. 1640', refers to his prayers for 'my honoured lord the Lord Chamberlain [Philip Herbert], my good lord and master the Earl of Carnarvon [Dormer], and for you'.⁵³ As well as his poem on Philip's son, Charles, Browne also wrote an elegy on Charles's mother, Susan Vere, Philip Herbert's first wife.

Browne's second residence at Oxford appears to have been brief. Wood's clarification in the *Fasti* explains that he was granted permission to be created MA on 25 August 1624, and took his degree on 16 November of that year.⁵⁴ He had probably left Oxford at least by the time of Dormer's marriage to Sophia Herbert, on 27 February, 1625.⁵⁵ However, there is some evidence that this period at the university stimulated his poetry. Both Holmer and Brown and Piva argue that the fragmentary Book III of *Britannias Pastorals* dates from approximately this period. Both articles note that its allusion to times spent by the unknown shepherd with Celadyne 'On Isis' banks, / And melancholy Cherwell, near the ranks / Of shading willows' (Song 1, lines 698-700) appear to refer to Browne's own residence at Oxford, and that since the Spanish grandee satirized later in Song 1 probably refers to the controversial ambassador, Gondomar, who arrived in England only in 1616, the latter period of residence is the more likely.⁵⁶ Gondomar is mentioned by name, as a 'Jugler', in the Lansdowne 777 poem *A Sigh from Oxford* (line 204). Holmer also argues that Browne's defence of Sir Richard Grenville's stand against the Spanish (lines 879-894) is a response to criticisms of Grenville in Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, which began to circulate in 1624. Brown and Piva show that the story of Cupid and Psyche, told in Book III Song 2 to entertain the king, is a close imitation of Marino's version of the myth in his poem *Adone*, published in Paris in December 1623. They suggest the summer of 1624 as 'a likely date for the composition of most of Book III'; Holmer suggests '1624 or shortly thereafter in 1625'.⁵⁷ The consensus among critics of Book III has been to acknowledge its discontinuities - sometimes though not always with regret - but to praise many of the fragments. Joan Grundy says that the book 'contains some of his best writing'.⁵⁸ Brown and Piva agree that it includes 'some of the best poetry Browne ever wrote', and praise the 'remarkable comic description' of Oberon's court' as 'an engagement with national affairs more detailed, more mature, than anything in the first two books'.⁵⁹ They and Holmer agree that the description of Oberon's court appears to anticipate the late 1620s-1630s' vogue for fairy poetry, represented by Herrick's Oberon poems, and Drayton's *Nymphidia* (1627) and *Muses Elizium* (1630). Tillotson describes the apparently confessional lines 107-134 as 'the finest sustained paragraph in the whole of Browne'.⁶⁰ Brown and Piva seem to approve of his version of Marino.⁶¹ Indisputably, the poetry of *Britannias Pastorals* Book III is among Browne's most inventive. However, the adaptation of Marino breaks off 'not very far into the story', for no apparent reason.⁶² There were to be no more large-scale literary works in the remainder of Browne's life, with the possible exception of the *Polexandre* translation. There

is no conclusive reason to attribute Browne's motives for leaving *Britannias Pastorals* Book III unfinished - and the renunciation of poetic ambition which this implies - to his employment by the Herberts, but the coincidence is suspicious. Browne did not stop writing poetry in 1625, but the scale of his work was reduced dramatically. Of the Lansdowne 777 poems, only the epitaphs on Susan Herbert, Countess of Montgomery, her son, Charles Herbert of Sherland and Montgomery, John Deane and Mr Francis Lee can be confidently dated after 1625, though the poems on Mr Turner and Goodman Hurst both probably date from 1637, and many of the other manuscript poems are of indeterminate date.

There is little other information about the last years of Browne's life. His marriage in 1628 and the births of his sons between 1629 and 1635 have already been mentioned. The letter to Rudyerd suggests that at least around 1640 his home was in Dorking. The date of his death, as of his birth, is unknown. On the evidence of the letter to Rudyerd, it cannot have been before November 1640; and it can also have been no later than 1645. Administration of his estate was granted to his widow on 6 November, 1645, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.⁶³

A few myths remain to be dispelled. It is sometimes said that Browne was a friend of Ben Jonson's, but again the evidence is lacking.⁶⁴ The assumption seems to have developed out of Jonson's contribution of a dedicatory poem to Book II of *Britannias Pastorals*, in which he addresses Browne as 'my truly beloved Friend' and declares 'I have seen thy work, and I know thee'.⁶⁵ But it is unsafe to rely too much on this apparent testimony. By Jonson's own admission in his epistle to John Selden, his poetic panegyrics were sometimes exaggerated. In his *Conversations with Drummond* he even admits to having written a commendatory poem to Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas 'ere he understood it to confer' - and to forming a much less favourable opinion of Sylvester's work when he actually read the translation.⁶⁶ There is nothing in his commendation of *Britannias Pastorals* which implies an intimate knowledge of either Browne or his work - his reference to Browne's youth scarcely necessitates even an acquaintance. Browne's allusion to Jonson among the poets attending on Thetis in *Britannias Pastorals* Book II Song 2 (lines 293-302) ranks him after Spenser, Sidney, Chapman and Drayton, and praises him exclusively for his writing, specifying his prowess in the theatre - that is, the genre of Jonson's writing most easily available to the public, at least before 1616. Similarly, although Browne refers to Chapman as his friend in Book I Song 5, line 128 -

and praises him again in I.5.901-902 and during the celebration of Thetis in Book II Song 2 - there is no known acknowledgement of the relationship on Chapman's side.⁶⁷ 'All-loved Drayton' (*Britannias Pastorals* II.2.289), however, did pay reciprocal compliments. Browne includes Drayton among the celebrants of Thetis in *Britannias Pastorals*, describing him as 'Our second Ovid, the most pleasing Muse / That Heav'n did e'er in mortal's brain infuse' (II.2.287-288), and calls him 'honor'd Drayton' in his ode 'Awake, faire Muse, for I intend', the first poem in Lansdowne 777, apparently adopting the older poet as a literary role-model, alongside Spenser. As already mentioned, he wrote a commendatory poem for the second part of *Poly-Olbion* (1622). Drayton provided a commendatory poem for the first book of *Britannias Pastorals*, and in his epistle to Henry Reynolds ('Of Poets and Poetry') he names Browne and the Beaumont brothers as the three writers who have most recently earned his approbation:

Then the two *Beaumonts* and my *Browne* arose,
 My deare companions whom I freely chose
 My bosome friends, and in their several wayes
 Rightly borne Poets, and in these last dayes
 Men of much note, and no lesse nobler parts,
 Such as have freely tould to me their hearts,
 As I have mine to them.⁶⁸

Drayton addresses another elegy 'To my noble friend Master William Browne, of the evill time'.⁶⁹ Its gloomy assessment of the present state of the country has affinities with the pessimism regularly expressed by Browne about the current 'Abhorred dayes.'⁷⁰ In 1629 Samuel Austin dedicated a poem, *Austins Urania*, jointly to Drayton, Browne and John Prideaux.⁷¹ Abraham Holland addressed a manuscript poem 'To my honest father Mr Michael Drayton, and my new, yet loved frein, Mr Will. Browne'.⁷²

Browne's association with George Wither, Christopher Brooke and John Davies of Hereford is undisputed. *The Shepherds Pipe* is a collaborative production between all four poets, albeit led by Browne, who provided 7 out of the 11 eclogues. His celebration of contemporary English poets in *Britannias Pastorals* Book II Song 2 concludes with warm praise for his three friends, especially 'all worthy-Brooke'.⁷³ As Michelle O'Callaghan has noticed, at least one contemporary seems to have regarded these pastoralists, with the strange addition of Selden, as a group:

And long may Englands thespian springs be known,
By *Louely Wither* and by *bonny Browne*,
Whilest solid Seldon, and their *Cuddy* too,
Sing what our (Swaines of old) could neuer doe.

Richard Brathwaite, *A Strappado for the Diuell* (1615), p. 23.⁷⁴

Browne's allusions to other poets, both direct and indirect, suggest an impressive breadth of reading. Spenser, mentioned in the Ode and intermittently in the *Pastorals*, and Sidney, the first shepherd to attend on Thetis, are both revered.⁷⁵ He praises Daniel, another protégé of the Herberts, as 'Well-languag'd'.⁷⁶ In Book II Song 1 he refers to Ariosto, Petrarch, Tasso, Du Bartas, Marot, Ronsard and Garnier: and while name-dropping alone does not prove that he had read their work, Joan Grundy argues convincingly that he was well-read in the Italian pastoralists and Du Bartas (at least in Sylvester's translation).⁷⁷ His translation of Marino is certain, of Gomberville, likely. Though he does not mention Donne in his catalogue of poets, the conceited style of many of the Lansdowne manuscript poems (e.g. *A Sigh from Oxford*, *An Elegie on the Countesse of Pembroke*) is reminiscent of the metaphysicals. Browne might conceivably have known of Donne's poetry through Christopher Brooke, dedicatee of Donne's *The Storme*. As I argue in my introduction to Lansdowne 777, the poems by Raleigh, Wotton, Strode etc. transcribed on ff. 63-73v. of L777 may reflect Browne's own interests. His extensive knowledge of medieval literature is more securely documented. Marginal notes in *Britannias Pastorals* allude to William of Malmesbury, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bede, and Joseph of Exeter. He incorporates Hoccleve's Tale of Jonathas into *The Shepherds Pipe*, eclogue 1, subscribing the text: 'Thomas Occleeve, one of the Privy Seal, composed first this tale, and was never till now imprinted. As this shall please, I may be drawn to publish the rest of his works, being all perfect in my hands'.⁷⁸ This proposed edition was never published, but the Bodleian holds a manuscript of Hoccleve's *The Regement of Princes* with extensive corrections by Browne.⁷⁹ Peter Beal lists several other manuscripts which apparently bear Browne's signature: an illuminated fifteenth-century manuscript of works by John Lydgate, a sixteenth-century copy of *The Story of the Erle of Tolous*, and Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*.⁸⁰ Bodleian MS Ashmole 767 testifies to his interest in emblem literature.⁸¹ The many songs among his poetry - and even his comic distress at the untuneful jangling of the papists' bells (Lansdowne 777, poem 21) - suggest a love of music.

Recent studies of Browne's poetry have laid especial emphasis on its interest in politics and public life. Both Michelle O'Callaghan and David Norbrook interpret Browne as an oppositional writer, consistently hostile to the pacific, allegedly corrupt, Jacobean order, who used his poetry - especially the collaborative works - as 'a means of expressing political discontent'.⁸² This at least qualifies Tillotson's uncompromising claim that Browne's poetry is uniformly hostile to monarchical government: 'His antimonarchism is almost socialistic and buzzes like a bee in his bonnet. He would not bring himself to panegyriser a king, alive or dead'.⁸³ Perhaps Tillotson had overlooked the 'saddest strain' of Browne's elegy on Prince Henry, or his praise of Elizabeth in *Britannias Pastorals* I.4-5; it would be a strange anti-monarchism that opposed kings but allowed such enthusiasm for a queen and a prince. Browne does appear at least to have had misgivings about the government of the Stuart kings. His elegy on Prince Henry repeatedly harks back to the prestige of Elizabethan England, suggesting that the nation's only hope of regaining its former glory has been lost with the death of the prince. The repetition of this elegy in *Britannias Pastorals*, and the poet's praise for Essex, Raleigh, Drake, Grenville and other Elizabethan heroes all imply disquiet with the present government. His description of Aletheia's journey in *Britannias Pastorals* I.4 reveals a country which has become corrupt and selfish, and pessimistic comments on the state of the nation are pervasive in his poetry, e.g. the *Vision* sonnets, *A Sigh from Oxford* lines 63-74 and 87-94, 'Is Death so great a Gamester', lines 84-88. His frequent references to favourites (e.g. the ode, line 12, *Vision* sonnet 7) and the vulnerability of monarchs to their flattery (*A Sigh from Oxford*, lines 53-54, and *Britannias Pastorals* II.1.825-884) amount to sharp criticism of King James, whose indulgence of his favourites became increasingly controversial during the 1610s. Comparable criticism of James's son emerges from his letter to Sir Benjamin Rudyerd in 1640. Browne writes the letter to congratulate Rudyerd on a recent speech in Parliament, in which he had denounced the king's advisers and called for their removal, and in which, Browne says, 'the spirit which inspired the Reformation and the genius which dictated the Magna Charta possessed you. In my poor cell and sequestration from all business, I bless God and pray for more such members in the Commonwealth; and could you but hear (as it is pity but you should) what I do, it would add some years to your honoured hairs.' The description of the fairy court in *Britannias Pastorals* Book III appears to ridicule James - his intellectual pretensions, his susceptibility to the Spanish, his preference for hunting over the responsibilities of government - and Brown and

Piva even suggest that Browne may have stopped work on Book III because of the king's death in 1625, which would have made many of its criticisms less relevant.⁸⁴ O'Callaghan's quotation from Brathwaite's *Strappado*, first published a year after *The Shepherds Pipe*, shows that this reader at least regarded Wither, Browne, Selden and Cuddy (Brooke) as potential critics of the court:

Yea I do hope, sith they so well can write,
Of Shep-heards sport, and of fields delight.
That when they come to take a view of th' Court,
(As some haue done) and haue bin mew'd vp for't
They'l tell her freely, (as full well they may)
That in their Iudgements, after due suruay,
Of th' Court & th' Cottage, they well maintain,
Vices in the Court, but vertues in the Swaine
(Brathwaite, *A Strappado for the Diuell*, pp. 23-24)

But it is possible to over-interpret the evidence. The fact that Parliament sat in 1614, the year of *The Shepherds Pipe*, need not mean that the *Pipe* is 'addressed to the political nation', and every reference to female wantonness and sexual duplicity between 1613 and 1616 need not, surely, be a coded allusion to Frances Howard.⁸⁵ Political references, almost invariably hostile to the present government, do occur in Browne's poetry, but to suggest that his work is primarily motivated by political dissidence seems misleading. Browne's discontent with contemporary England tends to be expressed in terms of two related factors: pride in his country, especially Devonshire, and nostalgia for its illustrious past. The ramifications of these factors include but exceed the political. Paradoxically, nostalgic pride underlies all Browne's pessimistic statements about the current state of the country, which he consistently represents as a decline from the high standards of a previous age. In *Britannias Pastorals* it encompasses the praise of Devonshire heroes, of Queen Elizabeth and Prince Henry, his denunciation of Philip II of Spain (I.4.746) and his condemnation of leaders who countenance the rotting of the ships that defeated the Armada (II.4. 81-96). It also, however, includes the pastoral celebration of the British countryside, and the acclamation of English poets. Indeed, the entire chorographic project of *Britannias Pastorals* is predicated on a desire to glorify the poet's native country, as well as to identify with the antiquarian intellectual tradition represented by Camden, Selden and Drayton. Pride in his native country also appears in Browne's occasional but consistent hostility to other

nations: the contempt for 'French and fooles' in 'Poore silly foole' (line 12) and the wilful ignorance of the French gentry in the elegy on the Countess of Pembroke (line 31); the allusion to 'Jugler Gondimar' in *A Sigh from Oxford* (line 204) and the mockery of the Spanish grandee in *Britannias Pastorals* Book III Song 1. Perhaps more unexpected are his denunciation of foreign trade in *Britannias Pastorals* (II.4.931-960), and his dismay at the damage inflicted on churches 'for the clergyes crimes' (*An Elegie on the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke*, line 80) and the sacrilege of those 'Our cursed dayes afford that dare to thrust / Their hands prophane to raise the Sacred Dust / Of holy Saints out of their beds of Rest' ('Is Death so great a Gamester', lines 85-87). The respect for the physical fabric of the church implied by these comments is a useful counter-argument to the tendency in Norbrook and O'Callaghan to identify Browne with aggressive anti-Catholicism.⁸⁶ His interests and sympathies are more various than the reductive categories of later scholarship are apt to suggest.

(ii) Manuscript Poetry

When literary history remembers William Browne, it is as a 'Spenserian' poet. Three very different recent studies of his poetry illustrate the point. To Joan Grundy, Browne is one of *The Spenserian Poets*.¹ David Norbrook includes him in a chapter entitled 'The Spenserians and King James'.² Dennis Kay's survey of the mourning poems for Prince Henry counts Browne among the Spenserian elegists.³ This emphasis is unsurprising: Browne's published works are undeniably Spenserian. The pastoral epic, *Britannias Pastorals*, with its (intermittent) allegory, its archaisms and celebration of rivers, its elevation of poetry and poets, and the eclogues of *The Shepherds Pipe*, with their Spenserian names and preoccupations, loudly proclaim their allegiance to the Spenserian tradition. A rather different picture, however, is presented by the shorter poetry: the sonnets, elegies, epitaphs and epistles which survive in manuscript, or were printed in seventeenth-century anthologies. Browne's manuscript poetry has been known of since at least the early nineteenth century, when it was published by Sir Egerton Brydges, and it was included in the two subsequent complete editions of his poetry, Hazlitt's *Whole Works* and Goodwin's Muses Library edition. Inevitably, perhaps, it has always been overshadowed by the larger works. The sheer size of *Britannias Pastorals*, and the evident poetic ambition of both this would-be epic and *The Shepherds Pipe* - and also, perhaps, *The Inner Temple Masque*, re-edited twice this century - are enough to explain the comparative neglect of the shorter works of a largely uncelebrated early seventeenth-century poet.⁴ Always printed after the published works, rather as an afterthought, they are easily overlooked, and perhaps not, at first sight, immediately impressive. But even a cursory glance at the titles in Goodwin's or Hazlitt's editions should alert the reader to the surprising diversity of work contained in these few pages. From epigrams and epitaphs of Jonsonian terseness and brevity, to the Donnean tortuousness of some of his funeral elegies, from translations of the Latin classics to the typically seventeenth-century 'Sic vita' lyric 'Like to a silkworme of one yeare', manuscript Browne looks very much less Spenserian than Browne in seventeenth-century print. Of the manuscript poetry, only the sonnets to Caelia, *A Pastorall Elegie on Mr Thomas Manwood* and the 'muted apocalypse' of the *Visions* sequence are conspicuously Spenserian.⁵ There is nothing particularly reminiscent of Spenser about the emblems, or about the *Inner Temple Masque* (which also, apparently, survived Browne only in manuscript).⁶ It is over-simplifying literary history to say that it regards the early seventeenth century as an extended rivalry between Donne and

the metaphysicals on one side, and Ben Jonson and his tribe on the other, with the Spenserian group of poets - sometimes extended to take in poets such as Samuel Daniel who resist straightforward classification - occupying an uneasy and self-consciously anachronistic middle position somewhere between them. Nonetheless, that is often the sort of poetic landscape evoked in studies of Browne's poetry, feasible only because this, mainly manuscript, component of the Browne corpus is quietly overlooked. Critics such as Joan Grundy mention Browne's connections with Donne and Jonson as evidence for his significance within early seventeenth-century literary history, but then for the most part confine their attention to the poetry compatible with the 'Spenserian' label. The poetry which cannot be accommodated within this category is easily overlooked by critics whose main interest is unashamedly in *The Shepherds Pipe* and *Britannias Pastorals*.

Perhaps another way of making the same point is in terms of genre. Browne can be - has been - most conveniently recuperated by modern commentators as a pastoral poet. This is approximately the approach taken by Joan Grundy: for her, Browne's 'Spenserianism' is effectively his pastoralism. Also, pastoralism is the most usual reason for incidental criticism of Browne. Histories of pastoral poetry regularly take account of him - usually in a 'post-Spenserian' category: there are pages on his work in such standard texts as Greg's *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* and Annabel Patterson's *Pastoral and Ideology*, and whole sections in Sukanta Chaudhuri's *Renaissance Pastoral and its English Developments*.⁷ But beyond *Britannias Pastorals* and *The Shepherds Pipe*, Browne's pastoral poetry only extends to the two lyrics printed in the 1614 edition of *Englands Helicon*.⁸ Again, virtually the entire corpus of manuscript poetry is left out of account. With more qualifications, a similar point can be made about another recent tendency in criticism of Browne. A number of studies, following and in most cases influenced by David Norbrook's 1978 thesis, have interpreted Browne as a political poet.⁹ Most eminent among these is Norbrook's own 1984 monograph, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*; the category also includes such diverse commentators as Christopher Hill (who mentions Browne, for example, in *A Nation of Change and Novelty*) and Dennis Kay, whose account of Browne's poem on Prince Henry in *Melodious Tears* writes him into a predominantly political reading of the elegies on the Prince of Wales. Politics, against the predominantly literary concerns of Joan Grundy, is also the emphasis of Michelle O'Callaghan's thesis, 'Three Jacobean Spenserians: William Browne, George Wither and Christopher

Brooke'.¹⁰ But political criticism of Browne, again, finds most of its material in the printed works - the Prince Henry elegy, *Britannias Pastorals* (especially the Vale of Woe in Book I Song 4) and *The Shepherds Pipe* - with only a few, often unconvincing, references to the manuscript material.¹¹ The rest of the manuscript poetry has perhaps seemed too slight to warrant focused critical attention. It may even be that the very fact that these poems remained in manuscript diminishes their importance in the eyes of twentieth-century critics who are accustomed to associating poetic seriousness with print.¹² Grundy perhaps evinces this attitude when she describes Browne's work after the 1616 publication of *Britannias Pastorals* as 'occasional brief spurts of verse, varying in quality and kept hidden in manuscript' (p. 145).

This is speculation. However, it draws attention to another context, newly available, in which Browne's shorter poems can be re-evaluated: that is, precisely as *manuscript* poetry. Earlier advocates such as Edwin Wolf notwithstanding, the development of manuscript studies as an approach to sixteenth and seventeenth century literature has accelerated over the last two decades. The publication in 1980 of volume 1 of the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, edited by Peter Beal, may justly be cited as a crucial contribution to this development, both as an invaluable guide to the extant manuscripts, and as an advertisement to and exposition of the potential significance of this resource. In the intervening years, scholarly appraisal of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poetic miscellanies and commonplace books - the types of manuscript in which contemporary and near-contemporary texts of Browne's shorter poems are preserved - has been drastically altered by work such as Harold Love's *Scribal Publication*, Mary Hobbs's *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, Arthur Marotti's *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, and H. R. Woudhuysen's *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640*.¹³ It is difficult to imagine any well-informed critic, following these studies, describing Browne's shorter poetry as 'hidden in manuscript'. The compilation of many of these miscellanies was predicated on the accessibility of manuscript poetry, albeit a limited accessibility within self-circumscribed groups. In this new interest in manuscripts and their circulation, a genre of criticism which admits the entire corpus of Browne's unpublished, non-dramatic poetry to its scrutiny is now available.

The manuscript witnesses of William Browne's shorter poems fall into two categories: the collection of his poetry in British Library MS Lansdowne

777, and the copies of individual poems in manuscript miscellanies, mainly dating from the years 1620-1650. Lansdowne 777 itself is a miscellany of a slightly specialized kind, since folios 63-73v., which follow the section of poems by Browne, are devoted to lyrics by other authors. The existence of manuscript miscellanies, of course, has never been a secret, and many studies of individual manuscripts - e.g. C. M. Armitage's work on Huntington MS 198, and Margaret Crum's article on Bodleian MS Eng. poet. c. 50 - pre-date the *Index*.¹⁴ But as Love claims, in earlier research 'Miscellanies have usually been treated simply as quarries for texts of individual writers and as providers of dating evidence', often without much regard for the context in which the individual texts occur.¹⁵ Now, however, in the work of Beal, Hobbs, Love and Marotti, the miscellany itself, as a phenomenon, has become an object of scholarly attention. According to the new manuscript scholarship, the miscellanies and commonplace books popular between the 1620s and the 1640s represent a flourishing manuscript culture which, while it in some senses rivalled, sometimes borrowed from and occasionally even influenced the hegemonous print culture, operated according to a (semi-) autonomous system of norms and conventions.¹⁶ In this system, circulation was a means not only of transmission, but of creative participation. Manuscripts circulated among networks which Harold Love has described as 'scribal communities', often associated with an institution, such as one of the universities, the Inns of Court, or the court itself, or among the members of a family.¹⁷ A participant in one of these scribal communities would assemble, possibly over a period of years, a personal anthology: perhaps consisting entirely of poetry, perhaps a commonplace book including such diverse items as recipes, statements of accounts, copies of letters, extracts from printed books, or catalogues of various kinds, as well as poems.¹⁸ These poems might be copied from printed books, but more commonly the poems included in miscellanies had never previously appeared in print.¹⁹ Individuals would acquire copies of poems from friends or colleagues, and subsequently make their collections available for copying by others. Harold Love speculates: 'Networks of friends or associates would regularly exchange texts with each other either by a process of chain copying or by a member making copies for the entire group. Individuals might consciously adopt the role of facilitator of the circulation of manuscripts'.²⁰

Many previous editors, even when they consulted the manuscript miscellanies, were reluctant to rely on their testimony, except as supplementary evidence. Aware that many steps of transmission might have intervened between the poet and the extant manuscript copy, they had little faith in the authority of

the miscellany²¹ Helen Gardner's crisp rejection of their evidence in her edition of Donne's *Divine Poems* is an admirably concise summary of this prevailing attitude: 'The manuscript miscellanies in which Donne's poems occur among those of other wits, rarely contain any Divine Poems. Their texts inspire little confidence, and an editor would be rash to adopt a reading from them without external evidence of reliability. They are of little value in an attempt to establish the text'.²² Richard Corbett's Oxford editors, J. A. W. Bennett and Hugh Trevor-Roper, similarly chose to work from printed rather than manuscript copies, on the unsubstantiated grounds that the manuscripts were 'compiled from printed sources, and are therefore of purely secondary importance', even though one of the earliest editions of Corbett, the *Poetica Stromatica* (1648), says that copies of his poems 'have flowne from hand to hand these many yeares, in private papers'.²³ Manuscript copies of individual poems tend to vary, sometimes widely, often because of slips in transcription, but also, sometimes, because of deliberate emendation.²⁴ The new manuscript scholarship, however, argues that to regard these alterations as mistakes, deviations (accidental or wilful) from the author's original, is to adopt inappropriate criteria. The conception of the stable, authorized text, Marotti claims, is a concomitant of print. It need not enjoy similar status in a manuscript context.²⁵ Walter Ong posits this difference as a defining contrast between print and (medieval) manuscripts:

The printed text is supposed to represent the words of an author in definitive or 'final' form. For print is comfortable only with finality. Once a letterpress forme is closed, locked up, or a photolithographic plate is made and the sheet printed, the text does not accommodate change (erasures, insertions) so readily as do written texts. By contrast, manuscripts, with their glosses or marginal comments (which often got worked into the text in subsequent copies) were in dialogue with the world outside their own borders. They remained closer to the give-and-take of oral expression. The readers of manuscripts are less closed off from the author, less absent, than are the readers of those writing for print.²⁶

Print fixes; manuscript texts are malleable. Marotti cites a comment by Derek Pearsall on medieval social verse: 'It is important to realise how much these poems are intended to be used rather than read as we read them. They are no one's property and the whole notion of authorship is in a way irrelevant'.²⁷ Love describes seventeenth-century manuscript miscellanies such as these as 'user

publications', in which a concept of correctness based on the integrity of the author's text is inappropriate. In a sense, a transcribed poem was appropriated by each of its copyists. Each copyist was thus free to use it as he (or sometimes she) wished: whether by omitting, adding to or rewriting sections of the poem as he had received it; inventing a new title to apply it to specific circumstances; writing it into a dialogue of poems within the miscellany; composing an answer-poem to follow it; or numerous other means.²⁸ Many manuscript compilers did not even credit the authors of the poems they transcribed, or referred to them only by initials. Attributions of authorship, where they do occur, are often incorrect. In this manuscript system, Marotti argues, authorship of individual poems was less important than the social context in which the poems were generated, transmitted and transcribed. Attention to context is manifest in the habit, characteristic of many compilers, of specifying or inventing the circumstances in which the poem was composed, or recording information about the source from which the compiler had received the copy.²⁹ Certain kinds of poem are characteristic of different contexts. Marotti attributes the frequency of obscene, often misogynistic poems in the miscellanies to the fact that many of the compilers were young students at the Universities or Inns, and of political poems, often evincing heterodox allegiances, to the comparative secrecy of manuscript.³⁰ Certain authors were more likely to be transcribed within certain scribal communities: poems by Strode and Corbett, who were both at Christ Church, are plentiful in the Christ Church manuscripts. Scribal communities would not be individually discrete and isolated, especially over time: a student from Oxford might leave for one of the Inns, a courtier might visit friends in the country, collecting, conveying or composing poems both before and after the move.³¹ However, the dissemination of texts within any one network would reinforce its sense of itself *as* a network, emphasizing the shared interests and cultural background of its members.³² Moreover, the scribal network as a whole represented a social and educational elite within the country, whose cultural separateness from the rest of the population was emphasized by its privileged access to the best in contemporary poetry.³³

This recent attention to the compilation and transmission of seventeenth-century manuscripts is welcome, but needs to be treated with care.³⁴ The insistence that manuscripts should not be judged according to criteria which properly belong with the conventions of print is salutary, but in trying to identify the conditions which do apply to manuscripts, there is a risk of over-generalizing, of assuming too readily that there was a clear conceptual distinction between

print and manuscript, or that ‘seventeenth-century manuscript culture’ was homogeneous.³⁵ When Marotti says that ‘The manuscript system was far less author-centered than print culture and not at all interested in correcting, perfecting, or fixing texts in authorially sanctioned forms’, it needs to be emphasized that ‘less author-centered’ does not mean ‘never interested in authorship’.³⁶ Some manuscripts show no interest in attributing poems to their authors, but others attribute with great care. Lansdowne 777, for instance, clearly demarcates Browne’s poems from the rest of the miscellany and labels them as his, while also attributing as many as possible of the miscellaneous lyrics and subscribing each of the unidentified poems ‘Anonymous’. British Library Sloane MS 1446 curiously exemplifies both tendencies: the poems on folios 1-64v., transcribed in a mixed hand, are mostly attributed, while those on ff. 64v.-94 - including a short sequence of epitaphs by Browne - in a rounded italic, are mostly anonymous. Marotti’s own observation ‘More poems are misattributed to Donne than to any other English Renaissance poet’ may be susceptible to a number of interpretations, but it does not suggest that the compilers of these manuscripts were indifferent to the matter of authorship.³⁷ His unqualified claim that manuscripts are ‘not at all interested in correcting, perfecting, or fixing texts in authorially sanctioned forms’ is demonstrably untrue. As I describe below in my introduction to Lansdowne 777, the scribe of this manuscript appears to have taken trouble to make an accurate copy of Browne’s poems, even at the occasional cost of an untidy text. The visible corrections in the copies of Browne’s epitaphs in Sloane MS 1446 each result in a text closer to the L777 version. It is also worth acknowledging that scholars of seventeenth-century manuscripts may legitimately ask different questions according to their differing scholarly tasks. Marotti’s literary sociology makes a fair point in insisting that the compilers of these manuscripts should not be judged for their failure to conform to twentieth-century, print-based conceptions of correctness and authority, but this recognition need not dictate the criteria to be adopted by an editor of seventeenth-century poetry. Even an editor more respectful than Bennett and Trevor-Roper of the value of the manuscript tradition, more suspicious of the concept of a ‘stable’ text, more aware that authors revise and readers create, is still likely to practise an editorial method which theoretically aspires towards reconstructing the author’s original text, even while admitting that this is an impossible task. Helen Gardner’s successors, the editors of the new Variorum Donne, prefer to offer their readers ‘rather than a single “authoritative” text, the entire texts of all authoritative versions of works when the entire texts are essentially variant’; yet one of them, Ted-Larry Pebworth,

nonetheless continues to insist, ‘The goal of scholarly editing should be, after all, to discover and reproduce, insofar as possible, what an author actually wrote’.³⁸ While readers and publishers of poetry still value the author above the context, editors are still likely to strive, however cautiously, towards ideals of correctness and authority. An editor will benefit from understanding the conventions of seventeenth-century manuscript poetry, but modern print-based conventions will still properly apply in the preparation of a modern edition.³⁹

With these provisos, it is instructive to recognize the context in which William Browne’s manuscript poetry circulated. Its distribution was restricted, but by no means hidden. It is especially useful to notice that in these miscellanies Browne’s poetry is juxtaposed not with Spenserians such as Wither, Brooke and Davies, or the Elizabethan pastoralists of *Englands Helicon*, but with courtier poets and university men: Raleigh, Harington, Wotton, Jonson, Donne, King, Herrick, Corbett, Strode, Carew and Randolph.⁴⁰ Since Browne’s print publications were concentrated in the years 1613-16 and so openly proclaim their Spenserian and Sidneian heritage, there has been an understandable tendency among critics of his poetry to associate him specifically with the early 1610s, or treat him - as *Britannias Pastorals* suggests he wanted to be treated - as a latter-day Elizabethan. Norbrook’s chapter combines these approaches by linking Browne’s print-publications with an outpouring of discontented nostalgia from Spenserian poets following the death of Prince Henry.⁴¹ Reading the miscellanies is a useful reminder that in manuscript at least his poetic life extended by several more decades into the seventeenth century. Browne, after all, was almost exactly contemporary with Carew (who lived from 1594/5 to 1639/40), and there are several points of similarity between their careers. They were contemporaries at Oxford, both spent time at the Inns (the Middle Temple, in Carew’s case), both received patronage from Jacobean courtiers; both were popular in the manuscript miscellanies, and wrote poems on some similar themes, both were interested in song - and there are extant settings by Henry Lawes of lyrics by both Browne and Carew.⁴² Each wrote a single masque: Browne, the *Inner Temple Masque*, Carew, the *Coelum Brittanicum*. Of course, there are also important differences both between their circumstances and their poetry. Browne’s masque, for instance, was written for the Inns, Carew’s for the Court; Browne’s verse is typically chaste, Carew’s notoriously lewd. However, an anachronistic literary taxonomy which associates Browne with the Elizabethans, Carew with the Cavaliers of the Civil Wars - John Kerrigan has complained of ‘preposterous’ interpretations in which ‘later things come first, and Carew is read in the light of

a Revolution or Rebellion he did not live to see' - has tended to assign these two writers to categories so separate that their contemporaneity has scarcely been noticed, and the most telling differences - as well as the similarities - between their work have been obscured.⁴³ Kerrigan has also argued that Carew criticism has been guilty of 'a neglect of his medium, and hence relation with his readers' and that 'an intelligible Carew emerges only when early printed texts (the basis of every edition and account so far) are supplemented by, often subordinated to, manuscript'.⁴⁴ The parallel is not exact - there were no early printed editions of William Browne's shorter poetry - but attention to medium is similarly necessary if Browne's manuscript poems are to be satisfactorily understood. To Kerrigan's inference, 'hence relation with his readers', I should also like to add two other factors which deserve to be taken into account: the role of the poet as reader and his relation with his peers. Poems such as *A Sigh from Oxford*, *An Epitaph on Mrs El:Y* and 'Like to a silkworme of one yeare' strongly suggest that Browne was aware of contemporary manuscript poetry, and interested in experimenting with the material it provided. The literary company kept by Browne's manuscript poetry is also, as I have indicated, suggestive. To twentieth-century eyes, the association of William Browne with Wotton, Jonson, Carew and even Corbett or Strode may be unexpected. Seventeenth-century compilers, presumably, perceived no such anomaly. The fact that poems by Browne could appear alongside the court poets even in Royalist anthologies of the 1640s should at least qualify the tendency in some recent criticism to interpret his work as uniformly oppositional. The availability of Browne's shorter poetry to appropriation by a literary nostalgia very different from his own implies that at least in these poems and to these readers the poet's 'country' ideology may not have been apparent.⁴⁵

Nonetheless, this attention to medium, this recognition of the role and status of manuscript poetry in the early seventeenth century, does little to explain the relevant, puzzling issue of the disjunction in Browne's poetic career. If anything, it enhances the mystery. Why should he, as it seems he did, have published exclusively in print between 1613 and 1616, and almost exclusively in manuscript afterwards? (The exceptions in Browne's later career - the inclusion of some of his poems in printed anthologies, the reprint of *Britannias Pastorals* in 1625, and the provision of a few commendatory poems, scarcely qualify the division.) One issue frequently raised in the complex issue of manuscript versus print publication, the so-called stigma of print, may be relevant. Conveniently described by J. W. Saunders (albeit with reference primarily to Tudor poetry),

this stigma is invoked in many of the discussions of early seventeenth-century manuscript verse.⁴⁶ According to Saunders's definition, aristocratic writers regarded print as vulgar, and would have been embarrassed or outraged by the mere thought of publishing their work. By preference, then, they circulated their writings only in manuscript, among their own friends. But the force of this aristocratic hostility to print was so strong that it affected also that category of writers (including Spenser and Daniel) whose pretensions to gentility were tenable yet precarious, and who nonetheless wanted to publish as professional poets. Hence the familiar protestations that publication has been forced on them as a means either to anticipate a pirated edition, or to correct an unauthorised text which had already appeared. Thus Daniel, for instance, dedicating the first authorized edition of *Delia* to the Countess of Pembroke, in 1592, protests: 'although I rather desired to keep in the priuate passions of my youth, from the multitude, as things vtterd to my selfe, and consecrated to silence: yet seeing I was betraide by the indiscretion of a greedie Printer, and had some of my secrets bewraide to the world, vncorrected: doubting the like of the rest, I am forced to publish that which I neuer ment'.⁴⁷ The stigma of print would also account for the insistence characteristic of these poets on the tokens of gentility - such as membership of one of the universities, or Inns - or their claims to have only undertaken publication belatedly, at the instigation of their friends.

Saunders barely qualifies his argument and thus overstates it. Against his implication that aristocratic prejudice towards print was uniform and unremitting, Steven May has pointed out that aristocrats - Berners, Sackville, Harington and Greville among them - and even King James himself - did publish, and that the widening scope of their publications after the accession of Elizabeth appears to have resulted in an increase in literary works and a decline in the devotional writings typical of the earlier Tudor period.⁴⁸ After the turn of the century, aristocratic publications seem to have proliferated. Woudhuysen also points out that Saunders's scheme implicitly assumes a distinction between print and manuscript more absolute than need have been the case.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, May's contention 'no "stigma of print" is discernible during the Tudor age, much less thereafter' is as much an overstatement as the thesis against which he is reacting.⁵⁰ References to the unworthiness of print do occur, and should not simply be dismissed because of a number of counter-examples.⁵¹ Rather, it is fairer to argue that while many aristocrats were hostile to print-publication, the stigma they attached - or claimed to attach - to print did not have absolute prohibitive force.⁵² Thus, while it might be tempting to associate Browne's resort

to manuscript after 1616 with his employment by the Herberts, it would be rash to suppose that this Herbert connection would necessarily have prevented Browne from print publication. As May points out, both the Countess of Pembroke herself and her niece, Lady Mary Wroth, published their own works; while the Countess, moreover - as Daniel's dedication indicates - was a celebrated patron of print-published poetry.⁵³

Perhaps the most that can confidently be said on this vexed issue is that the persistence of the manuscript system into the early seventeenth century provided poets with an alternative medium of publication which was held in no less esteem than print, and might, for certain social reasons, be preferred. But even this fails to account for the strange publishing career of William Browne (Gent.), especially since by the early seventeenth century some professional poets were publicly complaining about the aristocratic habit of circulating their verse in manuscript, claiming that this led to a devaluation of published poetry. In his address to the general reader prefacing *Poly-Olbion* (1613), Drayton denounced 'this time, when Verses are wholly deduc't to Chambers, and nothing esteem'd in this lunatique Age, but what is kept in Cabinets, and must only passe by Transcription'.⁵⁴ Browne's known connection with Drayton, together with his own early readiness to publish his poetry, makes his career all the more perplexing. Over-simplistic though it may be to make an absolute distinction between print and manuscript, nonetheless, as Love points out: 'the major writers of the period tend to display a strong disposition towards one particular medium ... Thus, against Spenser as a print-fixated poet, we might set Donne as one committed to manuscript'.⁵⁵ While it is easy to appreciate that a poet might begin by circulating his poems in manuscript and later commit himself to print - as Spenser distributed his early poems among friends such as Harvey before print-publication - Browne must be one of the few poets who moved the other way, from print to manuscript.

May, denying the 'stigma of print', argues that rather than print, it was poetry itself that was stigmatized in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He quotes and endorses Richard Helgerson's claim that poetry was regarded as a trifling occupation, by which its practitioners might be 'culpably distracted from the real business of life'.⁵⁶ Helgerson's argument offers another possible model to account for the shape of Browne's career. Citing evidence from Ascham, Lyly, Lodge, Harington, and most tellingly, Sidney - whose proclamation of the importance of poetry in the *Defence* might seem to advocate a different attitude -

Helgerson insists that the prevailing Elizabethan view of poetry was as an activity only dubiously suitable even for the young, and unquestionably to be forsaken by any young man who aspired towards a serious career.⁵⁷ Browne's record of print-publication in youth, abandoned in his mid-twenties, is consistent with this pattern. But again a qualification is required. Helgerson's fuller argument is that this prevailing attitude to poetry was challenged by Spenser, who established an alternative model, the laureate poet (in the tradition of Virgil, Petrarch, Ariosto and Tasso), and that with his career as a precedent, subsequent poets such as Drayton and Daniel were able to practise their profession with fewer impediments. All the signals in Browne's published poetry indicate that he conceived of himself, at least during the years of his print career, as a professional poet, and probably as a laureate.⁵⁸ He appears to exemplify Saunders's argument about the insistence of would-be professional poets of gentle birth on the tokens of their gentility: his published poems include frequent allusions to his membership of the Inner Temple, both in his own self-identification on the title pages and in dedicatory poems, and in the many poems from the Inns who endorse him and his work with commendatory poems. A determination to evade the especial stigma attached to one who rushes into print would also account for his claim to have written *Britannias Pastorals* Book I before the age of twenty.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the undoubted Spenserianism of his published poetry; the repeated, unqualified emphasis on the high calling and public importance of the poet, and the choice of pastoral as his mode and Britain as a theme, all imply his aspiration to laureate status. The massive project begun in *Britannias Pastorals* would scarcely have been undertaken by a young man who expected to make a serious pursuit of poetry for only a few years.

It would be easy - and plausible - to argue that Browne abandoned his poetic ambitions since, having gained employment with the Herberts, he no longer needed them. But no known biographical evidence directly confirms this; and in any case, such an assessment of his career would rely unduly on the privilege of hindsight. There is no indication in his published work that he foresaw for himself anything less than a lifetime of sage and serious poetry. It is possible, however, though speculative, to detect a reason in the published work itself to account for the early termination of Browne's career in print.⁶⁰ It is not my purpose to devote much space to *Britannias Pastorals*, which is largely outside the scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, I think it may provide an explanation at least as plausible as biographical speculation for Browne's recourse to manuscript after 1616. I am attracted to Chaudhuri's argument in

Renaissance Pastoral and its English Development that the Philocel and Caelia episode in Book II Songs 4-5 makes the narrative inadequacy of Browne's pastoral painfully clear.⁶¹ The death sentence passed on these two lovers is clearly unjust, yet apparently irrefutable within the permutations of the pastoral world. Neither of the lovers can deliver the other from execution except at the cost of his / her own life, and neither will accept deliverance on such terms. None of their friends seem able to intervene. The pastoral world cannot by itself find a satisfactory resolution to this dilemma: and while it apparently has difficulty in reaching the point of enforcing the death sentence, it seems unable to conceive of any practicable alternative. The rescue of Philocel and Caelia is possible only because of Thetis' intervention; and it is she too who delivers Marina from her captivity in Limos' cave, where she had been left stranded and starving despite the death of Limos (a dubious allegorical detail). Book III resumes with what looks like an attempt to save the narrative with a resumption of the Marina / Celandine story from Book I, but quickly deconstructs into an apparently autobiographical outpouring of grief, a series of barely connected song lyrics, the story of the fairy court, and the adaptation of Marino, the tale of Cupid and Psyche. It is as though the premises of Browne's pastoral are so undermined by the conclusion to Book II that the narrative can no longer hold together. The succession of lyrics in Book III, many of which are also found in Lansdowne 777, indicates the most promising course for Browne's subsequent poetic career. This in turn may help to explain his recourse to manuscript, since, according to Marotti, 'On the whole, the Jacobean era was not a good time to publish secular lyric poetry. No new substantial anthology appeared in this period and the rate of single-author editions of lyrics dropped considerably'.⁶² Drayton seems to have had good reason for his grumbles.

Browne has two claims to importance within the manuscript tradition. One is simple frequency. Admittedly, his poetry did not even approach the popularity in the miscellanies of Raleigh, Donne or Carew. However, his poetry achieved a widespread distribution, and he is counted by Wolf as one of the twelve poets whose work is transcribed most frequently in the 'miscellaneous poetical manuscripts of 1620 to 1660'.⁶³ Moreover - not quite the same point - some of his poems rank among the most popular. Both David Redding and Mary Hobbs include his *On one drown'd in the Snowe* in lists of the most frequently copied poems, and Marotti adds his epitaphs on the Countess of Pembroke and Anne Prideaux.⁶⁴ Another of his epitaphs, *On an Infant vnborne & the Mother dyeing in Trauell* survives in twenty copies recorded by Beal. Several reasons

may be adduced for this popularity. One, noted by Hobbs, is that poems by Browne circulated in several of the most important manuscript networks, including those associated with the Inns of Court, Christ Church, Oxford, and the Herbert family. Another reason arises from genre. Marotti suggests that three categories of poem were particularly prevalent in the miscellanies: '(1) model epitaphs and elegies for either social superiors, equals, or inferiors; (2) poems that express general cultural beliefs or moral truisms or both; and (3) poems celebrating the lifestyle and shared values of a social or intellectual elite'.⁶⁵ He attributes the epitaphs on the Countess and Anne Prideaux to the first category, and *On one drown'd in the Snowe* to the third. The popularity of Browne's epitaph on the Countess can also, presumably, be attributed to the high respect in which the Countess was held, both on her own account and by virtue of the family connections celebrated in the poem. The other three epitaphs are sufficiently non-specific as to be amenable to circumstantial adaptation.⁶⁶ This would also have encouraged widespread transcription.

The other ground for asserting Browne's importance to manuscript studies is Lansdowne 777. Miscellany anthologies were so much the norm in the early seventeenth century that manuscript collections dedicated entirely or mostly to the work of one poet, though not unknown, are comparatively rare.⁶⁷ Since the early 1800s, Lansdowne 777 has been recognized as a unique witness to Browne's manuscript poetry: the largest collection of his shorter poems and the only known source for many of them. Despite this, the manuscript itself has received little attention. The recent research into early seventeenth-century manuscript culture means that a fuller understanding both of Lansdowne 777 itself, as well as of the range and ambition of Browne's manuscript poetry are now possible.

(iii) Lansdowne 777

The first printed edition of Browne's poems from Lansdowne 777 was emphatic in assuring prospective readers of the value of the text before them. 'Original Poems, never before published, by William Browne, of the Inner Temple, Gent.' appeared in 1815, in a private publication edited by Sir Egerton Brydges at the Lee Priory Press. Brydges' title explicitly invokes two criteria of merit - the novelty and authenticity of the poems - and implies a third, the social and intellectual worth of the poet himself. The first sentence of his prefatory 'Advertisement' to the volume continues this insistence on the value of poems and poet: 'If my taste is not very erroneous, the following hitherto unpublished poems of a celebrated pastoral author will be deemed a very interesting treasure by the lovers of old English Poetry' (p. 1). 'Original Poems never before published' are worth the reader's attention (and the expenditure of one guinea on the volume) because they are the previously unknown work of an author whose literary reputation has been securely established by those of his poems - *Britannias Pastorals* and *The Shepherds Pipe* - already in the published - printed - literary domain.

The remainder of Brydges' advertisement is largely devoted to this matter of the poet's reputation. Browne's credentials as an Oxford man and protégé of the Pembrokes are both adduced, as if to guarantee his importance. In later comments on Browne's poetry, however, Brydges shifts his argument to suggest, not that the printed pastorals justify attention to the shorter works, but that it is these 'original poems' which account for the otherwise surprisingly high esteem in which Browne was held by his contemporaries:

Reputation is generally the result of a combination of qualities, and virtues, and performances, many of which having been omitted to be recorded, while familiar to every one, have gradually been effaced from memory. Thus the fame of BROWNE, which his known works never seemed to me to authorize, have been partly founded on the smaller poems, now recovered from oblivion. I will not hesitate to say, that I far prefer these latter to his more laboured compositions, which he gave to the world, as the formal efforts on which he chose to rest his honours.

(pp. 2-3)

Brydges says nothing on the question of how Browne's contemporaries could have known his unpublished poetry, which, this formulation lets it be assumed, he chose *not* to give to the world. On the provenance of the poems in the present volume, his information is vague:

It had been long supposed that some MS. Poems of BROWNE were among the Collections of *Warburton*, the Herald. The MS. from which the present Poems are copied, is in the British Museum, among the *Lansdowne MSS.* which contain a portion of *Warburton's Papers*; and thence, I take for granted, came this very valuable volume.

(p. 7)

While the advertisement repeatedly recalls the 'never before published' of Brydges' title, it makes no attempt to justify the authenticity of the poetry. Nowhere does Brydges offer any explanation of how it is known that the contents of this British Museum manuscript - which he does not even identify precisely - are by 'William Browne of the Inner Temple, Gent.'. His one admission of a doubt over authorship is with strict reference to the widespread attribution of the epitaph *On the Countess Dowager of Pembroke* to Ben Jonson. His conclusion, that the epitaph 'is to be found in the MS. volume of "BROWNE's Poems;" and on this evidence may, I think, be fairly appropriated to him' (p. 5), depends on the assumed authority of the MS volume, but still fails to justify the assumption. Neither the manuscript itself nor Brydges' own editorial methods in transcribing it are described.

In his 1868-9 edition of Browne's *Whole Works*, W. C. Hazlitt was scornful of Brydges' editorship of *Lansdowne 777*, which he derided as 'thick-sown with blunders of the grossest kind ... Only eighty copies of the Lee Priory edition were printed, and one may not improperly say, under the circumstances, that the fewer the better' (vol. I, pp. ix-x). His description of the manuscript, however, only marginally improves on Brydges'. 'The *Lansdowne MS., 777*, contains a variety of poems by Browne and others', he writes, but does not name these others, adding in explanation only the elliptical observation: 'The title-leaf mentions only the poems by Browne, which take precedence of the remainder' (I, p. viii). His account of the origins of the *Lansdowne MS* is less confident than his predecessor's: 'It is supposed to have been formerly the property of John Warburton, the herald, from whom it passed into the hands of the Marquis of *Lansdowne*'. About the handwriting of the manuscript - a matter passed over in

silence by Brydges - he is openly dubious: 'I feel unable to speak with entire confidence of the handwriting of this MS.; it is not unlike Browne's autograph in the earlier part, but there seem to have been subsequent additions by a second person'. Whether 'the earlier part' refers to Browne's poems, as opposed to the 'others', and which poems are affected by the 'additions', is left unclear. Despite this query against the handwriting, however, Hazlitt appears to have had no serious doubts about the authority of the manuscript. He even uses the material in common between Lansdowne 777 and Book III of *Britannias Pastorals* as an argument for the authenticity of the Salisbury manuscript. Beyond this he does not speculate on the provenance of the manuscript material. His one discussion of authorship, again, concerns the epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke - and concludes that 'it is by no means an improbable supposition' that Browne was responsible for the first stanza, the Earl of Pembroke for the second.

Gordon Goodwin's note on the manuscript in his 1894 *Muses' Library* edition is confined to one sentence:

Among the Lansdowne MSS. (No. 777) in the British Museum is a collection of poems by Browne, dated 1650, but apparently made a few years earlier, which was first printed by Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges at the Lee Priory Press in 1815, and reprinted in 1869 by Mr. Hazlitt.

(vol. I, p. xi)

Again, no reason is adduced for attributing the Lansdowne 777 poems to Browne; but Goodwin's note, carefully read, begins to indicate why the attribution might be in dispute. His own researches had discovered the fact, unknown to both Brydges and Hazlitt, that administration of Browne's estate was granted to his widow, Timothy, on 6 November 1645. If the date of 1650 on Lansdowne 777 is correct, then there can be no question of the poems being in Browne's own hand. Hence, perhaps, Goodwin's uncorroborated claim that the collection was 'apparently made a few years earlier'. Goodwin himself neither draws attention to this discrepancy of dates, nor cites any other evidence for linking the manuscript with Browne. His inclusion of the Lansdowne 777 material in his edition assumes the authenticity of the manuscript, but does not substantiate it.

Geoffrey Tillotson's careful account of Browne's 'Life and Pastorals' in his B. Litt. thesis does not directly address the authenticity of Lansdowne 777. However, since he describes the prose tract that follows the poems in the Lansdowne manuscript as 'written out by Browne' (p. 45), he presumably thought that the poems as well were in Browne's own hand.¹ As far as I know, the first scholar to call the authority of Lansdowne 777 into question was Edwin Wolf II. In his address before the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 'The Textual Importance of Manuscript Commonplace Books of 1620-1660' (read to the Society on 14 January, 1949), Wolf queried the consensus of Brydges, Hazlitt and Goodwin in using Lansdowne 777 as the basis for editing Browne's shorter poems:

It is a good text in that it is not obviously corrupt, but since Browne died in 1643 and the manuscript is dated 1650, although probably written a few years earlier, his participation in its production may be questioned. That other, and in many cases earlier, manuscript versions exist was recognized by both Hazlitt and Goodwin, but while they record some of the variants they do not suggest that any one is to be preferred to the Lansdowne text. Here but a single manuscript of unknown antecedents has been accepted in the face of dozens of other versions of many of the poems, and the potential value of the latter is clear.

(p. 10)²

Wolf is more certain of the date of Browne's death than any of Browne's biographers have cared to be; and it is irritating that he does not cite his evidence for supposing that the Lansdowne manuscript may have been written before 1650. Also, while Hazlitt and Goodwin certainly refer to other manuscript versions of Browne's poetry, it is less clear that they knew that some of these may predate Lansdowne 777. Nonetheless, Wolf's general argument is compelling. Despite their silences on the subject, it seems likely that Browne's nineteenth-century editors believed the poet himself to be responsible, probably directly, for the text of Lansdowne 777. The discrepancy of dates, however, means that this is unlikely to be the case. Wolf's point is not that the posthumous production of Lansdowne 777 renders it invalid as an authority for Browne's shorter poetry. Such a criterion, if applied to print, would rule large portions of the Shakespeare First Folio, and Herbert's *The Temple* - to take only two near-contemporary examples - out of the canon. His objection is more

specifically to the methodological dishonesty of uncritically accepting Lansdowne 777 as the basis for a modern edition of Browne's shorter poetry, when historical evidence has cast serious doubt on the factor which the first editors of the manuscript presumably took to guarantee his authenticity - Browne's own hand. It is not that the Lansdowne 777 text is indefensible, but that the claims which have been made for it require further investigation.

As the title of his lecture indicates, Wolf's plea for other miscellany copies to be taken into account in editing Browne's shorter poetry forms part of a broader appeal to editors and other scholars of seventeenth-century poetry to take the evidence of manuscript poetry more seriously. Fifty years later, the extensive (though still not exhaustive) catalogue of early witnesses to Browne's poetry in the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* has made the task of locating and comparing these manuscript texts much more straightforward than Wolf would have envisaged, while also disclosing a quantity of relevant material substantially greater than even he can have expected. The responsibility of an editor to perform the comparison urged by Wolf should need no further argument. However, Wolf's brief remarks on Browne provide no more than the beginnings of a methodology for establishing a text of Browne's poetry. At the outset, it is essential to note that such a comparison, to be effective, needs to take more than numbers into account. Wolf's comments might easily be misinterpreted to imply that an earlier witness should always be preferred over a later, or that the most popular version of any disputed reading should always be accepted. Wolf himself recognizes elsewhere that there is 'no inherent importance' in the dates when the various manuscript copies of a poem were transcribed, 'since a copy made twenty years after the composition of the poem may have been taken from the author's original, whereas a copy made only a few months after may be removed from it by several steps of transmission'.³ Also, as Lee Patterson points out, a discriminating comparison between manuscript sources should rely not on 'mere frequency of attestation', but should rather seek to achieve 'the inclusion within the editorial process of the full body of documentary evidence. This evidence includes the fact and frequency of attestation, but it also includes the nature of the manuscripts in which a specific reading appears, their date, condition, and relation to other manuscripts'.⁴ That is, the editorial task should take into account not only the verbal variants of different manuscripts, but all the available internal and external information about their composition, transmission and general reliability.

Patterson's argument - which looks so obvious when spelt out - is relevant to Browne not only in warning against a naïve interpretation of Wolf's call for comparative analysis, but also in drawing attention to the paradoxical neglect by Browne's nineteenth-century editors of the one manuscript of his poetry which they acknowledge as an authoritative source. Brydges, the one editor to produce what is effectively an edition of Lansdowne 777, scarcely mentions the manuscript itself. Hazlitt and Goodwin, both of whom were editing the 'Whole Works' of Browne, both treat the manuscript as a resource to be quarried. Each includes his transcriptions from Lansdowne 777 in a section entitled 'Miscellaneous Poems from Lansdowne MS 777 and other sources'.⁵ Each, moreover, asserts his privilege as editor to disregard the order of Lansdowne 777, and re-organize the poems into genre-groups: 'Love Poems', 'Odes, songs and sonnets', epistles, elegies etc. (the categories are almost identical in the two editions). Hazlitt boasts that he has restored the original order of the commendatory verses to *Britannias Pastorals* (which Davies' edition of 1772 had altered), and draws attention to his own orthographical fidelity in transcribing Lansdowne 777 (especially in comparison with Brydges), but does not even signal his rearrangement of the manuscript poems. Goodwin is inconsistent in his treatment of lines which are reproduced in both Lansdowne 777 and the manuscript of *Britannias Pastorals* Book III - though this may result not so much from uncertainty over his editorial principles as a failure to notice some of the duplications.⁶ Neither, as I have pointed out, gives much information about the manuscript itself. It is almost unavoidable - and unsurprising - to infer that for both Hazlitt and Goodwin (if not for Brydges) Browne was primarily the poet of *Britannias Pastorals*, with concessionary attention to *The Shepherds Pipe*, *The Inner Temple Masque* and the Prince Henry elegy: the printed - or at least the public - poetry.⁷ The Lansdowne 777 material was a scarcely differentiated ingredient in a distinctly minor, 'Miscellaneous', category. Neither they nor Brydges seem to have had any conception of the Lansdowne manuscript as a collection of poetry. Indeed, there is no indication in either Brydges or Goodwin, and little in Hazlitt, of any attempt to consider what sort of manuscript they were dealing with.

Questions of authority, of course, as I have mentioned, are not unique to manuscript poetry. To begin to determine the authority of Lansdowne 777, it is instructive to consider, by analogy, the editorial histories of two other contemporary poets, each of whom left the bulk of his poetic works unprinted at his death. Herbert's *Temple* and Donne's *Poems* were both first printed

posthumously in 1633, but the textual history of *The Temple* has been quiet and uncontroversial in comparison with the scholarly industry of editing the still-disputed corpus of Donne's poetry. No doubt one explanation may be that generations of readers have, in general, found Herbert less interesting and less worthy of comment than Donne; but textually, the main reasons are that Herbert, unlike Donne, collected his own poetry, and that its publication was overseen, after the poet's death, by one of his most trusted friends.⁸ By implication, then, the textual credibility of a posthumously-published work depends to a great extent on what is known about the circumstances in which it was first edited and published. Again, this sounds like - and is - an obvious point; but it has not always been extended from print to manuscript, where the absence of the authenticating magic which the poet's hand alone can provide has often been perceived as problematic. Such an absolute distinction between print and manuscript is surely untenable. Harold Love's theory of scribal publication provides an apposite conceptual framework for applying criteria of credibility to posthumous collections of manuscript poetry at least similar to those which are currently applied to print. This does not simply mean that a plausible line of transmission between holograph and extant witness goes a long way towards authenticating the scribally published text. The word 'publication', realistically understood, should also warn against any chimerical notion that either print or manuscript is likely to furnish a 'pure' text of a poem, uncontaminated by the process of transmission. In addition, reinterpreting the production of a manuscript as (at least potentially) a form of publication, draws attention once again to the imperative to know as much as possible about the manuscript text itself.

In evaluating the claims of Lansdowne 777, the continuing lack of external evidence as to the provenance of the volume is a disadvantage. The internal evidence, however, is suggestive. Peter Beal, in the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, provides a succinct, demythologized summary of what is now known about Lansdowne 777:

One other MS source is of special importance. It is a collection of Browne's miscellaneous poems, now in the British Library (part of Lansdowne 777) ... Folios 1-62v. of this volume are occupied by poems in a scribal hand, concluding with the phrase 'ffinis W Browne' and with a title page inscribed - possibly at a later date - 'Poems by W^m. Browne - of the Inner-Temple Gent. 1650'.

Folios 63-82, written by the same scribe, are filled with poems by other authors and by a copy of Owen Felltham's *Three Months Observations of the Low Countries*; the rest of the volume, in its present form, contains a series of quite independent and unrelated MSS bound up together. There is no evidence that the relevant part of this volume ever belonged to Browne himself, but it is possible that it was transcribed (perhaps by or for someone associated with one of the Inns of Court) from Browne's own collection of his unpublished verse at some time between 1637 (the date of BrW 97) and 1650, the date on the title page.

(Beal I, 1, p. 115)

Lansdowne 777 is nowadays, as Beal indicates, a composite volume. Folios 1-82, all in the same secretary hand, have been bound together with a number of unrelated verse- and prose-manuscripts. The present binding of the volume, the standard British Museum blue-covers, dates only from 1969; however, the compilation of manuscripts within the volume was probably the work of Lansdowne himself.⁹ Furthermore, however, folios 1-82 are themselves, in a sense, a composite text. The manuscript consists not of gatherings stitched together, but of individual folios (each approximately 191 mm in height x 145 mm in width) which have each been pasted on to a central binding - i.e. the leaves have been mounted as in a guard-book - to form a single collection. Though it is not clear whether this binding is contemporaneous with transcription, a system of catchwords in a hand and ink indistinguishable from the transcription of the poetry itself indicates that this ordering of the folios was probably established at an early stage. However, the shabby condition of some of the folios also invites speculation that they may have enjoyed an independent life before being finally bound into the collection.¹⁰

The failure of Brydges, Hazlitt and Goodwin to account for the connection between Lansdowne 777 and William Browne did not result from lack of evidence. On the contrary, several explicit references ascribe the texts of Lansdowne 777 to William Browne. The first such reference appears on folio 1: the 'title-page' mentioned so elliptically by Hazlitt. As he notes, only Browne himself is cited as the author of the ensuing poems:

Poems by
W^m Browne

of the Inner-Temple

Gent.

Beneath an ornamental swirl is a date, 1650. 'Poems by W^m Browne' appears to be in the same hand as the subsequent transcription of the poems, though 'of the Inner-Temple Gent.' may be in different writing.¹¹ The page is untidy and the handwriting ragged. However, despite the imperfect execution, the arrangement of this title-page and the layout of the rest of the volume imply certain aspirations. The mere provision of a title-page raises the possibility that the compiler of the text may have expected to make his manuscript available to others, though perhaps within a restricted circle of readers. The conspicuous, privileged reference to Browne's membership of the Inner Temple has the implication, as later when quoted by Brydges, of offering to guarantee the status of the poet, and by extension the importance of his poetry. The authorship of the poetry, thus declared, is also signalled by several individual poems later in the volume. *Lidford Journey* (f. 7), the epistle on the papists' bells (f. 21v.), *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia* (f. 35v.) and *In Obitum MS* (f. 59) are all subscribed 'WB'; *An Epitaph on him* (f. 58v.) is attributed to 'W Browne' and *My owne Epitaph* (f. 61v.) to 'W^m Browne 1614'. As Beal mentions, the last poem of the sequence, *On a Twin*, is followed by the words 'finis W Browne' (f. 62v.). The subscription to the epistle 'Hasten, o hasten' (f. 24) again associates the poet directly with the Inns of Court:

Careles of all others loue
without your respect.

From an Inner Temple WB
then y^e Inner Temple
May the third 1615

This emphasis within the document on Browne's membership of the Inner Temple lends support to Beal's speculation that the compiler of the manuscript may himself have been a member of one of the Inns. This supposition is consistent not only with the biographical fact of Browne's legal education, but also with what is known about the transcriptional life of his manuscript poetry. Mary Hobbs considers Lansdowne 777 to be one of the most significant

documents in the legal tradition of manuscript circulation, probably the means by which elegies on the Herbert family gained currency within legal circles.¹² At least 9 of the extant manuscript miscellanies including poetry by Browne (Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 206, British Library Add. MSS 21433 and 25303, Harley MS 3910 and Sloane 1446, Folger MS V. a. 262, Harvard MS Eng. 686, Rosenbach Foundation MSS 1083/16 and 1083/17) are known to have circulated within the Inns of Court. Moreover, at least some of the copies of Browne's poetry in these miscellanies are strikingly close to the Lansdowne 777 texts. Sloane MS 1446 has more poems in common with Lansdowne 777 than has any other manuscript: a sequence of 6 epitaphs on ff. 64v.-66 ('On Mr Deane of New Colledge', 'On one born blinde', 'On Mr Vaux the Phisican', 'On Mrs Anne Prideaux', 'On an Infant Unborn', 'On One Drowned in the Snowe' and 'An Epitaph on Mr John Smyth'). Several are textually identical to the versions in Lansdowne 777. 'On Mr Deane of New Colledge' differs only in the omission of 'John' in the title. 'On one born blinde' has only the slight variation of 'and so died' in the title, instead of the 'dead' of Lansdowne 777; and the 'one' of the title, which agrees with the Lansdowne reading, has been corrected from 'two'. Similarly, in 'On Mr Vaux the Phisician', the original transcription of 'their Graue' in line 6 has been corrected to 'the Graue', like Lansdowne 777. The Sloane 1446 text of 'On Mrs Anne Prideaux' is the only version apart from Lansdowne to record Dr Prideaux's professorship, and to mention the names of both child and father. Its text of 'On an Infant Unborn' is one of only 5 miscellany versions which do not add an extra couplet between lines 24-25; it differs in only one word from the Lansdowne 777 version ('in' for 'on' in line 14); 'cutt' (the Lansdowne reading) in line 12 has been corrected from 'write'; and lines 26b-28, as in Lansdowne 777, are italicised. The Harley MS 3910 copy of 'Lidford Iourney' - a long and complicated text, which in most versions varies significantly from Lansdowne 777 - differs from the Lansdowne manuscript by only six words. Such textual similarities lend plausibility to the conception of Lansdowne 777 as being, to some extent, 'published' within the context of the Inns.

Lansdowne 777 has a unique status as an anthology of Browne's poetry. I believe it can also be shown that its readings are, in most if not all cases, logically though not necessarily chronologically prior to the other seventeenth-century witnesses. Moreover, the evidence of the document itself is that it is not merely a random collection of poems, but a compilation which has at least in part been carefully planned and systematically ordered. The provision of the title-

page is only the most obvious indication that the arrangement and presentation of the text is editorial. It is also relevant to recall that, although the date of the compilation is still in dispute, it is unquestionably late. The 1650 of the title-page is unreliable by itself, but on the evidence of the epitaph 'On Goodman Hurst', the manuscript could not have been produced before 1637, the date claimed for Hurst's death. The years 1637-1650 witnessed a revival in the popularity of single-author collections of lyric verse, which had been out of favour in the Jacobean and early Caroline periods, with print-publications including the *Poems* of Randolph (1638), Carew (1640) and Milton (1645), Jonson's *Underwood* (1640), Corbett's *Certain Elegant Poems* (1647), Herrick's *Hesperides* (1648) and Lovelace's *Lucasta* (1649).¹³ Lansdowne 777 is a manuscript equivalent to these collections - in aspiration at least, though the unsatisfactory execution of the text does much to obscure the resemblance.

Editorial negligence of the physical texture of Lansdowne 777 has done Browne a disservice. The failure of Brydges, Hazlitt and Goodwin to reproduce the order of the manuscript disguises its integrity as a collection.¹⁴ Their treatment of the textual peculiarities of individual poems is also inconsistent and inadequate. Neither Brydges nor Goodwin remarks on any oddity in the transcription of 'Behold ô God', the second poem in the document, and although Hazlitt faithfully reproduces the unusual capitalization of the Lansdowne 777 copy he neither indicates the patterning of the original nor even concedes that the intrusive capitals may deserve an explanation.¹⁵ The manuscript's occasional use of italics and emboldening is never reproduced by Goodwin and rarely by Brydges or Hazlitt.

While not every poem in Lansdowne 777 can be rationalized according to an organizational master-plan, evidence of ordering persists throughout the volume. The clearest indication that the *Poems by W^m Browne* are a planned sequence is the first poem, the ode 'Awake, faire Muse'. It opens the collection with an invocation of the Muses and a declaration of the author's poetic creed: the pre-eminence of poets and poetry, and the immortality which poetry alone can accord. Precedents for beginning a lyric collection with an ode include Drayton, whom Browne hails in 'Awake, faire Muse' as one of his poetic role-models and who similarly begins his *Poemes lyrick and pastoral* with the *Ode to Himself and the Harpe*, the commencement of Randolph's posthumous *Poems*

with *On the Inestimable Content he inioyes in the Muses*, and arguably the poetic self-consciousness of Milton's ode *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, the first poem in his 1645 volume.¹⁶ Milton's nativity ode is followed by a sequence of sacred poems: Browne's ode is followed by 'Behold ô God INRIvers of my teares', his one devotional poem. The series of poems 'Not long agone a youthfull swaine' (poem 9) to 'Ye merry birds' (18) forms a sequence on love, with the sonnets to Caelia (19) continuing the theme. A reading of these poems as a sequence is confirmed by the physical disposition of the verses on the page. For each of the first 8 poems in the manuscript ('Awake, faire Muse' to 'One a faire Ladyes yellow haire') the scribe has taken a new page for a new poem. Poems 9-18 are transcribed in a continuous sequence, without gaps. Moreover, although the scribe's practice elsewhere in the manuscript is invariably to provide a catchword only when he is continuing the same poem on the subsequent page i.e. if the end of the poem is coterminous with the end of a page, either recto or verso, there is no catchword - the catchword 'Shall I', for 'Shall I loue againe' (11) is given at the end of 'Loue who will, for I'le loue none' (10), as if these lyrics are being treated as continuous, not separable. Within the love sequence, moreover, some more local connections can be detected. 'Not long agone a youthfull swaine' (9), a poem on male infidelity, is followed by 'Loue who will' (10), which mocks female inconstancy. The possibility of loving again, despite the faithlessness of women, is considered in both 'Loue who will' and 'Shall I loue againe', the latter concluding with the comforting thought that poetry is better than love. The epistle 'Deare soule, the time is come & we must part' (16) which mourns the prospect of the poet's separation from his mistress, is followed by 'Wellcome, wellcome doe I sing' (17), which declares 'He that parteth from you, neuer / Shall enjoy a spring for euer' (lines 11-12). In contrast with the association of the joys of love and spring-time in 'Wellcome, wellcome', in the subsequent poem, 'Ye merry birds' (18), the poet signals his disappointment in love with his reluctance to hear the birds 'court the Spring' with their 'inticing harmonye' (lines 3-4). The sonnets to Caelia (19) continue the preoccupation with love, and are immediately followed by Browne's only other sonnet sequence, the *Visions* (20). *A Sigh from Oxford* (27), which begins 'Goe, and if thou chance to finde / That is southwards bent) a wynde', is immediately followed by *An Epistle throwne into a Riuer in a ball of Wax*, which begins 'Goe gentle paper, happy (happier farre / Then he that sends thee) with this character' (lines 1-2). After this *Epistle thrown into a Riuer* (28), which laments a 'Faire but faithles Maiden', comes *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia*, in which Fidelia (unjustly, we are assured) suspects the poet of inconstancy. The

transition into the collocation of elegies and epitaphs at the back of the volume is preceded by Browne's translation from Janus Vitalis, *One Rome as it is Nowe* (31), which meditates on the transience of worldly things. The final poem in the collection, *On a Twin* (69) rather disappointingly, has no strong sense of conclusion, and it is tempting, though unwarranted by the manuscript itself, to read it as an afterthought. Discounting it, the collection ends with 'Like to a Silkworme of one yeare' (66), another meditation on the transience of all things in Nature, followed by epitaphs on Browne himself and his wife.¹⁷

Other textual features in the manuscript are worth attention. Side-notes are provided in the epistle on the papists' bells (21) to gloss obscure vocabulary, and in the *Epiced on Mr Fishbourne* (31) to provide extra information about Fishbourne and his partner. The distribution of capitalized and emboldened letters in the devotional poem, 'Behold ô God' (2) to spell out, in cross-shaped patterns, the dying words of Christ and the two thieves is fully described in Appendix 1. The words 'Rose & Thistle' (line 83) and 'Childes-Whistle' (line 96) in *Lidford Journey* (5), 'Dedalus' (line 27) in 'Loue! when I mett her first' (7), the names 'Palmes' (line 1) and 'De Profundis' (line 8) in the epistle on the papists' bells (21), 'Innocence' (line 76) in *On a dreame*, 'Canace' (line 1) in the epitaph 'Faire *Canace*' (35) are all enlarged and/or italicised. In 'Loue! when I mett her first', lines above and beneath the first stanza and a pattern of italicisation draw attention to the repetition of each line of stanza 1 as the last lines of the subsequent stanzas. There are further signs of attention to the arrangement of text on the page, especially nearer the beginning of the volume. The 8 stanzas of the opening ode are transcribed on f. 2 r-v., 4 stanzas on each side, neatly spaced and numbered. In both sonnet sequences two sonnets are apportioned to each page, with spaces left for the missing sonnets 2 and 8 in the *Visions* sequence. The title of the epistle on the papists' bells, inexplicably, has been aligned to the right margin. Immediately above the title of *One a faire Ladyes yellow haire powdred with white*, on f. 9, the word 'One' has been cancelled: presumably the scribe had temporarily forgotten that he wanted a deeper top margin. In the elegy 'Is Death so great a Gamester', the catchword on f. 50, 'And I', following line 71, 'Would draw me soone to thinke her words were thine', is dispersed across the page, with 'And' at the left margin, and 'I' in the usual catchword position on the right, as if the scribe had been about to start a new line, but had corrected himself after 'And', in order to ensure a margin of a certain depth. Comparably, in the elegy on Thomas Ayleworth (poem 55), on f.

57v., the catchword 'And thinke' (for line 47, 'And thinke noe flood should euer drowne an Eye') is justified to the left margin.

As these corrections indicate, in contrast to the evidence of editorial care in the preparation of Lansdowne 777, the transcription itself is often disappointingly lax. There are numerous cancellations. The patterning of the acrostic texts in 'Behold ô God' is so messy and sometimes so obscure that it looks in places as though it had been imposed as an afterthought. However, the provision of tiny filler strokes to close the gaps between columns - sometimes even between the letters of a word - shows that the shaping of the acrostics must have been pre-planned. The directions in *A Rounde* (poem 4) are inadequate. At least one stanza has been omitted in 'Yet one dayes rest for all my cries'. In 'Wellcome wellcome doe I sing', line 11, 'He that parteth from you, neuer', has originally been omitted and later squeezed in between lines 10 and 12. A line is missing in the sonnets to Caelia (6.7). In sonnet 4 of the *Visions* sequence, the scribe has originally written 'Flew towards the' (the beginning of line 6) in place of line 8, then cancelled it and substituted underneath 'She from her make flung speedye through the wood', the correct (rhyming) reading of line 8. Line 11 of the same sonnet has been omitted at first, and subsequently inserted in tiny writing between lines 10 and 12. Folio 20v., inexplicably, has been left blank but for an ornamental swirl, thus inserting a gap between lines 40-41 of the epistle on the papists' bells: '(Although my popish hostesse hath with fish / Fed me three dayes)'. Lines 40-41, notwithstanding the gap, are faultlessly continuous: the scribe has even closed the parentheses.¹⁸ *In urbem Romam qualis est hodie* has been inserted on f. 33 v. between lines 130-131 of *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia*.¹⁹ In the elegy on Thomas Ayleworth, line 57 ('To touch this paper, May it rose-like wither!'), is followed by the opening of line 59 ('Let him not read it!'), cancelled, and then by lines 58-59 in the correct order. Moreover, as I describe below in my textual introduction to Lansdowne 777, the punctuation of the document is inconsistent, and often misleading.

These transcriptional errors suggest that Lansdowne 777 is a fair but not a good copy. It may have been a public text, but it was not a presentation text.²⁰ The scribe, though reasonably competent, was unprofessional. Could the scribe have been Browne himself? It is true that, as Beal says, there is no evidence to link the manuscript directly with him, but there is also no conclusive evidence to disqualify him from its preparation, and it might seem advisable to invoke the principle of Occam's razor. However, though it is impossible to be categorical

on the issue, the errors made by the Lansdowne 777 scribe look more like the mistakes of a copyist than of the poet himself. The false starts and omissions of whole lines tend to suggest that the transcription was somewhat mechanical. The omission of whole stanzas, difficult to account for in any case, becomes harder to explain if Browne himself is thought to have been responsible. One of only a few errors which show the scribe thinking about his text - 'open', subsequently cancelled and replaced by 'search' in line 16 of the epigram 'It hapned lately at a Faire or Wake' - would have been incorrect metrically, and Browne's metre is typically exact. It is more plausible, concurring with Beal, to attribute Lansdowne 777 to a scribe.

Beal's other hypothesis, that Lansdowne 777 may have been copied from Browne's own collection of his unpublished verse, is also plausible, albeit with qualifications. The additional poems transcribed on ff. 63-73v. tend to corroborate this explanation. In order of transcription, they are:²¹

1. *To his Mistresse*: 'Wrong not sweet Empresse of my soule', Sir Wa: Raleigh (f. 63 r-v.).²²
2. *Sir W: Raleigh de seipse*: 'Euen such is time that takes in trust' (f. 64).²³
3. *On Sir Wa: Raleighs Death*: 'Great heart who taught thee so to dye' (f. 64).²⁴
4. *To a Favorite*: 'Dazeled with the height of place', Sir Henry Wotton (f. 64v.).²⁵
5. *On a Priuate Life*: 'How happy is he borne & taught', Sir Henry Wotton (f. 65).²⁶
6. *Vpon the Death of Sir Walter Raleigh beheaded 1619*: 'I will not weepe, for 'twere as great a sin', Dr H: King (ff. 65v.-66).²⁷
7. *Vpon Prince Henry*: 'Loe where he shineth yonder', Hugh Holland (f. 66).²⁸
8. *On Mr Stone*: 'Ieruselems curse shall neuer light on mee', Anonymous (f. 66).²⁹
9. *Throgmortons verses a little before he was executed*: 'My prime of youth is but a frost of tares' (f. 66v.). [Actually by Chidiock Tichborne, executed for conspiracy with Babington in 1587]³⁰
10. *Sir Henry Ley kept Mistris Vavasour and causd his Tombe to be made dureing his life, he lyeing and she kneeling by him. One coming into the Church suddainely wrote this*: 'Heere lyes the good old knight Sir Harry' (f. 67).³¹
11. *On Mr Fr: Beaumonts Death*: 'He that had youth & Friends & so much wit', Anonymous (f. 67). [Richard Corbett]³²

12. On Mr W^m Shakespeare: He dyed in April 1616: 'Renowned Spencer, lye a thought more nye', W^m Basse (f. 67v.).
 13. *An Excuse of absence*: 'You'le aske perhaps wherefore I staye', Anonymous (f. 68). [Thomas Carew]³³
 14. *A Melancholly Fancy*: 'Canst lead me to a plot of Ground', Dr Sineroes (f. 68).
 15. *Song*: 'Keepe on your maske & hyde your Eye', W^m Str. (f. 68v.). [William Strode]³⁴
 16. *Extemporary lines on a pinte pott*: 'Old Poets Hypocrene admire', Anonymous (f. 69 r-v).³⁵
 17. *Vpon an Vntimely Death*: 'As carefull Mothers in their Beds doe lay' (f. 70). [Sir John Davies?]³⁶
 18. *On Mans Life*: 'What is mans life? A playe of passion', Anonymous (f. 70). [Walter Raleigh]³⁷
 19. *On a Sonne of Mr Dr Prideaux an Epitaph by Mr George Morley of Ch: Ch:* 'Heere lyes his parents hopes & feares', GM (f. 70v).
 20. *On a blacke Gentlewoman*: 'If Shadowes be a pictures Excellence', WP (f. 71 r-v). [Walton Poole]³⁸
 21. *A Black-more woman in loue with a faire yong Boye*: 'Why louely boye why fly'st thou mee', W^m Reynolds (f. 72).³⁹
 22. *On a faire woman that sung Excellently*: 'Be silent ye still musicke of the Spheres', Anonymous (f. 72v.). [William Strode]⁴⁰
 23. 'Soules ioye, when I am gone', E. of Pembroke (f. 73 r-v). [William Herbert]
- ff. 74-82. *3 moneths obseruations of the low Countryes Especially Holland.*
[Owen Felltham]

Several points should be made about this extra material. 'Even such is time', 'As careful mothers', 'What is mans [or 'our'] life' and 'If shadows be' appear in David Redding's list of the most popular miscellany poems, and Hobbs adds Reynolds's 'Why louely boye [or 'Fair boy alas'] why fliest thou mee'.⁴¹ Marotti also mentions the currency of Wotton's 'The Character of a Happy Life' (*On a Private Life*), and describes Tichborne's prison poem as 'quite popular in the system of manuscript transcription', even though it was printed as early as 1586.⁴² The danger of over-interpreting the evidence is obvious, but it is scarcely straining credibility to see several of these additional poems as probably congenial to Browne. Wotton's 'How happy is he borne and taught' expresses almost the same sentiments as Browne's paraphrase of the 'Happy man'

tradition, *The happy Life* (Lansdowne 777, poem 3).⁴³ Marotti argues that the popularity of Raleigh's *contemptus mundi* poems ('Euen such is time', 'What is our life?') was due as much to the notoriety of Raleigh's imprisonment and execution, and the opportunity the poems afforded for covert criticism of the Stuart government which had condemned him, as to endorsement of their philosophical principles.⁴⁴ Browne's sympathy for Raleigh is clear, and courageously expressed, in *Britannias Pastorals* I.4. Wotton's satire on the fall of a favourite has much in common with Browne's own comments on favourites in *Britannias Pastorals* II.1.825-884, the ode 'Awake, faire Muse' and the last two *Vision* sonnets.⁴⁵ Hugh Holland's epitaph on Prince Henry might have appealed to a poet who had himself written an elegy on the prince. With reference to the inclusion of the elegy on Francis Beaumont (by Corbett, but unattributed), it may be relevant to recall Drayton's association of 'the two *Beaumonts* and my *Browne* ... / My dear companions' in his epistle to Henry Reynolds; and the known connection between Drayton and Reynolds may begin to account for the presence in the manuscript of Reynolds's poem *A Black-more woman in loue with a faire yong Boye* without its usual companion piece, Henry King's *The Boy's Reply*. Similarly, the detailed information in the title of George Morley's epitaph for Prideaux's son could be explained either by Browne's known acquaintance with Prideaux, or by the possible acquaintance of Browne and Morley through Robert Dormer.⁴⁶ Joan Grundy's detection of Shakespearean echoes in Browne's poetry might explain the inclusion of Basse's elegy on Shakespeare.⁴⁷ The commendation of sack in *Extemporary lines on a pinte pott* is comparable to Browne's praise of 'the Sherry / that makes vs so merry' in the round 'Now that the Spring hath fill'd our veynes' (lines 19-20); and the epigrammatic epitaph on the death of a child, 'As carefull Mothers in their Beds doe lay', is similar in subject to Browne's epitaphs on Fair Canace, Anne Prideaux and the unnamed twin, and in voice to his epitaphs on John Prowde and himself.⁴⁸ The attribution of 'Soules ioye, when I am gone' to the Earl of Pembroke - presumably William Herbert, the third earl - is also worthy of notice. For a long time this poem was believed to be by Donne, but modern editors agree with Lansdowne 777 in ascribing it to Pembroke. Lansdowne 777's correct attribution may have resulted from Browne's privileged access to Pembroke's work.

The miscellaneous poems in Lansdowne 777 are both compatible with what is known of Browne's life and interests, and consistent with what can be inferred about his participation in the system of manuscript circulation. Poems

such as *A Sigh from Oxford*, perhaps *An Epitaph on Mrs EL: Y* and certainly ‘Like to a Silkeworme of one yeare’ provide persuasive indications that Browne was familiar with the popular lyrics of the manuscript miscellanies.⁴⁹ His own poems circulated widely in manuscript. However, external evidence for his own direct participation in manuscript circulation is lacking, and the internal evidence of the miscellany texts indicates only two means by which Browne’s verse may have entered the system of manuscript transmission: through the Inns of Court, and (possibly) through the few early printed texts.⁵⁰ His verse was known in Oxford, and appears regularly in Christ Church manuscripts, but (as I describe below) these copies seem to be at a further remove from the authorial holograph than Lansdowne 777 and many of the other Inns texts. The failure of Lansdowne 777 to attribute the elegy on Francis Beaumont to Corbett and ‘Be silent ye still musicke of the Spheres’ to Strode (though it does attribute ‘Keepe on your maske & hyde your Eye’ correctly to ‘W^m Str’) would tend to imply that its compiler lacked first-hand knowledge of Oxford manuscript poetry. The comparative chastity of these extra poems is also remarkable. Browne, who wrote in *Britannias Pastorals* that ‘My maiden-Muse flies the lascivious swains, / And scorns to soil her lines with lustful strains’ (l.2.803-804), seems to have observed a similar restraint in his manuscript poetry (with the mild exception of poem 10, ‘Loue who will’). But for the risqué epitaph on Henry Lee, the additional poems in Lansdowne 777 are also largely innocent of the obscenity which, as Hobbs and (especially) Marotti both emphasize, is typical of early seventeenth-century manuscript poetry. Even the notoriously ribald Carew is represented only by one of his most modest poems, *An Excuse of Absence* (unattributed).⁵¹ The continence of these additional poems implies a compiler whose poetic preferences were strikingly similar to Browne’s own.

The indications that Browne himself compiled the poetic collection transcribed in Lansdowne 777 are circumstantial but coherent. The connection between some of the poets of the appended material, such as Wotton, and the Inns of Court is not enough to link them to Browne, since presumably the Lansdowne 777 scribe would have had Inns connections as well. One could, however, argue a plausible link between Browne and Wotton, via Browne’s friend Christopher Brooke, and John Donne, who dedicated poems to both Brooke and Wotton. On the other hand, it seems less likely that Browne, who is not known to have had any particular interest in Holland, was responsible for the inclusion in the volume of Felltham’s *3 moneths obseruations of the low Countryes*, though since the L777 text of the *Obseruations* does not derive from

any of the printed editions, but presumably from manuscript, the possibility that Browne may have seen an early manuscript copy cannot be excluded.⁵² As far as the verse is concerned, Browne's ultimate responsibility for associating the poems by Raleigh, Wotton etc. with his own poetry cannot be proved but is certainly credible. As Beal remarks, with reference to the *Epitaph on Mrs El: Y* (which he describes as 'a poem by Ben Jonson'), 'it was not unusual for poets in this period occasionally to copy verses by others in their personal compilations'.⁵³ Hobbs also notes that several printed collections, including Carew's *Poems* (1640) and Jonson's *Underwoods* (1640), mistakenly printed lyrics by other authors as the work of the titular poet.⁵⁴ Even more telling, however, is the *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651), the literary remains of Sir Henry Wotton, edited by Izaak Walton, which, after printing Sir Henry's own poems, includes a section entitled 'POEMS Found among the Papers of S. H. Wotton'. These poems, like the extra lyrics of Lansdowne 777, are all attributed, either to a named author, or, in four cases, to 'Ignoto', and clearly distinguished from Wotton's own work.⁵⁵ A comparable explanation for the poems of Lansdowne 777 ff. 63-73 is at least tenable.

(iv) Other Manuscripts

Of the 68 English poems attributed to Browne in Lansdowne 777, 41 are extant only in this manuscript.¹ Those 27 poems which survive in multiple seventeenth-century copies are listed below.

<u>Lansdowne 777</u>	<u>BrW²</u>	<u>Other texts</u>
1. An Ode: 'Awake, faire Muse, for I intend'.	70	1 MS
2. 'Behold ô God, INRIvers of my teares'.	3	4 MSS and 3 later texts ³
4. A Rounde: 'Now that the Spring hath fill'd our veynes'.	238	1 MS
5. Lidford Journey.	62	6 MSS (including Westcote's <i>View of Devonshire</i> , 1630) and two printed texts (<i>Sportive Wit</i> , 1656, and <i>Prince's Worthies of Devon</i> , 1701)
7. 'Love! when I mett her first whose slaue I am'.	21	1 MS (<i>Britannias Pastorals</i> III)
8. One a faire Ladyes yellow haire.	72	1 MS
14. 'Yet one dayes rest, for all my cryes'.	20	1 MS (<i>Britannias Pastorals</i> III)
15. 'Poore silly foole! thou striv'st in vaine to knowe'.	234	3 MSS
18. 'Ye merry birds, leaue of to sing'.	251	1 MS
19. Caelia: Sonnets.	23	1 MS ⁴
22. 'Caelia is gone and now sit I'.	18	2? MSS (<i>Britannias Pastorals</i> III and one untraced MS) ⁵
26. On a dreame.	19	1 MS (<i>Britannias Pastorals</i> III)
33. A Pastorall Elegie on Mr Thomas Manwood.	242	1 MS (Salisbury) and 1 printed text (<i>Shepherds Pipe</i> eclogue 4)
38. On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke.	180	50 MSS and three printed texts (<i>Camden's Remaines</i> , 1623 and 1629, and <i>Poems by Pembroke and Ruddyerd</i> , 1660)
39. An Elegie on the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke.	36	1 MS

41. On Mr John Deane of New Colledge.	101	1 MS
42. An Elegye: 'Is Death so great a Gamester that he throwes'.	27	6 MSS and one printed text (<i>Le Prince d'Amour</i> , 1660)
43. On Mr Vaux the Phisican.	104	4 MSS
44. On one drown'd in the Snowe.	148	30 other MSS and two printed texts (<i>Wits Recreations</i> , 1640, and <i>Parnassus Biceps</i> , 1656)
45. On one borne blynde and soe dead.	144	3 MSS
46. On an Infant vnborne & the Mother dyeing in Trauell.	77	19 MSS and one printed text (<i>Parnassus Biceps</i> , 1656)
47. An Epitaph on Sir John Prowde.	52	1 MS
49. An Epitaph on Mr John Smyth.	47	3 MSS
51. An Elegye on Sir Thomas Overburye.	35	1 printed text (Thomas Overbury's <i>A Wife</i> , 8th impression, 1616)
63. An Epitaph on Mrs El: Y.	JnB 122	15 MSS of Jonson's 'On Elizabeth, L. H.', and <i>Epigrams</i> text.
64. On Mrs Anne Prideaux.	108	35 MSS and two printed texts (Camden's <i>Remaines</i> , 1636, and <i>Wits Recreations</i> , 1640)
64. 'Like to a Silkworme of one yeare'.	22	1 MS (<i>Britannias Pastorals</i> III)

Four poems predominate: *On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke*, *On one drown'd in the Snowe*, *On an Infant vnborne and the Mother dyeing in Trauell* and *On Mrs Anne Prideaux*. However, the sheer number of copies of these poems and the abundance of the textual variants in them mean that in each of these four cases there is little realistic chance of constructing a stemma to comprehend all surviving witnesses, especially since it is probable that many other early transcriptions of the poems have been lost.⁶ Many other poems survive in too few copies for stemmatic analysis to be appropriate. However, both the satirical poem *Lidford Journey* and the elegy 'Is Death so great a Gamester' fall satisfactorily between these two extremes: both extant in multiple but manageable copies (9 and 7 respectively, counting the Lansdowne 777 texts) and both manifesting numerous textual variations. Although both, unfortunately, are long, each is worth quoting in full. The two poems are similar in length and seem, as far as it is possible to tell from the numbers of extant copies, to have

enjoyed similar levels of popularity, but the respective histories of transmission indicated by their transcriptional variants are remarkably different.⁷

BrW 62 (Lansdowne 777): **Lidford Journey**

BrW 63 (Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 84): Lydford Law [A]

BrW 64 (British Library, Harley MS 3910): Lidford Journey [B]

BrW 65 (British Library, Harley MS 4931): Lydford Journey [C]

BrW 66 (Pierpont Morgan Library, MA 1057): Lydford Law in
Deuon-sherre [D]

[BrW 67, Rosenbach MS 239/27, untitled]

Westcote, *View of Devonshire* (1630): untitled [W]

Sportive Wit (1656): Lydford Law A Song [S]

Prince, *Worthies of Devon* (1701): untitled [P]

I ofte haue heard of Lidford Lawe,

ought A

Oft haue I C

How in the Morne they hang & drawe,

end S

And sitt in iudgment after.

At first I wondred at it much,

5 **But now I find their reason such,**

since CWSP

think B

the ACSP

found C

the matter W

That it deserues no laughter.

As WP

They haue a Castle on a hill,

There stands S

an D

I tooke it for an old Windmill,

some W

The vanes blowne of by Weather.

Van's S

with DS

10 **Then lye therein one night 'tis ghesd,**

To ACDWSP

is D

'Tis better to be ston'd or prest,

'Twere BCDSWP

hang'd AS

and P

Or hang'd, now chuse you whether.

drown'd S

ere you come thither W

God blesse us choose you whether A

Ten men lesse roome within thys caue,

Lines 13-18 omitted S

Then fiue Mice in a Lanthorne haue,

15 **The keepers they are sly ones:**
 too W
If any could devise by Art,
To gett it vpp into a Cart,
'Twere fitt to carry Lyons.

When I beheld it, Lord, thought I!

Lines 19-24 omitted A[S]

20 **What Justice & what Clemency,**
 Oh C
Hath Lidford when I spy all.
 castle's high hall W
They know none there would gladly stay,
 I CD
 I know none gladly there would WP
But rather hang out of the way,
 wold be hangd C
Then tarry for his tryall.
 a DWP

25 **The Prince, a hundred pounds hath sent,**
 Prince Charles W an DSP pound S
 one C
To mend the leades & planchings rent,
 plankings S
 Rooues and Planchions A
Within this liuinge Toombe.
Some fortyfiue pounds more had paide,
 pound B would haue A
The debts of all that shalbe layde,
 there A
 30 **There 'till the day of Doome.**
 Vntil A

One lyes there for a seame of Malt,

peck of Salt DS

Another for three pecks of Salt,
 One other C two AW malt DS

a Peck P

Two Suretyes for a Noble.

Three A

35 **If this be true or else false newes,**
You may goe aske of Mr Crewes,
 Master WS Marginal Note The Steward W
John Vaughan or John Doble.
 Marginal note: Attornies of the Court W

Extra stanza inserted S

Though debts and Debtors are but poor,
The Courts and Causes are the more,
(So many Tynners made)
That Lawyers and Attourneys all,
Which in these Courts doe scolde and brawle
Doe finde it a gainfull trade.

Neere to the men that lye in lurch,

Tore P these SP
these poor men W

There is a Bridge there is a Church,

here P
See a dire bridge, a little W

Seuen Ashes & an Oake,

Fiue S one CDWSP

40 **Three houses standing and ten downe:**

Fiue A
Seuen S

They say the Parson hath a Gowne,

Some AS rector W

But I saw ne're a Cloake.

never AC

Whereby you may consider well,

By this A coniecture C

That plaine Simplicity doth dwell,

45 **At Lidford without brauery.**

For in that town both yong & Graue,

And CDWP the DP place C old D

Doe loue the Naked truth and haue

omitted S to CWP hold D

Doth A

No Cloakes to hide their knauerye.

cloak BDWP

Three extra stanzas inserted W

This town's enclos'd with desert moors,
But where no bear nor lion roars,
And nought can live but hogs:
For, all o'erturn'd by Noah's flood,
Of four-score miles scarce one foot's good,
And hills are wholly bogs.

And near hereto's the Gubbins cave;
A people that no knowledge have

Of law, or God, or men:
Whom Caesar never yet subdued;
Who've lawless liv'd; of manners rude;
All savage in their den.

By whom, - if any pass that way,
He dares not the least time to stay,
For presently they howl;
Upon which signal they do muster
Their naked forces in a cluster,
Led forth by Roger Rowle.

The people all within this Clyme,

Lines 49-54 omitted AC

50 **Are frozen vp all winter time,**

all the S
in the WP

Be sure I doe not faine.

For P

Or drown'd with snow or rain W

And when the Summer is begun,

They lye like Silkwormes in the Sun,

Slow-worms S

And come to lyfe againe.

55 **One told me in King Caesars tyme,**

Lines 55-90 omitted S

They A

'Twas W

I heard that C

The towne was built of Stone & Lyme,

This AW with BC

But Sure the walls were Claye:

are C

For they are fal'ne for ought I see,

And CP

And these W

And since the howses were got free,

are AP

have W

60 **The Towne is Run awaye.**

O Caesar, if thou there didst Raigne,

Lines 61-66 omitted A[S]

Whilst one house stands come there againe,

While CDWP

Come quickly while there is One:
whilst BC
whiles D
If thou but stay a little fitt,
stay but P
dost tarry but a C
 For if thou stay'st one W
 65 **But five yeares more, they may Committ,**
will CWP
thou maist D
The whole Towne into Prison.
to a WP

To See yt thus much griued was I:
[Lines 67-72 omitted S]
The Prouerbe sayes Sorrow is dry,
sayth Sorrows are C
saith sorrows be WP
 And the Prouerbe sayth sorrow's A
So was I at this matter.
the WP
 70 **When by great chance I know not how,**
Where A good luck ADW
At length by C
Now by good luck P
There thither came a Strange Strayde cow,
stray WP
And we had Milke and Water.

Sure I belieue it then did rayne,
Lines 73-78 omitted ACDW[S]P
 75 **A cow or two from Charles his Wayne,**
for none alyue did See,
Such kynde of Creatures there before,
Nor shall from hence for euermore,
Saue Pris'ners, Geese and wee.

To Nyne good Stomacks (with our Whigg)
[Lines 79-84 omitted S]
 80 **At last we got a Tything Pigg,**
without A
length AC roasting P
Thys dyet was our bounds.
And that was iust as if 'twere knowne,
is C and W
it D
this WP
 Which was as good as't had ben A

One pound of Butter had byn throwne,
A CDWP
Amongst a Pack of Hounds.
Among WP

85 **One Glasse** of drinke I gott by Chance,
[Lines 85-90 omitted S]
draught C

Twas Clarett when yt was in **France**,
wyne when twas in A

But now from that nought wyder.
it much AWP
it CD

I thinke a man might make as good,
know A

With Green Crabs boylde with **Brasilwood**,
in AW
and P

90 **And halfe a pynte of Syder.**

I kist the Mayors hand of the Towne,
Who though he weare no Scarlett Gowne,
wears CWP

honors the *Rose & Thistle*.

He honors A

Yet honors S

A piece of Corrall to the **Mace**,
in S their A

95 **Which there** I Saw to Serue the place,
in WP

they haue the towne to grace A

Would make a good *Childe-Whistle*.

'Twould S

At Six a **Clock I** came away,
o'th' S went A

And prayde for those that were to **Stay**,
vow'd I would no longer S

Within a place so Arrant.

100 **Wilde** and ope to **windes** that **Rore**,

Wide A the C did C

Both wide S

Wide and ope the winds so WP

By Gods Grace I'le come there no more

then surely C

Vnlesse by **Some** **Tin Warrant**.

a CD

'Till forc'd by a W

WB.

BrW 27 (Lansdowne 777): **An Elegye**

BrW 28 (MS Don. e. 6): Dr Donnes Elegy on his Wives Death [A]

BrW 29 (MS Eng. poet. e. 14): Dr Dun vpon the death of a Gentlewoman [B]

BrW 30 (MS Malone 21): On the death of his Mistres [C]

BrW 31 (British Library Harley MS 6057): On the death of his Mistres [D]

BrW 32 (Folger, MS V. a. 345): Dr Dunne one the death of his Mistress [E]

BrW 33 (Victoria and Albert MS): Elegia [F]

Le Prince d'Amour: An Elegy written by a Gent, upon the death of his Mistris [P]

Is Death so great a Gamester that he throwes

Still at the fairest, & must I still loose?

must I euer ACDEF

Are we all but as Tarryers first begunne,

And E

omitted AP

fast ACDE

Made & together put to be vndone?

5 **Will all the ranke of friends in whom I trust,**

Shall A

Hape A

wherein A

heapes D

[ye ranke] repeated C

ranks P

Like Sodomes Trees yeeld me no fruit but dust?

Sodom A

apples yeild nothing D

Must all I loue, as careles Sparkes that fly

Will A

like AD

Sparkles ACDE

7-8 omitted P

Out of a flint, but show there worth & dye?

face C

O where doe my for euer Losses tend!

And D

bend D

9-42 omitted A

10 **I could already by some buryed Friend
Count my vnhappy yeares, & should the Sun
Leaue me in Darknes as her losse hath done,
(By those few friends I haue yet to intombe,**

these CE

I might (I feare) account my yeares to come.

15 **What need our Cannons then be so precise,**

Canonie D

In Registers for our Natiuityes?

register D

of CD

omitted C

the registering E

They keep vs but in bonds, and Strike with feares

hould D

doubt D

feare C

Rich Parents till their Children be of yeares.

For should they loose & mourne, they might as I

all BCFP

When should all mourne and loose D

20 **Number their yeares by euery Elegie.**

These Bookes to Sum our dayes might well have stood
 Those BCDEFP doe E

In vse with those that liued before the Flood.
 them E
 for them D
 in Noah's CE

When she Indeed that forceth me to write,
 forced C
 forcest D

Should haue byn borne had Nature done her right;
 25 **And at fiue hundred yeares been lesse decayde,**
 be CEFP

Then now at fifteen is the fairest mayde.
 twenty CDEFP
 chastest P

But Nature had not her perfection then,
Or being lothe for such long liuing men,
 to D

To spend the Treasure which she held most pure,
 that E
 so F
 sell that D

30 **She gaue them woemen apter to endure;**
Or prouidently knowing there were more
 prudently C
 that there C

31-32 *omitted D*
Countryses and Islands which she was to store,
 which askt for people from her CEF

Nature was thrifty & did thinke it well
If for some one part each one did excell:
 in P

35 **As this for her neat hand, that for her hayre,**
omitted E fine D

A third for her sweet eyes, a fourth was faire;
 neate foote D
 fine foote F
 This for her fine foote C
 This for her foote E

And 'tis approu'd by him who could not drawe
 that BP

37-38 *omitted [A]CDEF*
The Queen of Loue till he a hundred sawe,
 Paphian Queen P

Seldome all beautyes met in one till she
 And held C
 And seld EF
 And seald all beauty in one vntill D

40 **(All other Lands else stor'de) came finally**
 had D
 and D
 being P

To people our Sweet Isle: & seeing now
 this small D
 where D

Her substance Infinite, she gan to bowe
 Their D
 cannot CE

To Lauishnes in euery Nuptiall bed,

Nature is lauish in each A

And she her fairest was that now is dead.

her faire fairest E who D

45 Dead, as a blossome forced from the tree.

as my Joyes for Ever Ever bee ACEFP

as my hopes for euer euer Bee D

And if a Mayden, faire & good as shee,

omitted D woman ACDEFP good or fayre A

Tread on thy graue, O let her there professe,

her ACDEFP may she there become ABCDEFP

the B

Her selfe for euermore an Anchoresse.

A statue like Lots wife and be her Tombe ABDEFP

“ “ “ “ “ “ prove “ “ C

Let her be Deathles! Let her still be yong,

49-52 omitted ABCDEFP

50 Without this meanes we haue no verse nor Tongue,

To say how much I lou'd, or let vs see

How great our losse was in the losse of thee.

Or let the purple violett grow there,

may D

And feele noe reuolution of the yeare;

knowe ACDEF

55 But full of dew, with euer drooping head,

wett with A which euery D

Shew how I liue since my best hopes are dead.

Shewes D

Joyes A

love is P

Dead! as the world to Vertue. Murd'rers, Theiues,

Murthers DF thriues D

Can haue their Pardons or at least Reprieues;

May AD

pardon C

The Sword of Justice hath been often wonne

often hath beene A

60 By letters from an Execution.

Yet Vowes nor prayers could not keepe thee here,

But A

Yet neither Vowes nor prayers could B

But yet nor vowes nor teares could C

But neither Vowes nor prayers would D

But vowes and prayers could not E

Nor shall I see, the next returning yeare,

thee AC

Thee with the Roses spring & liue againe.

though A live & Spring ADE

Th'art lost for euer! as a drop of Raine

gone A like A

65 Falne in a Riuer; for as soone I may

Falls C

and D

Take up that drop, or meet the same at Sea,

Recall D

and D

- And know it there, as ere redeeme thee gone;
once A
wee D
- Or know thee in the Graue when I have one.
thy E am D
- O! had that hollow Vault where thou dost lye
wherein you DE
- 70 An Eccho in it, my strong phantasye
But A
- Would draw me soone to thinke her words were thine,
winn ABCDEFP my E are A
- And I would hourelye come, & to thy Shrine
should CP unto B by E
- Talke, as I often vsed to talke with thee,
did F to D
- And frame my words that thou mightst Answer me
as B shouldst ABCDEFP
- 75 As when thou liuedst: I'de sigh & say I loued,
And C
- And thou shouldst doe so to, till we had moued
say AD
- (With our complaints) to teares each marble cell,
Of those dead Neighbors which about thee dwell.
our D omitted B that AD us D
- And when the holy father came to saye
79-92 omitted D
- 80 His Orisons, I'de aske him if the daye
wee'd F
- Of Miracles were past, or whether he
be E
- Knew any one whose faith & pietye
Knowes CEF
- Could raise the dead; but he would answer, none
- Can bring thee backe to life, though many one
Could A ever bring thee back B many a one ABC
- 85 Our cursed dayes afford that dare to thrust
These A wicked BP who A
- Their hands prophane to raise the Sacred Dust
Of holy Saints out of their beds of Rest.
bed C
- Abhorred dayes! O maye there none molest
Times ABCEP
crimes F
- 90 Thy quiet peace! but in thy Arke remayne
Vntouch'd, as those the old one did contayne:
Arke A
- Till he that can reward thy greatest worth
shall A record B Dearest A
will CE

Shall send the peacefull Doue to call thee forth.
his A fetch ACEF

Subscribed WB P.

The poem known in Lansdowne 777 as *Lidford Journey* is preserved in five other manuscripts and three early printed texts. Of the manuscripts, one (MS Rawl. poet. 84) is held by the Bodleian, two (Harley MSS 3910 and 4931) by the British Library, one by the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (MA 1057), and one by the Rosenbach Foundation in Philadelphia (MS 239/27). Unfortunately, the Rosenbach manuscripts are, according to their archivist, too fragile to be copied, so I have been unable to examine them. However, it is worth noting that MS 239/27, like Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 84, emanates from Oxford - Christ Church in this case - that it is comparatively early (Beal estimates 1634), and that it also includes texts of Browne's epitaphs on John Smyth, *On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke* and *On one drown'd in the Snowe*. As well as including poetry by Raleigh, Donne, Wotton and Jonson, 11 poems by Corbett and 25 by Strode - both popular Christ Church poets - the document is one of the main manuscript sources of poetry by Carew.⁸

Of the other four manuscripts of *Lidford Journey*, MS Rawl. poet. 84 (denoted by 'A' in the comparison above) also derives from Oxford. Hobbs describes it as 'predominantly New College in its contents' (p. 90), and Beal dates it to the mid seventeenth century. 'Lydford Law' is its only poem by Browne. Harley MS 3910 (B) is an Inns of Court document, dating from the 1620s.⁹ It also includes copies of Browne's epitaphs on Anne Prideaux (here entitled 'On Mrs E. P.') and the Countess of Pembroke. Harley MS 4931 (C) is a composite manuscript of Parliamentary papers, which Beal dates to the mid-century, but which can probably be assigned more narrowly to c. 1642.¹⁰ It includes only a few poems, of which 'Lydford Journey' is the one item by Browne. The Pierpont Morgan MS, MA 1057 (D) was once owned by the Holgate family of Saffron Walden, and was possibly compiled by William Holgate of Queen's College, Cambridge.¹¹ It appears to date from the 1630s. The three remaining texts are a serious topographical study, Westcote's *View of Devonshire* (1630) (W), the satirical miscellany *Sportive Wit* (1656) (S), and John Prince's *Danmonii Orientales Illustres, or Worthies of Devon* (1701), which includes the poem in its biography of Browne.¹² Westcote takes the satire of the poem sufficiently seriously to offer it as a better substitute for his own prose

description of the poverty and judicial injustice at Lidford, and suggests that it has already entered into the local folklore: 'But what mean I to make so long description of it, in regard it is so commonly sung by many a fidler; being very exactly and facetely done in a running metre, by William Browne, a very witty gentleman pleasantly disposed, that was employed thither'.¹³ By contrast, *Sportive Wit* - subtitled 'The Muses Merriment. A New Spring of Lusty Drollery, Joviall Fancies, and A la mode Lamponnes, on some Heroic persons of these late Times' - insists on its comic context. Prince, as if to compromise, describes the poem as 'Historical, and no less Facete and Witty'.

The remarkable aspect of the early texts of *Lidford Journey* is how different nearly all of them are. To take the most obvious variations, both Westcote's *View* and *Sportive Wit* include stanzas absent from the Lansdowne 777 text. *Sportive Wit* has an extra stanza, on the profit to lawyers of the stannary system, between L777 lines 36-37, and Westcote has three stanzas describing the moors around Lidford, between L777 48-49. Conversely, all but one of the other texts of the poem lack whole stanzas of the Lansdowne 777 version: A has no equivalent to L777 lines 19-24, 49-54, 61-66 and 73-78, C lacks lines 49-54 and 73-78, D and P lines 73-78, W lines 73-78, and S lines 13-18 and 55-90. W alone has an entirely different version of L777 line 51. Moreover, while there are discrepancies between L777 and each of the other extant texts even in the stanzas for which the other texts provide equivalents, there is little agreement between the other texts on these discrepancies, and where agreement occurs it would be difficult to argue derivation. Stanza 4, lines 19-24, illustrates the point. The stanza is omitted by both A and S, but neither of these texts can be derived from the other since A also lacks lines 49-54, which S retains, and S lacks 13-18 and 55-90, which A provides. C's 'Oh' for 'Lord' in line 19, unmatched by any of the other texts, can obviously be explained as a euphemism. Line 21, 'Hath Lidford when I spy all', is similar in all versions except W, which reads 'Hath Lidford castle's high hall'. On this evidence, although W was one of the earliest texts of the poem, predating all others except B, it is unlikely to be the source of any of the other extant copies. Line 22, however, complicates the issue. In L777, it reads 'They know none there would gladly stay'. C, D, W and P - all the extant texts of this stanza except L777 and B - have 'I' instead of 'They'. However, it is entirely plausible that this difference could have occurred in all three texts independently, and it is, moreover, a more consistent variant in C, D and P, which preserve the 'I' reading in line 21, than in W which lacks it. Less likely to be coincidental is the similar

word order of W and P. Both of these printed texts differ from L777 with the equally metrical reading 'I know none gladly there would stay'. In line 23, only C has 'wold be hangd' for 'rather hang'; and while D, W and P all have 'a tryall' instead of the 'his tryall' of L777, this variant, again, could plausibly have occurred independently in all three texts.

The evidence of stanza 4 is that the more substantial variants of W are followed only but not invariably by P. Also, while the other texts of the poem vary frequently from L777, these discrepancies are rarely more than differences of pronoun, the number of nouns, synonyms or synonymous grammatical constructions, and no clear pattern of resemblance emerges between the discrepancies in different documents. The rest of the poem bears out these conclusions. In line 25, no other text - not even P - follows W in identifying 'The Prince' as 'Prince Charles'. L777, A, B and W all say he has sent 'a hundred pounds'; in D, S and P this is 'an hundred pounds', in C 'one hundred pounds'. D and S also agree in imprisoning the first debtor for 'a peck of Salt', instead of the 'seame of Malt' of all other copies (line 31), and consequently making the second malefactor's debt 'three pecks of malt', instead of the 'three pecks of Salt' of L777, B and C, the 'two pecks of Salt' in A and W, and the single peck in P. However, D and S differ in the following stanza, where S but not D lists the number of ash trees at Lidford as five, rather than the seven of L777, and the standing houses as seven rather than three. D but not S refers to the truth-lovers of Lidford as the 'yong & old' (rather than the 'yong and Graue' of all other texts), and accordingly says that they 'hold', rather than 'haue', no 'cloak' ('Cloakes' in L777, C and S) to hide their knavery. Line 70, which in Lansdowne 777 reads 'When by great chance I know not how', becomes 'Where by good luck' in A, 'At length by chance' in C, 'When by good luck' in D and W, and 'Now by good luck' in P. Line 100 reads 'Wilde and ope to windes that Rore' in L777, B and D, 'Wide and ope' in A, 'Both wide and ope' in S, 'Wilde and ope the windes did rore' in C, and 'Wide and ope the winds so rore' in W and P. That is, no convincing pattern of similarities emerges between any of the alternative versions of the poem except W and P, and even there the likeness, though indisputable, is only partial. These two texts, clearly, are cognate, but neither can descend directly from the other. The resemblances between W and P begin with their common lack of a title, and continue through lines 22, 50, 66, 68, 71, 87 and 100. Many of these similarities are minor, but in 100 the shared divergence from L777 is too substantial to be coincidental. However, in lines 12, 21, 37, 38, 51, 64, and 102, where W departs significantly from L777, P remains

closer to Lansdowne. Nor does it provide the three extra stanzas supplied only by W, between L777 48-49. P cannot, therefore, derive from W. It is historically impossible for W to derive from P (providing, of course, that the date of 1630 is correct for the W manuscript), but the theoretical possibility that W might have been adapted from the manuscript followed by P is precluded by line 80, where P has the unique variant 'roasting', and W agrees with all other texts on 'Tything'. For the copyist of W to have revised 'roasting' to 'Tything', at least without reference to a text which retained 'Tything', is not credible.

The one clear exception to this rule of consistent inconsistency between texts is the startling similarity between Lansdowne 777 and the B text, British Library Harley MS 3910. The Harley copy differs from the Lansdowne text in only six single-word instances: 'think' for 'find', in line 5, 'Twere' for 'Tis' in line 11, 'pound' for 'pounds' in line 28, 'cloak' for 'Cloakes' in line 48, 'with' for 'of' in line 56 and 'whilst' for 'while' in line 63. Most of these variants are semantically indifferent, and none significantly alters the meaning of the line. Hobbs identifies Harley MS 3910 as the earliest manuscript in the legal tradition with which she also associates Lansdowne 777.¹⁴ Peter Beal agrees, rather more tentatively, that it was 'possibly compiled by a member of an Inn of Court', and dates it c. 1620s.¹⁵ *Lidford Journey* - even the spelling of 'Lidford' is the same as in Lansdowne 777 - is the first poem in the miscellany, neatly laid out, three stanzas per page, in what Hobbs describes as 'a careful, rather sharp and awkward italic'.¹⁶ It is immediately followed by an epitaph 'On Mrs E. P.', an undistinguished version of Browne's *On Mrs Anne Prideaux* (BrW 123); and an unexpectedly poor text of the epitaph *On the Countess Dowager of Pembroke* is transcribed later on f. 112 (BrW 203).¹⁷ Hobbs's observation that the poems are 'chiefly by contemporaries of Francis Beaumont the dramatist and his brother, Sir John' is somewhat elliptical - she does not explain why she cites the Beaumonts for her comparison - but a connection with the Beaumont brothers might help to explain the correspondence between the B text of *Lidford Journey* and Lansdowne 777, since Browne and the Beaumonts had a mutual friend in Michael Drayton. Elsewhere, Hobbs, noting the many different hands which can be discerned towards the end of Harley MS 3910, speculates that the poems in this section may have been copied in by the poets themselves, at the invitation of the compiler.¹⁸ This would, of course, not apply to *Lidford Journey*, since it is transcribed on ff.1-3v. in the compiler's own italic. However, it would be consistent with this possible evidence of the compiler's interest in acquiring texts physically guaranteed by their authors to suppose that in making his own

transcriptions on the earlier folios he would have tried to work from manuscripts as close to holograph as possible. Given the early date of Harley 3910, moreover, as well as its Inns of Court provenance, its authority as a text of *Lidford Journey* is arguably at least equal to Lansdowne 777, and perhaps greater, since it was produced in Browne's lifetime. However, as I have already indicated, an early date does not by itself guarantee the authenticity of a manuscript; and in the case of *Lidford Journey* our lack of knowledge about the circumstances in which both Lansdowne MS 777 and Harley MS 3910 were produced is such that an argument based on dates alone cannot be reliable. It is also unsatisfactory to attach too much importance to such slight differences in only six words. Moreover, although these six variants make an unimpressively slight basis for the comparison, it is worth notice that the tendency of the other texts is to agree with Lansdowne 777 rather than Harley 3910. Of the six, only 'Twere' in line 11 enjoys majority agreement among the other texts, endorsed by all except A, which replicates the 'Tis' of Lansdowne. In the only substantial variant between the B-text and L777, 'think' for 'find' in line 5, no other text shares B's reading. A, D, W, S and P all agree with Lansdowne's 'find', and C has the similar 'found'.

More significant than the few discrepancies, however, is the overwhelming agreement between these two most authoritative copies of the poem, one the earliest extant text, the other included in the most comprehensive manuscript collection of Browne's shorter poetry. Each of the other copies of the poem is closer to the Lansdowne 777/Harley 3910 base-text than to any other version.¹⁹ As I have already mentioned, the variations in the other manuscripts - with one exception, which I discuss below - are of two kinds. The comparatively minor differences of single words and phrases, usually synonymous with the Lansdowne 777 reading, transpositions of words and other revisions of word order are the usual copyist's variants. The other kind of discrepancy is the omission of entire stanzas. Copyists' variants occur in all texts of the poem. Differences of whole or near-whole lines occur mainly in W and P: e.g. lines 22 (W and P), 38 (W), 51 (W). Moreover, all copies except B omit at least one of L777's stanzas, and both S and W add whole stanzas compared with the Lansdowne text. It is plausible to relate these whole-stanza differences, which vary the length of the poem from the 102 lines of Lansdowne 777 and Harley MS 3910 to 114 in W and 66 in S, to the metre and genre of the poem. Westcote, describing the poem as 'so commonly sung by many a fidler', indicates that it has already passed into Devonshire folklore. As such, even more than the poetry of

the manuscript miscellanies, it has become the people's property, available to be lengthened or shortened at the pleasure of the singer or his audience. In any case, it is easier to drop entire sections of a stanzaic poem, especially when, as in *Lidford Journey*, each stanza represents a new observation, than of a poem such as 'Is Death so great a Gamester', written in continuous couplets, in which syntactic and metrical units may not be congruent. It is difficult to identify any specific reasons for the omissions of stanzas in A, C, D, W, S or P: although lines 73-78, missing from all of these texts, seem for some reason simply to have dropped out of the received base-text of the poem. The additions in W and S, however, deserve attention, since in each case the extra stanzas testify to local knowledge about Lidford and its environs beyond what is described in the Lansdowne 777/Harley 3910 text. The nearby Gubbins, whose existence at least in folklore is confirmed by Fuller in 1660, are only mentioned in Westcote's extra stanzas.²⁰ The additional stanza in *Sportive Wit*:

Though debts and Debtors are but poor,
 The Courts and Causes are the more,
 (So many Tynners made)
 That Lawyers and Attourneys all,
 Which in these Courts doe scolde and brawle
 Doe finde it a gainfull trade.

explicitly refers to tin - mentioned in the Lansdowne 777 text only in the last line and then only ambiguously - and extends the scope of the legal satire to point out not only that the judicial system at Lidford is absurd and unfair but that its tortuous proceedings are suspiciously profitable for the lawyers. As Marotti describes, *Sportive Wit* was a defiantly Royalist anthology, which was duly impounded and burnt on the orders of the Council of State, because of its 'scandalous, lascivious, scurrilous and profane matter'.²¹ Since the Inns of Court were apparently associated with dissent against the monarchy, the inclusion and amplification of satire against lawyers in *Sportive Wit's Lidford Law A Song* may have had a political edge. The reading 'Law' for 'Journey' in the title - though admittedly not unique to *Sportive Wit* - certainly emphasizes the legal aspect of the satire, and it is even arguable, although tenuously, that the long omission in this text (lines 55-90) results in a similar emphasis: since whereas these absent stanzas concentrate on describing the material deprivation suffered by the people of Lidford - and visitors to the town - it is at the beginning and end

of the poem that the follies of the local government and judiciary are most explicitly portrayed. Alternatively, this accentuation of the legal satire might just as credibly be the work of a disaffected lawyer - such as Browne himself. It seems unlikely, given the remarkable agreement between Lansdowne 777 and Harley MS 3910, that Browne himself was responsible for the additional stanzas, but it is not impossible. There may have been several different authorial versions of the poem. However, the stanzaic form and the satirical tone would both have encouraged later readers to insert extra verses of their own. What is certain is that the additions were the work of a poet who knew his subject.

If *Sportive Wit* is an unexpectedly Royalist context in which to find William Browne, British Library Harley MS 4931 (the 'C' text) represents appropriation of the poem at the opposite ideological extreme. Beal's description of the manuscript as a 'composite', though correct, fails to convey the integrity and cohesion of the compilation. The manuscript consists of many different kinds of written matter: poems, letters, Parliamentary and legal reports, on pages of different sizes and types of paper, all pasted in to a central binding. Every item is numbered, and listed in an alphabetical index on ff. 2-6v. Browne's poem (no. 17) is indexed twice: once under 'L', as 'Lydford Law', and also under 'V', as 'Verses on Lydford Law'. Many, though not all, of the items are dated, and the ordering of the volume is broadly chronological. The preoccupation of the collection is with the political events of the years 1639-42, especially the indictment of Strafford. *Lydford Law* is not dated, but its inclusion near the beginning of the volume suggests that the compilers thought it was an early work. The previous item, no. 16, is dated 1626 (there is no item 18). Of the early items in the volume, which pre-date the political crisis of the late 1630s and early 1640s, many express or imply anti-monarchical - or, more specifically, anti-Stuart - sentiments. Item 14, a poem, which is dated 1616, prophesies in the voice of Christ's donkey that in 1641 the Court will be turned to grass and hay. A note on f. 1v., 'The old Lord Brooke before he died, ordered that the Word should be written upon his Tomb, Priuy Counsellour to Q Elizabeth, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney', is suspiciously incomplete: the wording on Lord Brooke's tomb at Warwick actually reads 'Fulke Greville, Seruant to Queene Elizabeth, Councillor to King James, Frend to Sir Philip Sidney'. The revision may be accidental, but it is tempting to speculate that the compiler of Harley MS 4931 may have preferred to erase the reference to Greville's service under King James. *Lydford Law* is not explicitly anti-monarchical, but its satire against local government and mocking references to Caesar could, conceivably, have been

read as criticism of the national regime.²² The poem is credited, on the verso, to ‘Mr Browne follower of the Earle of Pembroke’: this, in 1642, would have denoted Philip Herbert, the fourth Earl, who was to join the Parliamentary side in the Civil War.²³ There is clearer evidence of ideological appropriation, however, in the revision in this transcription of *Lydford Law* of two casual references to the name of God: ‘Oh’, for ‘Lord’, in line 19, and ‘then surely’ for ‘By Gods grace’ in line 101. The evidence is slight but consistent, and corresponds with the apparent religious predilections of the rest of the volume - which includes, for example, the ‘Order for the Sanctifying of the Sabbath’ (no. 271, f. 128). William Browne has been censored to conform to the expectations of a Puritan anthology.

The evidence of the early copies of ‘Is Death so great a Gamester’ is no less complicated. Apart from Lansdowne 777, six manuscript versions are extant: Bodleian MSS Don. e. 6 (denoted by ‘A’), Eng. poet. e. 14 (B) and Malone 21 (C), British Library Harley MS 6057 (D), Folger MS V. a. 345 (E) and a Victoria and Albert Museum manuscript, Dyce Collection Cat. No. 18 (Pressmark 25.F. 17) (F). The poem was also printed in the 1660 anthology, *Le Prince d’Amour* (P). Of the manuscripts, MS Don. e. 6 is thought to have been compiled by the Cartwright family of Northamptonshire in the mid-century, Harley MS 6057 was compiled by a Thomas Crosse in the 1630s, and the remainder all derive from Oxford in the 1630s: MS Eng. poet. e. 14 and Folger MS V. a. 345 from Christ Church, the V&A manuscript from Lincoln College, and MS Malone 21 possibly from St John’s. *Le Prince d’Amour* has links with the Inns of Court: its dedication is addressed to the men of the Middle Temple. Of these collections, only MS Eng. poet. e. 14 includes any other poems by Browne: a version of *On Mrs Anne Prideaux* (here entitled *On Mrs Anne Price of 6 yeares age*), and a copy of *On a Gem* from *Britannias Pastorals*, I.3.

The first point to notice about the manuscripts is their disagreement about authorship. A, B and E all ascribe the poem to Donne, and F includes it in a sequence of Donne’s poems. No manuscript attributes it to Browne, though in *Le Prince d’Amour* it is subscribed *WB*. However, none of the manuscripts which claim authorship for Donne is an authoritative source of his poetry, and none of Donne’s recent editors accepts it as his. Marotti notes that ‘More poems are misattributed to Donne than to any other English Renaissance poet’, and the similarities between ‘Is Death so great a Gamester’ and Donne’s undisputed elegies and obsequies - its cosmic pessimism, reminiscent of the *Anniversaries*,

its preoccupation with love and annihilation, its metrical form - might all have played a part in encouraging the misattribution.²⁴ It should not be forgotten that the C and D copies, which are textually close to A, F and especially E, both entitle the poem anonymously 'On the death of his Mistres'. To complicate the picture still further, B, which is markedly closer to the Lansdowne 777 text than any of the other manuscripts, also attributes the poem to Donne, though its title, 'Dr Dun vpon the death of a Gentlewoman' is in another respect less confident about the circumstances of its composition than all the other early witnesses except F, which assume the subject of the elegy to have been the poet's wife or mistress.

In contrast to *Lidford Journey*, although it is difficult to plot clear lines of descent between the various versions of 'Is Death so great a Gamester', they do nonetheless evidently divide into textual families. The first line is similar in all copies, but the second neatly illustrates the branches of the division. Where L777, B and P ask '& must I still loose', A, C, D, E and F all read 'must I euer lose'. The B copy, as I have mentioned, is consistently the closest to L777, though its few divergences from L777 are on that account all the more significant. It matches L777 impeccably even in difficult lines such as 7, 16, 31, 36, 38 and 45. All other texts except B, P and L777 omit lines 37-38, 'And 'tis approu'd by him who could not drawe, / The Queen of Loue till he a hundred sawe'; and P, unlike B, gives 'The Paphian Queen' for L777's 'Queen of Loue'.²⁵ B and P, similarly, agree with L777 that the third of Nature's blessings was sweetness of the eyes, rather than perfection of the foot (line 36). P, however, omits lines 7-8, which B retains, agrees with C, E and F in comparing the lady's hypothetical freshness 'at fiue hundred yeares' with an actual twenty-year-old, rather than the fifteen-year-old of L777 and B (line 26), and agrees with the 'Dead as my Joyes/hopes for Ever Ever Bee' reading of line 45 in A, C, D, E and F, against the 'Dead, as a blossome forced from the Tree' of L777 and B. P, therefore, appears to be an early off-shoot of the ACDEF family, though its ascription of the poem to 'WB' suggests that the attribution to Donne may have occurred separately in the B and the ACDEF traditions, and perhaps separately again in the branches of the latter.²⁶

Within the remaining texts, ACDEF, some further divisions can be detected. In the A copy, lines 9-42 are omitted. It clearly, therefore, cannot be the parent of copies C, D, E and F, all of which preserve these lines. However, A agrees with C, E and F against D in reading 'Joyes' for 'hopes' in line 45, and

‘fetch’ for the ‘call’ which D shares with L777, B and P in lines 92. A is also suggestively similar to L777, and D to B in the much-contested line 61 - where the L777 reading, ‘Yet Vowes nor prayers could not keepe thee here’, followed only by F and P, involves an evidently difficult scansion of ‘prayers’ on two syllables. D, however, agrees with C, E, F and P on ‘twenty’ in line 26, with C, E and F on ‘foote’ for ‘eyes’ in line 36, and with A, C, E, and F on ‘knowe’ for ‘feele’ in line 54. It omits the vexed couplet 31-32, where C, E and F agree that Nature knew of ‘Countrys which askt for people from her store’, rather than ‘Countrys and Islands which she was to store’ (L777, B, P). Moreover, its complete omission of lines 79-92 means that it cannot be the parent of any of the other extant copies, all of which retain this final section. The closest agreements in this group of manuscripts are between C and E, which, in addition to the variants which they share with other manuscripts in the ACDEF group, both preserve the reading ‘ranke’ in line 5, read ‘in Noah’s flood’ for the ‘before the Flood’ of other texts in line 22, ‘cannot’ for ‘gan to’ in line 42, ‘come’ or ‘comes’ for ‘came’ in line 79 and ‘will’ for ‘can’ in line 91. Yet these two manuscripts disagree over the attribution of the poem to Donne, and a number of variants, individually minor but cumulatively persuasive, suggests that neither can derive directly from the other. C has ‘face’ in line 8 where E preserves ‘worth’, ‘forced’ for ‘forceth’ in line 23, ‘prudently’ for ‘prouidently’ in line 31, and ‘proue’ for the ‘be’ of A, B, D, E, F and P in line 48; E has ‘the regestering’ for ‘Registers’ in line 16, ‘her faire fairest’ for ‘she her fairest’ in line 44, ‘thy’ for ‘the’ in line 68 and ‘my’ for ‘her’ in line 71. Within this group of manuscripts, that is, a few broad similarities are apparent: that C and E are textually close, that both share many variant readings with F, many with A, fewer with D and fewer still with P. However, the lines of transmission are obscure: unsurprisingly, since it is highly probable that various intermediate copies will have been lost, and the derivation of many of these copies from the Oxford colleges increases the likelihood of contamination between textual lines.

The most intriguing aspect of these textual variants, however, is the indisputable evidence they provide that all the extant texts of the poem, apart from L777 - B and P as well as A, C, D, E, and F - must descend from an inferred parent text other than the Lansdowne copy.²⁷ At three points in the text, all other witnesses are in complete or near-complete agreement against the reading of L777. Two of these are one-word differences, again individually minor but jointly suggestive: the readings ‘winn’ for ‘draw’ in line 71, and ‘shouldst’ for ‘mightst’ in line 74. The latter is an easy substitution, though even so the

unanimity of all the other copies against L777 deserves consideration; but ‘winn’ for ‘draw’, also the unanimous reading of all texts except L777, is difficult to explain except by common derivation. More compelling, however, is the evidence of lines 47-52. I quote from line 45 for convenience:

45 **Dead,** **as a blossome forced from the tree.**
 as my Joyes for Ever Ever Bee ACEFP
 as my hopes for euer euer Bee D

And if a Maiden, **faire & good as shee,**
 omitted D woman ACDEFP good or fayre A

Tread on thy graue, **O let her there professe,**
 her ACDEFP may she there become ABCDEFP
 the B

Her selfe for euermore an Anchoresse.
 A statue like Lots wife and be her Tombe ABDEFP
 “ “ “ “ “ “ prove “ “ C

Let her be Deathles! Let her still be yong,
 49-52 omitted ABCDEFP

50 **Without this meanes we haue no verse nor Tongue,**
 To say how much I lou'd, or let vs see
 How great our losse was in the losse of thee.

Lines 45-46 provides a good example of near-agreement between all other texts except Lansdowne 777 and B. In the following lines, however, B joins all the other witnesses in providing a substantially different version of lines 47-48, and in lacking an equivalent to lines 49-52. Line 49 would presumably be nonsensical if the hypothetical maiden/woman were thought to have become an lifeless statue, rather than the incarcerated but still animate anchoress of Lansdowne 777, and it would be difficult to include lines 50-52 without the connective of line 49. But the textual consensus of ABCDEFP on these lines - particularly the divergent version of lines 47-48, too different from L777 to be explicable by chance or scribal error - is such that their claim to authenticity has to be taken seriously. Their historical priority over L777, though not a conclusive factor, also deserves to be taken into account. Is there any adequate critical reason for preferring the readings of L777 over the consensus of the other witnesses?

L777 is the longest of the texts of ‘Is Death so great a Gamester’, but length alone proves nothing about the priority of texts, since emendation can work by enlargement as well as abbreviation.²⁸ However, with the exception of the three cruxes I have mentioned, the disagreement between the other witnesses is such that L777, broadly endorsed by B, represents the best consensus text of

any extant copy. Many of the emendations even of the best of the other versions make less sense or are poorer metrically. B's reading of 'unto' for 'and to' is acceptable within line 72, but the absence of the connective makes line 73 problematic, and the omission of 'dead' in line 78 distorts the metre. P's omission of 'as' in line 3 and substitutions of 'being' for 'else' in line 40 are minor but disruptive changes. The lack of agreement among many of the non-L777 texts over line 61 suggests scribal difficulty with the apparently unmetrical reading of L777 - which is, however, reproduced in both F and P - and the differing openings of line 39 in C, D, E and F (the entire passage is omitted in A) make best sense if read as attempts to cover the loss of lines 37-38 in all these copies. On the crux of lines 47-48, while the unanimity of the miscellany copies is persuasive, the substance of their variation gives cause at least for hesitation. Whereas the L777 text suggests that the mourning woman should become an anchoress, the miscellany version wishes her to turn into a statue like Lot's wife: that is, instead of Lansdowne 777's curiously Catholic image, the miscellanies offer a solidly uncontroversial Old Testament comparison. Criticism has traditionally associated Browne with the Puritanical interest in early-Stuart England, but largely on political rather than religious grounds. In his poetry, in fact, there are comparatively few religious allusions, and the evidence they provide about his affiliations within Anglicanism is mixed: the epistle on the papists' bells satirises Catholicism, albeit gently, yet lines 27-29 of his elegy on the Countess of Pembroke imply that he did not consider himself a Puritan; the prayer of his devotional poem, 'Behold ô God' assumes an irreproachably Protestant soteriology of justification by faith, but he protests in lines 79-80 of the elegy on the Countess about iconoclasm and in lines 84-87 of the 'Gamester' elegy about the desecration of graves, both concomitants of the Reformation. Moreover, a reference to medieval religious practice would be consistent both with Browne's known interest in the literature of the Middle Ages and with the unexpectedly Catholic flavour of the 'holy father' allusion in line 79 of this elegy. It is both conceivable that Browne himself should have used the image of the anchoress and that recipients of the poem should have attempted to censor it by substituting the comparison with Lot's wife - which, moreover, is less effective as a metaphor for mourning, and also associates the dead woman, somewhat tactlessly, with regret for the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah.²⁹ It may be relevant that the Cartwright family, compilers of MS Don. e. 6 (the A text), were related to the Elizabethan Puritan, Thomas Cartwright, and thus would presumably have preferred the Lot's wife image to the anchoress: for although the A text cannot itself be the origin of the 'Lot's wife' reading, it is credible that

the network from which the family derived their copy should have involved people of similar sympathies. It seems more likely that the anchoress should have been censored early in the transmissional history of the poem than that she should have been inserted for an Inns of Court compilation in 1650.

Lansdowne 777 and B are the most careful and consistent copies of 'Is Death so great a Gamester', and for most of the text they agree closely. In preferring the L777 text over B I am inevitably influenced by a factor extrinsic to the poem itself: the greater authority of the Lansdowne 777 compilation compared to the MS Eng. poet. e. 14 miscellany, which has no known links with Browne.³⁰ As Lee Patterson insists, mere frequency of attestation is not enough to guarantee the correctness of a reading; the nature and provenance of the manuscripts themselves also need to be taken into account. Moreover, the similarity between lines 3-8 of this elegy in the Lansdowne copy - endorsed by B - and lines 3-8 of the elegy on Thomas Ayleworth strengthens the case for Lansdowne, as does the evidence of agreement between F, P and L777 against B in line 61, and all texts but B in lines 74 and 84. As I have argued, I also think that L777's version of lines 47-48 is more plausible as the work of Browne himself than of a revising copyist. Among the implications of preferring the authority of L777, it should be noted, is that - unless Browne himself was responsible for multiple versions of 'Is Death so great a Gamester' - Lansdowne 777 must derive from a text produced prior to any of the miscellany versions, i.e. probably between 1615, the date of Thomas Ayleworth's death, and c. 1630.³¹ This is consistent with the indications in the texts of *Lidford Journey*, which favour a date in the 1620s - roughly contemporary with Harley MS 3910 and preceding Westcote's *View* - for the parent text of the L777 *Lidford*.

The results of comparing the variants of other Browne poems tend also to support the Lansdowne 777 readings. Only one L777 poem is demonstrably inferior to another extant copy. In 'Loue! when I mett her first', the readings 'hot' in line 5, and 'thee' in line 17 are clearly incorrect - the first reading makes no sense and the second, little - and in my text of the poem I have substituted the superior 'not' and 'me' of the *Britannias Pastorals* copy. However, these errors need be no more than slips in transcription, and thus correspond to the paradoxical pattern I have already noted in the text of Lansdowne 777: the co-existence of conspicuous attention to the order and arrangement of the poems, and surprising sloppiness in the actual copying. In transcribing 'Loue! when I mett her first' the scribe has carefully differentiated the stanzas and indicated

with italics the repetition of lines, but he has not, apparently, checked his copy to see that the words make sense.

Of the other Browne poems in Lansdowne 777 for which duplicate or multiple copies exist, in a few cases the variants between L777 and the other copy or copies are indifferent. Most of the differences in the copies of 'Behold ô God', for instance, mainly synonyms and differences in word-order, seem designed to make the poem fit the intexts better. The variants in the texts of 'Poore silly foole' in Bodleian MSS Ashmole 38 (BrW 235) and Rawl. poet. 147 (BrW 236) - 'Poor silly soule', in both these versions - are impressively consistent, and only the difference of 'Whether' for 'If' in line 2 of BrW 235 creates even a slight metrical inferiority.³² In several other poems, many of the variant readings are indifferent, but a few slight factors suggest that the L777 text is to be preferred. *An Epitaph on Mr John Smyth* is one of the most marginal of these cases. In the two copies I have been able to consult, Sloane MS 1446 (BrW 48) and Folger MS V. a. 345 (BrW 49), the only variant in the main text is 'as he' for 'with him', in line 5 of both versions - possibly a clearer reading.³³ However, the differing titles given in the four manuscripts provide persuasive though not conclusive reason to favour Lansdowne 777. Whereas the Rosenbach title, 'Upon Mr Smith', is comparatively uninformative, and the Folger 'On Smith of Magdalens' is suggestive but unsubstantiated, L777 and the consistently reliable Sloane manuscript agree that Smyth was chaplain to the Earl of Pembroke. However, in L777 the title concludes '1624', which not only fixes the date of Smyth's death, but indicates that the Earl whom Smyth served must have been William, the third earl, rather than either his younger brother, Philip, who held the title from 1630-50, or Philip's son, the fifth earl. I know of no evidence to confirm this date, but its implication of better acquaintance with the Herberts and the circumstances in which the poem was composed tilt the balance slightly in favour of this copy. Comparably, the Sloane 1446 copy of the epitaph on John Deane (BrW 102) is identical to the version in Lansdowne 777, except that the Sloane title lacks the 'John'. However, since there is known to have been a John Deane of New College, a poet, who died in 1626 (i.e. about the time of Browne's second residence at Oxford), the extra information of the Lansdowne copy can be credibly preferred. Sloane 1446 (BrW 105) and Folger V. a. 262, p. 51 (unrecorded by Beal) also agree with L777's text of *On Mr Vaux the Phisician*, as against Leeds MX 237 (BrW 107), which reads 'life' for 'flesh' in line 8, and Huntington HM 116, which omits line 15 and credits the poem 'Will Browne on Mr Vaux Phisitian'.³⁴ The Sloane manuscript also confirms L777's copy of *On*

one borne blynde and soe dead, whereas the variants in Folger MS V. a. 162 (BrW 146) make less sense, especially in line 2. In the case of Browne's *An Elegie on the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke*, the choice of text might seem easy, since the second copy of the poem in Bodleian MS Eng. poet. f. 9 (BrW 37) is untitled and lacks lines 1-52. However, despite this obvious qualification, the variants between the lines which the two extant copies have in common (53-178) are few and comparatively minor: surprisingly so, given the length of the poem. The Champernownes were a Devonshire family, so although no link between them and William Browne is known, it is credible that they should have been acquainted - or that the Champernownes should simply have been interested in the work of a contemporary Devonshire poet. The county connection at least provides scope for explaining how this obscure family managed to acquire so good a text of a long poem which apparently did not circulate in any of the manuscript networks. The text of the epitaph on the Countess (BrW 187), which follows the elegy, is unremarkable: its few variants from L777 are both semantically and metrically acceptable. However, a few readings in the elegy - in lines 68, 96 and especially 178 - make less sense than the equivalents in L777, and line 113 in Champernowne is somewhat inelegant. These differences are sufficient to render the Champernowne text less satisfactory than L777, despite its (apparently) earlier date.³⁵

Some other multiple-copy poems show more substantial variations between versions.³⁶ In some cases, only a few of these variants argue for the priority of Lansdowne 777, but these few are persuasive. The two copies of *One a faire Ladyes yellow haire*, in Lansdowne 777 and British Library Add. MS 25707 (BrW 72 and 73), employ different pronouns to refer to the lady: 'you' in Lansdowne 777, 'her' in Add. MS 25707. In both copies, the chosen pronoun is sustained successfully. However, the differences of the end-words in lines 13 and 21 mean that stanzas 4 and 6 of the Add. MS 25707 copy, unlike all others in this poem, do not rhyme on the first and third lines. It would be possible to argue that the Lansdowne 777 copy, which rhymes perfectly ABAB throughout, is a sophistication, but it is surely more plausible to assume that the inconsistently rhyming Add. MS 25707 text is a later corruption. The superiority of the Lansdowne text of Browne's round 'Now that the Spring hath fill'd our veynes' (BrW 238) over the only other extant copy, British Library Add. MS 22603 (BrW 239), is still clearer, even though the L777 copy itself is less than satisfactory. Its directions for dividing the text of the round between singers or speakers are barely adequate. However, it does have a clear logical and

rhetorical development, from the invocation of the first stanza to the celebration in the last, its rhymes and metre are faultless, and it makes sense. The Add. MS 22603 copy has no title, directions or stanza divisions, the variant 'first' for 'kinde' in line 2 is puzzling, lines 7-8 are clumsily unmetrical, and the re-arranged order of stanzas is confused and obscure. Again, it is more plausible to read the Add. MS 22603 version as a corruption than the Lansdowne text as a sophistication. In the case of the *Epitaph on Sir John Prowde*, the argument in favour of the L777 version (BrW 52) rests more squarely on issues of content rather than form. The only indisputable inferiority of British Library Add. MS 22118 (BrW 53) to Lansdowne 777 is its 'Was' for 'Were' in line 8, though 'Intrench' for 'Intrench'd' in line 3 is also dubious, and is possibly a mistranscription. The information provided by Lansdowne, however, is overwhelmingly more credible than Add. MS 22118. In the disagreement between the copies about the location of the soldier's death and burial, the claim in the latter that he was killed in 'Albion' is much less convincing than the Dutch setting posited by Lansdowne 777. The soldier-speaker of this epitaph could not have been killed in any land battle on English soil in the seventeenth century until the Civil Wars, which Browne may not have lived to see, and which it seems unlikely he could have alluded to so dispassionately. Furthermore, though the meaning of 'a March of twenty yeares &/or more' is not certain, the possibility that it refers to the speaker's military service as well as to the journey of his life becomes more problematic if he is assumed to be fighting in one of the Civil War armies, rather than on the Continent. Moreover, since Prowde's commander, Sir Charles Morgan, is known to have been a protégé of William Herbert (still alive, and possibly also protecting Browne in 1627) it is credible that Browne should have commemorated one of Morgan's officers, and associated the epitaph with his poems on the Herberts. The symbolic connection - unspoken but surely inescapable - between Prowde and Sidney, who both died near Zutphen, would also have appealed to a poet who both revered Sidney and enjoyed the patronage of Sidney's nephews.

The rival texts of the ode, 'Awake, faire Muse', present a more testing dilemma. Most of the variants in the two versions (the Lansdowne 777 copy, BrW 70, and BrW 71, in British Library Harley MS 6931) are indifferent, but the one significant discrepancy between them is the complete absence of stanza 6 (lines 31-36) in the Harley manuscript. This discrepancy is all the more problematic because stanza 6 is conspicuously obscure: what is the source of floods (line 32), who are the Ethiopian bear (33) and 'him as white as Snowy

woods' (34)? Was the stanza a clumsy interpolation by the Lansdowne 777 scribe, or was it omitted by the Harley 6931 scribe because he too found it obscure? The latter explanation seems the more plausible, but it is worth noting that the development of the argument in the ode is consistent whether stanza 6 is included or omitted. Stanza 5 ends with the poet's anticipation of an early death, stanza 7 triumphantly scorns the fear of death. Stanza 6, meanwhile, pursues another idea raised in stanza 5: the poet's inspired flight before death. One could argue either that the omission of the stanza in Harley MS 6931 leaves the metaphor of flight undeveloped, or that the repetition of ideas between stanzas 5 and 6 in Lansdowne 777 is otiose. My own inclination is to prefer the Lansdowne 777 version, both because of the general reliability of the L777 collection, and because omission in Harley seems more likely than addition in Lansdowne, but I recognize that as far as the substantive texts are concerned, the arguments are finely balanced. In terms of the physical deployment of text, however, the introductory, confessional status accorded to the ode as the first poem in Lansdowne 777, carefully copied and numbered, three stanzas to a page, contrasts sharply with Harley 6931, where it is squeezed into the lower half of f. 2 verso, without any stanza divisions or numbers. Peter Beal is incorrect, however, in saying that the Harley copy of the poem credits it to John Chudleigh.³⁷ In fact, although the following poem is ascribed to Chudleigh, *The honour and eternity of Poetry* is subscribed 'Will Browne'. Moreover, both *On One drowned in a great snowe* (f. 4v.) and *Uppon an Infant Unborne whose mother dyed in trauell* (f. 5r-v.), the other two poems by Browne in this miscellany, are both subscribed 'William Browne' - and this manuscript by no means credits the authors of all its poems. The texts of *On One drowned in a great snowe* (BrW 161) and *Uppon an Infant Unborne whose mother dyed in trauell* (BrW 90) differ moderately from the Lansdowne equivalents, though with few significant discrepancies apart from the extra couplet which so many of the miscellanies insert between lines 24-25 of *On an Infant vnborne & the Mother dyeing in Trauell*. Regrettably, little is known about Harley MS 6931. Beal describes it simply as a 'verse miscellany' and dates it to the 1630s, but otherwise suggests nothing about its provenance.³⁸ Since it includes 19 poems by Corbett and 29 by Strode, it is possible that the manuscript derives from Christ Church, but there is no direct evidence for this. Its texts of *On One drowned in a great snowe* and *Uppon an Infant Unborne whose mother dyed in trauell* resemble some of the Oxford copies of these poems, but unfortunately the Yale MS, Osborn 200, the closest analogue for both poems, has similarly obscure origins.³⁹ A Christ Church origin could explain the Harley MS compiler's

knowledge of Browne's authorship of the poems, and would not be inconsistent with the mediocrity of the texts.

The various copies of the much-transcribed *On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke*, *On one drown'd in the Snowe*, *On an Infant vnborne & the Mother dyeing in Trauell* and *On Mrs Anne Prideaux* vary widely. For the latter three, however, Lansdowne 777 has the almost exact endorsement of Sloane MS 1446, the only other manuscript which shows any sign of attempting to collect Browne's poetry.⁴⁰ The Sloane manuscript even agrees with L777 in omitting the extra couplet in *On an Infant vnborne* and in retaining the italic emphasis on the direct-speech address in lines 26-28. Of the other four manuscripts which do not include the extra couplet, three (British Library Egerton MSS 923 and 2421 and Folger MS V. a. 97, i.e. BrW 88, 89 and 93) are Oxford manuscripts, and the fourth (Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 153, i.e. BrW 81, of unknown origins), also has one of the best miscellany texts of *On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke*.⁴¹ The emphasis on lines 26-28 is retained in British Library Add. MSS 25303 (BrW 87, an Inns of Court manuscript of the 1620-30s) and 21433 (BrW 86, another Inns of Court manuscript, transcribed from Add. MS 25303).⁴² The poem is ascribed to Browne only in British Library Harley MS 6931 and Yale, Osborn 200 (BrW 90 and 96), both of which are of unknown origins. At least 11 of the 19 miscellanies which include texts of *On an Infant vnborne* derive from Oxford, but there is no clear pattern of similarity between their texts of the epitaph - not even among those of the miscellanies which derive from Christ Church - and nor are they consistently close to L777. However, there is a clear pattern of resemblance between the copy of the epitaph in *Parnassus Biceps* (1656) and three of the manuscript copies - BrW 81, 89 and 93 - suggesting either that the *Parnassus Biceps* version was transcribed from a manuscript in this textual group, or that it subsequently became the copy-text for some of the later miscellanies (or both).⁴³ Similarly, among copies of *On one drown'd in the Snowe*, the Oxford texts are inconsistent and often mediocre or poor, while BrW 169 and 173 are textually close to the copy in *Wits Recreations* (1640) and BrW 164 to the version in *Parnassus Biceps*.⁴⁴ In the 35 miscellany manuscripts and two printed texts of *On Mrs Anne Prideaux*, the main areas of disagreement are the title, the 'Yet fearefull' of line 3 (variations on 'But', 'fearing' and 'carefull'), and the 'Might' (often 'Should') of line 4. But the main text of the epitaph is matched word for word by Sloane MS 1446 (BrW 125) and Trinity College Dublin MS 877 (BrW 140) - the Trinity manuscript also subscribes the poem 'Will: Browne' - and the titles in both of these manuscripts are also

knowledgeable about the child's death: the Trinity manuscript has *On one that dyde att the age of six yeares*, and Sloane's *On Mrs Anne Prideaux daughter of Mr Dr Prideaux Regius Professor she died aged 6 yeeres* is the most informative of any of the miscellany titles. Indeed, there seems to be a clear correlation in the copies of this poem between the information in the title and the quality of the text. Excluding Lansdowne 777, all but 8 of the manuscript texts of this poem give it an uninformed title, such as 'On the Death of a Gentlewoman' (BrW 117) or 'On a childe' (BrW 118, 130). Of these eight, three - BrW 112, 129 and 141 - are markedly poorer than the others, their many errors affecting the familiar 'Yet', 'fearefull' and 'Might'. Of these three, however, BrW 112 has evidently conflated the subject of the epitaph, Anne Prideaux, with her sister, Mary, commemorated in four epitaphs by William Strode: it entitles the poem 'On the death of Mrs Mary Prideaux', and subscribes it 'W: Stroad'. The titles of BrW 129's 'The Epitaph on Dr Prideaux daughter' and BrW 141's 'On Dr Prideaux daughter dying very young' allow the possibility that these texts also have mistaken Anne for Mary. The remaining five include the Sloane and Trinity manuscripts, and three others which each differ only by one word from the Lansdowne text. Bodleian MS Eng. poet. e. 14 (BrW 111), which also includes the best miscellany text of 'Is Death so great a Gamester', differs from Lansdowne (as described above), only by renaming the subject 'Mrs Anne Price' (my emphasis); it knows that she has died at the age of 6. Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 116 (BrW 115) makes a one-year slip with the child's age - 'Of a Gentlewoman that dyed being 7 yeares old' - but otherwise differs from Lansdowne only by the easy variant of 'women' for 'woman' in line 2. The reliable Folger MS V. a. 97 (BrW 128), which calls the poem 'On Dr Prideaux his daughter 6 yeares old', also has only one straightforward variant from the Lansdowne text: 'would' for 'could' in line 5. This correlation between knowledge of the subject and similarity of text, again, tends to endorse the Lansdowne version.

The popularity of Browne's epitaph *On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke* is attested by 50 miscellany copies and three early printed texts (the 1623 and 1629 editions of Camden's *Remaines*, and the 1660 *Poems by Pembroke and Ruddier*).⁴⁵ As a result, the extant variants for its 12 lines are extraordinarily diverse and complex. The earliest known copy is probably BrW 219, a Public Records Office manuscript, SP. 14/123/30. This manuscript, a single-sheet copy, was discovered by Joan Grundy, and is described in her article 'A New Manuscript of the Countess of Pembroke's Epitaph' (*N&Q*, n.s. 7

(1960): 63-64). It occurs among the State Papers for October 1621, following a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, which includes a description of the Countess's funeral procession. On Grundy's account, it is unclear whether the collocation of these papers is contemporary, or the work of a later cataloguer. Probably reluctantly, she concludes that the scribe of this copy was not Browne himself, but adds: 'The *version* of the poem that the copy presents is a very good one, if we take, as we must, the Lansdowne MS. as our standard. Its one variation is its substitution of "kill'd" for "slaine" in the fourth line ("Death, ere thou hast slaine another"). This variation occurs so often in other versions that it seems possible that it was indeed Browne's first choice'.⁴⁶ Grundy does not make clear why 'we must' accept the authority of Lansdowne 777 for the epitaph, but probably she too thought that this manuscript was in Browne's own hand, and without this certainty it cannot be self-evident that its readings must be favoured. The Public Records Office copy may lack any demonstrable links with Browne, but its text is, potentially, as likely as any other to report Browne's original words: and even the possibility that it may be the earliest known copy gives it an advantage over many of the other documents. Rather surprisingly, the epitaph on the Countess does not occur among the collection of Browne's epitaphs in Sloane MS 1446, and there is no known external authority for any of the extant MSS and printed copies. Of the many variants in these early witnesses, however, only two achieve majority support. Thirty-one manuscript copies of the poem and the *Pembroke and Ruddier* printed text have no division between stanzas, and a further three manuscript copies omit the second stanza altogether.⁴⁷ The most common variation of all, however, is the one noted by Grundy: the alteration of 'slaine' in line 4. None of the printed texts read 'slaine', and of the manuscripts only BrW 189 (Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 117), BrW 190 (Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 153), BrW191 (Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 160), BrW 212 (Folger MS V. a. 319) and BrW 213 (Harvard, MS Eng. 686, an Inns of Court MS) have 'slaine', and BrW 214 (Harvard 14457.23.8.7*) the partial equivalent 'slaiest such'. Of the variants, the most popular alternative is the P.R.O. MS reading, 'kill'd' (18 manuscripts and all three printed texts); while others include 'tane' for 'slaine' (BrW 218) and 'killst such' for 'hast slaine' (BrW 196, 197, 204, 206, 223, 225). The consensus of witnesses is overwhelmingly against 'slaine'. But again it may be useful to recall Lee Patterson's warning that frequency of attestation is not enough to command authority. The well-known tendency of copyists to substitute obscure words with more familiar synonyms might by itself be enough to explain the prevalence of 'kill'd' over 'slaine', and this being so, the incidence of 'slaine' in *any* copies

other than L777 is perhaps surprising. It is worth noting that Heywood's adaptation of the epitaph, in *The Life and Death of Queen Elizabeth*, though its many differences from Lansdowne exceed the revisions necessary to apply the poem to Queen Elizabeth, does reproduce the L777 reading of line 4: 'Death, e're thou hast slaine another'.⁴⁸ It is also worth attending to the three Bodleian manuscript copies of the Countess epitaph which do preserve the 'slaine' reading. The BrW 190 text of the epitaph is identical to Lansdowne 777, apart from the absence of a stanza division: scarcely a momentous difference. Little, however, is known about this manuscript (MS Rawl. poet. 153), so no connection with Browne can be postulated. The BrW 191 copy appears in Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 160, which is described by Beal as a formal verse miscellany and is dated '1633' on f. 55. It is carefully copied in a single, neat hand, and gives its poems Latin titles: 'EPITAPH Comitissae Pembrook' for the poem on the Countess. The usual 12 lines of the epitaph are preceded by a four-line stanza:

Reader this same stone doth tell
 The pearle's gone here lyes the shell
 But if thou knew'st either Earle
 Thou'ldst sweare here lyes the mother of pearle.

The heading 'Aliud' introduces the first stanza of the epitaph, which is identical to the Lansdowne 777 version. It is followed by a stanza division, another heading 'Aliud', and the second stanza, which differs from Lansdowne only by the substitution of 'good' for 'kind' in line 9. The epitaph is subscribed 'Finis Browne'. The BrW 189 copy, in Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 117, is strikingly similar, if not quite so meticulous. Its English title, 'Epitaph upon the Countesse of Pembroke', is an exact equivalent of the Latin of BrW 191, and it also includes the extra stanza, here beginning 'Reader, this stone doth tell'. It does not introduce the subsequent stanzas with 'Aliud', and while its version of lines 1-6 exactly matches BrW 191 and Lansdowne 777, its second stanza is reduced to only five lines by the omission of lines 9b and 10a (resulting in the reading 'some good woman (like Niobe) / Shall turne marble and become'). According to Crum, these are the only copies of 'Reader this [same] stone' in the Bodleian manuscripts, and I know of no copies held in the collections of any other libraries.⁴⁹ BrW 191 is evidently the better text, but the similarity between the two copies - especially in the difficult line 4 - is sufficient to suggest that they at least belong to near generations of the same textual family.⁵⁰ There is no textual warrant for attributing the extra stanza to Browne, but the style is not

unlike his: the opening injunction to the reader recalls the start of the Hopton epitaph, and the pearl imagery distantly resembles lines 17-18 of the *Elegie* on the Countess: 'Yet (could I choose) I would not any knewe / That thou wert lost but as a pearle of Dewe'. Moreover, it seems likely that this extra stanza must be near-contemporary with the 12-line epitaph: or at least must pre-date the death of William Herbert, the 'Pembroke' of line 3, in 1630, since 'either Earle' presumably must refer to both William and his younger brother Philip, then Earl of Montgomery. Since the most substantial evidence of Browne's receipt of the Pembrokes' favour dates from the mid-1620s (his governorship of Dormer), it is possible that this stanza, as well as the 12-line epitaph, with its conspicuous attention to the renown of the Countess's family, was part of a bid for material patronage. This is mere speculation, but since the BrW 191 text is one of only four documents (with the Aubrey MSS and Trinity College, Dublin 877) to attribute the epitaph to Browne, its credentials seem better than most. Its endorsement of the Lansdowne readings, including 'slaine', is a persuasive argument in favour of the L777 text. While Lansdowne 777 cannot boast the holograph authority assumed by Grundy, its text of this elegy remains the only one with any claims to authority at all, and its readings are both cogent and more interesting than bland variants such as 'kill'd'. Hence, L777's *On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke*, like so many of the multiple-copy poems, both depends on and testifies to the general authority and integrity of the Lansdowne 777 collection. Their cumulative effect is the most compelling argument in its favour.⁵¹

(v) Textual Introduction

It should by now be clear why this edition of Browne's shorter poetry - like Brydges', Hazlitt's and Goodwin's - is effectively an edition of Lansdowne 777. The comparison demanded by Wolf between the extant miscellany copies of the shorter poems tends overwhelmingly to endorse the nineteenth-century editors' scarcely-questioned faith in the authority of Lansdowne as copy-text. For 41 of the 68 English poems by Browne in Lansdowne 777 the issue of comparison does not even arise, since for these 41 the Lansdowne text is the only known copy. Of the remaining 17, only the 7th poem, 'Loue! when I mett her first whose slaue I am', is demonstrably inferior to another extant text (the version in *Britannias Pastorals* III.1. 463-492), and only then in 2 out of its 5 variants. In each of the other 16 poems for which other copies are extant, the Lansdowne version is at least equal if not superior to the other copies, at least in the respect of verbals.¹ Moreover, as I have already argued, it is very likely that the ordering of poems within the manuscript represents a planned sequence, from the introductory ode in celebration of poetry, through the successive variations on the theme of love, to the concluding elegies and epitaphs. This ordering contributes to the cumulative poetic effect of the compilation, and consequently its distortion in the nineteenth-century editions is a regrettable impoverishment, the loss of a useful bibliographical context.² Ironically, whereas Wolf's appeal for attention to be paid to the miscellany texts of Browne clearly anticipates that some of them will prove to be superior to Lansdowne, careful examination of the Browne manuscripts, I believe, tends to accord Lansdowne 777 even more authority than did its nineteenth-century editors. Both for the quality of its texts and as a planned anthology of his work, Lansdowne 777 is the best available basis for a modern edition of Browne's shorter poetry.

How, then, to present the text? One possibility might be to produce photocopies of the manuscript, accompanied by transcriptions of the text, perhaps on facing pages. This is approximately the method of Mary Hobbs's edition of the Stoughton Manuscript for the Scolar Press, although in that volume the transcription follows the complete photographic reproduction.³ However, for both financial and administrative reasons this is not a realistic possibility for a thesis, and in any case I am not convinced that it would be significantly advantageous in the case of Lansdowne 777. In contrast to the Stoughton Manuscript, praised by Hobbs for its 'scrupulously careful layout' (p. x), the physical appearance of Lansdowne 777 is often careless, sloppy or laboured, and

little would be gained from reproducing it exactly. The scribal errors in transcription, chaotic punctuation and inconsistent care in the layout of poems are worthy of notice but do not, I believe, require photographic reproduction in an edition whose interest in Browne is more literary than sociological. The exact order of poems in this compilation does matter - it is an 'intention-carrier' - and I have replicated it faithfully. With the unique exception of 'Behold ô God', the appearance of the poems on the page does not contribute to their literary import, and little is lost by not attempting to reproduce it.

Every edition represents a compromise. The principle I have stressed so far, fidelity to the text of Lansdowne 777, is only one of several priorities in this edition. Others include, obviously, attention to the other seventeenth-century copies of poems by Browne, both in manuscript and in print. I have also attempted a fuller annotation of the poems than any of the previous editions have provided, both because readerly expectations have changed since 1894, the date of Goodwin's edition, and also because the lack of annotation in previous editions has seriously under-estimated the breadth of Browne's allusions.⁴ Even so, as I am aware, many of his references have escaped me.⁵ Also, while taking Lansdowne 777 as my copy-text, I have wanted to provide a record of the variants from the other extant copies of the poems. To borrow Katherine Duncan-Jones's instructive distinction, the evidence of the miscellany copies may be of little direct value for 'Text', but it is an unrivalled witness to 'Reception'.⁶ I have been unable to consult the manuscript miscellanies held by the Rosenbach Foundation, since according to their archivist they are too fragile to be copied, and three other of the manuscript copies listed by Beal have also proved unavailable.⁷ However, with these few exceptions, all the Beal copies of poems by Browne have been checked for this edition, and their variants collated.⁸

Partly because of these rival priorities, this is not a diplomatic edition. There is no absolute reason why a diplomatic transcript of a specific manuscript should not be collated with other manuscript copies and furnished with introduction and annotation to individual poems, but in practice this seems to happen comparatively rarely. My decision not to produce a diplomatic edition derives from the same considerations as my lack of regret for the impracticality of providing photographic reproduction of Lansdowne 777. Since the transcription of Lansdowne 777 is not Browne's own, and since the scribe responsible for the compilation demonstrably lacked care in copying, the meticulous textual scrutiny necessary for a diplomatic edition seems to me to be

unjustified. Accordingly, I have followed the order, spelling, emphases (italics and emboldening) and capitalization of Lansdowne 777 as far as possible.⁹ I have also followed the text of L777 even on such disputed issues as the reading ‘slaine’ (not ‘kill’d’) in line 4 of *On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke*, the comparison of the mourning maiden to an anchoress rather than Lot’s wife in lines 47-48 of ‘Is Death so great a Gamester’, and the extra couplet in *On an Infant vnborne*.¹⁰ I have also used Lansdowne 777 as the copy-text for the poem ‘Loue! when I mett her first’, emending according to the *Britannias Pastorals* copy only those readings (in lines 5 and 17) which fail to make sense and which appear to be merely slips of the pen.¹¹ The other three variants in the Lansdowne 777 copy are each individually plausible, and the poem as a whole is at least as coherent as the *Britannias Pastorals* version. However, I have silently expanded the L777 scribe’s frequent use of brevigraphs (w^{ch}, y^t, p^{swade}, p^{fect} etc.). I have also numbered all the poems as they appear in Lansdowne 777, headed each with a cue-title, and provided each with its Beal number, publication details, date if known, line numbers, and introduction and annotation if necessary. Any relevant information about the L777 manuscript copy is also provided. In the case of two poems, ‘Yet one dayes rest’ and *An Elegye on Sir Thomas Overburye*, where another extant text is longer than the Lansdowne 777 copy, I insert the extra lines after a gap. In both cases, the lines in common between the two copies are verbally identical.

The most vexing editorial problem with Lansdowne 777 as copy-text is its punctuation. The L777 scribe’s frequent slips and corrections of the text may result in an untidy document, but at least they imply that he was actively careful to transcribe an accurate copy. The punctuation, however, is chaotic, inconsistent, apparently haphazard. A few examples illustrate the point. In poem 1, the ode ‘Awake, faire Muse’, only stanzas 4, 5, 7 and 8 are closed with a full stop, though the syntactic divisions between each of the stanzas are equally and indifferently important: 1, 2, 3 and 6 just as much as 4, 5, 7 and 8 each corresponds to a new thought-unit. In poem 4, *A Rounde*, the inadequacy of the directions is a comparable deficiency. Failure to close parentheses is frequent. The second of a pair of brackets is omitted in the epigram ‘It hapned lately at a fair or wake’, line 17, the fourth *Vision* sonnet, line 7, the epistle on the jangling bells, line 4, *A Sigh from Oxford*, line 120, the *Epistle throwne into a Riuer in a ball of Wax*, line 25, *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia*, lines 136 and 144, *An Elegye on Mr Willm Hopton*, line 35, *A Pastorall Elegie on Mr Thomas Manwood*, line 39, to cite only a few examples. A rarer mistake occurs in lines 75-78 of the

Pastorall Elegie, where the first bracket of a pair is missing. In poem 9, ‘Not long agone a youthfull swayne’, the only punctuation mark is the apostrophe in ‘chang’de’ (line 7). In ‘Loue who will’ there is no punctuation apart from a semi-colon after line 4. ‘Deepe are the wounds’ is punctuated only by the brackets in the penultimate line, and ‘Tell me Pyrrha’ only by brackets in line 10 and a question mark after line 12. In lines 1-18 of the epistle ‘Deare soule, the time is come’, similarly, the only punctuation marks are brackets, despite the obvious need for full stops after lines 8, 14 and 18, and lesser stops after lines 1, 10, 12 and 16. In poem 18, the 42-line ‘Ye merry birds’ the only punctuation marks are full stops after lines 30 and 42, and a semi-colon after line 39. The first sonnet to Caelia is punctuated only by a colon in line 7, after ‘thus’. In line 85 of *Fido* there is a redundant mid-line question-mark, after ‘meant’. In *An Epiced on Mr Fishbourne*, apart from the brackets in lines 7-8, the first punctuation mark is after ‘too’ in line 11; and although there is no stop after line 26, as would seem logical, there is a semi-colon after ‘them’ in line 27. The first two lines of *An Elegye on Mr Willm Hopton* are punctuated ‘When shall myne eyes be dry I daily See / Proiects on foot. And some haue falne on mee’, the absence of a question mark after ‘dry’ all the more surprising after the plethora of marked questions in the *Epiced*, and the apparently misplaced full stop is the last such mark until the end of line 12. In the elegy ‘Is Death so great a Gamester’ line 9 is dramatically punctuated with an exclamation mark, but line 16 lacks the full stop it seems to require. In the elegy on Thomas Ayleworth there are question marks in lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11 and a colon after ‘life’ in line 16, but no stops after line 16 or 22.

The difficulty with Lansdowne 777’s punctuation is not a matter of anachronistic expectations. No one should expect a seventeenth-century scribe to punctuate according to late twentieth-century conventions. Lansdowne 777’s punctuation is problematic not because it conforms to seventeenth-century conventions, but because it is internally inconsistent, even taking differences of usage into account. One habit characteristic of the L777 scribe but differing from modern practice is to omit a full stop if a sentence ends immediately before an indented line. Since this convention is regularly observed, it commands respect (though even so it presents a problem for an editor, since the eye of a contemporary reader automatically demands the stop). The omission of punctuation at the end of a stanza was also common practice in manuscript transmission (according to Ted-Larry Pebworth), but in Lansdowne 777, as the example of the ode shows, the practice is inconsistently applied.¹² It is scarcely

likely that the L777 scribe deliberately refrained from closing brackets in ‘It hapned lately at a Faire or Wake’, the *Vision* sonnet etc., or opening them in *A Pastorall Elegie*, especially since there are numerous examples, in these and other poems, of brackets which open and close in impeccable pairs.¹³ Inconsistencies such as these make the Lansdowne 777 punctuation unusable.

The question of punctuation is not merely a pedantic worry. As Pebworth insists, ‘punctuation, capitalization, spelling, and other “accidental” features often can and do affect meaning and the “essence of an author’s expression”’, and the lack of authoritative accidentals therefore poses an editorial problem. Theoretical discussions of the issues involved in punctuating seventeenth-century manuscript poetry often invoke a contrast between the clearly-punctuated holograph manuscript - the editor’s ideal copy, which may never in fact have existed and is only rarely still extant - and the more tortuous but more likely situation of multiple texts of uncertain provenance and conjectural authority, from which an acceptable text must be teased out with great difficulty.¹⁴ But Lansdowne 777 falls into neither of these categories. It is not holograph itself, but appears to be very close to holograph. As I have already argued, the state of the manuscript strongly implies that the scribe made a conscientious, if laborious, effort to copy the words correctly. It is difficult to believe, however, that he took similar care with the punctuation. The evidence of Browne’s printed poetry and his attempts to establish ‘perfect’ texts of Hoccleve suggests that he himself was textually careful, and an aside in *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia* - ‘I sure shall thincke I doe not vnderstand / In reading as you meant, and fall from thence, / To doubt if points peruerted not the Sence’ (lines 84-86) - shows that he was aware of the potential risks of inadequate or misleading punctuation. His own holograph copies, I am sure, would have been punctuated meticulously.¹⁵ It is all too plausible, however, that a scribe who made so many slips in transcribing words would be even more careless in copying punctuation, and less likely to correct his mistakes. It may, in any case, be anachronistic to look for faithful punctuation in a scribal manuscript since, as Pebworth (citing Greg) remarks, ‘scribes of that period were very cavalier in their treatment of accidentals, especially in copying verse. While most scribes obviously attempted to copy the words of a poem accurately, most just as obviously followed “their own habits or inclinations” in the matter of accidentals’.¹⁶ There is no need to trust the authority of the L777 accidentals, and no obligation to reproduce them.

In a forthright discussion of the problems of punctuating medieval (hence, manuscript) poetry, Mary-Jo Arn makes an instructive point by comparing passages from *Troilus and Criseyde* (Book I, lines 309-315), and *Lycidas* (lines 70-76), printing both without punctuation.¹⁷ Unsurprisingly, the extract from Chaucer is much easier to read than the Milton. Arn comments: 'Neither of these passages is modern. One was read in its day with punctuation, one without. In reading them in this form they both present problems, but the problems are in each case somewhat different because one has modern syntax and one does not. Modern punctuation works together with modern syntax to make reading easier and faster; medieval syntax and lack of punctuation require a more exploratory kind of reading'.¹⁸ Pebworth makes the comparable point that accidentals are 'especially important in the editing of poems by a writer such as Donne, given as he characteristically is to elliptical statement, knotty syntax, and multivalent wit'.¹⁹ Different kinds of poems require different standards of punctuation. The syntactic sophistication of Donne or Milton depends on a comparably sophisticated punctuation. Nothing in William Browne's poetry matches the elliptical ingenuity of Donne or the Latinate concision of Milton, but his more ambitious poems do require a denser punctuation than is provided by Lansdowne 777. It is noticeable that the L777 scribe, lax as he typically was in this respect, took more trouble with the more syntactically complex poems, such as 'Is Death so great a Gamester' and the elegy on Thomas Ayleworth, than with lyrics such as 'Loue who will, for I'le loue none'. For the latter, punctuation was scarcely necessary; for the former, the reader needed rather more help. Nonetheless, despite this extra attention, the punctuation of the elegies and epistles - and many of the shorter lyrics as well - is unacceptably illogical and inconsistent. To reproduce it in a modern edition would be culpably lazy.

I emphasize this point because in many recent theoretical discussions of editing manuscript poetry there seems to be an understandable preference for reproducing the punctuation of the copy-text whenever possible, as well as the verbals and other accidentals. This may in part be a lingering consequence of Greg's insistence on the importance of accidentals for the choice of copy-text, but it is also a logical - though not an inevitable - corollary of the respect for manuscript testimony advocated by Beal, Marotti, Hobbs and editors such as Pebworth.²⁰ It also, I think, betokens the assumption, sometimes acknowledged but often implicit, that the editor of a critical text should aspire to be inconspicuous, and that the obligations of editorship are best satisfied by a conservative practice of reproducing original editions as far as possible, and

avoiding the temptation to impose the editor's own interpretations on to the text. I do not wish to disagree with these objectives, but there is a lot of leeway in 'as far as possible', and it would be seriously misleading if this principle were extended so far as to let it appear that by following it the editor is relieved of the need to make any critical decisions at all. As Gary Taylor remarks, 'a principle cannot apply itself; if it could, microchips would be the best editors'.²¹ Both Mary-Jo Arn and Lee Patterson are insistent that as well as a faithful rendering of the text the responsibilities of an editor legitimately include a duty to make the document accessible to the contemporary reader, and an admission that conscientious editorship will involve some measure of intervention. Patterson suggests: 'The editors' purpose, I think, is not to protect themselves from scrutiny but to accommodate two finally irreconcilable imperatives: to offer, on the one hand, a text that is marked as a reconstruction and that therefore requires of the reader, not merely an awareness of, but an assent to the fact of editorial intervention; and on the other hand, to offer a text that is fully available to current critical interests and to the institutions of literary consumption.'²² Arn's similar argument emphasizes the practical considerations which inevitably force the editor to make decisions:

[M]y point is that it is not possible to leave the syntactical interpretation of the passage open to the reader. The editor must either insert that comma (or semicolon or period) or omit it. He must decide whether a given line refers back or forward, whether a statement is proverbial or in direct speech or in a foreign language, and, if so, whether it should be set off in some way from the surrounding text - and punctuate accordingly. It is often impossible to straddle the fence in presenting a line of text; the page is unyielding. What to do? Admit, even put on display, the awful secret that editors are interpreting constantly, that interpreting is what editors do, that punctuation is interpreting - in short, discuss such ambiguities openly and clearly in the commentary to the edition.

(Arn, p. 172.)

That an editor must repunctuate a defective manuscript may be clear, but *how* to repunctuate is still not self-evident. By analogy with Donne, Peabworth suggests that 'in so emending the accidentals, the editor [of coterie poetry] might

well be guided by the other manuscript copies in the family from which the copy-text was chosen': but this cannot be attempted with Browne's poetry, given the unique status of Lansdowne 777.²³ Nor can there be any question of attempting to invent a pseudo-seventeenth century punctuation to supply the deficiencies of Lansdowne. The only remaining option is the insertion of modern punctuation, as light as is consistent with clarity. As Arn points out, 'lightness' in punctuation is a deceptively vague concept - often the methodological refuge of desperate editors - and definitions of 'lightness' are apt to differ widely. Circumspectly defined, however, it can still be a valid, even a necessary, consideration. As well as attempting to clarify the text, the punctuating editor must also 'remain acutely aware at all times of the possibility of alternative readings and attempt to avoid "blocking" any reasonable, historically possible reading'.²⁴ Without editorial punctuation, the poem may simply not make sense. Excessive punctuation, however, may obliterate genuine poetic ambiguities. Conscientious editorship requires an inescapably subjective compromise between these rival priorities.

In editing Lansdowne 777, therefore, I have inserted my own punctuation, but have tried to keep it minimal, and as unintrusive as possible. I have, for instance, refrained from inserting either inverted commas or possessive apostrophes, which I feel would have been excessively anachronistic, and which, moreover, would be incompatible with the principle of 'light' punctuation. However, I have preferred the consistency of repunctuating *all* the poems over the possibility of preserving L777's pointing in those poems - mostly brief lyrics, such as 'Not long agone' and 'Shall I loue againe' - which might be able to bear the deficiency.²⁵ When I use parentheses this usually - though not always - denotes brackets in L777; but otherwise nothing should be inferred from my punctuation about the pointing of the manuscript. The punctuation of this edition is entirely my own responsibility.

Notes to 'Life and Works'

¹ Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses, an Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford*, ed. Philip Bliss, 4 vols. (London, 1815), vol. II, pp. 364-367.

² John Prince, *Danmonii Orientales Illustres: or, The Worthies of Devon* (Exeter, 1701).

- ³ *The Works of William Browne*, ed. T. Davies, with notes and observations by Rev. W. Thompson, 3 vols. (London, 1772).
- ⁴ *Original Poems, never before published, by William Browne, of the Inner Temple, Gent*, ed. Sir Egerton Brydges (Private Press of Lee Priory, 1815).
- ⁵ *The Whole Works of William Browne, of Tavistock, and of the Inner Temple*, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt, 2 vols. (London, 1868-9).
- ⁶ *Poems of William Browne of Tavistock*, ed. Gordon Goodwin, with an introduction by A. H. Bullen, 2 vols. (London, 1894).
- ⁷ F. W. Moorman, *William Browne: His Britannia's Pastorals and the Pastoral Poetry of the Elizabethan Age* (Strasbourg, 1897), Geoffrey Tillotson, 'William Browne: His Life and Pastorals' (Oxford, B.Litt, 1931), Joan Grundy, *The Spenserian Poets: A Study in Elizabethan and Jacobean Poetry* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969), Joan Ozark Holmer, 'Internal Evidence for Dating William Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, Book III', *PBSA* 70 (1976): 347-364, Cedric C. Brown and Margherita Piva, 'William Browne, Marino, France, and the Third Book of *Britannia's Pastorals*', *RES*, n.s. 29 (1978): 385-404, and Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Three Jacobean Spenserians: William Browne, George Wither and Christopher Brooke' (Oxford, D.Phil, 1993).
- ⁸ Tillotson's thesis, as I describe later, is also flawed by naive assumptions about the relationship of life and work - and also, intermittently, by pretentious style.
- ⁹ Brydges, p. 2.
- ¹⁰ Hazlitt, I, pp. xviii-xix. This interpretation has the additional disadvantage that it appears to depend on a misreading of the poetry. In *Britannias Pastorals*, Remond loves Fida, who reciprocates his affection. Marina is loved by Doridon and the unnamed shepherd of Book I Song 1, while she herself loves only Celandine, who has spurned her.
- ¹¹ Hazlitt, I, p. xix.
- ¹² Goodwin, I, pp. xix-xx.
- ¹³ Moorman, pp. 12-15. Moorman's readiness to accept Browne's fifth sonnet to Caelia at face value as testimony to the vexed conjunction of his writing and his courtship overlooks the obvious literary model of *Amoretti* 80.
- ¹⁴ Grundy, *The Spenserian Poets*, pp. 143 and 158.
- ¹⁵ Brown and Piva, p. 387. The reference is to *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia*, lines 125-140.
- ¹⁶ Holmer, p. 360.
- ¹⁷ Tillotson, pp. 29-30. Since, in this thesis, I usually mention Tillotson only to disagree with him, I should like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the debt which all subsequent students of Browne owe to his work. His is by far the most substantial contribution to knowledge about Browne this century: e.g. in his discovery of Browne's emblem book, and the record of Browne's third son. He too can be critical of naïve biographical readings - his refutation of Bullen's arguments for Browne's first marriage is exemplary - and his bibliographical precision in comparing the early editions of *Britannias Pastorals* and *The Shepherds Pipe* is superb. The opening paragraph of his Chapter One, however, amply illustrates the romantic oversimplifications and stylistic pomposity which mar this excellent work. 'The inward biography of Browne's early years reverberates in the poems, now clean as fluting, now distant, hard to catch. The formative years in Tavistock and Oxford, when waters, trees and birds exquisitely invaded his eyes and ears, are mirrored with silver distinctness in the poem. It was Wordsworth's progress in miniature, and with neat scissors one could readily assemble *The Prelude* of William Browne. Mirrored as clearly is the yeasty turmoil that came later - his hopes and fears for his poetry; the interplay of decision and indecision about the nature of his talent and its outlet, about epics, pastorals, satires; his visions of himself as a post-Elizabethan Vergil, the iambic blazoner of the buccaneers, or as a Juvenal stung to physical fury by the corruptions around him. Then his entanglements in love, his agonies, his dream-ridden insecurities, his leaping joy - all this moans or skips in the written word. His elegies and epitaphs, many of them, record the trend of a long sorrow overshadowing his twenties. The death of friends emptied great places in his youthful mind. Browne's grief in the poems has an acceptance and sullen melodiousness which is like the aged sweetness of *October in England*' (p. 7).
- ¹⁸ Cited in C. W. Boase's *Register of the Rectors and Fellows Scholars Exhibitioners and Bible Clerks of Exeter College Oxford, with Illustrative Documents and a History of the College*, (Oxford, 1879), p. lxxi.

¹⁹ The family tree is reproduced in the preface to Hazlitt's *Whole Works* and Bullen's introduction, as well as Brydges' *Original Poems*. Harley MS 6164 is a book of family trees of leading families in Surrey, apparently compiled around 1634. Ironically, the treatment of the Browne pedigree in this volume testifies both to the enduring inclination of manuscript readers to annotate their texts, and to the disapproval of such annotation by librarians of a later century. On f. 37, an extra branch has been added to the Browne family, in a different hand and ink, giving the first William Browne a daughter, Thomasine, and other grandchildren and great-grandchildren. However, this extra line has also been marked, emphatically, 'a forgery'; and a note on one of the early leaves of the volume makes it clear that any future defacement of the manuscript could expect to incur swift and severe punishment: 'Mem. The entries in modern ink on ff. 37, 44 (verso) were made by a reader, who was convicted afterwards of malicious damage to this MS, and sentenced at the Old Bailey, on 11 March, 1891, to two months' imprisonment. Edward Scott, Keeper of MSS, 12 March, 1891'.

²⁰ This allusion is suggested by Hazlitt, II, p. 364, and Goodwin, II, p. 234. Moorman remarks that in 1615, the apparent date of the epistle, Beachworth was the residence of Sir Matthew Browne, and wonders 'Was it his daughter Jane to whom our poet was paying court?' (p. 13).

²¹ Tillotson, p. 122. References to *Britannias Pastorals*, by default, are to Goodwin's edition.

²² The use of the river-myth also testifies to Browne's affinity with the poetic tradition of Spenser and Drayton. See Wyman H. Herendeen, *From Landscape to Literature: The River and the Myth of Geography* (Pittsburgh: Duquesnes University Press, 1988), pp. 306-318.

²³ Goodwin, I, p. xvii.

²⁴ Wood's assertion is confirmed by Prince in *Worthies of Devon* (p. 95) but since Prince's wording closely resembles *Athenae Oxonienses* - 'William Brown, greatly addicted to Books and Learning, went to Oxford; where in the beginning of K. Jam. I. his Reign, he spent some time among the Muses' - his source is probably Wood himself.

²⁵ The matriculation record cited on p. 9 dates from Browne's second residence at the university in the 1620s (see pp. 12-13). The documented fact that Browne had to matriculate in 1624 in order to graduate MA tends to confirm Wood's claim that he did not matriculate as an undergraduate.

²⁶ The suggestion was made first by Leila Parsons, in 'Prince Henry (1594-1612) as Patron of Literature', *MLR* 47 (1952): 503-507, and endorsed by Timothy Wilks in his D.Phil thesis *The Court Culture of Prince Henry and his Circle, 1603-1613* (Oxford, 1987), p. 76.

²⁷ For a discussion of the elegies on Prince Henry, see Dennis Kay, *Melodious Tears: The English Funeral Elegy from Spenser to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). Browne and Christopher Brooke, who published companion elegies on the Prince, dedicated their volume 'To the Honorable Gentlemen, and grieffe-afflicted followers of our incomparable Prince Henry, deceased', and Browne's poem at least is concerned mostly with the sorrow of Henry's followers, not at all with the surviving royal family. This emphasis on the 'grieffe-afflicted followers' would be especially appropriate if Browne had some reason - such as patronage - to associate himself with them. However, if he had been a protégé of the Prince, however distant, it is surprising that he does not mention it.

²⁸ Wood, II, pp. 364-365.

²⁹ Hazlitt, I, p. xiv.

³⁰ Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts, 1590-1640* (London: Longman, 1972).

³¹ Prest, pp. 21-22.

³² Prest, p. 23.

³³ Prest, p. 115, attempts to trace the origins of the 'third university' label.

³⁴ An apparently more neutral legal metaphor in *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia* (lines 11-24) insidiously contributes to the denigration of the women, Belphoebe and Fidelia, whose injustice to the men who love them has forced them to resort to such arguments.

³⁵ Prest, p. 155. The quotation is from Finkelppearl's *John Marston of the Middle Temple* (Cambridge, Mass.: Yale University Press, 1969).

³⁶ Prest, pp. 154 and 156.

³⁷ Prest, p. 155.

³⁸ The poem in *The Rogue* was first noted by Tillotson, pp. 46-47.

³⁹ The possibility that Browne was Massinger's 'W.B' is strengthened by the poet and playwright's mutual connections with the Pembroke family. Massinger and Browne were both later to write elegies on Charles Herbert, son of the fourth earl. The identification of William Browne of Tavistock as the translator of Gomberville was regarded as probable by Bullen (Goodwin, I, p. xxxiii), since the *History of Polexandre* is described on the title page as 'Done into English by William Browne, Gent. For the Right Honourable Philip, Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery', and no other William Browne is known to have been associated with Philip Herbert. Moreover, the publisher, Thomas Walkley, had been responsible for a 1620 edition of *The Shepherds Pipe*. Michelle O'Callaghan also cites Walkley's prefatory letter to Herbert, with its reference to the translator's recent death, as possible evidence for Browne's authorship of the translation: 'This Booke by your Lordships command, hath attained to speake an elegant English phrase (though bred in another climate) by the ability of a singular Tutor, (since with God) and is now left only to the Protection of your Noble Selfe, not knowing other where to crave a shelter' (O'Callaghan, p. 339).

⁴⁰ There are references in Nathanael Carpenter's *Geographie* (1625) and in the *Athenae Oxonienses* to Browne's authorship of a history of English poets; but in both cases the history is said to be anticipated rather than certainly written. Carpenter, having described several of Devon's eminent sons, says: 'Many inferiour faculties are yet left wherein our Devon hath displayed her abilities aswell as in the former, as in Philosophers, Historians, Oratours and Poets, the blazoning of whom to the life, especially the last, I had rather leaue to my worthy friend *Mr. W. Browne*; who as hee hath already honoured his cuntry in his elegant and sweete *Pastoralls*, so questionles will easily bee intreated a litle farther to grace it, by drawing out the line of his Poeticke Auncesters, beginning in *Iosephus Iscanus*, and ending in himselfe' (*The second Booke*, pp. 263-264). Wood's wording is similar: 'However the reader is to know, that as he had honoured his country with his elegant and sweet pastorals, so was he expected, and also intreated a little farther, to grace it, by drawing out the line of his poetic ancestors, beginning in Josephus Iscanus, and ending in himself; but whether ever published, having been all or mostly written, as 'twas said, I know not' (p. 366). It cannot be certain, moreover, that all of Browne's manuscript poetry has survived. 41 of the 68 English poems credited to Browne in Lansdowne 777 are unique to that manuscript: had it failed to survive, all 41 would have been lost, and several of the remaining 17 would not have been known as his work. It is surprising, for instance, given Browne's apparent penchant for elegies and epitaphs, that he seems to have written nothing in commemoration of his patron, William Herbert, who died in 1630.

⁴¹ Tillotson, pp. 42-43.

⁴² Harley MS 6164 appears to have been compiled in 1634, so Ambrose's absence from the Browne family tree is not suspicious.

⁴³ In a footnote to the Browne family tree, apparently copied from Brydges' edition, Bullen writes: 'Brydges was not aware that Timothy Eversfield was the poet's *second* wife, - a fact discovered by Mr. Gordon Goodwin' (Goodwin, I, p. xviii), and he later states categorically: 'Browne was twice married' (p. xix).

⁴⁴ Tillotson, p. 25.

⁴⁵ Tillotson, p. 26.

⁴⁶ Moorman, p. 12. This observation is ironic in Moorman, who elsewhere in this chapter constructs an elaborate account of Browne's love-life to fit the requirements of the sonnets, the other Caelia poems and *Britannia's Pastorals* Book III. Browne's undisputed wife, Timothy, is known to have outlived him, so the epitaphs cannot refer to her actual death.

⁴⁷ Lines 107-134 of *Britannias Pastorals*, Book III Song 1, which explicitly mourn the death of a dearly-loved mistress, do seem to be spoken in Browne's own voice. But as I explain later, Book III appears to have been composed in the mid-1620s - not 1614 - and the text lacks the detail necessary to identify the dead woman.

⁴⁸ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1616*, p. 638. For a possible second journey abroad, to France, see note 59.

⁴⁹ See Appendix.

⁵⁰ Goodwin, I, p. xxiv.

⁵¹ 'Information from the Eton Commensals, in Eton College Library. Dormer was in residence from 1621; Browne joined him there in 1623. Both left at the same time, having been entered for half a week only in the term beginning about Lady Day 1624. The fact that they were allowed to

matriculate at Oxford on 30 April 1624 suggests that they left Eton some time earlier in April' (Brown and Piva, pp. 400-401).

⁵² Boase, p. lxxi.

⁵³ This letter is preserved in Bodleian MS Ashmole 830.

⁵⁴ Wood, *Fasti*, I, 419.

⁵⁵ D.N.B., V, 1153.

⁵⁶ On this occasion, it does seem likely that the voice of one of Browne's poetic characters represents Browne himself. As Holmer notes, 'Browne invests this unnamed "wayfaring man" with autobiographical characteristics' (p. 356). The shepherd is said to live near Ramsham woods, which are near Tavistock, and he claims to have recorded Celadyne's name with his own voice, as Browne had done in Book I Song 1.

⁵⁷ Brown and Piva, p. 403; Holmer, p. 363.

⁵⁸ Grundy, p. 158.

⁵⁹ Brown and Piva, p. 387, p. 386.

⁶⁰ Tillotson, p. 27. These apparently confessional lines seem to indicate that Browne visited France at some time during the composition of Book III. Brown and Piva (followed by O'Callaghan) suggest that this visit may have coincided with Philip Herbert's journey to Paris to escort Henrietta Maria to England, and / or the Grand Tour on which Robert Dormer and Sophia Herbert departed after their marriage (Brown and Piva, pp. 400-403, O'Callaghan, p. 335).

⁶¹ 'He begins by rendering the Italian quite closely, sometimes stanza for stanza, then he adapts more freely. Throughout he keeps to the 'ottava rima' of his Italian original. Where he translates Marino, he generally condenses the Italian, quickening the narrative and avoiding many of the repetitive figures of Marino's copious style' (Brown and Piva, p. 388).

⁶² The state of the manuscript provides no clues. Brown and Piva emphasize that *Britannias Pastorals* Book III is a good copy. Observing that 'commentators seem to have slipped into the assumption that the manuscript is somehow inconsistent and unrevised', they insist: 'there is nothing in the appearance of the manuscript to suggest that it is casually stitched together so as to present inconsistencies. On the contrary, it is written in the same careful hand throughout, as it were at one sitting, and it includes neat revisions of odd words. Whether he composed all of it at one time is not the point: the point is that he copied out a carefully revised fair copy, good enough for presentation or publishers' (p. 394). Beal's warning, 'N.B. this MS is not autograph as has been commonly supposed' (*Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, vol. I, part 1, p. 119), does not seriously compromise this point.

⁶³ Goodwin, I, p. xxvi.

⁶⁴ Bullen, in Goodwin, I, p. xxx, mentions the friendship between Browne and Jonson as an established fact, as does Moorman (p. 2). Moorman, moreover, wonders whether Browne may have been 'seal'd of the tribe of Ben', and speculates that Shakespeare might have known of Browne through this mutual acquaintance (p. 9).

⁶⁵ Goodwin, I, p. 185.

⁶⁶ *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925-52), vol. 1, p. 133.

⁶⁷ If Browne did have some connection with Prince Henry's court, this may have provided him with the opportunity to meet Chapman, who was patronized by the Prince.

⁶⁸ *The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. W. Hebel, Kathleen Tillotson and B. H. Newdigate (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1931-41), vol. 3, p. 230. One of the reasons Drayton finds to praise Browne and the other poets he admires is that they publish in print, and do not keep their verses 'In private Chambers ... incloistered'.

⁶⁹ Hebel (ed.), vol. 3, pp. 209-212.

⁷⁰ 'Is Death so great a Gamester', line 88.

⁷¹ Prideaux, a former chaplain to Prince Henry, was elected rector of Exeter College Oxford in 1612, and was vice-chancellor of the university during Browne's second residence at Exeter. Unpopular during the late 1620s for his anti-Arminian views, he was protected by William Herbert, then Chancellor of Oxford. Browne wrote an epitaph on Prideaux's daughter, Anne.

⁷² Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, f. 151. The poem is discussed, mainly with reference to Drayton, by Kathleen Constable, 'Drayton and the Holland Family', *MLR* 26 (1931): 174-176.

⁷³ II.2.303-326.

⁷⁴ Brathwaite's *Strappado* is cited by O'Callaghan, pp. 78-79 and 113-114.

⁷⁵ Since Book II of the *Pastorals*, in which Thetis' arrival in Britain is described, is dedicated to William Herbert, there is presumably a degree of personal interest in the priority accorded to Sidney (who is not mentioned in Book I, dedicated to Lord Zouche).

⁷⁶ *Britannias Pastorals*, II.2.303.

⁷⁷ Grundy, 'William Browne and the Italian Pastoral', *RES* n.s. 4 (1953): 305-316, and *The Spenserian Poets*, pp. 154-156.

⁷⁸ Goodwin II, p. 119.

⁷⁹ MS Ashmole 40.

⁸⁰ *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, I,1, p. 115. A number of other manuscripts possibly owned by Browne are mentioned by Hilton Kelliher in his review of *IELM* vol. I, in *The Library*, ser. 6, 4 (1982): 435-440. Graham Parry suggests that he may also have used Robert Cotton's manuscript of Robert of Gloucester, Cotton Caligula A XI. See Parry, *The Trophies of Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 199.

⁸¹ Tillotson's demonstration that Browne was the author of the second set of emblems in Ashmole 767 is probably his most important contribution to Browne scholarship. Browne's adaptation of Thomas Palmer's manuscript, *The sprite of trees and herbes*, although unfinished, should make him a significant figure in the history of the English emblem. His work, however, is unacknowledged in the two standard books on the subject, Rosemary Freeman's *English Emblem Books* (1948), and Michael Bath's *Speaking Pictures* (1994), though Tillotson's findings were available to both of them. Browne's familiarity with emblems is consistent with his interest in pattern poetry, apparent in the pipes and lovers' knots of *Britannias Pastorals* I.3 and the altar-shaped poem which follows the elegy on Thomas Manwood in *The Shepherds Pipe* eclogue 4. He may also have been responsible for the patterning of 'Behold ô God, INRIvers of my teares' (see Appendix 1). Since Ashmole 767 is undated, it is difficult to fit the emblems into Browne's biography. However, as Tillotson noticed - and made the basis for his identification of Browne as author of the adapted emblems - the poem in Browne's emblem 17 also appears, with a few variants, in *Britannias Pastorals* II.4.705-728. Tillotson argued, correctly, I believe, that the manuscript copy precedes the *Britannias Pastorals* version, and if so, the emblem book must predate 1616. For a more detailed description of Ashmole MS 767 see Geoffrey Tillotson, 'A Manuscript of William Browne' *RES* 6 (1930):187-191, and Percy Simpson 'Two Emblem Books', *BQR* 6 (1932): 172-173, and also my own article, 'The Growth of an Emblem: Some Contexts for Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 767', in *Emblems and the Manuscript Tradition*, ed. Laurence Grove (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 1997), pp. 81-99.

⁸² O'Callaghan, p. 3. Her work, as she acknowledges, develops Norbrook's political reading of Browne in his thesis, *Panegyric of the Monarch and its Social Context under Elizabeth I and James I* (Oxford, 1978), and his chapter 'The Spenserians and King James' in *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984).

⁸³ Tillotson, p. 77. His immediate allusion is to the conclusion of the ode, 'And if my Muse to Spencers glory come / No King shall owne my verses for his Tombe', though he also quotes from *Britannias Pastorals* and *A Sigh from Oxford*. Tillotson, I think, takes the hyperbole of the ode too seriously. Its comparison of poets and princes is a commonplace.

⁸⁴ Brown and Piva, pp. 403-404.

⁸⁵ O'Callaghan writes: 'As the publication of *Shepherds Pipe* coincides with the 1614 parliament, it suggests that these poets are addressing the political nation represented by parliament rather than a primarily courtly audience' (pp. 59-60). Maybe - but maybe not. *The Shepherds Pipe* does not have an obvious parliamentary context. O'Callaghan at least needs to argue her point - and she doesn't. Similarly, her claim that the condemnation of Fellicula in *The Shepherds Pipe* eclogue 1 and Phillis in eclogue 7 alludes to Frances Howard - 'Browne represents the Somerset marriage as a site of discord and faction' (p. 87), 'Browne insists on Howard's adultery and repeats the misogynist rumours surrounding the divorce' (p. 89) - appears to rely excessively on the (rather approximate) coincidence of dates.

⁸⁶ e.g. O'Callaghan, 'Politically, these figures [the Spenserian poets] tend to subscribe to the Leicester-Sidney-Essex line of patriotic Protestantism, advocating, in differing degrees, the suppression of recusants at home, and an aggressively Protestant interventionist foreign policy' (p. 3). Browne's reference to 'the Puritans themselues', in *An Elegie on the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke* (line 27) suggests that he did not consider himself a Puritan, and although his

doctrinal sympathies in *An Epistle occasioned by the most intollerable iangling of the papists Bells* are clearly not with Catholicism, his satire against the old religion is not aggressive.

Notes to 'Manuscript Poetry'

¹ Joan Grundy, *The Spenserian Poets: A Study in Elizabethan and Jacobean Poetry* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969).

² David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984).

³ Dennis Kay, *Melodious Tears: The English Funeral Elegy from Spenser to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

⁴ The Inner Temple masque has been published as *Circe and Ulysses, the Inner Temple masque presented by the gentlemen there January 13, 1614*, ed. Gwyn Jones (London: Golden Cockerel Press, 1954), and is included in *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll* ed. T. B. J. Spencer and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967). This contrasts with the poetry which, discounting the Scolar Press reprint of *Britannias Pastorals* (1969), has not been edited since Goodwin in 1894.

⁵ The term 'muted apocalypse' was coined by Charles Roger Davis in his 1973 Princeton thesis *Petrarch's Rime 323 and its Tradition through Spenser*, and is cited by Michael Bath in *Speaking Pictures* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 109.

⁶ R. F. Hill, who edited the *Inner Temple Masque* in the *Book of Masques*, notes Thomas Warton's claim, in his edition of Milton's *Poems upon Several Occasions* (p. 136), that 'I have been informed that a few copies were printed soon after the presentation' (p. 200). No evidence for an early edition of the masque has been discovered.

⁷ W. W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (London, 1906), pp. 116-117, 136-140; Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valery* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); Sukanta Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and Its English Developments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 220-224, 323-338.

⁸ Eclogue 4 of *The Shepherds Pipe* is, of course, transcribed both in Lansdowne 777 and in the Salisbury manuscript.

⁹ David Norbrook, *Panegyric of the Monarch and its Social Context under Elizabeth I and James I* (Oxford: D.Phil, 1978). Political readings of Browne's poetry are not, of course, entirely new. Moorman, in 1897, already recognized the political context of Browne's work, as did Grundy in 1969.

¹⁰ Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Three Jacobean Spenserians: William Browne, George Wither and Christopher Brooke' (Oxford, D.Phil, 1993). Of *The Spenserian Poets*, O'Callaghan writes: 'Grundy provides a perceptive and stimulating study of Spenserian poetry, particularly in relation to its influence on the Romantic poets. However, Grundy is primarily interested in tracing poetic influences and lineages rather than contextualising Spenserian poetry' (p. 1). The context O'Callaghan aspires to supply draws on David Norbrook's work on the Spenserians in *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, and so emphasizes the political. 'Norbrook develops a concept of "oppositional" poetry from his study of the involvement of Spenserian poetry in the expression of political discontent with James's court. This thesis is indebted to Norbrook's work and aims to amplify his account of the Spenserians by providing a detailed historical and literary study of a group of Spenserians'. O'Callaghan does comment on some of Browne's MS poems in her final chapter but admits that dedicated attention to the manuscript work 'lies outside the scope of this current study' (p. 338).

¹¹ Hill, for example, claims that 'In the 1620s, under Buckingham, Browne attacked peers and favourites; in the 1630s he published nothing' (*A Nation of Change and Novelty*, p. 202). This reading is not so much wrong as curious.

¹² The obvious objection to this argument is the counter-example of Donne, who certainly has not lacked modern critical attention even though all but a few of his poems enjoyed only manuscript circulation during his lifetime. But Donne's literary celebrity for future generations was ensured not by his manuscripts but by the print-publication of his *Poems* in 1633, just two years after his

death, and by the many subsequent printed editions of his works. Many other manuscript-based poets, lacking such rapid posthumous attention, have been less fortunate. The difficulty encountered by modern editors in identifying Raleigh's poetic oeuvre is a pertinent example, as is the apparent near-disappearance of the poetry of Edward Dyer, described by Harold Love as 'one of the casualties of scribal publication' (*Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 50).

¹³ Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995) and H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

¹⁴ C. M. Armitage, 'Donne's Poems in Huntington Manuscript 198: New Light on "The Funerall"', *Studies in Philology* 63 (1966): 697-707 and Margaret Crum, 'An Unpublished Fragment of Verse by Herrick'. *RES*, n.s. 11 (1960): 186-189.

¹⁵ Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 5. One exception to this pattern is F. M. McKay's study of Bodleian MS Eng. poet. b. 5, 'A Seventeenth-Century Collection of Religious Poetry', *BLR* 8 (1970): 185-191.

¹⁶ The following account of manuscripts and their circulation is dependent on the research of Beal, Love, Hobbs, Marotti and Woudhuysen, cited above. I have also drawn on Love's previous article, 'Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England', *TCBS* 9 (1987): 130-154, Hobbs's 'Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellanies and their Value for Textual Editors', *EMS* 1 (1989): 182-210, Marotti's 'Malleable and Fixed Texts: Manuscript and Printed Miscellanies and the Transmission of Lyric Poetry in the English Renaissance', in W. Speed Hill (ed.), *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991* (Binghamton, N. Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies in conjunction with the Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), pp. 159-173, and Peter Beal, 'Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book', in Hill (ed.), pp. 131-147.

¹⁷ Miscellany compilation seems to have been more common at Oxford than Cambridge, and appears to have been especially popular at certain colleges, such as Christ Church and NewCollege. See Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, pp. 87-90. There also seems to have been a special predilection for manuscript compilation in families isolated from their peers by geography, or political or religious affiliation.

¹⁸ John Ramsey's commonplace book, for instance (now Bod. MS Douce 280) includes extracts from printed literature, including poems by Spenser, Essex and Southwell, as well as a mathematical treatise, medical recipes, a translation from Caesar, a discussion of organization and admissions at Cambridge, a partial autobiography, a will, and catalogues ranging from a plan for future reading, to lists of the most important contemporary historians, musicians, scientists and poets. See Edward Doughtie, 'John Ramsey's Manuscript as a Personal and Family Document', in Hill (ed.), *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, pp. 281-288.

¹⁹ Hobbs claims: 'In the hundred and more manuscripts of the first half of the seventeenth century which I have examined, physically or on microfilm, I have encountered only five which seem to have copied poems from printed texts, and then only over a small part of the manuscript concerned' (*Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 7). The five are BL Harley MSS 3511, 6917 and 6910, Bodleian MS Don. b. 9, and Huntington Library MS HM 198. Harley MSS 3511 and 6917 and the Huntington MS include poems by Browne, and the copies in Harley 3511 do seem to derive, albeit with modifications, from printed texts. See Geoffrey Tillotson, 'The Commonplace Book of Arthur Capell', *MLR* 27 (1932): 381-391.

²⁰ Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 80.

²¹ The process of transmission through which a poetic text will inevitably be corrupted is eloquently described by Benjamin Jowett in Tom Stoppard's play, *The Invention of Love*. Telling the young A. E. Housman that 'certainty could only come from recovering the autograph', he explains: 'anyone with a secretary knows that what Catullus really wrote was already corrupt by the time it was copied twice ... Think of all those secretaries: corruption breeding corruption from papyrus to papyrus, and from the last disintegrating scrolls to the first new-fangled parchment books, with a thousand years of copying-out still to come, running the gauntlet of changing forms of script and spelling, and absence of punctuation - not to mention mildew and rats and fire and flood and Christian disapproval to the brink of extinction as what Catullus really

wrote passed from scribe to scribe, this one drunk, that one sleepy, another without scruple, and those sober, wide-awake and scrupulous, some ignorant of Latin and some, even worse, fancying themselves better Latinists than Catullus - until! finally and at long last - mangled and tattered like a dog that has fought its way home, there falls across the threshold of the Italian Renaissance the sole surviving witness to thirty generations of carelessness and stupidity: the *Verona Codex* of Catullus; which was almost immediately lost again, but not before being copied with one last opportunity for error' (pp. 24-25). Fortunately for textual scholarship, Housman is undeterred. The miscellany texts of William Browne's poetry pose fewer problems; though perhaps surprisingly, Puritan censorship may play a part in the transmission of at least two of his poems. See my discussion of the texts of *Lidford Journey* and the elegy 'Is Death so great a Gamester' in the 'Other Manuscripts' section of this introduction.

²² Helen Gardner, *The Divine Poems of John Donne* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. lxxxii.

²³ *The Poems of Richard Corbett*, ed. J. A. W. Bennett and H. R. Trevor-Roper (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. lii. Bennett and Trevor-Roper do recognize that 'the printed editions were not published till ten years after Corbett's death, and must therefore themselves have been derived from just such manuscripts', but cite the issue of authority to justify their decision not to use manuscripts as copy-texts: 'In this difficulty there is no satisfactory criterion by which to judge the relative authority of different texts, for commonplace books are, by their very nature, compiled from different sources, themselves of varying authority; and those compiled by careless contemporaries are often of less value than later but more methodical collections based on earlier sources' (p. liii). They quietly overlook the obvious objection that identical considerations apply to the printed copies.

²⁴ Edwin Wolf II, in "If Shadows be a Picture's Excellence": An Experiment in Critical Bibliography', *PMLA* 63 (1948): 831-857, suggests numerous kinds of faulty reading, writing (which he attributes speculatively to 'innate carelessness, drunkenness, fatigue, interruptions, in fact to any one of scores of physical and emotional causes', p. 854), hearing and remembering to account for the mistranscriptions of poems in the miscellanies. A clear example of deliberate emendation is the expansion of Sir John Harington's epigram 'Of a Lady Musing', which in the miscellanies often includes four extra lines by John Davies of Hereford. See Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 142.

²⁵ 'The manuscript system was far less author-centered than print culture and not at all interested in correcting, perfecting, or fixing texts in authorially sanctioned forms' (Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 135).

²⁶ Walter Ong, *Orality and literacy: the technologizing of the word* (London: Methuen, 1982), p. 132.

²⁷ Derek Pearsall, *Old and Middle English Poetry* (London: Routledge, 1977), p. 221, quoted in Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 136. Beal comparably observes: 'I know of no example of two commonplace books being an exact duplication of one another. Somehow, inevitably, the personality of the writer or compiler will interpose, varying his selection, changing or annotating the text or adding further material. This means, so far as textual editors are concerned, that no individual text within a commonplace book can safely be viewed as an independent entity, divorced from the collection in which it occurs and considered without regard to the habits of the compiler himself. Commonplace books were invariably compiled not so much for the sake of faithfully transmitting literary texts as for the use of the compiler' ('Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book', in Hill (ed.), *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, pp. 131-147; p. 133).

²⁸ See Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, Chapter One ('Lyrics and the Manuscript System', pp. 1-74), passim. As I describe below, many of these characteristics of manuscript publication can be seen in the treatment of Browne's poetry in Lansdowne 777 and the other miscellanies. All copies of 'Poor silly foole' apart from Lansdowne 777 treat it as an answer poem. Lansdowne 777 includes a sequence of poems (9-13) on the subject of love and disdain. One instance of retitling in the miscellanies is the transcription in Bodleian MS Firth e. 4 of the poem known in Lansdowne 777 as *On one drown'd in the Snowe*, as 'Vpon one that was drown'd in the snow at Christ Church in Oxford'. Beal says that this manuscript was 'apparently presented to Lady Harflete' (*Index*, part II, vol. 1, p. 51, note to CwT 73), and I know of no evidence that would associate it with Christ Church. However, given the apparent popularity of poetic composition and compilation at Christ Church, and the frequent inclusion of Browne's

poems in Christ Church manuscripts, it is tempting to speculate that the title derives from one of these college collections, now lost.

²⁹ Marotti cites the example of Breton's poem, 'In Sunny beames the skye doth shewe her sweete', which in Stephen Powle's commonplace book, Bodleian MS Tanner 169, is described as 'A passionate Sonnet made by the Kinge of Scots upon difficulties ariseing to crosse his proceeding in love & marriage with his most worthie to be esteemed Queene', with the note 'Geaven me by Master Britton who had been (as he sayed) in Scotland with the Kinges Majesty: but I rather thinke they weare made by him in the person of the Kinge' (fol. 43r)' (Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 14).

³⁰ Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 75.

³¹ Woudhuysen notes that 'there is in at least one case an overlap between the universities and London, and several between Oxford and the Inns of Court' (p. 157). John Kerrigan describes how Thomas Carew, usually thought of as a courtier poet - perhaps the quintessential court poet of the Caroline period - was also closely connected with many country families, often of Puritan and Republican sympathies, and even wrote poetry on and for them. See Kerrigan, 'Thomas Carew', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 74 (1988): 311-350.

³² An unusual example of this is Bodleian MS Eng. poet. b. 5, a collection of religious, mainly Recusant verse compiled by Thomas Fairfax, a Catholic yeoman from Warwickshire. F. M. McKay suggests that Fairfax gathered his material from a circle of Catholic contacts, and that the collection may then have been used by the community for devotional purposes. 'Two manuscript entries, one on p. 51 the other on p. 69, tell us poems were sent to him by the six-year-old Anna Alcox from Alveston. That he should receive poems in this way suggests that even outside his own county he must have been known as a lover of poetry, and he would have been even better known as such in his own circle. A persecuted minority, such as the one to which he belonged, is always driven in on itself and would thus establish a close intimacy. It is reasonable to assume that among the things it shared were the poems compiled by Thomas Fairfax, so many of which deal with themes and sentiments dear to the Recusants. Since many of these poems are songs, whether hymns, ballads, or carols, and frequently the appropriate tune is named in the manuscript, they were probably sung on the occasions Fairfax and his friends came together' (F. M. McKay, 'A Seventeenth-Century Collection of Religious Poetry', *BLR* 8 (1967-72): 185-191, p. 191). Fairfax's manuscript is especially unusual since the compilation of miscellanies seems to have been 'a literary system closely associated with the social elite' (Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 48).

³³ Hobbs explains: 'there was still, at least until the Interregnum, what Peter Beal has called "a sense of something special about having these [manuscript] verses - a mild sense of privilege" in owning and reading one's private collection, one not commonly available like a printed volume (one remembers the scorn poured on Jonson for producing his own *Works* in print)' (Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 149). Hobbs also cites Beal and Timothy Raylor as arguing that the popularity of the verse of the 1620s in miscellanies of the 1630s and 1640s is due to nostalgic Royalism, though she concludes: 'I am not totally convinced, however ... I suspect it was as much a matter of shared education as political affinities that led to this nostalgia for the past in a climate hostile to the arts' (p. 149).

³⁴ Some recent descriptions of early seventeenth-century manuscript culture, especially by Marotti - who of all these manuscript scholars is probably the most insistent on the conceptual differences between print and manuscript conventions - are curiously reminiscent of the apocalyptic conclusion to Foucault's 'What is an author?'. Foucault's adumbration of a textual future in which writings of all kinds are liberated from the conceptual tyranny of the author and reconceived as functions of production, circulation and appropriation might have been the model for Marotti's description of early seventeenth-century manuscript poetry. 'I think that, as our society changes, at the very moment when it is in the process of changing, the author-function will disappear, and in such a manner that fiction and its polysemic texts will once again function according to another mode, but still with a system of constraint - one which will no longer be the author, but which will have to be determined or, perhaps, experienced. All discourses, whatever their status, form, value, and whatever the treatment to which they will be subjected, would then develop in the anonymity of a murmur. We would no longer hear the questions that have been rehashed for so long: "Who really spoke? Is it really he and not someone else? With what authenticity or originality? And what part of his deepest self did he express in his discourse?"

Instead, there would be other questions, like these: "What are the modes of existence of this discourse? Where has it been used, how can it circulate, and who can appropriate it for himself? What are the places in it where there is room for possible subjects? Who can assume these various subject-functions?" And behind all these questions, we would hear hardly anything but the stirring of an indifference: "What difference does it make who is speaking?" (Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author?' (1969), in David Lodge (ed.), *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader* (London: Longman, 1988), pp. 197-210, p. 210). Thirty years after their first publication, Foucault's predictions look increasingly utopian. Marotti's theories, though more empirically based, may also require qualification.

³⁵ Similarly, Wendy Wall, in *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), opposes 'essentialist arguments, which imply that "print logic" necessitates a uniform movement towards fixity and totalization', insisting rather 'that neither authorship nor print, nor any set relationship between the two, is inevitable' (p. 8).

³⁶ Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 135. Comparably, though more judiciously, Love writes of authorial revisions (such as Mary Herbert's long work on the Sidney Psalms): 'It is a mistake in such cases to assume that revision is the consequence of a Platonic impulse towards the perfected, unalterable text. No doubt in some cases it was, but one should never overlook Ong's insight that this ideal is itself a function of print culture. The model for such revision may well be closer to that of a musician playing variations on a favourite theme' (Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 54). The qualification - 'No doubt in some cases it was' - is worth emphasizing. Notions of the stable, authorized text may not have been paramount in manuscript literature, but nor were they absent from it.

³⁷ Marotti, *Manuscript, Text, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 158.

³⁸ Ted-Larry Pebworth, and Ernest W. Sullivan, II, 'Rational Presentation of Multiple Textual Traditions' *PBSA* 83 (1989): 43-60, p. 44; and Pebworth, 'Manuscript Transmission and the Selection of Copy-Text in Renaissance Coterie Poetry', *Text* 7 (1994): 243-261, p. 260.

³⁹ Compare Lee Patterson's emphasis on an editor's obligation 'to offer a text that is fully available to current critical interests and to the institutions of literary consumption' (Patterson, 'The Logic of Textual Criticism and the Way of Genius: The Kane-Donaldson *Piers Plowman* in Historical Perspective', in *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation*, ed. Jerome McGann (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1985), pp. 55-91, pp. 85-86).

⁴⁰ The poems transcribed on ff. 63-73v. are typical of miscellany collections: as well as several anonymous lyrics they include poems by Raleigh, Wotton, King, Tichborne, Corbett, Basse, Carew, Strode, Morley, Poole, Reynolds - and more unusually, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.

⁴¹ Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 207.

⁴² For thematic resemblances between Browne and Carew see the notes to Lansdowne 777, poems 8 (*One a fayre Ladyes yellow haire*), 9 ('Not long agone a youthfull swaine') and 27 (*A Sigh from Oxford*).

⁴³ Kerrigan, p. 317.

⁴⁴ Kerrigan, p. 318.

⁴⁵ O'Callaghan interprets Browne's poetry in the light of Zagorin's distinction (e.g. in *The Court and the Country: The Beginning of the English Revolution*) between the distinct and often conflicting interests of Court and Country, during the early Stuart years. While conceding that more recent historians, such as Derek Hirst and Conrad Russell have questioned whether such an absolute distinction really existed, she claims that the terms 'Court' and 'Country' are defensible and useful as ideological markers. 'When I use the term 'Country' in this thesis, I am employing it in this ideological sense. The exploration of a 'Country' rhetoric in poetry of Browne and Wither in this thesis attempts to provide further evidence for the emergence of an oppositional discourse of the 'Country' in the early seventeenth century. These poets consistently define an English countryside and traditions, native pastoral values, and the role of the 'Country' poet with patriotic and Protestant humanist ideals which they represent as absent from or rejected by the Jacobean court' (p. 5). While I would not claim that the Court / Country contrast is irrelevant to Browne - it is probably more relevant to his published poetry than to the manuscript work - I should certainly want to soften the distinction between the supposed antitheses. I should also wish to apply it to Browne with more discrimination than O'Callaghan, whose use of the

distinction to govern the terms of her argument is yet another example of the seductive but unsatisfactory tendency among critics to construct their theses according to binary oppositions.

⁴⁶ J. W. Saunders, 'The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry', *Essays in Criticism* 1 (1951): 139-164.

⁴⁷ Samuel Daniel, *Poems and A Defence of Rhyme*, ed. A. C. Sprague (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1930), p. 9.

⁴⁸ Steven May, 'Tudor Aristocrats and the Mythical "Stigma of Print"', in *Renaissance Papers 1980* (Southeastern Renaissance Conference, 1981), pp. 11-18.

⁴⁹ Woudhuysen, p. 14. The same criticism can appropriately be made of some of the excessive claims of recent manuscript studies.

⁵⁰ May, p. 17. His concluding paragraph, however, is more judicious - though I believe it still under-estimates the extant testimony to prejudice against print: 'Finally, it is not possible to insist that no Tudor aristocrat ever thought it beneath his dignity to publish his writing, be it original or a translation, literary or expository. But the substantial number of upperclass authors who published during the sixteenth century effectively discredits any notion of a generally accepted code which forbade publication, since noblemen and knights, courtiers and royalty, trafficked with the press in ever-increasing numbers' (pp. 17-18).

⁵¹ A Latin poem by Donne, translated by Edmund Blunden, provides a clear statement of this poet's preference for manuscript:

What Printing-presses yield we think good store
But what is writ by hand we reverence more:
A book that with this printing-blood is dyed
On shelves for dust and moths is set aside,
But if't be penned it wins a sacred grace
And with the ancient Fathers takes its place.

(Edmund Blunden, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Latin Poems by English Writers', *UTQ* 25 (1955-6): 10-22, p. 11.)

⁵² Compare Wendy Wall's argument that 'A real stigma of print, clearly operative at mid-century when Wy att and Surrey did not think to publish, evolves into one that is rhetorically produced and controlled in the sonnet of the 1580s and 1590s' (*The Imprint of Gender*, p. 56).

⁵³ The younger Herberts, William and Philip, seem to have had less enthusiasm than their mother for publishing their own work, but both were active patrons of the arts. See Michael G. Brennan, *Literary Patronage in the English Renaissance: The Pembroke Family* (London: Routledge, 1988).

⁵⁴ Drayton, ed. Hebel, vol. 4, p. v.

⁵⁵ Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 145.

⁵⁶ Richard Helgerson, 'The New Poet Presents Himself: Spenser and the Idea of a Literary Career', *PMLA* 93 (1978): 893-911, p. 894.

⁵⁷ Helgerson explains the apparently contrary argument of *The Defence of Poetry* as 'a literary game', 'ironic jocularly or exaggeration' (p. 894). 'A Sidney, Lodge, or a Harington might defend poetry in the highest terms, proclaiming its divine origin and advertising its civilizing effect, but when these men spoke of their own work it was either with humorous and graceful disdain or with some more serious uncertainty' (p. 893).

⁵⁸ The distinction, more clearly worked out in Helgerson's subsequent article, 'The Elizabethan Laureate: Self-Presentation and the Literary System', *ELH* 46 (1979): 193-220, and his 1983 book *Self-Crowned Laureates*, is predicated on the laureate poet's conception of himself both as addressing and representing the entire nation.

⁵⁹ *Britannias Pastorals*, I.5.53-54. As I mention in my biography section, Book I could presumably not have been completed before Browne was twenty, since it includes - after this boast - a version of his elegy on Prince Henry, who died in 1612, when Browne would have been twenty-one or -two.

⁶⁰ Other explanations for the premature ending of *Britannias Pastorals* include the theory that Browne was too heartbroken to continue (Grundy) and the implication in O'Callaghan's thesis that he may have been sufficiently optimistic about the prospects for Charles I's rule - at least in 1625 - to give up a poem which had been primarily a means of expressing political dissent (O'Callaghan, pp. 335-336). Brown and Piva argue that Browne may have interrupted his work following the death of James, who seems to have been the main target of satire in the description

of the fairy king and his court. The king's death would presumably have required Browne at least to revise this passage of Book III, and might have prompted him to discard it completely.

⁶¹ Chaudhuri, p. 324.

⁶² Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 246. Fashions in print-publication may help to explain why Browne (apparently) did not attempt to arrange printing of his shorter lyrics, but cannot account for his failure to continue *Britannias Pastorals* (especially since the revised version of Books I-II was able to find a publisher in 1625). My convoluted attempts to map the course of Browne's career notwithstanding, no argument in terms of genre or the preferences of the medium can explain away the drastic reduction in scale of Browne's poetry after 1616. Some manner of forsaken vocation appears to be the inescapable conclusion.

⁶³ Wolf, 'The Textual Importance of Manuscript Commonplace Books of 1620-1660: An address before the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, January 14, 1949' (Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1949), p. 2. The other 11 are the usual suspects: Raleigh, Harington, Wotton, Jonson, Donne, Corbett, Herrick, King, Carew, Strode, and Randolph.

⁶⁴ Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric*, pp. 126-131.

⁶⁵ Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 129.

⁶⁶ e.g. the epitaph *On Mrs Anne Prideaux* is often given a generic title such as 'On a Child' or 'On a Young Gentlewoman', and in Bodleian MS Eng. poet. e.14 it is renamed 'On Mrs Anne Price of 6 yeares age', the word 'piece' in line 2 also being altered to 'Price'.

⁶⁷ Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 22-23.

Notes to 'Lansdowne 777'

¹ Tillotson was familiar with Browne's italic hand from Bodleian MS Ashmole 767, but could reasonably have assumed that Browne, like many other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English gentlemen, was also competent in secretary hand.

² Edwin Wolf II, 'The Textual Importance of Manuscript Commonplace Books of 1620-1660: An address before the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, January 14, 1949' (Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1949).

³ Edwin Wolf II, "'If Shadows be a Picture's Excellence": An Experiment in Critical Bibliography', *PMLA* 63 (1948): 831-857, p. 847.

⁴ Lee Patterson, 'The Logic of Textual Criticism and the Way of Genius: The Kane-Donaldson *Piers Plowman* in Historical Perspective', in *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation*, ed. Jerome McGann (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1985), pp. 55-91, p. 68. Wolf himself makes a similar assumption in his more detailed comments on Donne elsewhere in the same lecture.

⁵ Hazlitt, II, p. 261; Goodwin, II, p. 191.

⁶ The five poems included in both manuscripts are 'Loue! when I mett her first whose slave I am' (Lansdowne 777, no. 7), 'Yet one days rest for all my cryes' (14), 'Caelia is gone' (22), *On a dreame* (26) and 'Like to a Silkworme of one yeare' (65). 'Loue! when I mett her first' and 'Yet one days rest' are both printed only as they occur in Book III. Goodwin's endnote explains that the first two stanzas of 'Yet one days rest' also appear in Lansdowne 777, and that 'Both texts are exactly the same' (II, p. 340). The Lansdowne text of 'Loue! when I mett her first' is said to have 'unimportant verbal variants' from the Salisbury version. These variants are listed - although not completely - in the notes (II, p. 340). 'Caelia is gone' and *On a dreame* are both printed twice, without any acknowledgement of the overlap. 'Like to a silkworm' appears under the title '[MAN]' in the epigram category of the miscellaneous poems, an endnote explaining 'Lines similar to these occur in the first song of the third book of *Britannia's Pastorals*' (II, 349).

⁷ Though no printed text of *The Inner Temple Masque* is known, the fact that it was written to be 'presented by the gentlemen' at the Temple gives it, unlike the manuscript poetry, an obvious (semi-) public status, and allows it to be blurred into the 'published' category. I discuss the public/private status of *The Inner Temple Masque* in my forthcoming article, 'Giving Them But Their Own: Circe, Ulysses and William Browne of Tavistock', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 12 (2000): 233-258.

⁸ Donne's poetry also, of course, had a flourishing - and bewilderingly complex - transcriptional life in the manuscript miscellanies, but for the purposes of the present comparison I am assuming that this would have posed less of a problem for his twentieth-century editors if his executors in 1633 had been able to work from the author's own collected manuscript text. For a discussion of the extant Herbert manuscripts, see *IELM*, I, 2, pp. 185-187.

⁹ For information about the binding and compilation of Lansdowne 777, I should like to thank the curator of manuscripts at the British Library, W. H. Kelliher.

¹⁰ According to Hilton Kelliher (in a letter of 10 March, 1998), the folios of Lansdowne 777 part 1 bear the same watermark, which 'consists of posts bearing at the centre the letters CC, similar in type to Heawood, *Watermarks*, nos. 3491, 3495 and 3514, dated to "1652", 1652-1654 and c. 1667 respectively'. Since the watermark cannot be precisely identified, it cannot be used to provide a more certain date for Lansdowne 777, though the similarity to the 'posts' type of watermark is consistent with a date in the early 1650s for the composition of the document.

¹¹ Egerton Brydges quotes this folio in his title, 'Original Poems, never before published, by William Browne, of the Inner Temple, Gent.', though the reference is not explained to his readers.

¹² Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 91.

¹³ Marotti identifies the posthumous publication of Donne's *Poems* and Herbert's *Temple* in 1633 and the efforts of the publisher Humphrey Moseley as crucial factors in influencing this renewed interest in lyric verse, especially by deceased authors (*Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, pp. 257-260).

¹⁴ Brydges' rearrangement of the text is puzzling. Hazlitt and Goodwin's redistribution of the poems into genre-groups may be disappointing but is at least comprehensible. Brydges, however, follows the order of Lansdowne 777 unerringly as far as the *Vision* sonnets, but subsequently departs from it completely, and to no apparent pattern.

¹⁵ Perhaps even more oddly, Tillotson notices the patterning, 'It is a fantastic virtuoso experiment embodying in its letters three texts arranged in vertical columns' (p. 74), but does not say what the texts are.

¹⁶ Leah Marcus notes that Milton's ode was 'not the earliest written [of his English poems], but is presumably placed first as a suitable inaugural for a volume celebrating the birth of a poet' (*Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 214).

¹⁷ It would be satisfactorily neat to attempt to argue that the dead twin was Browne's own son. Unfortunately, this reading would be difficult to reconcile with the known facts about Browne's life (especially given the reference in the epitaph to 'Two faire Sisters, sweet & yong', which Death has previously smitten).

¹⁸ One obvious solution - that f. 20 may have been bound in reverse - seems unlikely, since text also flows continuously between ff. 19v. and 20r.

¹⁹ The catchword on f. 33r., 'If thus she think', which refers forward to the first line of 34r., is written in the usual scribal hand of Lansdowne 777, but in a slightly different colour of ink. Beneath the main text of f. 33r. is a short centred line which has been cancelled. The first three words of this line may read 'Nil nis carmina', but the fourth is illegible.

²⁰ The lack of any prefatory material, commendatory poems etc., would also tend to suggest that the document was not a presentation copy.

²¹ I quote the title and author where they are provided in the manuscript, and the first line and folio(s) of every poem. The numeration of the poems and any information in square brackets are my own additions. Where possible, I also cite the relevant Beal number and/or a modern edition of each poem in the footnotes.

²² Cited by Beal as RaW 519. Printed in *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, ed. Agnes Latham (London: Constable, 1929), p. 104.

²³ Cited by Beal as RaW 44. Printed in *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 64.

²⁴ This poem also appears in *Wits Recreations* (1642), and Bodleian MSS. Eng. hist. c. 272 (where it is attributed to 'Captaine Kinge'), Eng. poet. e. 14, Rawl. D. 954, Rawl. poet. 26 and 209, and Tanner 306. See Crum, *First-Line Index*, I, p. 291, G504. Printed in *The New Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse*, ed. Alastair Fowler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 475.

- ²⁵ Cited by Beal as WoH 207. Printed in *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse*, introduced by David Norbrook and ed. H. R. Woudhuysen (London: Penguin, 1992), p. 146.
- ²⁶ Cited by Beal as WoH 27. Printed in *The New Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse*, pp. 72-73.
- ²⁷ Cited by Beal as KiH 200. Printed in *The Poems of Henry King*, ed. Margaret Crum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 66.
- ²⁸ Printed in *The Faber Book of Epigrams and Epitaphs*, ed. Geoffrey Grigson (London: Faber, 1977), p. 40.
- ²⁹ This poem also appears in *Wits Recreations* (1640), and Bodleian MSS Eng. poet. e.14, e. 97 and Rawl. D. 398 (see Crum, I, p. 484 (J41)). In MS Eng. poet. e. 97 it is attributed to Stone himself; all other copies are anonymous. Mary Hobbs mentions Ben Stone as a New College poet, like John Deane (*Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 90). Various poems attributed to him are extant in Bodleian manuscripts (see Crum, A657, F293, H676, L473, M512, T189, T3254, W2296).
- ³⁰ Printed in *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse*, p. 630.
- ³¹ Versions of this epitaph appear in Bodleian MSS Ashmole 38 (Crum H803), Top. Cheshire c. 6 (H1073), which attributes it to 'T Randale', and MS Don. E. 6 (H1099). Printed in *The Faber Book of Epigrams and Epitaphs*, p. 25.
- ³² Cited by Beal as CoR 417. Printed in *The Poems of Richard Corbett*, ed. J. A. W. Bennett and Hugh Trevor-Roper (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 22.
- ³³ Cited by Beal as CwT 225. Printed in *The Poems of Thomas Carew, with his Masque Coelum Britannicum*, ed. Rhodes Dunlap (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 131.
- ³⁴ Cited by Beal as StW 858. Printed in *The Poetical Works of William Strode*, ed. Bertram Dobell (London, 1907), p. 3.
- ³⁵ This poem also appears, anonymously, in Bodleian MSS. Ashmole 36, 37 and 38, and in *Sportive Wit* (1656) and *An Antidote Against Melancholy* (1662). See Crum, II, p. 682 (01028).
- ³⁶ Cited by Beal as DaJ 188. The authorship of this epitaph is uncertain. As Robert Krueger explains, in the Oxford edition of Davies' poems, only one manuscript (Bodleian MS. Rawl. poet. 117) is known to attribute the poem to Davies, but the 'specificity of the title, which identifies the child as that of Arthur Chichester, Davies's immediate superior as Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1604 to 1614, suggests that the attribution is probably correct'. The fact that the Rawlinson MS is (probably) an Inns of Court compilation also strengthens the case for Davies' authorship. Krueger, however, refrains from including the poem in the Davies canon, retaining it in the category 'Poems Ascribed to Davies in Manuscript'. See *The Poems of Sir John Davies*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), pp 303, 423.
- ³⁷ Cited by Beal as RaW 255. Printed in *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 46.
- ³⁸ Printed and discussed in Wolf, "If Shadows be a Pictures Excellence".
- ³⁹ Printed in *The New Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse*, p. 350.
- ⁴⁰ Cited by Beal as StW 399. Printed in *The Poetical Works of William Strode*, p. 39.
- ⁴¹ Redding's and Hobbs' lists are cited by Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, pp. 127-128.
- ⁴² For Tichborne, see Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 6. Richard S. M. Hirsch compares the extant manuscript texts of this elegy, including the Lansdowne 777 version, in 'The Works of Chidioc Tichborne', *English Literary Renaissance* 16 (1986): 303-318. The Lansdowne 777 copy of Tichborne's poem belongs to the recension descending from Powle's transcription in MS Tanner 169, rather than the version in *Verses of Praise and Joy* (1586).
- ⁴³ As shown by C. F. Main, in 'Wotton's "The Character of a Happy Life"', *The Library*, 5th ser. 10 (1955): 270-274, Wotton's poem survives in a number of significantly different versions. The Lansdowne 777 copy, interestingly, most closely resembles the version printed in the 5th impression of Thomas Overbury's *A Wife* (1614). The 8th impression of *A Wife* (1616), which printed the full text of Browne's elegy on Sir Thomas Overbury, still retained a copy of Wotton's poem. The Lansdowne 777 copy of 'How happy is he borne & taught', incidentally, provides a good illustration of the curious coexistence of care and carelessness in the transcription of this manuscript. The stanzas are neatly spaced and numbered, but four lines from stanzas 2-3 have been omitted, apparently by accident. Where the text in *A Wife* reads

Whose passions not his Masters are,
Whose soule is still prepar'd for death:
Vntied vnto the world with care
Of Princely loue, or vulgar breath.

Who hath his life from rumour freed,
Whose conscience is his strong retreat;
Whose state can neyther Flatterers feed,
Nor ruine make accusers great.

(lines 5-12)

the Lansdowne 777 version omits lines 7-10 ('Vntied vnto ... his strong retreat'), and compresses lines 5-6 and 11-12 into one stanza, numbered '2'. It is easy to explain the omission in terms of eyeskip, and the resulting stanza does make sense but does not rhyme - in a poem which otherwise rhymes irrefragably on both A and B lines.

⁴⁴ Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 100.

⁴⁵ For a discussion of the many early seventeenth-century copies of Wotton's poem, see Ted-Larry Pebworth, 'Sir Henry Wotton's "Dazel'd Thus, with Height of Place" and the Appropriation of Political Poetry in the Earlier Seventeenth Century', *PBSA* 71 (1977): 151-169. Pebworth notes that many of the early copies of the poem apply it directly to the fall of a named favourite, most commonly Robert Carr, Francis Bacon or the Duke of Buckingham. Pebworth himself thinks that the details of the satire, read against what is known of Wotton's own political affiliations, make Carr the most likely candidate. The Lansdowne 777 copy, however, eschews personal identification, making the poem applicable to any favourite, not just Carr or Buckingham. This would accord with Browne's unconditional hostility to all favourites - any favourites - and conceivably also with the surprising absence of censure against Carr in his two poems on the Overbury scandal.

⁴⁶ Browne was Dormer's tutor in Oxford in 1625, and his letter to Benjamin Rudyerd, dated November 1640, mentions his continuing prayers for his former pupil. According to Wood, George Morley lived in Dormer's household, as chaplain, from the late 1620s until approximately 1640 (*Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. IV, p. 149). Since Morley was a Christ Church man, this connection may explain how Browne's poetry came to be current in the Christ Church miscellanies.

⁴⁷ Grundy, *The Spenserian Poets*, p. 153. Were Browne in fact responsible for transcribing Basse's elegy on Shakespeare, this would tend to cast further doubt on Browne's supposed friendship with Jonson, since Jonson's own elegy *To the Memory of My Beloved, The Author, Mr. William Shakespeare* scornfully repudiates Basse's opening appeal to Chaucer, Spenser and Beaumont to move over in the grave to make way for Shakespeare (Jonson, lines 19-21). However, Basse's identification of Chaucer, Spenser and Beaumont as the pantheon of English letters might plausibly have appealed to Browne.

⁴⁸ Both *An Epitaph on Sir John Prowde* and *My owne Epitaph* are spoken in the voice of the dead man. The epitaph on Prowde, like 'As carefull Mothers' refers to death as a bed; and *My owne Epitaph*'s consolation that 'Short was my course, & had it longer bin, / I had return'd but burthen'd more with Sin' (lines 5-6) is analogous to 'So to preuent my youths approaching crymes / Nature my Nurse put me to bed betymes' in 'As careful Mothers'. Both similarities, of course, are shared by many other contemporary epitaphs.

⁴⁹ Respectively, Carew's *Prayer to the Wind*, Jonson's *Epitaph on Elizabeth, L. H.*, and King's 'Like to the falling of a star', Quarles's *Hos ego versiculos*, 'Like to the damaske Rose you see' and Strode's 'Like to the casting of an eye'.

⁵⁰ While Browne is certainly one of the most frequently-copied poets in the manuscript system, only a comparatively small number of his poems achieved widespread distribution. It should also be noted that extra-textual reasons can be cited for the currency of at least two and possibly all of the three poems by Browne cited by Marotti as especially popular in the manuscript system. The popularity of the epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke can be explained by the fame of the subject herself (or, more probably, of her brother and son). Dr Prideaux's eminence as Principal of Exeter College would account for Browne's epitaph on his daughter being known in Oxford circles; and although the reasons why the epitaph *On one drown'd in the Snowe* became

associated with Christ Church are elusive, that association, once established, would similarly help to account for the frequent appearance of the poem in Oxford manuscripts. It is also suggestive that each of these three poems appeared in print comparatively early: *On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke* in the 1623 edition of Camden's *Remaines*, *On Mrs Anne Prideaux* in the 1636 *Remaines* and *Wits Recreations* (1640), and *On one drown'd in the Snowe* also in *Wits Recreations*.

⁵¹ The subject of *An Excuse for Absence* - the poet's separation from his mistress - is also, of course, addressed in several of Browne's poems, e.g. the epistle 'Deare soule, the time is come, & we must part'.

⁵² For a discussion of the *3 moneths obseruations*, also known as *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries*, see Ted-Larry Pebworth, *Owen Felltham*, pp. 71-85. Pebworth says that the *Character* was probably written shortly after Felltham's travels on the Continent, in 1623-8, and confirms that it circulated widely in manuscript. The *Character* was first printed in pirated editions in 1648 and 1652, and in authorised versions in 1659, 1660 and 1671. Compared with the printed editions, the L777 text omits paragraphs and even whole pages, and gives an abbreviated, more conversational version of the remaining text. It cannot derive from either 1648 or 1652, since both these editions lack the concluding paragraph on the beastliness of man, which L777 shares - albeit in shortened form - with 1659, 1660 and 1671. However, in general L777 is textually closer to the (similar) pirated copies than to the later editions: e.g. L777 refers to Holland as 'keeping two of the richest Jewells in the world in it: the Queen of Bohemia & the Prince of Orange', where 1648 has 'keeping two of the richest jewels in the world in it, the Queen of Bohemia and the Princess of Orange', and 1659 reads 'keeping a Garnish of the richest Jewels of the World in't, the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Princely Children'. The L777 copy of Felltham's treatise must therefore derive from another copy, presumably manuscript and of unknown date, and so is of little use in helping to date the transcription of Lansdowne 777.

⁵³ *IELM*, I, 1, p. 115. See my headnote to the *Epitaph on Mrs El: Y* for a discussion of the authorship of this poem.

⁵⁴ Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 141.

⁵⁵ The extra poems in the *Reliquiae Wottonianae* also include Tichborne's elegy and Raleigh's 'Even such is time'.

Notes to 'Other manuscripts'

¹ There are 69 poems in the 'Browne' section of Lansdowne 777. The only Latin poem among them, however, *In urbem Romam qualis est hodie*, is not by Browne, but by the sixteenth-century Italian neo-Latinist Janus Vitalis.

² i.e. the Beal number for the Lansdowne 777 copy of the poem.

³ C. C. Bombaugh, *Gleanings from the Harvest-Fields of Literature* (London, 1890), William Shepherd Walsh, *A Handy-Book of Literary Curiosities* (London, 1893) and Bodleian MS Eng. misc. 35. Although these are all nineteenth-century transcriptions, I list them because they appear to represent differing textual traditions. See Appendix 1.

⁴ On the single versus multiple copies issue, the sonnets to Caelia are a equivocal case. Only one of the sonnets, 14 (which includes the memorable image of Caelia bearing the poet's heart in her own breast) is duplicated, under the title 'One that was sick, to a lady that sent to see howe hee did'. The other 13 are unique to Lansdowne 777.

⁵ According to BrW 17, a copy of this poem, here beginning 'Marina's gone, and now sit I', is included in Bodleian MS Juel-Jensen Drayton e. 2, a manuscript volume of sermons, possibly in the hand of Hugh Halswell, of Wadham and All Souls, Oxford. However, the Bodleian has been unable to trace this volume.

⁶ That is, in order to be realistic, a stemma for any of these poems would have to take into account the near-certainty that an unknown number of witnesses intervening at various stages between extant copies of the poem may have been lost. Since, as I argue below, the variants in the manuscript copies of Browne's poems are often of a kind which might plausibly have occurred independently in different recensions of the poem, and since the conjectural circumstances in which these copies were transcribed would allow for contamination between

different textual lines, the task of producing a stemma even for the shortest or least popular of these four poems is probably impossible.

⁷ My comparison of the texts of *Lidford Journey* is an adaptation of the model proposed by Edwin Wolf II in “‘If Shadows be a Picture’s Excellence: An Experiment in Critical Bibliography’”, *PMLA* 63 (1948): 831-857. In the case of *Lidford Journey*, the Lansdowne 777 text of the poem (BrW 62) is taken as copy-text and printed in full, in emboldened letters. For ease of comparison, each of the other available miscellany copies of the poem (BrW 63-66) has been assigned a letter (A-D respectively), and Westcote’s *View of Devonshire, Sportive Wit* and Prince’s *Worthies of Devon* are referred to as ‘W’, ‘S’ and ‘P’. (This use of single capitals to denote manuscripts and printed texts, which differs from my practice in the edition, follows Wolf, and has been adopted in order to make the direct comparison of variants as straightforward as possible.) Also to facilitate comparison, as many variants as possible are given in the line immediately following the emboldened copy-text. Where it is not possible to list all variants on the same line, precedence is given to one-word variants over multiple-word differences. Thus in line 1, the one-word variant in the ‘A’ text, ‘ought’, takes precedence over the three-word variant ‘Oft haue I’ (for ‘I ofte haue’) in C. Where several texts share the same variant, manuscripts A-D are listed in alphabetical order, and ‘W’, ‘S’ and ‘P’ appear in chronological order. Where two or more texts share a variant from Lansdowne but differ in spelling, I follow the spelling of the first listed text. Spaces in the transcription of the copy-text attempt to demarcate the extent of the variants, e.g. in line 7, the space after ‘They haue’ indicates that these are the words replaced by the ‘S’ variant listed in the next line, ‘There stands’. In lines such as 70, where the rival texts vary by several different combinations of words from the Lansdowne 777 copy, this attempted demarcation is very approximate.

⁸ My information on Rosenbach MS 239/27 derives from Beal’s *Index*, I, 1, p. 123 (note to BrW 67), I, 2, pp. 574 and 399, II, 1, pp. 44, 158 and 357.

⁹ Beal I, 1, p. 123 (note to BrW 64).

¹⁰ As I describe below, the volume is primarily concerned with political events of 1639-42. After some preliminary, miscellaneous matter (such as Browne’s poem), the distribution of material is such that, with a few discrepancies, ff. 38-42 refer to 1639, ff. 43-123 to 1640, ff. 123-139 to 1641, and ff. 140-141 to 1642. Items are frequently dated. The last dates are 3 January, for King Charles’s articles against the MPs Holles, Hazelrige, Pym, Hampden and Strode, and 6 January, for ‘A Proclamation for the apprehending of’ the wanted men. It therefore seems probable, though not certain, that the compilation of the manuscript dates from 1642.

¹¹ Beal I, 1, p. 257 (note to DnJ Δ58).

¹² Although Westcote’s *View* remained in manuscript until 1845, the composition of the text can be dated to 1630 with reasonable certainty. Oliver and Jones, Westcote’s Victorian editors, give the book the full title *A View of Devonshire in MDCXXX*, though since they do not comment directly either on the manuscript itself or on their own transcriptional policy, it is impossible to be sure that this was the manuscript title. However, in his introductory address to the reader, Westcote refers to ‘this our age’ as being ‘some 1630 years’ after the birth of Christ (p. xiv).

¹³ Westcote, pp. 359-360.

¹⁴ Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 91.

¹⁵ Beal, I, 1, p. 123 (note to BrW 64).

¹⁶ Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 91.

¹⁷ This copy of the epitaph on the Countess is among those which begin ‘Underneath this marble herse’, despite the speaker’s later insistence that no ‘Marble piles’ should be raised in her honour.

¹⁸ Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 17.

¹⁹ The similarity between W and P is, arguably, an exception; but the absence from P of W’s three extra stanzas is probably enough to tilt the balance of resemblances in favour of L777.

²⁰ For the Gubbins, see Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, ed. John Nichols, 2 vols., (London: 1811), vol. 1, p. 273.

²¹ Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the Renaissance Lyric*, p. 268n.

²² More tenuously, it is also possible to read the punctuation of line 34 as satirizing the dominant power-structure at Lidford - and by implication, throughout the country. In this copy, uniquely, line 34 is transcribed with a mid-line comma, ‘Two, Suretyes for a Noble’. Arguably the comma, separating and emphasizing the ‘Two [men]’, setting them in apposition to the ‘Suretyes for a Noble’, implicitly encourages the reader to draw a parallel between the ‘Two’ and the ‘Noble’,

and to interpret 'Noble' as a 'Nobleman' rather than a coin. However, since the punctuation in this manuscript is consistently heavier than in the other copies of the poem, this reading may be over-interpreting the evidence.

²³ The condition of this leaf is also instructive. The sheet has been folded both crossways and lengthways, suggesting that it had been circulating individually - at least from scribe to compiler - before being bound into the collection. The designation

Lydford Law

By Mr Browne follower of the

Earle of Pembroke

is written on the verso, at the top of the lower left quarter of the page. Marotti says that the circulation of individual poems, often on a single folded sheet, seems to have been frequent (*Manuscript, Print, and the Renaissance Lyric*, pp. 10-11).

²⁴ Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the Renaissance Lyric*, p. 158.

²⁵ Paphos is mentioned as the home of Aphrodite e.g. in the *Odyssey*, Book VIII.

²⁶ Lee Patterson, in his review of the Kane/Donaldson *Piers Plowman*, identifies as one of the weaknesses of stemmatics its assumptions 'that scribes made the same error only when they were copying from each other and not independently; that errors traveled only down the family tree and not across it, through a process of contamination' (Patterson, 'The Logic of Textual Criticism and the Way of Genius', p. 58). For Patterson, one of the virtues of Kane/Donaldson's comprehensive but non-stemmatic collation of manuscript variants is that 'it revealed the degree to which certain manuscripts agree in error when, because of their agreement with other manuscripts, they could not possibly share a genetic relationship. The presence of this "convergent variation," as Kane (following Greg) calls it, was so overwhelming that it could not be explained simply by contamination: on the contrary, it indicated that scribes habitually made the same mistakes independently' (Patterson, p. 61, citing Greg, *Calculus of Variants*, p. 11). I have tried to bear this warning in mind when speculating about the transmissional lines of Browne's poems.

²⁷ B itself cannot be this parent text, since at least some texts from the ACDEF family either agree with L777 against B or stay closer to the Lansdowne reading where B and L777 diverge (e.g. in lines 19, 21, 61, 72, 78, 83 and 85).

²⁸ See Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, pp. 141-142. Mary Hobbs suggests that Carew may have composed his *Prayer to the Wind* by just such a process: 'examples from other contemporary manuscript miscellanies suggest that Carew may deliberately have enlarged an eighteen-line version by someone else into his 32-line poem' (Hobbs, *Stoughton Manuscript*, p. xviii).

²⁹ The poem does, of course, mention 'Sodomes Trees' in line 6, but even if the 'Lots wife' reading were accepted, these two references are too few, too slight and too disconnected to qualify as a consistent metaphorical pattern.

³⁰ The evidence of the other poems by Browne included in MS Eng. poet. e. 14 provides little help in linking manuscript and poet. *On a Gem* is presumably copied from *Britannias Pastorals*. The title *On Mrs Anne Price of 6 yeares age* is closer to Lansdowne 777 than are many of the other versions of *On Mrs Anne Prideaux*, and the text of the poem differs only in the substitution of 'Price' for 'piece' in line 3, evidently an allusion to the girl's surname. However, the failure of this copy of the epitaph to identify the dead child as a Prideaux strongly suggests that there was no such identification in its source-copy. Strode's poems on Mary Prideaux show - were there scope for doubt - that Prideaux was known at Christ Church, and given the tendency of miscellany poetry to preserve information of local interest, there would have been every reason to record the child's name correctly had it been available. (Unless, of course, the compiler simply relished the opportunity to pun on the name 'Price'.)

³¹ While the 'multiple versions' explanation is possible, it is unnecessary. Since the conventions of manuscript circulation allowed for the compilers of miscellanies to make as many emendations to the received text as they chose, there is no need to assume that substantive variations must be the poet's own work. The common origin of many of these miscellanies in 1630s Oxford would make it tenable for them all to have descended, perhaps at several generations, from an inferred (censored) ancestor. The difficulty of disentangling the varying versions of the elegy lends support to this theory.

³² However, the consistent, unimpressive attempts of these texts to read 'Poor silly foole/soule' as an answer to Donne's *Curse* do tend to weaken the authority of these manuscripts, though they seem not to bear directly on the verbal variants.

³³ The other extant copy, BrW 50, is a Rosenbach manuscript.

³⁴ Sloane 1446 also agrees with the L777 title, whereas both the Folger and Leeds versions entitle the poem 'Upon the death of Mr Vaux, a famous Physician'.

³⁵ Beal gives Bodleian MS Eng. poet. f. 9 a date of 1623. However, as I point out in my headnote to the poem, this date, inscribed on the flyleaf of the manuscript, need only refer to the year when Champernowne began his miscellany. The poems on the Countess, which occur at the very end of the manuscript, may have been transcribed many years later.

³⁶ Another such poem which I do not discuss here is *A Pastorall Elegie on Mr Thomas Manwood*. This presents a special case since the two copies of the elegy which I have been able to examine, in the *Shepherds Pipe* and L777, each has a good claim to be authoritative. Furthermore, the variants between the two copies, though comparatively few and often slight, are consistent with different conceptions of the subject, Manwood, and the role of poets and poetry, in the two versions. I discuss these variants in detail in my headnote to the elegy (poem 34).

³⁷ *Index*, I, 1, p. 124, note to BrW 71.

³⁸ In his note to BrW 71, Beal dates the miscellany 'c.1640'; however, by volume II, part 1 of the *Index* (1987), he has revised this to 'c. 1630s', presumably on the basis of 'the date 1634 occurring on f. 78v' (II, 1, p. 157).

³⁹ The Yale 200 text of *On an Infant vnborne* (BrW 96) is the closest match to BrW 90 - their texts are virtually identical - and its *Upon One Drownd in the snow* (BrW 178) ranks among the nearest equivalents to BrW 161. Beal dates it 'c.1630s', describing it as 'written in several hands (one predominating); scribbling on first page including the words "Peyton Chester"' (*IELM*, II, 1, p. 45, note to Carew Δ38). Since this manuscript includes 13 poems by Corbett and 25 poems by Strode, it is plausible that it too is a Christ Church manuscript. BrW 96 and 178 are its only poems by Browne. The other near-equivalents to the Harley MS 6931 texts include Corpus Christi College MS 328, a Wadham College, Oxford manuscript, for both poems (78 and 151), Bodleian MSS. Eng. poet. e. 97 (BrW 152, Christ Church) and Rawl. poet. 199 (BrW 156, Oxford), British Library Sloane MS 542 (BrW 162, Christ Church?), Huntington HM 198, Part 1 (BrW 172, transcribed by Charles Cokes for Edward Denny, Earl of Norwich) and St John's College, Cambridge MS S. 32 (BrW 176, Cambridge) for *On one drown'd in the Snowe*, and Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 153 (BrW 81) and British Library Add. MS 19268 (BrW 85, owned by John Philips) for *On an Infant vnborne*.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of Sloane 1446, see Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 74ff. Beal dates it to c. 1633, and ascribes the compilation to Francis Baskerville of Malmesbury, Wiltshire, whose name appears on f. 93v. Baskerville was a member of the Long Parliament in 1640. Mary Hobbs says that the first part (ff. 1r-64v.), in a mixed hand, chiefly secretary, is associated with Oxford, while the second part, a very rounded italic (64v-94r), is associated with the Inns of Court, and has much in common with Add. MSS 21433 and 25303. Beal, however, suggests that the two parts may be the work of the same man (*IELM*, II, 1, p. 593). The manuscript includes poems by Corbett, King, Herrick and Strode, often transcribed in author-groups. In part 1, poems are often attributed (usually correctly) by initials, though this is much less common in part 2, in which Browne's epitaphs appear. Given the similarity between the Sloane and L777 texts of Browne's poems, the connections between part 2 of Sloane MS 1446 and the Inns of Court are significant. As with Harley MS 3910, moreover, it is worth noting that the Browne texts in Sloane MS 1446, though so similar to their equivalents in L777, appear to have been transcribed many years before the probable transcription date of the Lansdowne manuscript.

⁴¹ BrW 91 (Sloane 1446), 88 (Egerton 923), 89 (Egerton 2421), 93 (Folger MS V. a. 97) and 81 (Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 153). Little importance should probably be attached to the absence of the couplet from BrW 88, since this copy also omits lines 13-26 of the epitaph.

⁴² The extra couplet in *On an Infant vnborne* is also omitted in *Parnassus Biceps*, though the printed text makes no attempt to italicise the last 2 ½ lines of the epitaph. The inclusion of *On an Infant vnborne* in this anthology is noted in BrW 86 (in a different hand from the transcription of the epitaph): 'printed in Parnassus Biceps in the year 1656 for G. Eversden at the signe of the Maidenhead in St Pauls churchyard. Which Book contains a number of B. Corbets poems &

other university wits, I saw fair Chloris walk alone is there printed'. The similarity between BrW 86 and 87 is noted by Beal (I, 1, p. 125, note to BrW 86). Both volumes begin with the same long poem on Jonah, a series of paraphrases from the Book of Daniel, and versions of the Psalms.

⁴³ Since BrW 81 dates from the 1640s and BrW 93 from the late 1630s, the former possibility is the more likely, especially since BrW 81 is an Oxford and BrW 93 a Christ Church manuscript, and Abraham Wright, the compiler of *Parnassus Biceps*, is known to have favoured poets from Oxford, particularly Christ Church (see Peter Beal's edition of *Parnassus Biceps* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990), p. xv). However, the subscription to BrW 86 demonstrates that compilers of manuscript anthologies did at least sometimes refer from printed anthology to manuscript.

⁴⁴ An indication of the poverty of the Oxford texts is the copy of *On one drown'd in the Snowe* in Folger MS V. b. 43 (BrW 170), a Christ Church manuscript praised by both Wolf and Hobbs for its 'careful copying' (*Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 61). It departs frequently and significantly from the Lansdowne version in lines 1-12, and entirely omits lines 13-18. Little is known about the compilation of *Wits Recreations*. See Colin Gibson's introduction to the Scolar edition (*Witts Recreations: Selected from the finest Fancies of Moderne Muses 1640* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990)), pp. xi-xii.

⁴⁵ I count the two editions of the *Remaines* separately since their texts of the epitaph are slightly different.

⁴⁶ Grundy, p. 63.

⁴⁷ The three copies to omit lines 7-12 are BrW 183, 214 and 223: respectively, Bodleian MS Aubrey 6, Harvard 14457.23.8.7* and the Royal Society MS 92. The Royal Society manuscript as well as the Bodleian MS is the work of John Aubrey; and the Harvard copy is inscribed on the flyleaf of the 1613 *Arcadia*, opposite the dedication to the Countess, which presumably explains its use of only the stanza explicitly relating to her.

⁴⁸ Heywood's adaptation is discussed by Allan Holaday in 'William Browne's Epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke', *PQ* 28 (1949): 497-499. His other variants, not explained by the exigencies of the adaptation, include the transposition of adjectives in line 5 ('Faire, and good, and learn'd') and his omission of the metaphor of Time's dart in line 6: 'Time shall make an end of thee'.

⁴⁹ Crum, II, p. 731, R67.

⁵⁰ MS Rawl. poet 117 is a mid-century manuscript, partly compiled by the Oxford printer Christopher Wase.

⁵¹ L777's version of Tichborne's elegy ('My prime of youth is but a frost of cares') provides further evidence for the priority of its texts. Hirsch, in 'The Works of Chidioc Tichborne', constructs a stemma for the manuscript transmission of the lament with derives the L777 text (which he calls O), from Corpus Christi College MS 328 (F), and F from an inferential MS γ, which descends from MS Tanner 169, Sir Stephen Powle's manuscript, the most authoritative known copy of the poem. This, if correct, need not imply that the CCC MS 328 texts of Browne's poems also precede L777: it is plausible, for instance, that the compilers of the two manuscripts might have exchanged texts. However, Hirsch's grounds for attributing priority to the F text of Tichborne over O are dubious. It is clear that F and O are very close. In fact, they share an additional variant from Tanner which Hirsch does not observe: 'the woombe' for 'my woombe' in line 13 (Hirsch records this variant in F but not in O). Apart from this, there are, according to Hirsch, only two differences between the F and O texts. The second, O's substitution of 'be' for A's 'are' in line 8 ('The Fruite is Dead & yet the leaues be greene'), where F retains the 'are', is indifferent evidence. The more substantial discrepancy, in line 4, suggests that O is actually closer to Tanner than its supposed parent-text, F.

And all my good is but vaine hope of gaine. [Tanner 169]

My joy is nothing but vaine hope of gaine. [F]

And all my joy is but vaine hope of gaine. [O]

O differs from Tanner by only one word, 'joy', whereas in F the grammatical structure and vocabulary of the first half of the line are completely revised. While it is easy to see how O could have descended from Tanner, and how the one-word variant in O could have been developed into the lengthier revision of F, it seems highly unlikely that O, so similar to Tanner, could have derived from F - at least without reference to any other text of the poem. On the

slight evidence available, it is more plausible to derive F from O - CCC MS 328 from Lansdowne 777 - than vice versa.

Notes to 'Textual Introduction'

¹ In referring to 'verbals', I am borrowing Ted-Larry Pebworth's modification of Greg's much-quoted distinction (set out in 'The Rationale of Copy-Text', *SB* 3 (1950-1): 19-36) between 'accidental' and 'substantive' textual variants. 'Greg opposes "accidental" variants with "substantive" ones, defining the latter as variants "that affect the author's meaning or the essence of his expression". Since punctuation, capitalization, spelling, and other "accidental" features often can and do affect meaning and the "essence of an author's expression", many "accidentals" are in fact "substantive"; as a consequence Greg's two categories fail to be mutually exclusive and are therefore imprecise and confusing' (Pebworth, 'Manuscript Transmission and the Selection of Copy-Text in Renaissance Coterie Poetry', *Text* 7 (1994): 243-261, pp. 243-244).

² Compare Jerome McGann's argument ('What is Critical Editing?', *Text* 5 (1991): 15-29) that traditional editing has concentrated too exclusively on the *words* of a text - the 'linguistic text' - and failed to take sufficient account of the physical presentation of the original editions - the 'bibliographical text'. This biased methodology inevitably results in distorted editions, since 'both linguistic and bibliographical texts are symbolic and signifying mechanisms. Each generates meaning, and while the bibliographical text typically functions in a subordinate relation to the linguistic text, "meaning" in literary works results from the interactive agency of these two semiotic mechanisms operating together' (p. 27). Compare also Trevor Howard-Hill's argument that 'the significance of accidentals differs from author to author: spelling is important for Spenser but not for Shakespeare, for instance; the marking of elisions is important for Jonson and Donne but not for, say, Sidney or Greville; typographical display is important for Sterne but not, perhaps, for Fielding; the order of poems in a collection is important for Tennyson ('Crossing the Bar') but not for, say, Hardy. It would seem, then, that it is more valuable for editors to identify precisely which textual features are "intention carriers" for a particular author ('Modern Textual Theories and the Editing of Plays', *The Library*, 6th ser., 11 (1989): 89-115), p. 96. The order of poems would appear to be one of the 'intention carriers' for the compiler of Lansdowne 777.

³ Mary Hobbs, *The Stoughton Manuscript: A Manuscript Miscellany of Poems by Henry King and his Circle, circa 1636*, a facsimile edition (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990).

⁴ By 'readerly expectations have changed' I mean both that more is expected of a scholarly edition of even a minor poet, and also that it is less plausible now than in Goodwin's day to expect uniformity of knowledge among readers. Goodwin may have been able to assume that all his readers would recognise Browne's allusions to II Kings 13:21 (*An Epiced on Mr Fishbourne*, lines 29-30) and the 'holy fire' of II Maccabees 1: 18-36 (*An Elegie on Sir Thomas Overburie*, lines 37-40), but a modern editor would be unwise to do so.

⁵ e.g. the 'source of floods' and Ethiopian bear of the ode 'Awake, faire Muse' (stanza 6) and the medical practice attributed to 'some Nation' in *An Elegie on the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke* (lines 142-146).

⁶ Katherine Duncan-Jones (ed.), *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Arden, 1997), p. 453.

⁷ BrW 228 (text of *On the Countess Dowager of Cambridge*, in a miscellany owned by Edwin Wolf II), and two Yale manuscripts, BrW 177 (text of *On one drown'd in the Snowe*, in Yale, Osborn Collection, b. 54, p. 930) and BrW 230 (text of *On the Countess Dowager of Cambridge*, in Yale, Osborn Collection, fb 143, p. 41).

⁸ In the case of the British Library and Bodleian material, I have been able to make a physical examination of the manuscripts themselves. All other material in British and Irish collections has been supplied by photocopy (except for the Victoria and Albert document, which had to be photographed). I have seen the American-held manuscripts on microfilm. I should like to thank

the archivists/manuscript librarians in all these libraries for their courtesy in dealing with my inquiries.

⁹ Capitalization is sometimes difficult to judge, because the scribe's differentiation between upper- and lower-case letters is often unclear, e.g. in the formation of 'c', 'd' and 't', where the distinction is made through the size rather than the form of the letter, and there are many marginal cases. Similarly, it is difficult to tell whether the scribe has intended to distinguish between the forms of capital 'I' and capital 'J', since the evidence of the manuscript is inconsistent. I have decided therefore to follow modern practice in rendering these letters. Capitalization has not been imposed on the beginning of lines.

¹⁰ See the 'Other Manuscripts' section of my introduction for a discussion of these decisions.

¹¹ Comparably, in *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia*, line 147, I emend the end-word, 'flames', to 'flame', to rhyme with 'name' in line 148, assuming the plural form to be a scribal error.

¹² 'Many of the manuscript copyists, for example, put no mark of punctuation at all at the ends of lines, apparently considering the line-ending itself to be sufficient indication of a pause' (Pebworth, 'Manuscript Transmission and the Selection of Copy-Text', p. 250).

¹³ e.g. 'It hapned lately', lines 2, 6, 8 and 19, the *Vision* sonnet 4, line 5, *A Pastorall Elegie* lines 12, 25, 66-68.

¹⁴ e. g.: 'While this practice [Greg's theory of copy-text] may be eminently sensible in the editing of many works - particularly those whose textual histories consist of single strands of transmission from holograph through publication to revised publication - it does not work well (and indeed, in some cases is not even technically possible) in the case of works whose textual histories betray all three of the following features: an extensive and complicated manuscript transmission during their author's lifetime, a first publication after their author's death - sometimes long after - from copies of doubtful authority, and an absence of holographic copies. Such a complex transmission history fits a considerable body of English coterie poetry written in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries' (Pebworth, 'Manuscript Transmission and the Selection of Copy-Text', p. 244).

¹⁵ It is instructive to compare Browne's practice in Ashmole 767, part 3 of which is believed to be in his own hand. The emblems in part 3 of the manuscript are imitations, of varying degrees of fidelity, of emblems 1-4 and 13-28 in part 2, the work of Thomas Palmer. In Palmer's manuscript, emblem 1 reads:

Every thing as it is taken.

The Spider & the busie Bee
from one herbe vse to take,
What Spider into poyson turnes,
& Bee dothe hony make.
From one text of the Scripture pure
bothe lyfe & death is tane:
And that whiche bringethe one to blisse
dothe breede an others bane.

In Browne's equivalent verse - one of the closest of his imitations - the verbal alterations are less numerous and less noticeable than the revisions to punctuation and layout:

Euerie thinge as 'tis taken.

The Spider and the busie Bee from one flower vse to take,
What Spider into poyson turnes, and Bee dothe honey make:
Soe from one Texte of holy Writt, both life and death is tane,
And that which bringeth one to blisse, doth breede anothers bane.

Browne's revisions suggest sensitivity to the rhetorical effects of careful punctuation. The extra comma in line 4 balances the clauses and reinforces the visual similarity between this line of application and the equivalent line of observation (2). The transposition of the colon to follow

'make' instead of 'tane' shows a comparable sense of rhetorical patterning, setting observation against application. It is also noticeable that Browne ends this and each of his poems in Ashmole 767 with a full stop. (Moreover, his rewriting of Palmer's ballad stanzas as four fourteeners is, among other things, further testimony to his interest in the visual presentation of poetry.) The evidence of Ashmole 767 testifies clearly to Browne's scrupulous care for punctuation, and is thus consistent with the theory that the lax punctuation of Lansdowne 777 is due to the copyist, and does not derive from Browne himself.

¹⁶ Pebworth, 'Manuscript Transmission and the Selection of Copy-Text', p. 250. The quotation from Greg is from 'The Rationale of Copy-Text', p. 22.

¹⁷ Mary-Jo Arn, 'On Punctuating Medieval Literary Texts', *Text* 7 (1994): 161-174, p. 167.

¹⁸ Arn, pp. 167-168.

¹⁹ Pebworth, 'Manuscript Transmission and the Selection of Copy-Text', p. 260.

²⁰ Marotti, for instance, retains both original capitalization and punctuation (though he does expand brevigraphs). This conservatism is appropriate to the concerns of *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, which are as much socio-historical as literary, but need not be similarly appropriate for an edition of manuscript poetry.

²¹ Gary Taylor, 'Praestat Difficilior Lectio', *Renaissance Studies* 2 (1988): 27-46, p. 46.

²² Lee Patterson, 'The Logic of Textual Criticism and the Way of Genius: The Kane-Donaldson *Piers Plowman* in Historical Perspective', in *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation*, ed. Jerome McGann (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1985), pp. 55-91, pp. 85-86.

²³ Pebworth, 'Manuscript Transmission and the Selection of Copy-Text', p. 261.

²⁴ Arn, p. 171.

²⁵ In her B. Litt edition of Strode, M. A. Forey, confronted with the 'haphazard' pointing of Strode's holograph manuscript, CCC MS 325, makes a similar decision to replace its punctuation completely and consistently, though lightly ('A Critical Edition of the Poetical Works of William Strode, excluding The Floating Island', (Oxford, 1966)).

Lansdowne 777

Poem 1.

‘Awake, faire Muse’

Text BrW 70 (Lansdowne 777). One other manuscript extant (BrW 71). Stanza division, numeration and indentation are as Lansdowne 777.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 1-3. Goodwin, II, pp. 211-213.

Criticism Tillotson cites lines 23-24, as evidence that ‘Solitude was indispensable’ to Browne (‘William Browne: His Life and Pastorals’, pp. 71-72). He reads lines 47-48 as an indication of Browne’s ‘antimonarchism’: ‘He would not bring himself to panegyrisse a king, alive or dead’ (p. 77).

Subject At the outset of the Lansdowne 777 compilation, the order of texts is clearly significant. ‘Awake, faire Muse’ introduces the collection with an emphatic endorsement of principles aptly summarized by its BrW 71 title, *The honour and eternity of poetry*: the Renaissance commonplaces of the immortality conferred by poetry, the superiority of poets over the ordinary people and of poetic activity over every other kind of human endeavour. These ideas are pervasive in Renaissance literature, and it would be unrealistic to attempt to identify a precise source for Browne’s expression of them. However, by his references to Drayton (line 3) and Spenser (line 47) Browne conspicuously aligns himself with the ‘Spenserian’ group of poets, for whom such ideas are especially important. For an account of these ‘Spenserian’ ideals, see Joan Grundy, *The Spenserian Poets*, and, for a more tendentious interpretation, David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*, Chapter 8, and Michelle O’Callaghan, ‘Three Jacobean Spenserians’. Spenser himself frequently alludes to the exalted status of poetry (e.g. *Amoretti* 75, *Ruines of Rome*, ‘L’envoy’, *Colin Clout*, lines 620-647, and repeatedly in *The Shepheardes Calender*), and the worth of both poets and poetry is exhaustively argued in Daniel’s *Musophilus* (1598). This first poem of the collection also forges a generic link between Browne and Drayton, who, in his 1606 collection, *Poemes lyrick and pastoral*, had been the first significant English poet to follow Ronsard’s example in composing a vernacular ode after the classical models. For the generic history of the ode, see Carol Maddison, *Apollo and the Nine: A History of the Ode* (pp. 290-296 for Drayton’s role in introducing the ode into English). Drayton’s *Ode to Himselfe and the Harpe* and *The Sacrifice to Apollo* both provide precedents for using this form to praise the value of poetry. For Browne’s links with Drayton, see note to line 3. By the time of the compilation of Lansdowne 777 (c. 1650) it may have become conventional to begin a lyric collection with a poem on this subject. Drayton’s *Poemes lyrick and pastoral* begins with the *Ode to Himselfe and the Harpe*. After prefatory material, the first poem in Randolph’s posthumous collection of 1638 is *On the Inestimable Content he iniouyes in the Muses*; and Milton’s 1645 *Poems* begins with the *Nativity Ode*, which repeatedly meditates on issues of artistic expression.

Title An Ode] The honour and eternity of poetry *BrW 71*. No stanza divisions or numbers *BrW 71*. 6. those] these *BrW 71*. 10. moares] neares *BrW 71*. 13. louely] onely *BrW 71*. 16. fed] fell *BrW 71*; care] cares *BrW 71*. 19. Bayes] Bay *BrW 71*. 21. Satyres] Satire *BrW 71*. 24. The holy horror] Onely the horror *BrW 71*. 28. And] For *BrW 71*. 30. in] on *BrW 71*. 31-36. *omitted BrW 71*. 37. may] need *BrW 71*. 38. As] Which *BrW 71*. 40. or] nor *BrW 71*. 44. as] is *BrW 71*. 46. those] theirs *BrW 71*. Subscribed Will Browne *BrW 71*.

An Ode

1

Awake, faire Muse, for I intend
 These euerlasting lynes to thee,
 And honor'd Drayton, come & lend
 An eare to this sweet Melodye.
 For on my harpes most high & siluer string, 5
 To those Nyne Sisters whom I loue, I Sing.

2

This man through Death & Horror seekes
 Honor, by the victorious Steele;
 Another, in vnmapped creekes
 For Jewells moares his winged keele; 10
 The Clam'rous Barre wins some, & others byte
 At lookes throwne from a Mushrome Faurite.

3

But I that serue the louely Graces,
 Spurne at that drosse which most adore,
 And Tytles hate like painted faces, 15
 And heart-fed care for euermore.
 Those pleasures I disdaine which are pursu'de
 With praise & wishes by the Multitude.

4

The Bayes, which deathles Learning crownes,
Me of Appollo's troope Installs; 20
The Satyres following o're the downes,
Faire Nymphs to rusticke Festiualls,
Make me affect (where men no traffique haue)
The holy horror of a Sauage Caue.

5

Through the faire skyes I thence Intend, 25
With an vnus'de & powrefull wing,
To beare me to my Jorneyes end:
And those that taste the Muses spring,
Too much celestiall fire haue at their birth,
To lyue long tyme like Common Soules in Earth. 30

6

From faire Aurora will I reare
My selfe vnto the Source of floods,
And from the Ethiopian Beare
To him as white as Snowy woods.
Nor shall I feare (from this daye taking flight) 35
To be wounde vp in any vayle of night.

7

Of death I may not feare the dart,
As is the vse of Humane State;
For well I knowe my better part,
Dreads not the hand of Tyme or Fate: 40
Tremble at Death, Enuye & fortune whoe
Haue but one life, Heauen giues a Poet two.

All costly Obsequies awaye,
 Marble & Paintyng too as vayne;
 My Ashes shall not meet with Clay, 45
 As those doe of the vulgar trayne:
 And if my Muse to Spencers glory come
 No King shall owne my verses for his Tombe.

3. *honor'd Drayton*] The evidence for Browne's association with Drayton is discussed by Grundy in *The Spenserian Poets* (pp. 148-50). Browne mentions Drayton twice in *Britannias Pastorals*, once by periphrasis (I.5.899-900), and subsequently amongst the poets who attend on Thetis during her visit to Britain: 'Our second Ovid, the most pleasing Muse / That Heav'n did e'er in mortal's brain infuse, / All-loved Drayton' (II.2.287-289). He contributed a commendatory poem to the second part of *The Poly-Olbion* (1622), comparing Drayton with Sidney and Spenser and thus linking him with the lost glories of the Elizabethan age. Drayton provided a commendatory poem, entitled 'To his Friend the Author' to Book I of *Britannias Pastorals* and also addressed a verse epistle 'To my noble friend Master William Browne: of the evill time'. As the subtitle of this epistle implies, its preoccupation is the degeneration of the present age, a concern also expressed frequently by Browne (e.g. the story of Aletheia in *Britannias Pastorals* I.4, and the elegy 'Is Death so great a Gamester', lines 57-60, 79-88). Drayton also mentions Browne among the most recent of the poets he considers worthy of praise in his elegy *To Henry Reynolds*: 'Then the two Beaumonts and my Browne arose, / My deare companions whom I freely chose / My bosome friends; and in their severall wayes, / Rightly borne Poets, and in these last dayes, / Men of much note, and no lesse nobler parts, / Such as have freely tould to me their hearts, / As I have mine to them' (lines 175-181). As well as the general admission of respect and the declaration of poetic allegiance in the invocation of Drayton, there is a compliment to the older poet in the resemblance between this poem and Drayton's odes, especially the *Ode to Himselfe and the Harpe* and *The Sacrifice to Apollo*.

5. *my harpes*] For the harp as a symbol of poetic inspiration see e.g. Drayton's *Ode to Himselfe and the Harpe*. Renaissance poets often refer to Orpheus's instrument (according to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the lyre) as the harp, e.g. Spenser's *Ruines of Time*, lines 603-616, where the harp represents Philip Sidney's persona, Philisides, and Drayton's *Endimion and Phoebe*, line 946. Apollo, god of music and poetry (see line 20) is also said to be a harpist, e.g. Browne's *The Shepherds Pipe* eclogue 5, line 55, and Jonson, *To Sir Robert Wroth*, line 51. Drayton also cites David, the Biblical harpist, as well as Mercury, Pindar, Horace and the Celtic traditions (*Ode to Himselfe and the Harpe*, 31ff), as illustrative of the natural connection between the harp and artistic inspiration.

6. *Nyne Sisters*] i.e. the nine muses.

- 9-10. *Another, in ... winged keele*] e.g. as Raleigh did on his Guyanan voyages (see David Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire*, Chapters 6 and 8).
11. *The Clam'rous Barre*] For references to the law in Browne's poetry, see e.g. *A Rounde*, line 15; *Fido: an Epistle to Fidelia*, lines 9-24; *Lidford Journey*. Browne's legal allusions are almost always unfavourable.
- 11-12. *byte / At*] complain about.
12. *a Mushrome Fauorite*] Compare Browne's *Visions*, sonnet 6, where the arrogant mushroom blocks the sun's rays from the more beautiful and deserving flowers. The use of the mushroom to represent the unworthy upstart is proverbial (Tilley M1319, 'A mushroom grows in a night'), e.g. Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, I ii 162-163: 'these mushroompe gentlemen, / that shoot vp in a night to place, and worship', and Peacham, *The Complete Gentleman*: 'And how may we ... withal discern and know an intruding upstart, shot up with the last night's mushroom, from an ancient-descended and deserved gentleman' (p. 131).
- 13-18. Compare Drayton's scorn for 'The prophane vulgar' in *The Sacrifice to Apollo*, line 8. Similar scorn is frequent in Jonson's works.
13. *the louely Graces*] According to Hesiod (*Theogony*, lines 907-911), the three Graces, daughters of Zeus, are Aglaia, Euphrosyne, and Thalia. Drayton, in *The Sacrifice to Apollo*, follows his invocation to the Muses with an appeal to the Graces, who, he says, 'to the Gods are deare, / And they can humbly / Teach us, our Selves to beare, / And doe things comely: / They and the Muses, rise both from one Stem, / They grace the Muses, and the Muses them' (lines 19-24). The most famous invocation of the Graces in English Renaissance poetry is in *The Faerie Queene* VI x 1-29, when Colin Clout pipes for the dancing of the Graces, their hundred attendants, and his own beloved 'countray lasse' (25.8), elevated to be a fourth Grace.
15. *painted faces*] See Richard Corson, *Fashions in Makeup*, pp. 121-130, for a summary of early-seventeenth century attitudes towards the use of cosmetics. Notable amongst the disapproval expressed by numerous clerics and moralists is Thomas Tuke's *Treatise Against Painting and Tincturing of Men and Women* (London, 1616). Donne has a caustic epigram, *Phryne*, on a painted woman: 'Thy flattering picture, *Phryne*, is like thee, / Onely in this, that you both painted be'.
19. *The Bayes*] The laurel, sacred to Apollo and thus traditionally a symbol of the poet (compare Browne's sonnets to Caelia, 5.14).
20. *Appollo's troope*] This phrase is used by Fowler, 'Go back then cignetts to Appollo's troupe' (*VI Verses*, line 25), and Thomas Howell, 'Appollo's troope my faults wil passe, and waye my want therein' (*To the Reader*, line 41). Drayton has a similar expression: 'What Swan of bright Appollo's Brood doth sing' (*Epistle of Mistres Shore*, line 23).
23. *traffique*] business.
24. *a Sauage Caue*] Browne repeatedly situates his personas in caves: compare the Cauernes yet vnknowne euen to the Sun', where the poet sits in poem 28, *An Epistle throwne into a Riuer in a ball of Wax*, and the cave into which Celadyne follows the unknown shepherd in *Britannias Pastorals* III.1.285ff.
26. *With ... powrefull wing*] i.e. through poetic inspiration.
29. *celestiall fire*] Compare the 'Altars endlesse flames' of Drayton's *Sacrifice to Apollo* (line 64).

31-36. Apart from Aurora, the goddess of the dawn, the references in these lines are obscure. It may be significant that this stanza is omitted in BrW 71. In line 33, the 'Ethiopian Beare' probably alludes to Erasmus's adage I iv 50, 'Aethiopem lavas; Aethiopem dealbas', 'You are washing, or whitening, an Ethiopian' (Erasmus, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 356). The Ethiopian is proverbially and ineradicably black, and thus contrasts with 'him as white as Snowy woods'. Pliny had insisted 'it is known that the bear does not occur in Africa' (*Natural History* 8.54), but Topsell, in 1607, recognized that this was a mistake: 'wheras *Pliny* affirmeth, that there are no beares in *Affrick*, he mistook that country for *Creet*' (p. 36). One possible interpretation is that this stanza indicates the poet's intention to fly from East to West and from North to South. 'Aurora' is in the East, and 'the Source of floods' might conceivably refer to the Tagus in Portugal. In *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia*, Browne alludes to the span between East and West as stretching 'From Phoebus rise [another metaphor for dawn] to Tagus where he sett's' (line 31). Following 'the Ethiopian Beare', a figure for the South, in line 33, 'him as white as Snowy woods' in line 34 is presumably the polar bear, an inhabitant of the North (though the choice of bears as metaphors for global directions is difficult to explain). Nonetheless, despite the obscurity of the imagery, the general import of the stanza - a restatement of the poetic flight towards heavenly inspiration, described in stanza 5 - is reasonably clear.

36. *wounde vp ... night*] i.e. as in a shroud.

37. *Of death ... the dart*] For the dart of death, compare e.g. Sidney, 'Cease muse, therefore; thy dart, O death, apply' (*The Old Arcadia*, The Fourth Eclogues, 'Since that to death is gone the shepherd high', line 141), and Spenser's *Daphnida*: 'A cruell Satyre with his murdrous Dart' (line 156).

38. *vse*] habit.

41-42. *Tremble at Death ... a Poet two*] For the formulation of poetic fame as a second life, compare Daniel's *Musophilus*, 'And though we [i.e., poets] die we shall not perish quite, / But liue two liues where other haue but one' (lines 41-42), and *Britannias Pastorals* II.2.94: 'Fame gives a second life to such a spirit' (the swain who sings to entertain Thetis).

44. *Paintyng*] As Lucy Gent points out, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the word 'painting' 'might be used without discrimination to mean face-painting, heraldry-painting, house-painting, or art-painting' (*Picture and Poetry 1560-1620*, pp. 6-7).

46. *vulgar trayne*] the common people who are not poets: the 'Common Soules in Earth' of line 30.

48. Compare Bernard Garter, 'Apollo's gifts are subject to no king' ('Feare not, oh queene, thou art beloved so', line 61), and Drayton's *Ode to Himselfe and his Harpe*: 'For they [Apollo and the Muses] be such coy Things, / That they care not for Kings' (lines 16-17).

Poem 2.

‘Behold ô God’

Text BrW 3 (Lansdowne 777). 5 other manuscripts extant. The emboldening and disposition of the text are as Lansdowne 777. For a detailed account of the patterning in the extant manuscripts and anonymous printed versions of this poem, see Appendix.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 4-5. Printed anonymously by C. C. Bombaugh, *Gleanings from the Harvest-Fields of Literature* (London, 1890), p. 95, and William Shepherd Walsh, *A Handy-Book of Literary Curiosities* (London, 1893), p. 276. Goodwin, II, pp. 310-311.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Tillotson, p. 74. Tillotson notices the patterning of the Lansdowne 777 text, describing it as ‘a fantastic virtuoso experiment embodying in its letters three texts arranged in vertical columns’, but does not print the words of the acrostic texts, or comment on their role within the whole poem.

Title untitled *BrW 3, Newberry*, Prayer *BrW 4.5*, A curious Piece of Antiquity on the crucifixion of Our Saviour and the two thieves *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*, also Bombaugh and Walsh (spelling regularized), On the glorious Passion and Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ *Folger*. Hazlitt supplies the title ‘Religious Verses’, Goodwin ‘Devotional Verses’; *BrW 4* page torn. 1. Behold ô] My God! My God *Bombaugh, Walsh*; God] Lord *Folger*. 3. me wretch] my plaint *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*; me] a *Folger*; and] oh *Bombaugh, Walsh*; Eyes] eye *BrW 4*; which sleepe] that keep *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*. 4. Did neuer close] Continual watch *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*, Yet neuer clos’d *BrW 4.5, Newberry*. 5. O] My *Folger*; faults, though] Sinnes So *BrW 4*; faults] Sins *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*. 6. numberlesse] hainous come *Folger*; mercyes] mercy *Bombaugh, Walsh*. 7. be throwne] have place *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*, o’rthrow *Folger*. 8. be] art *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*, beest *Bombaugh, Walsh*. 9. Merritt] merits *BrW 4*. 10. Then] But *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*. 12. My crowne his Thornes] His thornes my crown *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*; lost] blest *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35, BrW 4.5*. 14. accompts] accounts *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35, Folger*; the] thy *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35, Folger, Bombaugh, Walsh*. 16. And] Thou *Bombaugh, Walsh*; as well as pay the] since thou hast paid my *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*. 18. Should] shall *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*. 19. grante thine] thine grant *Folger*; grante] give *Bombaugh, Walsh*. 20. in] by *Bombaugh, Walsh*; must bee] I see *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*. 21. then] to *Folger*; what] that *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35, BrW 4.5*. 22. sincke me] me sincke *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*. 23. Lastly O] O Lord! my *Bombaugh, Walsh*; guide] keep *Bombaugh, Walsh*. 24. me that I Neuer slyde] that from thee I ne’er slip *Bombaugh, Walsh*. 25. the Doom] doomsday *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*; raised then] raisd again *Bod. Eng. misc. c. 35*; then] corrected from ‘with them’ *BrW 4.5*. 26. To] corrected from ‘that’ *BrW 4.5*.

Behold ô God, **INRI** vers of my teares
I come to the, bow downe thy blessed eares,
To heare me wretch, and let thine Eyes (which sleepe
Did neuer close) behold a Sinner weepe.
Let not, **O God My God** my faults, though Great 5
And numberlesse, bet **W** een thy mercyes Seat
And my poore soule be t **H** rowne! Since we are taught
Thou **Lord Remember** st th **Y** ne **If Thou be** Sought,
I co **Me** not Lord wit **H** any o **The** r Merritt,
Then **Wh** at I by my S **A** viour **Ch** rist inheritt. 10
Be th **EN** his Wound **S** my balme, his st **RI** pes my blisse,
My crowne his **Th** ornes, my dea **T** h be lo **St** in his.
And th **Ou** my bles **T** Redeemer, **SA** viour, God,
Quitt my ac **CO** mpts, with **H** old the **ve** ngefull rod.
Ô begg for **ME,** my h **O** pes on **T** hee are sett, 15
And Chri **St** forgi **U** e as well as pay **th** e debt.
The liu **IN** g fount, the ly **F** e, the wa **y** e I know:
And but **To** thee, **O** whither **S** hould I goe?
All o **T** her helps a **R** e vaine; grant **E** thine to mee,
For in t **Hy** Crosse my **S** auing hea **L** th must bee. 20
O hear **K** en then wh **A** t I with **F** aith implore,
Least S **IN** & Death sinc **K** e me for **E** vermore.
Lastly O **G** od, my way **E** s direct **A** nd guide,
In **D** eath defe **N** d me that I **N** euer slyde.
And at the Do **OM** e Let **Me** be raise **D** then, 25
To liu **E** with the **E** Sweet Jes **VS** say Amen.

‘Behold ô God’, Browne’s only devotional poem, comprises a tissue of Biblical allusions and other Christian commonplaces. In many instances his references and images are derived from ideas so frequent within the Bible and in subsequent Christian writings that it would be impossible to identify a conclusive source for any one allusion. In the notes below, ‘e.g.’ indicates that the cited passage is only one amongst many possible precedents.

1. *INRI*vers of my teares] e.g. Lamentations 2.18: ‘Let tears run down like a river day and night’.

2. *the*] thee.

3-4. *thine Eyes ... close*] e.g. Psalm 121.4: 'Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep'.

6. *thy mercyes Seat*] The original Biblical reference is to a golden seat decorated with cherubim, which God commands the Israelites to construct in the sanctuary (Exodus 25.17-22), as a future meeting-place for himself and Moses ('And there I will meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy seat', v. 22): thus, in Christian allegorical interpretation, God's mercy in communicating with the believer and his willingness to forgive sin.

8. *Lord Rememberst ... Sought*] The many Biblical references to God remembering his people include Genesis 8.1 ('God remembered Noah'), 19.29 ('God remembered Abraham') and 30.22 ('God remembered Rachel'). In the New Testament, the promise is explicitly stated: 'Ask, and it shall be given you; seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you' (Matthew 7.7; Luke 11.9). The line also alludes to the dying thief whose request to the crucified Jesus, 'Lord remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom' is satisfied by the reply: 'Verily I say unto thee, To day shalt thou be with me in paradise' (Luke 23.42-43; see Appendix).

9-10. The insistence that the believer can receive salvation only through the imputed righteousness of Jesus, and by faith rather than merit, (justification *sola fide*, 'by faith alone') was one of the most important - and controversial - teachings of the Protestant Reformation. It is closely associated with Luther, and is derived mainly from the Pauline Epistles. (Luther's most detailed articulation of the doctrine is in his lectures on Romans (*Works*, vol. 25)). The principle was endorsed in the Elizabethan establishment of the Church of England, e.g. the article 'Of Justification and Faith': 'We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, applyed by faith, and not for our owne works or merits', and the Homilies on salvation, faith and good works.

11. *his stRipes my blisse*] Isaiah 53.5: '... and with his stripes we are healed' (cited 1 Peter 2.24).

12. *My crowne his Thornes*] Matthew 27.29; Mark 15.17; John 19.2.

14. *Quitt my acCOMpts*] See note to line 16. *withHold the vengefull rod*] e.g. Psalm 2.9: 'Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron'; Revelation 19.15: 'he shall rule them with a rod of iron'.

15. *O begg for ME*] compare 1 Timothy 2.5: 'For there is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus'; Romans 8.26: 'the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered'.

16. *ChriSt forgiUe ... tHe debt*] The comparison of sin to a debt occurs frequently in the New Testament, e.g. the petition 'Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors' in the Lord's Prayer, and some of the Gospel parables (e.g. Matthew 18.23-35).

17. *The liuINg fount*] In John 4.10-14, Jesus promises to provide his followers with living water. *the lyFe the waye*] John 14.6: 'Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me'.

18-19. *And but ... aRe vaine*] Compare Acts 4.12: 'Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved'.

23. *my wayEs ... guide*] e.g. Psalm 25.4: 'Shew me thy ways, O Lord; teach me thy paths'.

Poem 3.

The happy Life

Text BrW 57 (Lansdowne 777). The italics in line 32 are as Lansdowne 777.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 5-7. Goodwin, II, pp. 299-300.

Criticism Røstvig (see below), quoting stanzas 1 and 3-4, describes *The happy Life* as 'a pious pastoral with elements taken from the rural ode' (p. 56). Anthony Low, citing Browne in his chapter 'Resistance to Georgic', in *The Georgic Revolution*, remarks of stanza 4: 'Obviously these are not the reveries of a laborer or a subsistence farmer. Browne's "Happy Life" is not wholly without labor, but it is a labor that is well under control' (p. 22).

Subject The theme of *The happy Life* - the happy man, and the contented life he enjoys - is a frequent theme in seventeenth- (and early eighteenth-) century poetry. Its sources are in classical literature - in Virgil's second Georgic, Horace's second epode, Martial's epigrams 4.90 and 10.47, Claudian's *De Seneca Veronensi* (*Carmina Minora*, 20), the choral odes from some of Seneca's plays - sometimes conflated with Christian ideals of a retired life of devotion and humility. Maren-Sofie Røstvig's *The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Ideal* (vol. 1) provides a comprehensive account of the various strands within the tradition and their absorption into English, from the work of translators, such as Ashmore, Jonson and Cowley, through seventeenth-century adaptations such as Wotton's *The Character of a Happy Life* (also transcribed in Lansdowne 777, f. 65), Jonson's *To Penshurst* and *To Sir Robert Wroth*, John Denham's *Cooper's Hill*, Mildmay Fane's *On Retiredness*, and Marvell's *Upon Appleton House* and *The Garden*. At its most simple, the *beatus-ille* tradition - so-called from the opening line of Horace's epode 2, 'Beatus ille qui procul negotiis', 'Happy the man who, far away from business cares' - opposes the simple, wholesome pleasures of the country to the commerce and corruption of the city. The country dweller knows a life of quiet moderation, a sufficient supply of food and clothing from the land, and an inner peace which is denied to the townsman. Later seventeenth-century formulations invoke the theme of the Golden Age, an emphasis on solitude and contemplation, or suggest that intimacy with nature can lead to communion with God (Røstvig, pp. 42-43, 122). Browne extols the Golden Age in *Britannias Pastorals* (II.3.223-478), but here his depiction of the happy life emphasizes the more stoical ideas of modesty, humility and domesticity. Goodwin (II, p. 299) describes *The happy Life* as a paraphrase of Horace's second epode, but although Horace is implicitly recalled in the title and is pervasively influential throughout the poem, Browne's description of retired contentment also draws heavily on several of Martial's epigrams. Like Martial in epigram 4.90, he outlines the routine of the contented man's daily life, though with more emphasis on the role of sincere religious devotion within this ideal pattern.

The happy Life

O blessed man! who homely bredd,
In lowly cell can passe his dayes,
Feeding on his well gotten bread,
And hath his Gods not others wayes.

That Doth into a prayer wake, 5
And Riseing (not to bribes or bands),
The Power that doth him happy make
Hath both his knees as well as hands.

His Threshold he doth not forsake
Or for the Cittyes Cates or Trymme, 10
His plough, his flock, his Sythe and Rake
Doe Phisicke, Clothe and nourish him.

By Some Sweet Streame, Cleere as his thought,
He seates him with his Booke & lyne,
And though his hand haue nothing caught, 15
His mynde hath wherevpon to dyne.

He hath a Table furnisht Strong,
To Feast a friend or flattering Snare;
And hath a iudgment & a tongue
That know to wellcome & beware. 20

His afternoone (spent as the prime)
Inviting where he mirthfull supps,
Labour, Or seasonable time,
Brings him to bedd & not his cupps.

Yet ere he take him to his rest, 25
 For this & for their last repayre,
 He with his household meek address,
 Offer their sacrifice of prayer.

If then a louing wife he meets,
 Such as A Good Man Should lye by, 30
 Blest Eden is betwixt these sheets:
Thus would I liue, thus would I Dye.

All references to the Roman poets cite the current Loeb translations, except for Martial 4.90, which is quoted in the earlier Loeb translation by W. C. A. Ker. The current Loeb translation omits epigram 4.90, which is now known not to be by Martial.

1. *homely bredd*] Horace's happy man 'works his ancestral acres' (epode 2.3). Claudian's *De Sene Veronensi* begins 'Happy he who has passed his whole life mid his own fields, he of whose birth and old age the same house is witness' (lines 1-2).
2. *In lowly cell*] Virgil's happy husbandmen inhabit 'no stately mansion with proud portals' (*Georgics* II.461).
3. *his well gotten bread*] Horace describes the 'unbought meal' which the man's wife would prepare (lines 47-48).
4. *his Gods ... wayes*] See notes to 5 and 25-28, below. Virgil refers several times to the husbandman's religious probity (II.473, 493-494, 529).
5. *Doth into ... wake*] Compare Martial, 4.90.2: 'At daybreak I pray to the gods'. Browne's ideal day also ends in prayer (lines 25-28).
6. *not to ... bands*] Similarly Horace's happy man is 'from all money-lending free' (line 4), and Martial, in 4.90, rejoices that he is 'free from moneylenders' (line 6).
- 9-10. Compare Horace: 'he avoids the Forum and proud thresholds of more powerful citizens' (lines 7-8), or Claudian: 'Unpractised in affairs, unfamiliar with the neighbouring town' (line 9). *Cates*] provisions. *Trymme*] ornamentation.
- 11-12. *His plough ... nourish him*] Horace similarly describes a variety of possible country activities: 'and so he either weds his lofty poplar-trees to well-grown vines, or in secluded dale looks out upon the ranging herds of lowing cattle, and, cutting off useless branches with the pruning-knife, engrafts more fruitful ones, or stores away pressed honey in clean jars, or shears the helpless sheep' (lines 9-16). Martial mentions 'land not unproductive' (10.47.4). Virgil adds the emphasis that the husbandman's physical needs are satisfied by the produce of the land.
- 13-16. Neither Horace nor Virgil mentions fishing among the activities of the happy man, though both express appreciation of country streams (epode 2.25-28,

Georgics II.485-486). Martial, however, refers to fishing in epigram 1.55: ‘Is any man so silly as to court the painted chill of Spartan stone, conveying morning greetings, when he could be happy with the spoils of woodland and countryside, unfolding his loaded nets before the fireplace, pulling in leaping fish with tremulous line ..?’ (lines 5-9). Walton’s *Compleat Angler* (1653, 1655), the most famous English text to praise the happiness of the rural fisherman, post-dates Browne, but several of Browne’s contemporaries also wrote in praise of fishing, e.g. John Dennys in *Secrets of Angling* (1613) and Gervase Markham in *Countray Contentments* (1615). Chapter 20 of Peacham’s *Complete Gentleman*, ‘Concerning Fishing’, begins ‘I have taken so much delight in the art of angling that I may well term it the honest and patient man’s recreation, or a pastime for all men to recreate themselves at vacant hours’ (p. 171); and Burton includes it among ‘Exercise Rectified of Mind and Body’ (*The Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. II, pp. 71-72) as a possible cure for melancholy. Sannazaro had written piscatorial eclogues, and Fletcher published *Sicelides: a piscatory* in 1631. Browne uses the angler as an exemplar of patient persistence in *Britannias Pastorals* I.5.643 ff.

17-20. Compare Martial, 10.47.7-8: ‘guilelessness not naive, friends of like degree, easy company, a table without frills’.

23-24. Compare Martial, 10.47.9: ‘a night not drunken but free of cares’.

27-28. Instead of prayer, Martial’s happy man finishes the day with ‘such lucubrations as this night furnishes to the nocturnal Muses’ (4.90.8).

29-30. *If then ... lye by*] Both Horace and Martial consider a suitable wife to be among the most valuable components of the happy man’s domestic arrangements. Horace’s Alfius claims: ‘But if a modest wife shall do her part in tending Home and children dear ... not Lucrine oysters would please me more, nor scar, nor turbot, should winter, thundering on the eastern waves, turn them to our coasts’ (lines 39-52). Martial lists among his preferences ‘a marriage bed not austere and yet modest’ (10.47.10).

32. Thus would I ... Dye] Compare Martial’s conclusion to his description of his contented life in epigram 12.18.26: ‘So fain would I live, so fain would I die’ (‘sic me vivere, sic iuvat perire’).

Poem 4.

'Now that the Spring'

Text BrW 238 (Lansdowne 777). One other manuscript extant (BrW 239, see below). The directions to speakers / singers, stanza divisions and indentations are as Lansdowne 777.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 8-9. Goodwin, II, pp. 213-214.

A Rounde

All
Now that the Spring hath fill'd our veynes
with kinde and actiue fire,
And made green Liu'ryes for the playnes
and euery groue a Quire,

Sing we a Song of merry glee 5
and Bacchus fill the bowle;
1 Then heres to thee, 2 And thou to mee,
and euery thirsty soule.

Nor Care nor Sorrow ere payd debt,
nor neuer shall doe myne; 10
I haue no Cradle goeing yet,
nor I, by this good wyne.

Noe wyfe at home to send for me,
noe hoggs are in my grounde,
Noe suite in Law to pay a fee, 15
then round, old Jocky, round.

All
Sheare sheepe that haue them, cry we still;
But see that noe man scape,
to drinke of the Sherry
that makes vs so merry 20
and plumpe as the lusty Grape.

BrW 239 provides an alternative version of this poem. It has no title or directions.

Now that the spring hath filld our veines
With fine & actiue fire,
And spred greene liueryes o're the ground
And euery Groues a Quire,
Sing we a songe of mirth and melodie,
God Bacchus fill the Bowle,
So here's to thee, and thou againe to me
And to euery thirsty soule.
Sheere sheepe that haue them cry we still
But see that none escape
To take of his sherry
That makes us all so merry
And plumpe as the lusty grape.
Nor care nor sorrow ere payd debts
Nor euer shall doe mine,
I haue noe cradle goinge yet
Nor I by this good wine.
Noe wife at home to call for me
Noe hoggs are in my ground
Noe suite at law to pay a fee,
Then Jockey a Round, a Round.

Title. A Rounde] In *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, William Webbe defines the round as 'beeing mutuallie sung betweene two: one singeth one verse, the other the next, eche rymeth with himself' (*Discourse*, p. 61). His example is the roundelay in Spenser's 'August', in *The Shepheardes Calender*. The directions in the Lansdowne 777 copy of Browne's poem, dividing the poem (or song) between speakers 1, 2 and 'all', are consistent with the genre, though they appear to be incomplete. The third and fourth stanzas lack any directions, though the contrasting clauses in lines 9-12 suggest that in this stanza at least speakers 1 and 2 were originally to have taken alternate lines. In content, Browne's *Rounde* seems to have less in common with the elevated formalities of an eclogue singing-contest than with the conviviality of a pledging-song. Browne may have

found a partial model in Drayton's *Sacrifice to Apollo*, which describes a toasting ceremony. However, whereas in Drayton's poem the toasting ceremony represents the poet's invocation of divine inspiration for his verses, in Browne the emphasis is on communal merriment. Given that Browne is often identified with the Puritan faction during James's reign, the convivial, popular connotations of the pledging-song are worth noting. According to Peter Clark ('The alehouse and the alternative society', p. 64), the pledging-song became more popular after the English Protestant Reformation, as the church became more exclusively dedicated to religious activity, and the alehouse assumed a larger role in communal life. The Puritan William Prynne composed a treatise (*Healthes-sickness*, 1628) against 'this idle foolish, heathenish and hellish ceremony' (sig. b1v.). Harsnett, associating rounds and drinking, attributes the practice to the lowest classes: 'he had beene ... the Master setter of Catches or roundes used to be sung by Tinkers as they sit by the fire with a pot of good ale betweene theyr legges' (*A Declaration of Popish Imposters*, quoted in Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett and the Devils of Denham*, p. 242).

1-4. Spring is proverbially associated with love, e.g. the argument to 'March' in *The Shepherdes Calender*: '... two shepherds boyes taking occasion of the season, beginne to make purpose of love and other plesaunce, which to springtime is most agreeable'. Browne makes a comparable association between spring, love and the transformation of groves into quires in 'Loue! when I mett her first' (lines 7-8).

6. *bowle*] the convivial bowl.

9. *Nor Care ... debt*] Tilley has two comparable proverbs: 'A Pound of care will not pay an ounce of debt' (P518, e.g. Camden, *Remaines*, p. 271), and 'Sorrow will pay no debt' (S660, e.g. John Ray, *A Collection of Proverbs*, p. 144).

11. *I haue ... yet*] Compare the proverb 'Better to have one Plow going than two cradles' (Tilley, P420).

14. *noe hoggs ... grounde*] The intrusion of unwanted hogs is one of the inconveniences which beset Willie and Jockie in *The Shepherds Pipe*, eclogue 2.

15. *Noe suite in Law*] See note to 'Awake, faire Muse', line 11.

16. *Jocky*] This name is given to one of the speakers in *The Shepherds Pipe*, Eclogues 2 and 6. A contemporary poem, transcribed in Nicholas Burghe's verse miscellany, uses 'Jockye' as the name for a generic lower-class countryman (Bod. MS Ashmole 38, p. 126, cited Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 116).

19. *Sherry*] *OED* lists the first reference to sherry in 1608, in Middleton's *A Mad World My Masters* (V i 77). Sherry was sometimes associated or confused with sack, and the rhyme on 'merry' is frequent: e.g. Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*: 'Cokes: Sack? you said but ee'n now it should be *Sherry*. *Puppet Ionas*: Why so it is; sherry, sherry, sherry. *Cokes*: Sherry, sherry, sherry. By my troth he makes me merry' (V iv 206-210). See also Falstaff's speech on 'sherris-sacke' in *II Henry IV*, IV iii 85-122.

Text BrW 62 (Lansdowne 777). 6 other manuscripts extant (BrW 63-67, and Westcote's *View of Devonshire*). Two early printed sources. Stanza divisions, indentation, italics and underlining are as Lansdowne 777.

Publication Included in Westcote's manuscript *View of Devonshire* (1630), with three stanzas not transcribed in Lansdowne 777. First printed in *Sportive Wit* (1656), without Westcote's extra stanzas and lines 55-90 of the Lansdowne text. Prince, claiming 'it was never, as I know hitherto Printed', includes it on his entry on Browne in *The Worthies of Devon* (1701), pp. 96ff, describing it as 'the excursion of a luxuriant Fancy'. His version lacks Westcote's extra stanzas and also omits lines 73-78 of the Lansdowne 777 copy. Printed by Brydges, pp. 9-15, from Lansdowne 777. Goodwin, II, pp. 305-309.

Subject Lydford, 'a little and poor (but antient) Corporation' (Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, vol. 1, p. 274), lies on the eastern edge of Dartmoor, about 6 miles north of Tavistock, towards Okehampton. Prince (see below, note to line 55) traces its history from Julius Caesar's second invasion. The legal practice summarized in lines 1-2 and illustrated in the course of the poem was, as Browne indicates, notorious. Tilley (L590: 'Lydford Law: first hang and draw, then hear the cause') cites allusions in Jewel (*A Replie unto M. Hardings Answer*, Works vol. 1, p. 356), Thomas Adams (*Wolf Worrying Lamb*, Works, p. 389), and Blount's *Glossographia* (p. 377) as well as Browne. The court at Lydford was the stannary court for the Dartmoor tin-mines. Because of its remoteness and the importance of the revenue from tin to the royal exchequer, it enjoyed virtual independence; and the severity of its judgements and the rigours of the Lydford prison were a frequent cause of complaint. For an account of Lydford, its laws and the stannary system, see *Dartmoor: A New Study*, ed. Crispin Gill (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1970), particularly Frank Booker's chapter 'Industry' (pp. 100-138). According to Booker, the tin-mining industry, and concomitantly its legal system, were in decline by the mid-seventeenth century, and the prison 'was a dilapidated ruin in 1650' (p. 119). Fuller's *History of the Worthies of England* (1662), which also cites the proverb about Lydford law, says that the court of the stannaries was 'formerly kept' at Lydford, and adds: 'I charitably believe, that some Tinnors, justly obnoxious to censure, and deservedly punished (by fine or otherwise) for their misdemeanors, have causelessly traduced the proceedings of that Court, when they could not maintain their own innocence' (vol. 1, p. 274). Prince assures his readers: 'You must esteem this a satirical Description of what it was, (in this Poet's time, which was some Scores of years since) rather than what it is at present; having met with some late Improvements'. Westcote's *View*, introducing Browne's poem, indicates that its account of the poverty and injustice at Lydford is substantially accurate: 'But what mean I to make so long description of it, in regard it is so commonly sung by many a fidler; being very exactly and facetely done in a running metre, by William Browne, a very witty gentleman pleasantly disposed, that was employed thither' (Westcote, pp. 359-360). It is possible that

Browne's employment at Lidford was in the service of one of the Herbert brothers. William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, became Lord Warden of the Stannaries in 1603, and was succeeded by his brother Philip in August 1630.

Browne's blackly humorous treatment of the legal follies at Lydford is signalled by his use of a modified ballad-stanza, the metre of Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* and Suckling's *Ballad Upon a Wedding*. The poet's account of his own observation and experience of these legal absurdities blends with hearsay, rumour and folk-lore to produce a surreal, dream-like landscape, in which unconstrained houses are apt to run away (lines 55-60) and 'a Strange Strayde cow', appearing out of nowhere, seems to have been rained down from the stars. Some of the allusions in the poem are obscure.

Title. Lydford Law *BrW* 63, Lydford Law in Deuon-sherre *BrW* 66, untitled *W, P*, Lydford Law A Song *S*. 1. I ofte haue] Oft haue I *BrW* 65; ofte] ought *BrW* 63. 2. &] end *S*. 5. now] since *BrW* 65, *W, S, P*; find] think *BrW* 64, found *BrW* 65; their reason] the matter *W*; their] the *BrW* 63, 65, *S, P*. 6. That] As *W, P*. 7. They haue] There stands *S*; a Hill] an Hill *BrW* 66. 8. an] some *W*. 9. vanes] Van's *S*; by] with *BrW* 66, *S*. 10. Then] To *BrW* 63, 65, 66, *W, S, P*; 'tis] is *BrW* 66. 11. 'Tis] 'Twere *BrW* 64, 65, 66, *W, S, P*; ston'd] hang'd *BrW* 63, *S*; or] and *P*. 12. Or hang'd, now chuse you whether] God blesse us choose you whether *BrW* 63; hang'd] drown'd *S*; now chuse you whether] ere you come thither *W*. 13-24. omitted *S*. 15. they] too *W*. 19-24. omitted *BrW* 63 [*S*]. 19. Lord] Oh *BrW* 65. 21. when I spy all] castle's high hall *W*. 22. They know none there would gladly] I know none gladly there would *W, P*; They] I *BrW* 65, 66. 23. rather hang] wold be hangd *BrW* 65. 24. his] a *BrW* 66, *W, P*. 25. The Prince] Prince Charles *W*; a] an *BrW* 66, *S, P*, one *BrW* 65; pounds] pound *S*. 26. leades & planchings] Roooues and Planchions *BrW* 63; planchings] plankings *S*. 28. pounds] pound *BrW* 64; more had] would haue *BrW* 63. 29. that] there *BrW* 63. 30. There 'till] Vntil *BrW* 63. 31. seame of malt] peck of Salt *BrW* 66, *S*. 32. Another] One other *BrW* 65; three Pecks] a Peck *P*; three] two *BrW* 63, *W*; Salt] malt *BrW* 66, *S*. 33. Two] Three *BrW* 63. 36. Mr] Master *W, S*. Extra stanza inserted between 36-37 *S* (see below). 37. Neere] Tore *P*; to the men] these poor men *W*; the] these *S, P*. 38. There is a Bridge, there is a] See a dire bridge, a little *W*; There] here *P*. 39. Seuen] Fiue *S*; an] one *BrW* 65, 66, *W, S, P*. 40. Three] Fiue *BrW* 63, Seuen *S*. 41. They] Some *BrW* 63, *S*; Parson] rector *W*. 42. ne're] never *BrW* 63, 65. 43. Whereby] By this *BrW* 63; consider] coniecture *BrW* 65. 46. For] And *BrW* 65, 66, *W, P*; that] the *BrW* 66, *P*; town] place *BrW* 65; Graue] old *BrW* 66. 47. Doe loue] omitted *S*; Doe] Doth *BrW* 63; and] to *BrW* 65, *W, P*; haue] hold *BrW* 66. 48. Cloakes] cloak *BrW* 64, 65, 66, *W, P*. Three extra stanzas inserted between 48-49 *W* (see below). 49-54. omitted *BrW* 63, 65. 50. vp all] all the *S*, in the *W, P*. 51. Be sure I doe not faine] Or drown'd with snow or rain *W*; Be] For *P*. 53. Silkwormes] Slow-worms *S*. 55-90. omitted *S*. 55. One told me] I heard that *BrW* 65; One] They *BrW* 63, 'Twas *W*. 56. The] This *BrW* 63, *W*; of] with *BrW* 64, 65. 57. were] are *BrW* 65. 58. For they] And these *W*; For] And *BrW* 65, *P*. 59. were] are *BrW* 63, *P*, have *W*. 61-66. omitted *BrW* 63 [*S*].

62. Whilst] While *BrW 65, 66, W, P.* 63. while] whilst *BrW 64, 65, while BrW 66.* 64. If thou but stay a] For if thou stay'st one *W*; but stay a little] dost tarry but a *BrW 65*; but stay] stay but *P.* 65. they may] thou maist *BrW 66*; may] will *BrW 65, W, P.* 66. into] to a *W, P.* 68. The Prouerbe sayes Sorrow is] And the Prouerbe sayth sorrow's *BrW 63*; sayes Sorrow is] sayth Sorrows are *BrW 65*, saith sorrows be *W, P.* 69. this] the *W, P.* 70. When by great chance] Now by good luck *P*; When by great] At length by *BrW 65*, When] Where *BrW 63*; great chance] good luck *BrW 63, 66, W.* 71. Strayde] stray *W, P.* 73-78. *omitted BrW 63, 65, 66, W, [S], P.* 79. with our] without *BrW 63.* 80. last] length *BrW 63, 65*; Tything] roasting *P.* 82. And that was iust as if 'twere knowne] Which was as good as't had ben *BrW 63*; that] it *BrW 66*, this *W, P*; was] is *BrW 65*; as] and *W.* 83. One] A *BrW 65, 66, W, P.* 84. Amongst] Among *W, P.* 85. Glasse] draught *BrW 65.* 86. when yt was in] wyne when twas in *BrW 63.* 87. that nought] it much *BrW 63, W, P*; that] it *BrW 65, 66.* 88. thinke] know *BrW 63.* 89. with] in *BrW 63, W, and P.* 92. weare] wears *BrW 65, W, P.* 93. honors] He honors *BrW 63*, Yet honors *S.* 94. to] in *S*; the] their *BrW 63.* 95. I Saw to Serue the place] they haue the towne to grace *BrW 63*; the] in *W, P.* 96. Would] 'Twould *S.* 97. a] o'th' *S*; came] went *BrW 63.* 98. prayde for those that were to] vow'd I would no longer *S.* 100. Wilde and ope to windes that] Wide and ope the winds so *W, P*; Wilde] Wide *BrW 63*, Both wide *S*; to] the *BrW 65*; that] did *BrW 65.* 101. By Gods Grace] then surely *BrW 65.* 102. Vnlesse by Some] 'Till forc'd by a *W*; Some] a *BrW 65, 66.* Credited to verso: Lydford Law By Mr Browne follower of the Earle of Pembroke *BrW 65.*

Lidford Journey

I ofte haue heard of Lidford Lawe,
How in the Morne they hang & drawe,
 And sitt in iudgment after.
At first I wondred at it much,
But now I find their reason such, 5
 That it deserues no laughter.

They haue a Castle on a hill,
I tooke it for an old Windmill,
 The vanes blowne of by Weather.
Then lye therein one night 'tis ghesd, 10
'Tis better to be ston'd or prest,
 Or hang'd, now chuse you whether.

Ten men lesse roome within thys caue,
Then fiue Mice in a Lanthorne haue,
The keepers they are sly ones: 15
If any could devise by Art,
To gett it vpp into a Cart,
'Twere fitt to carry Lyons.

When I beheld it, Lord, thought I!
What Justice & what Clemency, 20
Hath Lidford when I spy all.
They know none there would gladly stay,
But rather hang out of the way,
Then tarry for his tryall.

The Prince, a hundred pounds hath sent, 25
To mend the leades & planchings rent,
Within this liuinge Toombe.
Some fortyfiue pounds more had paide,
The debts of all that shalbe layde,
There 'till the day of Doome. 30

One lyes there for a seame of Malt,
Another for three pecks of Salt,
Two Suretyes for a Noble.
If this be true or else false newes,
You may goe aske of Mr Crewes, 35
John Vaughan or John Doble.

Neere to the men that lye in lurch,
There is a Bridge, there is a Church,
 Seuen Ashes & an Oake,
Three houses standing and ten downe: 40
They say the Parson hath a Gowne,
 But I saw ne're a Cloake.

Whereby you may consider well,
That plaine Simplicity doth dwell,
 At Lidford without brauery. 45
For in that town both yong & Graue,
Doe loue the Naked truth and haue
No Cloakes to hide their knauerye.

The people all within this Clyme,
Are frozen vp all winter time, 50
 Be sure I doe not faine.
And when the Summer is begun,
They lye like Silkewormes in the Sun,
 And come to lyfe againe.

One told me in King Caesars tyme, 55
The towne was built of Stone & Lyme,
 But Sure the walls were Claye:
For they are fal'ne for ought I see,
And since the howses were got free,
 The Towne is Run awaye. 60

O Caesar, if thou there didst Raigne,
Whilst one house stands come there againe,
Come quickly while there is One:
If thou but stay a little fitt,
But five yeares more, they may Committ, 65
The whole Towne into Prison.

To See yt thus, much grieued was I:
The Prouerbe sayes Sorrow is dry,
So was I at this matter.
When by great chance I know not how, 70
There thither came a Strange Strayde cow,
And we had Milke and Water.

Sure I belieue it then did rayne,
A cow or two from Charles his Wayne,
for none alyue did See, 75
Such kynde of Creatures there before,
Nor shall from hence for euermore,
Saue Pris'ners, Geese and wee.

To Nyne good Stomacks (with our Whigg)
At last we got a Tything Pigg, 80
Thys dyet was our bounds.
And that was iust as if 'twere knowne,
One pound of Butter had byn throwne,
Amongst a Pack of Hounds.

One Glasse of drinke I gott by Chance, 85
Twas Clarett when yt was in France,
 But now from that nought wyder.
I thinke a man might make as good,
With Green Crabs boylde with Brasilwood,
 And halfe a pynte of Syder. 90

I kist the Mayors hand of the Towne,
Who though he weare no Scarlett Gowne,
 honors the *Rose & Thistle*.
A piece of Corrall to the Mace,
Which there I Saw to Serue the place, 95
 Would make a good *Childes-Whistle*.

At Six a Clock I came away,
And prayde for those that were to Stay,
 Within a place so Arrant.
Wilde and ope to windes that Rore, 100
By Gods Grace I'le come there no more
 Vnlesse by Some Tin Warrant.

WB.

7-8. *They haue ... an old Windmill*] Westcote's Victorian editors quote an extract from a survey of the Borough of Lydford, made in 1650, which confirms many of the details of *Lidford Journey*. It describes the castle as 'very much in decay and almost totally ruined' (Westcote, p. 358).

11. *prest*] sometimes known as 'peine forte et dure', the penalty inflicted on suspected felons who refused to plead. The prisoner's body was pressed with heavy weights until he died.

- 16-18. Obscure. The probable sense is that the cave is strong and secure.
- 25-26. *The Prince ... rent*] The 1650 survey of Lydford, describing the disrepair of the castle, makes one exception: 'only the roof of the said Castle (being lately repaired by the Prince and covered with Lead,) is more substantial than the other parts' (Westcote, pp. 358-359). 26. *leades*] i.e. the roofs. *planchings*] flooring.
31. *a seame*] equivalent to a horse-load.
32. *three pecks*] Before the standardisation of the imperial system, the measurement of a peck varied from district to district throughout England.
33. *Sureties*] guarantors. *Noble*] a coin worth 6s 8d; or, a nobleman.
35. *Mr Crewes*] Prince, in a marginal note, glosses this as 'The Steward'. His authority is unknown.
36. *John Vaughan or John Doble*] 'Attorneys of the court' (Prince, *Worthies*).
- 36-37. *Sportive Wit* inserts an extra stanza at this point:

Though debts and Debtors are but poor,
The Courts and Causes are the more,
(So many Tynners made)
That Lawyers and Attourneys all,
Which in these Courts doe scolde and brawle
Doe find it a gainfull trade.

41-42. *A Gowne ... a Cloake*] For a gown as characteristic of the clergy, see *Twelfth Night* IV ii 1-3: 'Nay, I prithee, put on this gown and this beard; make him believe thou art Sir Topas the curate'. A gown would also imply membership of one of the universities, and thus, in theory, civilisation and learning. 'Cloak' could refer to the Geneva gown, the characteristic dress of the Calvinist clergy, or might simply mean a poorer garment. In the century following the Elizabethan establishment of the Church of England, there was a marked increase in the proportion of graduates among the clergy (see Rosemary O'Day, *The English Clergy: the Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession 1558-1642*, Chapter 10). The poet, however, has seen no evidence of either learning or prosperity at Lydford.

45. *brauery*] As well as 'courage' this can refer to fine clothes, as in the *Homilie against Excesse of Apparell*: 'preparing ourselves in fine bravery, to wanton, lewd and unchaste behaviour' (*Certaine Sermons or Homilies*, p. 103).
- 48-49. Westcote's *View of Devonshire* inserts an additional three stanzas at this point:

This town's enclos'd with desert moors,
But where no bear nor lion roars,
And nought can live but hogs:
For, all o'erturn'd by Noah's flood,
Of four-score miles scarce one foot's good,
And hills are wholly bogs.

And near hereto's the Gubbins cave;
A people that no knowledge have

Of law, or God, or men:
Whom Caesar never yet subdued;
Who've lawless liv'd; of manners rude;
All savage in their den.

By whom, - if any pass that way,
He dares not the least time to stay,
For presently they howl;
Upon which signal they do muster
Their naked forces in a cluster,
Led forth by Roger Rowle.

To Fuller, 'The Gubbings' are almost mythically savage. 'I have read of an England beyond Wales; but the *Gubbings-Land* is a Scythia within England, and they pure Heathens therein. It lyeth nigh Brent-Tor, in the edge of Dartmore ... They are a *Peculiar* of their own making, exempt from *Bishop, Archdeacon*, and all Authority either *Ecclesiastical* or *Civil*. They live in *Cotts* (rather *Holes* than *Houses*) like *Swine*, having all in common, *multiplied* without *marriage* into many hundreds ... Their *wealth* consisteth in *other men's goods*, and they live by stealing Sheep on the Moor' (*The History of the Worthies of England*, vol. 1, p. 273). Roger Rowle was said to be their leader.

53-54. *They lye ... againe*] Browne's several references to the silkworm include the epigram 'Like to a silkworme' and the equivalent text in *Britannias Pastorals* III.1.552-563, and *Fido: an Epistle to Fidelia* (lines 157-158). In her biography of the Countess of Pembroke, Margaret Hannay suggests that the Countess and her ladies may have kept silkworms (*Philip's Phoenix*, p. 113). A poem by her physician, Thomas Moffett, on the origins and characteristics of the silkworm, *Silkwormes and their Flies* (1599), warns against hastening the silkworm's hatching before its natural moment, the budding of the mulberry tree, and praises the mulberry as 'most wise / That neuer breedes till winter wholly dies' (f. 51).

55. *King Caesars tyme*] Prince testifies to an ancient connection between Lydford and Julius Caesar: 'Tis said that this Town, in its best Strength, was able to entertain *Julius Caesar*, at his second Arrival here in *Britain*'.

56. *The towne ... Lyme*] The 1650 survey of Lydford records: 'The walls [of the Castle] are built of lime and stone' (Westcote, p. 358).

64. *a little fitt*] a short time (*OEDn*², 4d).

68. *The Prouerbe ... dry*] See Tilley S656, 'Sorrow is dry', references from 1538 onwards.

74. *Charles his Wayne*] the seven bright stars in the Great Bear. 'Charles' is Charlemagne, and his wain is his wagon.

79. *Whigg*] may mean sour milk or cream, whey, or buttermilk.

80. *Tything Pigg*] a pig belonging to the church?

81. *Thys dyet was our bounds*] i.e. this was all we had.

87. *now ... nought wyder*] i.e. nothing could be less like claret.

89. *Crabs*] crab-apples. *Brasilwood*] a wood native to south America from which red, orange and peach dyes can be extracted.

91-93. *I kist ... Thistle*] Although the Mayor does not wear the official dress of a civic leader, he respects the monarch's authority. Browne alludes elsewhere to the regal connotations of the thistle. In *Britannias Pastorals* I.5.406 he refers to 'The royal thistle', and in his fifth emblem he associates the thistle with 'the Pallaces of kings'.

94-96. *A piece ... Childes-Whistle*] Obscure. The mace is the staff symbolizing legal authority, as in the Parliamentary mace. The implication presumably is that law and government at Lydford are equivalent to a child's toy.

102. *Tin Warrant*] A warrant issued on the authority of the stannary court.

Poem 6.

‘It hapned lately’

Text BrW 59 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 15-16. Goodwin, II, p. 283.

Subject ‘It hapned lately’ is the first of Browne’s epigrams in Lansdowne 777 (see poems 37, 59, 60), and the only one to lay explicit claim to the genre. Puttenham describes the ‘Epigramma’ as ‘a prety fashioned poeme short and sweete’ (*The Arte of English Poesie*, p. 54), and on this definition the ‘Epigramme’ of Browne’s title may strictly refer not to the whole poem but only the concluding couplet. Jonson dismissed Harington’s self-styled epigrams as mere ‘narrations’ (*Conuersations with Drummond* 3), and appears to gibe at the latter’s long-windedness in his own (196-line) epigram *On the Famous Voyage*.

Epigramme

It hapned lately at a Faire or Wake,
(After a pott or two or such mistake),
Two iron-soled clownes and bacon-sided,
Grumbled, then left the formes which they bestrided,
And with their crabb tree cudgells, as appeares, 5
Threshd (as they vse) at one anothers eares.
A neighbor neere both to their house and drinke,
Who (though he slept at Sermons) could not winke
At this discention, with a Spiritt bold,
As was the Ale that armed them, strong & old, 10
Stept in & parted them; but fortunes frowne
Was such that there our neighbor was knockd downe.
For they to recompence his paines at full,
Since he had broke their quarrell, broke his Scull.
People came in & raised him from his Swound; 15
A Chirurgion then was calld to search the wound,
Who op’ning yt (more to endear his paynes),

Cryde out, Alas! Looke, you may see his Braynes.

Nay (quoth the Wounded man), I tell you free,

Good Mr Surgeon, that can neuer bee:

20

For I should ne're haue medled with this Brall,

If I had had but any Braynes at all.

1. *Faire*] Keith Thomas (*Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 21, 628) notes that fairs, which were exempt from ordinary licensing restrictions until 1874, were notorious for drunkenness and violence. Sometimes special licences were granted to victuallers for fair-times only (see Peter Clark, *The English Ale-House 1200-1830*, p. 73). The Puritan Robert Harris lamented: 'Oh the drunkenesse that is in one day in this land at some Faire or Market to bee seene? Goe but to the townes end where a Faire is kept, and there they lye, as if some field had bin fought: here lies a hat, there lies a cloake, here a man, there a youth, there (alas for woe) a woman, nay, a swine with a womans face' (*The Drunkards Cup*, 1619, p. 19). *Wake*] 'The local annual festival of an English (now chiefly rural) parish, observed (originally on the feast of the patron saint of the church...) as an occasion for making holiday entertainment of friends, and often for village sports, dancing and other amusements' (*OED* 4b). Fairs and wakes seem to have been proverbially associated, e.g. Suckling's *Ballad upon a Wedding*, lines 4-6.

3. *bacon-sided*] probably 'foolish' or 'overweight', or both: thus Falstaff: 'Hang ye, gorbellied knaves, are ye undone? No, ye fat chuffs; I would your store were here. On, bacons, on! What, ye knaves! young men must live' (*I Henry IV*, II ii 85-88). Compare also Randolph's scorn for the ill-fed, ill-educated masses who could not appreciate Jonson's *New Inn*: 'Wilt thou engrosse thy store / Of wheat, and powre no more, / Because their bacon-braines have such a tast / As more delight in mast?' (*An Answer to Mr. Ben Jonson's Ode*, lines 11-14).

8. *though he ... Sermons*] Keith Wrightson (*English Society 1580-1680*, p. 213) notes that this was very common. It merited a rebuke from John Angier in his compilation of sermons 'An Helpe to Better Hearts' (1647) (reprinted in Ernest Axon, ed., *Oliver Heywood's Life of John Angier of Devon*, p.141).

8-9. *winke / At*] ignore.

16. *Chirurgion*] surgeon. Surgeons enjoyed a mixed reputation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A sceptical view is expressed in Edward Hake's *Fourth Satyr* (1579): 'So I let passe the surgeon, / who with his fowle deceyte, / Doth hooke syr Nummus to his handes / and takes him at receyte' (lines 5-8), and Charles Cotton's *Voyage to Ireland in Burlesque*: 'I sent for Chirurgion, who came in a trice, / And swift to shed bloud, needed not be call'd twice' (Canto 2, 11-12). Other allusions, however, imply a more favourable attitude: e.g. Donne's elegy, *The Comparison*, lines 51-52, in which the surgeon, 'searching' a wound, has the delicacy of a lover, ('And such in searching wounds the Surgeon is / As wee, when wee embrace, or touch, or kisse') and the appeals in contemporary plays for surgeons to tend the results of fighting (*Macbeth* I i 44-45, *Othello* V i 30). W. J. Bishop, in *The Early History of Surgery*, notes that the elaboration of

professional examinations for surgery in the sixteenth century greatly improved the practice and reputation of surgeons, but also that many so-called surgeons throughout the country operated without any training at all (pp. 89-90). *search*] probe.

17. *endeare*] increase the value of, i.e. in the hope of charging a higher fee for his services.

Poem 7.

'Loue! when I mett her first'

Text BrW 21(Lansdowne 777). Copy in *Britannias Pastorals* III.1.463-492. The italics, inter-lining and stanza divisions are as Lansdowne 777.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 17-18. Goodwin's edition includes only the *Britannias Pastorals* (BP) version. The BP version was first printed in Croker's edition of *Britannias Pastorals*, Book III (1852). Goodwin, II, pp. 41-42.

In *Britannias Pastorals*, Celadyne, the faithless but now repentant lover of Marina, discovers these verses 'upon a table writ' (III.1.462), in the Den of Oblivion. They are the third in a series of poems or songs he encounters in the Cave, which he has entered in pursuit of the 'forlorn shepherd' (apparently one of Browne's personas). See 'Yet one dayes rest' (poem 14). The correlative structure of the poem is probably the most ambitious experiment with verse form in all of Browne's work. Each line of the preliminary stanza (rhyming *aabccb*) is repeated in turn as the last line of the subsequent 6 stanzas (each rhyming *abab*). Compare the rather simpler use of correlative structure in poem 12, 'Deepe are the wounds'.

5. not] BP reading, hot BrW 21. 11. loues the] lov'd his BP. 12. Of] To BP; would] could BP. 17. me] BP reading, thee BrW 21. 29. Where] There BP.

*Loue! when I mett her first whose slaue I am,
To make her mine why had I not thy flame,
Or els thy blindnes not to see that Daye?
Or if I needs must looke on her rare Parts,
Love! why to wounde Her had I not thy Darts? 5
Since I had not thy wings to flie away.*

Winter was gone, and by the louely Spring,
Each pleasant Groue a merry Quire became,
Where day & night the careles birds did sing,
Loue when I mett her first whose slaue I am. 10

She sate & listned, for she loues the Strayne,
Of one whose Songs would make a Tyger tame;
Which made me Sigh and cry, O happy Swaine,
To make her mine why had I not thy flame?

I vainly Sought my passion to controule; 15
And therefore, since she loues the learned laye,
Homer! I should have brought with me thy soule,
Or els thy blindnes not to see that Daye.

Yet would I not (mine Eyes) my dayes outrun,
In gazing (could I helpe it or the Arts), 20
Lyke him that dyde with looking on the Sun,
Or if I needs must, Looke on her rare parts.

Those, seen of one who euery herbe would try,
And what the blood of Elephants imparts
To coole his flame; yet would he (forced) Cry, 25
Loue why to wounde her had I not thy Darts?

O Dedalus! the Labrynth fram'd by thee,
Was not so intricate as where I straye,
Where haue I lost my dearest libertye,
Since I had not thy winges to fly awaye. 30

3,6. thy blindnes ... thy wings] Cupid is traditionally blind, and winged.
7-8. *Winter was ... became*] Compare Browne's *A Rounde* (poem 4), lines 1-4
and note. For a discussion of the Renaissance association between gardens and
love, and its classical sources, see Rensselaer W. Lee, *Names on Trees: Ariosto
into Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977). George Williamson
identifies a Renaissance convention of love-poems set in a grove, or similar
natural environment, beginning with Sidney's Eighth Song in *Astrophil and
Stella*, and including poems by Greville, Donne, Wither and Lord Herbert of

Cherbury. See 'The Convention of The Extasie' in *Seventeenth Century Contexts* (London: Faber, 1960).

12. *one whose ...tame*] Orpheus. Authorities for the power of his art to tame the tigers include Horace, *Art of Poetry* (line 393). Browne also attributes power over tigers to the songs of the Muses in *Fido: an Epistle to Fidelity*, lines 141-144.

17. *Homer! ... thy soule*] i.e. I should have written poetry like Homer.

18. *Or els thy blindnes*] The blindness of Homer is also traditional.

21. *him that ... Sun*] Icarus (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* Book VIII, lines 195-235), who flew too near the sun on waxen wings invented by Daedalus, and was drowned when the wings melted.

24. *the blood of Elephants*] 'It is reported that the blood of an Elephant is the coldest blood in the world, and that Dragons in the scorching heate of Summer cannot get anything to coole them, except this blood' (Topsell, *The History of Four-footed Beasts* (1607), p. 199).

27-30. *Dedalus*, father of Icarus, architect of Minos's labyrinth on Crete; he flew successfully on his waxen wings and escaped from the island (*Metamorphoses* VIII, lines 159-168, 182-235). Browne refers to the maze of love in *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelity* (line 196); compare also the physical maze in which Rosamond is installed by her lover, King Henry, in Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*.

Poem 8.

One a faire Ladyes yellow haire

Text BrW 72 (Lansdowne 777). One other manuscript extant. The indentation is as Lansdowne 777.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 19-20. Goodwin, II, pp. 194-195.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Tillotson, p. 38.

Subject Powdering the hair and face became fashionable in the Renaissance (see R. Turner Wilcox, *The Dictionary of Costume*, p. 87). Hair-powder is mentioned by Habington in the song from Act 4 of *The Queene of Aragon* (lines 19-24) and by Carew in the song 'Aske me no more where Iove bestowes' (lines 7-8). A similar image is used in Daniel's *Delia*, sonnets 33 and 34. The last couplet of sonnet 33 sums up the poet's warning that in her old age Delia will regret her unkindness to him: 'Thou maist repent, that thou hast scorn'd my teares, / When Winter snowes vppon thy golden heares'. (Line 14 is repeated as line 1 of sonnet 34.)

Title On a powdred hayre *BrW 73*. 1. your] her *BrW 73*. 7. your] those *BrW 73*. 10. flowers] thredds *BrW 73*. 11. now and then] oftentimes *BrW 73*. 13. ayre] sunn *BrW 73*. 14. your] her *BrW 73*. 17. your] her *BrW 73*; Morne] redd *BrW 73*. 19. borne] bredd *BrW 73*. 21. Staye] stand *BrW 73*. 23. that] the *BrW 73*. 24. would] will *BrW 73*. 26. cloud your] maske those *BrW 73*.

One a faire Ladyes yellow haire
powdred with white, written in the
dissolving of a Snow.

Say why on your hayre yet stayes
That Snow-resembling white;
Since the Suns lesse powerfull rayes
thaw'd that which fell last night?

Sure to hinder those extreames

5

Of Loue they might bestow,
Art hath hid your Golden Beames
within a fleece of Snow.

Yet as on a Cloth of Gold,
with siluer flowers wrought ore, 10
We doe now and then beholde
a radyant wyre or more.

So sometymes the amorous ayre,
doth with your faire lockes playe;
And vncloudes a Golden hayre, 15
and then breakes forthe the daye.

On your Cheekes the Rosy Morne
we plainly then descry,
And a thousand Cupids borne
and playing in each eye. 20

Now wee all are at a Staye
and know not where to turne vs;
If we wish that Snow awaye
those Glorious beames would burne vs.

If it should not fall amayne 25
and cloud your louefull eyes,
Each gentle heart would soone be slayne
and made their Sacrifice.

6. *they*] i.e. the 'Golden Beames' of the following line.

8. *a fleece of Snow*] Browne seems to have liked this image: compare *On one drown'd in the Snowe*, line 1: 'Within a fleece of Silent Waters drown'd'.

Comparisons to fleeces also occur in *Britannias Pastorals* I.1.624 (the shepherd's flock is his 'fleecy train'), and in *A Sigh from Oxford* (a 'Fleecy Clowde', line 114).

9. *Cloth of Gold*] a tissue made out of threads, wires or strips of gold, usually interwoven with silk or silver.

12. *wyre*] compare Shakespeare, sonnet 130: 'If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head' (line 4).
18. *descry*] perceive.
21. *at a Staye*] in a quandary. Daniel uses this expression in *Musophilus*, line 280.
22. *know not ... vs*] Proverbial: Tilley W141, 'He knows not which way to turn him'.
25. *it*] i.e. the snow. *amayne*] with full force.
- 27-28. Compare the description of the shepherd who falls in love with Marina in *Britannias Pastorals* I.1.311-312: 'Bearing a fuel, which her sun-like eyes / Enflam'd, and made his heart the sacrifice'. *their*] i.e. her eyes.

Poem 9.

'Not long agone'

Text BrW 69 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 21. Goodwin, II, p. 195.

Subject Browne's poem provides a pastoral variation on the love/disdain antithesis, much invoked in contemporary poetry (e.g. Carew's *Mediocritie in love rejected*: 'Give me more love, or more disdaine', and Godolphin's *Song*: 'Or love me less, or love me more'). See also poem 10, 'Loue who will', and headnote. 'Not long agone' begins a sequence of poems on the pain of inequality in love.

Not long agone a youthfull swayne,
Much wronged by a maids disdayne,
Before Loues Altar came & did implore
That he might like her lesse, or she loue more.
The god him heard & she began 5
To doate on him; he, foolish man,
Cloyde with much sweets, thus chang'de his note before:
O let her loue me lesse or I like more.

1-2. Browne also uses the swain / disdain rhyme in *Britannias Pastorals* I.1.465-466 ('By this she can conjecture 'twas some swain / Who overladen by a maid's disdain'. *agone*] ago).

Poem 10.

‘Loue who will’

Text BrW 61 (Lansdowne 777). Stanza division and indentation are as Lansdowne 777.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 21-22. Goodwin, II, pp. 193-194.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Tillotson, p. 38.

Subject The misogyny of this poem, its scarcely-qualified confidence in the faithlessness of women, has an analogue in Remond’s speeches to Marina in *Britannias Pastorals* I.1.633-654,667-676 (e.g. ‘faith, most women’s loathing’, line 645). In the context of Lansdowne 777, it is a counter-argument to the male faithlessness described in the previous poem, ‘Not long agone’. The mild obscenity is rare in Browne’s poetry.

1

Loue who will, for I’le loue none:

There’s fooles enough besides me.

Yet if each woman haue not one,

Come to me where I hide me;

And if she can the place attaine, 5

For once I’le be her foole againe.

2

It is an easye place to find,

And women sure should know it;

Yet thither serues not euery wind,

Nor many men can showe it. 10

It is the storehouse where doth lye

All womens truth & constancy.

If the Journey be so long,
 No woman will aduenter;
 But dreading her weake vessells wrong 15
 The voiage will not enter.
 Then may she sigh & lye alone,
 In loue with all yet lou'de of none.

3. *one*] one lover, hence one fool.

4. *where I hide me*] This 'place' (line 7) is elucidated in lines 11-12. The passage also puns on sexual intercourse.

15. *her weake vessells wrong*] i.e. injury to herself: also, harm through sexual intimacy. A wife is described as 'the weaker vessel' in I Peter 3:7 (both Tyndale and the Authorized Version). The term is used to refer to Jaquenetta in Don Armado's letter in *Love's Labour's Lost* I i 255.

16. *enter*] undertake.

Poem 11.

‘Shall I loue againe’

Text BrW 240 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 22-23.
Goodwin, II, p. 196.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Tillotson, p. 38.

1

Shall I loue againe, & try
if I still must loue to lose,
And make weake mortallitye
Giue new birth vnto my woes?
No, let me euer liue from loues incloseing, 5
Rather than loue to live in feare of loseing.

2

One whom hasty Nature giues
To the world without his sight,
Not soe discontented lives,
As a man deprived of light: 10
'Tis knowledge that gives vigour to our woe,
And not the want but losse that paines vs soe.

3

With the Arabian Bird then be
Both the Louer and belou'd;
Be thy lines thy progeny, 15
By some gracious faire approu'd:
So mayst thou live and be belov'd of many,
Without the feare of losse or want of any.

5-6. i.e. may I remain free of love, since love means living in fear.

11-12. 'Tis knowledge ... vs soe] Compare poem 21, 'Caelia is gone', lines 17-18, poem 26, *On a dreame*, lines 5-8 and the elegy on Thomas Ayleworth, lines 35-36. The sentiment is proverbial: ignorance is bliss. Tilley cites 'In knowing nothing is the sweetest life' (K188) from Erasmus's *Adages* II x 81, 'In nihil sapiendo jucundissima vita' (vol. 34, p. 159).

13. *the Arabian Bird*] the Phoenix, traditionally believed to be unique and thus self-sufficient. Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, Book XV, lines 391-407) refers to the Phoenix as male, but Browne tends to treat it as female (e.g. poem 32, *An Elegye on Mr Willm Hopton*, lines 26-27. In his epithalamion for Princess Elizabeth and the Count Palatine, Donne describes the bride and groom as a pair of Phoenixes.

13-15. i.e. the speaker, rather than leading a sexual existence, prefers to be a 'hermaphrodite' poet, producing poems instead of children.

Poem 12.

‘Deepe are the wounds’

Text BrW 25 (Lansdowne 777). One other manuscript extant (BrW 26, Rosenbach MS).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 24. Goodwin, II, pp. 196-197.

Criticism Tillotson claims that this poem ‘is Browne at his most desperate’ (p. 37).

Subject ‘Deepe are the wounds’, with its repetition of keywords from lines 1-4 in the concluding line 7, is an example of correlative or reporting verse. Previous practitioners of English correlative verse include Wyatt (‘Dysdaine me not’) and Harington (‘Whence comes my love’), and especially Sidney, whose correlative poems include *Old Arcadia* 43 and 60, *Certain Sonnets* 3, 18 and 19, and *Astrophil and Stella* 43 and 100. See Ringler, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 406. However, Browne’s concluding reference to ‘Darts, wounds, Flames & Frownes’ alters the order of terms in lines 1-4.

Deepe are the wounds which strike a vertuous name,
Sharpe are the darts Reuenge still sets on wing,
Consumeing Jelousies abhorred Flame,
Deadly the Frownes of an intraged king:
Yet all these to Disdaynes heart-searching string, 5
(Deepe, sharpe, consuming, deadlye) nothing be,
Whose Darts, wounds, Flames & Frownes meet all in me.

5. *Disdaynes heart-searching string*] compare Scorn’s whip, in *The Faerie Queene* VI vii 44.

Poem 13.

‘Tell me, Pyrrha’

Text BrW 245 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 24-25. Goodwin, II, pp. 298-299.

Subject ‘Tell me Pyrrha’ translates Horace’s Ode I.5: ‘Quis multa gracilis’. As Ronald Storrs shows in *Ad Pyrrham: A Polyglot Collection of Translations of Horace’s Ode to Pyrrha*, this short ode has attracted at least 451 translations in 26 languages including Welsh, Maltese, Hebrew and Lettish. Seventeenth-century translators into English include Milton and Cowley. Browne’s is the first of the 181 English versions traced by Storrs. In stanzas 1-2 his adaptation is free and expansive, perhaps as a result of obscurities in the Latin. Stanzas 3-5 are closer to the original, though Browne’s additions in lines 10, 12, 17 and 20 are more explicit in describing the prospects for Pyrrha’s new lover and the speaker’s deliverance from the sea of hopeless love. The manuscript text does not acknowledge the derivation from Horace.

1

Tell me, Pyrrha, what fine youth,
All perfumed & crown’d with Roses,
To thy Chamber thee pursu’th,
And thy wanton Arme incloses?

2

What is he thou now hast got, 5
Whose more long & golden tresses,
Into many a Curious knott
Thy more Curious fingers dresses?

3

How much will he wayle his trust,
And (forsooke) begin to wonder, 10
When black wyndes shall billowes thrust
And breake all his hopes in sunder?

4

Ficklenes of wyndes he knowes
 Very little that doth loue thee,
 Miserable are all those 15
 That affect thee ere they proue thee.

5

I, as one from shipwrack freed,
 To the Oceans mighty Ranger
 Consecrate my dropping weed,
 And in freedome thinke of danger. 20

2. *All perfumed ... Roses*] The Latin reads 'in rosa / perfusus liquidis urget odoribus' (lines 1-2), which Loeb translates as 'bedewed with perfumes, embraces thee amid many a rose'.
3. *To thy... pursu'th*] Browne's variation. Horace locates Pyrrha and her new lover 'grato ... sub antro': 'in the pleasant grotto'.
- 5-8. Stanza 2 expands Horace's line 4, 'cui flavam religas comam', which Loeb translates as 'For whom dost thou tie up thy golden hair ...?'. In Browne's version, however, although the syntax is unclear, Pyrrha's 'Curious fingers' are apparently knotting her lover's 'long and golden tresses'. Given the absence of possessive pronouns in the Latin, this is an admissible reading, but it surely makes more sense to assume, with the Loeb translator (and Milton and Cowley), that Pyrrha's attentions are directed to her own hair. Browne's reading, like his translation of 'in rosa', feminises the 'fine youth'.
10. (*forsooke*)] Browne's addition.
12. *And breake ... sunder*] Browne's addition.
13. *he knowes*] i.e. knows so far. The youth's realization of Pyrrha's faithlessness, described in stanza 3, is still to come.
16. *That affect... thee*] i.e. who fall in love with you before they are sure of your good faith.
17. *as one ... freed*] Browne's addition.
18. *the Oceans mighty Ranger*] Neptune. The Latin reads 'potenti ... maris deo': the god who is master of the sea.
19. *my dropping weed*] i.e., his garments, soaked after the shipwreck ('uvida ... vestimenta').
20. *in freedome ... danger*] Browne's addition.

Poem 14.

‘Yet one dayes rest’

Text BrW 20 (Lansdowne 777). Copy in *Britannias Pastorals* III.1.430-437. Lansdowne 777 includes only two stanzas, with the number (but no space) for a third. The *Britannias Pastorals* version prints five stanzas.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 26. The *Britannias Pastorals* version was first printed in Croker’s edition of *Britannias Pastorals*, Book III (1852). Goodwin, II, p. 40.

Subject In *Britannias Pastorals*, Celadyne, the faithless but now repentant lover of Marina, hears these verses ‘married’ (III.1.429) to the sound of a lute, in the Den of Oblivion. They are the second in a series of poems or songs he encounters in the Cave, which he has entered in pursuit of the ‘forlorn shepherd’ (apparently one of Browne’s personas). See ‘Loue, when I mett her first’ (poem 7).

1

Yet one dayes rest, for all my cryes,
One howre among so many!
Springs haue their Sabaoths, my poore eyes
Yet neuer mett with any.

2

He that doth but one woe misse, 5
O Death! to make him thine,
I would to god that I had his,
Or else that he had myne.

3. *Sabaoths*] a common variant of ‘Sabbath’, i.e. respite. (‘Sabaoth’ means hosts or armies, which is inappropriate in this context.) Spenser memorably concludes the *Mutabilitie Cantos*: “O that great Sabbaoth God, graunt me that Sabaoth’s sight” (*Faerie Queene* VII viii 2.9; see note in the Longman edition).

7. *his*] i.e. his woe.

The *Britannias Pastorals* copy continues:

3

By this sad wish we two should have
A fortune and a wife; 10
For I should wed a peaceful grave,
And he a happy life.

4

Yet let that man whose fortunes swim
So high by my sad woe,
Forbear to tread a step on him 15
That died to make them so.

5

Only to acquit my foes,
Write this where I am lain:
Here lies the man whom others' woes
And those he lov'd have slain. 20

9-12. i.e. if the speaker were to bear the other man's sorrows (as suggested in line 7), he would thereby make up the 'one woe' which the man had missed, and succumb to Death. Meanwhile, the other man, relieved of his sorrows, would live happily. It is not clear how this satisfactory outcome would arise if the other man were to suffer the speaker's grief (as line 8 envisages).

13. *that man*] i.e. the same man as in stanzas 2-3, now living a happy life (line 12).

16. *them*] the other man's good fortunes.

17. *to acquit my foes*] to satisfy the speaker's enemies of his innocence, to assert their error.

Poem 15.

'Poore silly foole'

Text BrW 234 (Lansdowne 777). 3 other manuscripts extant (BrW 235-237; BrW 237 Rosenbach MS).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 26-27. Goodwin, II, p. 197.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Tillotson, pp. 40-41.

Subject Apart from Lansdowne 777, all the manuscript copies of 'Poore silly fool' treat it as an answer poem. BrW 236 construes it as a response to Donne's *The Curse* - inappropriately, since Donne's fulmination is directed against a man who has tried to guess the identity of his mistress, not (as in Browne) someone who wants to know if the poet loves his own beloved. BrW 235, more appropriately, appends it to Burgh's 'He who would my mistress know', which curses anyone who might fall in love with the poet's mistress, declaring 'Lett her first word of Consenting / Like a mandrake strike him dead' - though Burgh's poem is itself transcribed as an answer to *The Curse*. For the full text of Burgh's poem, see below.

Title The answer by him that was suspected *BrW 235*, An Answer to Dr Donne's curse Who euer guesses the ___ *BrW 236*, The answer to the iealous man *BrW 237* (Rosenbach MS). 1. foole] soule *BrW 235*, *BrW 236*; thou] that *BrW 235*. 2. If I enioy] Whither I know *BrW 236*; If] Whether *BrW 235*. 4. Bloomes like the] Blossoms like *BrW 236*. 5. And] For *BrW 236*. 6. part] parts *BrW 236*; yet leaue] but keepe *BrW 235*, and leaues *BrW 236*. 7. My ... my] His ... his *BrW 235*. 8. my ... my] his ... his *BrW 235*. 10. streight] still *BrW 235*; their] your *BrW 235*. 12. loue now] do loue *BrW 235*, *236*. 13. giefes ... Joyes] ioyes ... greefes *BrW 235*; o] do *BrW 236*. 15. letts] lett *BrW 235*. 18. it] its *BrW 235*. 19. And] I *BrW 236*; hold] holds *BrW 235*. 20. serues] loues *BrW 235*.

1

Poore silly foole! thou striv'st in vaine to knowe,
If I enioy or loue whom thou lou'st soe;
Since my affection euer secret tryde,
Bloomes like the Ferne & seeds still vnespide.

2

And as the subtill Flames of Heauen, that wound 5
The inward part yet leaue the outward sound,
My loue warres on my heart, kills that within,
When merry are my lookes & fresh my skin.

3

Of yellowe Jaundice louers as you be,
Whose Faces streight proclaime their Maladye, 10
Thinke not to find me one; who knowe full well,
That none but French & fooles loue now & tell.

4

His griefes are sweet, his Joyes (o) heauenly moue,
Whoe from the world conceales his honest loue,
Naye, letts his Mistris knowe his passions source, 15
Rather by reason then by his Discourse.

5

This is my waye & in this language new,
Showing my merrit, it demands my due;
And hold this Maxim, spight of all dispute,
He askes enough that serues well & is mute. 20

4. *Bloomes like the Ferne*] i.e. flourishes secretly.

5-6. *subtill Flames ... outward sound*] The action of lightning was thought to affect only the internal organs of the body, leaving the skin undamaged.

Gascoigne similarly writes that thunder 'often tymes bruseth the bones, wthout belmyshing of y^e flesh / or (as some haue held opynyon) yt hathe byn sene to breke the sword, without hurt don to the scabard' (*The Tale of Hemetes the Heremyte*, dedication 'To the Quenes most excellent Majestye').

16. *Rather by ... Discourse*] from his conduct rather than mere verbal avowals?

19. *spight of all dispute*] even though others may disagree.

20. *He askes ... mute*] compare Milton, 'When I consider how my light is spent': 'They also serve who only stand and wait' (line 14).

Burgh's poem (MS Ashmole 38, f. 50 r.-v.) reads:

He that would my mistresse knowe
may he neuer knowe his owne
butt pine and dye, in endles woe
as must I, if mine were knowne.
He that happs to heere this Rime
and deemes of whome tis sung
may he straight committ some crime
that shall aske his life or tung.
And yf some corrupting fee
gett his cleargie yf he please itt
Lett his song his neck verse be
Butt, O, lett him neuer reade itt.
He that loues whome I admire
may he neuer merry find
but languish in a sceasles fire
but O neuer Chang his mind
He that would, Oh worth repenting
ayme by Contract to her bedd
Lett her first word of Consenting
Like a mandrake strike him dead
Till our ioyes be fully true
as our wisshes oft been
Lett her like the wandring Jew
bee more spoken of then seen.
He that is the most my owne
must not to this secrett come
only be she read or knowne
in my bedd or in her tomb.

Poem 16.

‘Deare soule, the time is come’

Text BrW 40 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 28-29. Goodwin, II, pp. 228-229.

Criticism Bullen (Goodwin I, p. xix) and Tillotson, pp. 27-30, discuss this epistle (especially lines 9-10) as evidence for Browne’s marital history.

Subject ‘Deare soule, the time is come & we must part’, a valedictory poem, forms part of a genre which includes also Drayton’s sonnet ‘Since there’s no help, come let us kiss and part’ and Donne’s valedictions *Forbidding Mourning*, *Of my Name in the Window*, *Of the Booke* and *Of Weeping*.

An Epistle

Deare soule, the time is come & we must part.
Yet ere I goe, in these lynes read my heart:
A heart so iust, so louing & so true,
So full of sorrowe & so full of you,
That all I speake or write or pray or meane, 5
And (which is all I can) all that I dreame,
Is not without a sigh, a thought for you,
And as your beautyes are, so are they true.
Seauen Sommers now are fully spent & gone,
Since first I lou’d, lov’d you & you alone. 10
And should myne eyes as many hundreds see,
Yet none but you should clayme a right in me.
A right so plac’d that time shall neuer heare,
Of one so vow’d, or any lov’d so deare.
When I am gone (if euer prayers mov’d you) 15
Relate to none that I so well haue lov’d you:
For all that know your beauty & desert,
Would sweare he neuer lov’d that knew to part.

Why parte wee then? That spring which but this daye
 Met some sweet Riuer in his bed can playe, 20
 And with a dimple cheek smile at their blisse
 Who neuer know what seperation is.
 The Amorous vine with wanton enterlaces
 Clips still the rough Elme in her kind embraces;
 Doues with their doues sit billing in the groues, 25
 And wooe the lesser birds to sing their loues;
 Whilst haples we in grieffull absence sit,
 Yet dare not aske a hand to lessen it.

10. *Since first ... alone*] See *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia*, lines 202 and 210. The repetition of these lines weakens the force of Bullen's argument that this poem should be read autobiographically.

18. *he neuer ... part*] Compare the proverb 'It is tedious parting with a thing we love' (Tilley P82).

19-20. *That spring ... playe*] The representation of love and marriage as the union of two rivers is frequent in Spenser (e.g. the marriage of the Thames and Medway in *The Faerie Queene* IV xi and the love of Mulla and Bregog in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*), and in Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*.

21. *dimple Cheek*] compare the 'dimpled waters' in the epistle 'Hasten o hasten' (line 50).

24-25. *The Amorous ... embraces*] The elm clasped by the vine was a popular emblem (e.g. Alciato 160 (1621), Camerarius I.34), initially depicting the friendship which survives death, later used to allude to marriage. Daniel adapts the image, ironically, to describe King Henry's seduction of Rosamond Clifford (*Complaint of Rosamond*, line 661). Browne uses the image in *Britannias Pastorals* I.1.39-40 to emphasize Marina's assurances of love towards Celandine: she 'let him know / He was the elm whereby her vine did grow'.

28. *dare not ... hand*] dare do nothing at all / dare not ask for the slightest help.

Poem 17.

‘Wellcome, wellcome, doe I sing’

Text BrW 250 (Lansdowne 777). Lineation, indentation and ellipses are as Lansdowne 777.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 30-31. Goodwin, II, pp. 198-199.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Tillotson, pp. 38-39.

Wellcome, wellcome, doe I sing,
Far more wellcome than the spring;
He that parteth from you, neuer
Shall enjoy a spring for euer.

He that to the voice is neere, 5
Breaking from your Iu'ry pale,
Need not walke abroad to heare
The delightfull Nightingale.

Wellcome, wellcome, then I sing,
Far more wellcome than the spring; 10
He that parteth from you, neuer
Shall enjoy a spring for euer.

He that Lookes still on your eyes,
Though the winter haue begun,
To benumbe our Arteryes, 15
Shall not want the Summers Sun.

Wellcome, wellcome, then I sing &c. [18-20]

He that still may see your Cheekes,
Where all rareness still reposes
Is a foole if ere he seekes,
Other Lillyes, Other roses.

Wellcome, wellcome, &c. 25

[26-28]

He to whom your soft lip yeelds,
And perceiues your breath in kissing, 30
All the Odours of the fields,
Neuer, neuer shall be missing.
Wellcome, &c.

[34-36]

He that question would anew,
What faire Eden was of old,
Let him rightly study you,
And a briefe of that behold. 40
Wellcom, wellcome, then I &c.

6. *Iu'ry pale*] i.e. her teeth, though compare *Venus and Adonis* lines 230, where 'ivory pale' refers to Venus' arms.

17. &c] etcetera.

40. *briefe*] summary.

Poem 18.

‘Ye merry birds, leaue of to sing’

Text BrW 251 (Lansdowne 777). 2 other manuscripts extant (BrW 252-253, Rosenbach MSS).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 32-34. Goodwin, II, pp. 199-200.

Ye merry birds, leaue of to sing,
And lend your eares a while to me;
Or if you needs will court the Spring
With your inticing harmonye,
Flye from this groue, leaue me alone, 5
Your mirth cannot befit my mone.

But if that any be inclynde,
To sing as sad a song as I,
Let that sad bird be now so kind,
As stay & beare me Companye, 10
And we will striue which shall outgoe,
Her heauy Straines or my sad woe.

Ye Nymphes of Thames, if any Swan
Be readye now her last to sing,
O bring her hither if you can, 15
And sitting by vs in a ring,
Spend each a sigh while she & I
Together sing, together dye.

Alas, how much I erre to call,
More sorrowe where there is such store. 20
Ye gentle Birds, come not at all,
And Isis Nimphs forbear the shore:
 My sighs as grones of mandrakes be,
 And would kill any one but me.

To me my griefes none other are 25
Then poison is to one that long
Had fed on it without impaire
Vnto his health, or Natures wrong.
 What others liues would quickly spill,
 I take but cannot take to kill. 30

Then sorrow, since thou wert ordaind
To be the inmate of my hart,
Thrive there so long till thou hast gaind
In it then life a greater part.
 And if thou wilt not kill, yet be 35
 The meanes that some one pitye mee.

Yet would I not that pittie haue
From any other heart then hers
Who first my wound of Sorrowe gaue;
And if she still the cure deferres, 40
 It was my Fate that did assure
 A hand to wound but none to cure.

11. which shall outgoe] i.e. which shall be the greater. Browne seems to have liked verbs of this form; compare his epitaph on Susan Herbert: 'For a Vere and Herberts wife / Outspeakes all graves, outlives all life' (lines 9-10).

13-14. *if any ... sing*] According to folk-lore, the swan sings only in the last moments before her death: hence, swan-song. Browne refers to this belief in his twelfth sonnet to Caelia, and the third *Vision* sonnet.

22. *Isis*] the Thames, especially at Oxford. Browne also refers to the Isis in the epistle 'Hasten, o hasten', line 18.

23. *mandrakes*] The mandrake, a poisonous plant, was believed to utter screams when pulled out of the ground.

Text BrW 23 (Lansdowne 777). Sonnet 14 is extant in one other manuscript (BrW 24, Rosenbach MS). In Lansdowne 777, the sonnets to Caelia follow a series of short lyrics about love (poems 9-18) and immediately precede Browne's only other sonnet sequence, the *Visions*. Sonnet 6 appears to lack line 7. The omission is probably an accidental error of transcription. The manuscript leaves no space for the missing line.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 34-46. Goodwin, II, pp. 217-225.

Criticism The sequence is discussed by Bullen, p. xix, Moorman, p. 13, and Tillotson, pp. 27-36, passim, mainly as evidence for Browne's marital history. Tillotson describes them as 'a new, more brilliant inspiration ... elegant diary records, drawn ripely from plain experience' (p. 35).

Subject Browne's sonnets to Caelia are undated in Lansdowne 777, and there is no internal evidence as to the date of their composition. It is speculative even to attribute them broadly to within the period of Browne's known poetic activity, c.1610-1637, though it is probable that they were at least begun by 1634, the likely compilation date of the Rosenbach manuscript. However, even the earliest of these dates would make the sonnets to Caelia one of the latest of the love-sonnet sequences of the English Renaissance. *Astrophil and Stella*, *Delia* and *Amoretti* had all been published in the 1590s, and although Shakespeare's sonnets appeared in print only in 1609, they are known to have been circulating in manuscript since at least 1598. One partial exception is Browne's poetic mentor, Drayton, whose sonnet sequence *Ideas Mirrour*, first published in 1594, was revised through several editions and appeared in its final version in 1619. Another late sequence is Lady Mary Wroth's 'Pamphilia to Amphilanthus', which was published with *Urania* in 1621, and which, as I describe below, has structural similarities to Browne's sequence to Caelia. Apparently sonnet sequences continued to be written by members of the Sidney-Herbert circle for many years after the genre had faded from general literary fashion.

The sonnets to Caelia are unusual in several other respects. Technically, they form a square sequence: 14 poems of 14 lines each. Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* also has 14 sonnets, though whereas her sequence is a perfect corona, Browne links only sonnets 9 and 10. Untypically for a Renaissance sequence, Browne's sonnets show little Petrarchan influence. Familiar Petrarchan tropes - the emphasis on the suffering of the lover, his complaints against his lady's cruelty, injustice and pitilessness, his paradoxical declarations of love and hatred towards her - are entirely absent. The poet repeatedly insists on the beauty of his lady, but largely avoids the formulaic descriptions of female beauty parodied in Shakespeare's sonnet 130; the 'louely Eye enforcing flame' and 'beauteous redd beneath a Snowy Skin' in sonnet 7 are his only direct

references to Caelia's physical appearance. Also absent are the anxieties about the ravages of time, emphasized in *Delia* and the *Amoretti* and pervasive in Shakespeare's sonnets, and the consequent *carpe diem* insistence that the addressee should seize her chance of love while she can. Furthermore, the poet-speaker in the sonnets behaves towards his lady with unconventional sexual continence. Throughout the sequence he repeatedly insists on the chastity of his love, and unlike other sonneteers, he never betrays his promises of good faith. When Astrophil finds Stella sleeping, in the second song of *Astrophil and Stella*, his reaction is to steal a kiss and curse himself for taking no more. Browne's speaker, in similar circumstances, uses the opportunity to meditate on Caelia's posthumous reputation. Calm and predominantly optimistic, the sequence portrays a lover as free from remorse at his own conduct as of anger at the lady's. There is none of the torturous energy or nuanced self-examination of *Astrophil and Stella*, or Shakespeare's sequence. The only use of paradox is the (conditional) 'restles rest' of sonnet 10. In so far as there is tension in the sequence, it is less the speaker's anxiety at the conduct of his courtship (which, indeed, seems to be remarkably untroubled), than his apparent embarrassment at having fallen in love a second time (sonnets 1-2).

Many other conventional topics, however, do appear. There are sonnets about writing sonnets, addresses to the speaker's thoughts and to the night, sonnets on departure and separation, and on the theme of the singing mistress. The shape and much of the tone of the sequence are manifestly Spenserian. Sonnet 1 begins with an echo of the opening of *The Faerie Queene*; the allusion to *Britannias Pastorals* in sonnet 5 compares to Spenser's allusion to *The Faerie Queene* in *Amoretti* 33; and the lovers' exchange of vows is followed in both the twelfth sonnet to Caelia and in *Amoretti* 80 by a declaration of poetic renewal, albeit with a different direction in Browne's version. The most significant similarity, however, is that both the *Amoretti* and the sonnets to Caelia, unusually for sonnet sequences, describe a successful courtship. In the sonnets to Caelia, a more muted sequence than the *Amoretti*, this success is less emphatically signalled. There is no moment of surrender or acquiescence, nor any ensuing *Epithalamion* to confirm the favourable outcome. However, sonnet 11, with its account of the exchange of vows between the lovers, the emphasis on mutual experience in the repetition of 'our' and the absence of 'I' and 'my', clearly recalls the *Amoretti*, as does the conclusion of the sequence in a somewhat bewildered, albeit less anguished separation. Despite Browne's poetic nostalgia, however, there is no hint in his sonnets, or in Lansdowne 777, that they were ever intended to form part of a collection after the *Delia* and *Amoretti* pattern of sonnet sequence, lyric interlude, long poem, such as John Kerrigan has argued is typical of the 1590s sonnet collections (*Shakespeare: The Sonnets and a Lover's Complaint*, pp. 12-14). There is, moreover, apart from her name, no indication that Browne's Caelia is to exert any of the redemptive influence of Spenser's Elizabeth. The love and lovers of these sonnets are stubbornly of this world.

Caelia: Sonnets

1

Loe I the man that whilome lov'd & lost,
Not dreading losse, doe sing againe of love,
And like a Man but latelie tempest tost,
Try if my starres still inauspicious proue.
Not to make good that Poets neuer can 5
Long time without a chosen Mistris be,
Doe I sing thus: or my affections ran
Within the Maze of Mutabilitie.
What last I lov'de was beauty of the mind,
And that lodgd in a Temple truely faire, 10
Which ruyn'd now by death, if I can finde
The saint that liv'd therein some otherwhere,
I may adore it there and love the Cell,
For intertaining what I lov'd soe well.

2

Why might I not for once be of that sect,
Which hold that soules, when Nature hath her right,
Some other bodyes to themselues elect,
And sunlike make the daye and licence night?
That soule whose setting in one Hemispheare, 5
Was to inlighten streight another parte,
In that Horizon if I see it there
Calls for my first respect and its desert.
Her vertue is the same, and maye be more;
For as the Sun is distant, so his powre 10
In Operation differs, and the store
Of thicke cloudes interposed make him lesse our:
And verelye I thinke her Clymate such,
Since to my former flame it adds soe much.

Fairest! when by the rules of palmistrye,
 You tooke my hand to trye if you could guesse
 By lines therein if any wight there be
 Ordain'd to make me know some happines:
 I wish't that those Characters could explaine 5
 Whom I will neuer wrong with hope to win,
 Or that by them a cobby might be ta'ne
 By you alone what thoughts I haue within.
 But since the hand of Nature did not sett
 (As providentlie loth to haue it knowne) 10
 The meanes to find that hidden Alphabet,
 Mine Eyes shall be th' interpreters alone.
 By them conceiue my thoughts & tell me, faire,
 If now you see her that doth love me there.

Soe sat the Muses on the Bankes of Thames,
 And pleas'd to sing our heauenly Spencers wit,
 Inspireing almost trees with powrefull flames,
 As Caelia when she sings what I haue writt.
 Me thinkes there is a Spirrit more diuine, 5
 An Elegance more rare when ought is sung
 By her sweet voice in euery verse of mine,
 Then I conceiue by any other tongue.
 So a Musician sets what some one playes,
 With better rellish, sweeter stroke, then he 10
 That first compos'd; nay oft the maker weighes
 If what he heares his owne or others be.
 Such are my lines: the highest, best of choice,
 Become more gracious by her sweetest voice

5

Wer't not for you, heere should my pen haue rest,
 And take a long leaue of sweet Poesie.
 Britannias swaynes & rivers far by west
 Should heare no more mine oaten Melodye.
 Yet shall the song I sung of them awhile 5
 Vnperfect lye, and make noe further knowne
 The happy loves of this our pleasant Ile,
 Till I have left some record of mine owne.
 You are the subiect now, and writeing you,
 I well may versify not poetize. 10
 Heere needs no fiction, for the graces true
 And vertues clipp not with base flatteryes.
 Heere could I write what you deserue of praise:
 Others might weare but I should win the bayes.

6

Sing soft, ye pretty Birds, while Caelia sleepes,
 And gentle gales play gently with the leaues.
 Learne of the neighbour brookes whose silent deepes,
 Would teach him feare that her soft sleep bereaues.
 Myne Oaten reed devoted to her praise 5
 (A Theame that would befit the Delphian Lyre)
 []
 Give way that I in silence may admire.
 Is not her sleepe like that of innocents,
 Sweet as her selfe, and is she not more faire 10
 Almost in Death then are the Ornaments
 Of fruitfull trees which newly budding are?
 She is, and tell it Truth, when she shall lye
 And sleepe for euer, for she cannot dye.

Fairest! when I am gone, as now the Glasse
 Of Time is markt how long I haue to Staye,
 Let me intreat you ere from hence I passe,
 Perhaps from you for euermore awaye.
 Thinke that noe Common Loue hath fir'd my Breast, 5
 Nor base desire but vertue truely knowne,
 Which I may love & wish to haue possest,
 Were you the high'st as Fair'st of any one.
 Tis not your louely Eye inforcing flames,
 Nor beautious redd beneath a Snowy Skin, 10
 That so much bindes me yours or makes you Fames,
 As the pure light & beauty shrynde within.
 Yet outward parts I must affect of Duty,
 As for the smell we like the Roses beautye.

As oft as I meet one that comes from you,
 And aske your health, not as the vsuall fashion,
 Before he speakes I doubt there will insue,
 As oft there doth, the Common Commendacion.
 Alas, thinke I, did he but know my minde 5
 (Though for the world I would not haue it soe)
 He would relate it in another kinde,
 Discourse of it at large and yet but slowe.
 He should th' occasion tell, & with it too
 Adde how you charg'd him he should not forget; 10
 For thus you might as sure some louers doe,
 Though such a Messenger I haue not mett.
 Nor doe I care, since 'twill not further moue me,
 Love me alone, and say alone you love me.

Tell me, my thoughts (for you each Minute fly
 And see those beautyes which mine Eyes haue lost)
 Is any worthier Loue beneath the sky?
 Would not the cold Noruegian mixt with frost
 (If in their Clyme she were) from her bright Eyes 5
 Receiue a heat so powrefully begun
 In all his veynes & nummed Arteryes
 That would supply the lowenes of the Sun?
 I wonder at her harmonye of words,
 Rare (and as rare as seldome dothe she talke) 10
 That Riuers stand not in their speedy fords
 And downe the hills the trees forbear to walke.
 But more I muse why I should hope in fine,
 To get a Love, a Beauty so diuine.

To get a Loue & beauty so devine
 (In these so warye times) the fact must be
 Of greater fortunes to the world then myne;
 Those are the stepps to that felicitye,
 For love no other gate hath then the Eyes, 5
 And inward worth is now esteem'd as none:
 Meere outsides onely to that blessing rise,
 Which Truth & Love did once account their owne.
 Yet as she wants her fairer, she may misse
 The Common cause of Loue and be as free 10
 From Earth as her Composure heauenly is.
 If not, I restles rest in miserie,
 And daily wish, to keepe me from despaire,
 Fortune my Mistris or you not so faire.

Faire Laurell, that the onely witnes art,
 To that discourse which vnderneath thy shade
 Our grieffe swolne brests did lovinglie impart,
 With vowes as true as ere Religion made.
 If (forced by our Sighs) the flame shall fly 5
 Of our kinde Love & get within thy rinde,
 Be warye, gentle Baye, & shrieke not hye,
 When thou dost such vnusuall feruor finde.
 Suppress the fire, for should it take thy leaues,
 Their Crackling would betraye vs & thy glorye 10
 (Honors faire Symbole) dyes; Thy trunk receiues
 But heate sufficient for our future story.
 And when our sad Misfortunes vanquish't lye,
 Imbrace our fronts in signe of Memorie.

Had not the soyle that bred me further donne,
 And fill'd part of those veynes which sweetlye doe
 Much like the living streames of Eden run,
 Embraceing such a Paradise as you,
 My Muse had fail'd me in the Course I ran, 5
 But that she from your vertues tooke new breath,
 And from your Eyes such fire that like a Swan,
 She in your praise can sing her selfe to death.
 Now could I wish those golden howres vnspent,
 Wherein my Fancy led me to the woods, 10
 And tun'd soft layes of rurall merriment,
 Of shepherds Loues & neuer resting Floods.
 For had I seen you then, though in a dreame,
 Those songs had slept and you had bin my Theame.

Night steale not on too fast! we haue not yet
 Shed all all our parting teares nor paid the kisses,
 Which foure daye absence made vs run in debt,
 (O who would absent be where growe such blisses?)
 The Rose which but this Morneing spred her leaues, 5
 Kist not her Neighbour flower more Chast then wee,
 Nor are the timely Eares bound vp in sheaues,
 More strict then in our Armes we twisted be.
 O who would part vs then, and disvnite
 Two harmles soules, so innocent and true, 10
 That were all honest Love forgotten quite,
 By our Example men might Learne Anew.
 Night seuers vs, but pardon her she maye,
 And will once make vs happyer then the daye.

Divinest Caelia, send no more to aske,
 How I in absence doe; your Seruant may
 Be freed of that vnnecessary Taske,
 For you may knowe it by a shorter waye.
 I was a shaddow when I went from you, 5
 And shaddowes are from sicknes euer free;
 My heart you kept (a sad one though a true),
 And nought but Memorie went home with me.
 Looke in your brest where now two hearts you haue,
 And see if they agree together there, 10
 If mine want ayde, be mercifull & save,
 And seeke not for me any other where.
 Should my Phisician question how I doe,
 I cannot tell him till I aske of you.

Title. Caelia] literally 'heavenly'. Browne also uses the name in his love poems 'Caelia is gone and now sit I' and *A Sigh from Oxford* (lines 26, 82). In *Britannias Pastorals* II.4-5 Caelia is a virtuous woman faithfully in love with Philocel, and with him provides an example of the quality of love which prefers death to separation. Fulke Greville uses a similar name for his sequence *Caelica* (unpublished until 1633 but possibly known to Browne through the Pembroke connection). Jonson has 'Celia' as the name of the innocent wife in *Volpone* (1605-6) and the addressee of several of his *Epigrams* (1616). Carew's mistress, in *The Rapture* and other poems, is also called Celia.

1. Tillotson remarks disapprovingly of this sonnet: 'Unfortunately [Browne] hedges metaphysically. The sonnet reads like a patched-up answer to askance remarks about the sudden ease with which the first love had been forgotten' (p. 35).

1.1. *Loe I ... lost*] An echo of the opening of *The Faerie Queene*: 'Lo I the man, whose Muse whilome did maske', itself an imitation of lines conventionally prefixed to Renaissance editions of the *Aeneid* ('Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena carmen').

1.5-6. *Not to ... Mistris be*] Compare Jonson's ode 'Helen, did Homer never see' (*Underwood* 27), which lists poets from the earliest Greeks and Romans to Ronsard and Sidney, all of whom have written in praise of the women (or occasionally boys) they loved.

1.7-8. *my affections ... Mutabilitie*] Compare allusions to the maze of love in *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia* (lines 195-196), and *On a dreame* (lines 74-76).

1.9-10. *What last ... truly faire*] Compare *Britannias Pastorals* I.1.609-610 (amid Remond's advice to the lovelorn shepherd): 'Those outside shows are toys which outwards snare, / But virtue lodg'd within is only fair' (and also Milton's Eve, concluding her account of her earliest experiences: 'I yielded, and from that time see / How beauty is excelled by manly grace / And wisdom, which alone is truly fair', *Paradise Lost* IV 489-491). The portrayal of the human body as a temple derives from 1 Corinthians 3.16: 'Know you not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?'

1.11-12. *Which ruyn'd ... elsewhere*] See note on 2.1-3, below.

1.12. *The saint*] Compare 'my sweet Saynt' (*Amoretti* 22.4), 'Sacred on earth, design'd a Saint about' (*Delia* 6.8). The religious analogy is typical of love-sonnet metaphor.

1.14. *intertaining*] accommodating.

2.1-3. For a brief account of attitudes and references to metempsychosis in the Renaissance and early seventeenth century, see Joseph Head and S. L. Cranston (eds.), *Reincarnation in World Thought*, pp. 230-249. Among various English allusions, Head and Cranston cite Spenser (the Garden of Adonis, *The Faerie Queene* III vi 30-33) and Shakespeare (*Twelfth Night* IV ii 49-60, *The Merchant of Venice* IV i 130-138 and Sonnet 59). Other references include the final soliloquy in *Doctor Faustus*, in which Faustus wishes he could be turned into a 'brutish beast', the entertainment which Mosca arranges in *Volpone* I ii, and Donne's *The Progresse of the Soule*. Whether regretful or facetious, most of these allusions agree in attaching little credence to the doctrine.

2.3. *elect*] Perhaps a provocative word in the circumstances, given that a frequent contemporary sense of 'election' was the Calvinist teaching that certain souls only were predestined by God for salvation.

2.4. *sunlike make ... night*] compare Donne's poem to the Countess of Bedford ('Madame, You have refin'd me'): 'Out from your chariot, morning breaks at night' (line 19).

2.5. *Hemispheare*] Browne also uses this word in his elegy on Charles Herbert and his emblem 3.

2.10-12. Compare Browne's emblem 3, which adapts the conventional image of the effect of the sun's rays on the marigold. Shakespeare uses the imagery of sun and clouds in his sonnet 33 ('Even so my sun one early morn did shine / With all triumphant splendour on my brow; / But out, alack! he was but one hour mine, / The region cloud hath mask'd him from me now', lines 9-12). *make him lesse our*] make his rays less effective towards us.

2.13. *Clymate*] 'A region considered with reference to its atmospheric conditions, or to its weather' (*OED*); thus, Caelia's presence.

3.1. *the rules of palmistrye*] Palmistry, or chiromancy, was sometimes justified on the intellectual authority of Aristotle (*Historia Animalium*, I xv), and the Biblical endorsement of the Book of Job. The fifteenth-century English writer John Metham introduced a treatise on palmistry by explaining that it had first been written in Persian, at Apollo's dictation, translated into Greek by Aristotle, into Latin by Aurelian, and into English by himself. For a survey of previous writings on palmistry, see Hardin Craig's introduction to *The Works of John Metham*, pp. xix-xxix, or Agrippa's *Of the Vanitie and Vncertaintie of Artes and Sciences* (trans. James Sanford, 1569), Chapter 35, 'Of Chiromancie or Palmestrie'. Agrippa states firmly that although numerous estimable authorities, whom he names, have approved of palmistry, 'Notwithstandinge it is not needefull for us to striue againste the Erroure of this Arte with anye other reson then this, to weete that they haue not in them any reason'. By the seventeenth century, intellectual antagonism to palmistry was widespread. English writers against palmistry included James Mason, *The Anatomie of Sorcerie. Wherein the Wicked Impietie of Charmes, Inchanters, and such is discovered and confuted* (London, 1612), and later John Gaule, *The Mag-astro-mancer, or the Magicall-Astrologicall-Diviner Posed and Puzzled* (London 1652).

3.3. *wight*] creature, a Spenserism.

3.5. *Characters*] i.e. the lines on the speaker's hand, read as hand-written letters (compare *OED2*, 'A distinctive significant mark of any kind').

3.6. *Whom I ... win*] Since the speaker is evidently trying to woo Caelia, presumably this denial is his attempt to distance himself from the triumphalist connotations of victory and defeat, the implication that his success would be at the cost of her subjection.

3.7. *a cobby ... ta'ne*] Compare the advocacy of copying in Shakespeare's sonnet 84: 'Let him but copy what in you is writ, / Not making worse what nature made so clear, / And such a counterpart shall fame his wit, / Making his style admired every where' (lines 9-12).

3.10. *providentlie*] thriftily. Browne refers to the thrift of Nature in the elegy 'Is Death so great a gamester', lines 27-36.

3.11. *that hidden Alphabet*] The Renaissance fascination with hidden alphabets, which, by occult means, would be able to communicate truths beyond the capacity of normal, corrupted language, is exemplified by the popularity of emblems and interest in hieroglyphics.

3.13-14. *By them conceiue ... there*] Donne's *Valediction: Of Weeping* develops a similar conceit.

4.1. *on the ... Thames*] Compare Spenser's *Prothalamion*, set beside the Thames. Browne invokes 'Ye nymphs of Thames' in the poem 'Ye merry birds leaue of to sing' (line 13).

4.2. *our heavenly Spencers*] Browne makes Spenser his standard of poetic value in his ode 'Awake faire Muse'. In *Britannias Pastorals* he extols the almost magical poetic abilities of Spenser's pastoral persona: 'Had Colin Clout yet liv'd (but he is gone), / That best on earth could tune a lover's moan, / Whose sadder tones enforc'd the rocks to weep, / And laid the greatest griefs in quiet sleep: / ... Who made the lasses long to sit down near him; / And woo'd the rivers from their springs to hear him' (I.3.179-182, 189-190). Caelia, also 'heavenly', confers 'a Spirrit more diuine' (line 5) on the speaker's poetry, presumably accentuating its resemblance to Spenser's.

4.3. *Inspiring almost ... flames*] The authority of the ancient poets, beginning with Orpheus and Amphion, over the natural and inanimate worlds is praised by Horace in *The Art of Poetry*, and by Sidney in *The Defence of Poetry*.

4.4-14. Sidney also uses the idea of the mistress singing the lover's words, e.g. in *Astrophil and Stella*, sonnet 57, where Astrophil finds that his carefully-worded expression of love and grief is transformed into sweetness when sung by Stella. Campion describes the beauty of Corinna's singing in *A Booke of Ayres*, VI ('When to her lute Corrina sings').

5. In *Amoretti* 33 Spenser apologises to Lodowick Bryskett for his delay in working on *The Faerie Queene*. In sonnet 3, like Astrophil in his first sonnet to Stella, he laments that love has silenced him. In *Amoretti* 80, however, he claims that he will be able to return to *The Faerie Queene* with renewed strength after taking time away for this praise of his own Elizabeth. *Delia* 47 and *Astrophil and Stella* 74 similarly claim that love has enhanced the poet's powers.

5.3. *Britannias swaynes ... west*] that is, the subjects of *Britannias Pastorals*. Browne refers to 'Tavy's stragglng stream' in the first line of Book I; other rivers celebrated include the Tamar (mentioned in his first marginal note) and Walla (whose love for Tavy is described in Book II Song 3).

5.4. *oaten Melodye*] the oaten pipe, or reed, is the traditional pastoral instrument.

5.6. *Vnperfect*] unfinished.

5.9-10. *writing you ... poetize*] Compare Daniel's claim in *The Civil Wars*, I.6.8: 'I versifie the troth, not Poetize'. Browne alludes to the belief, current among certain contemporary theorists (including Jonson), that the subject of a 'right poet' should be a fiction, and not a literal historical or scientific truth. See note 102/21 in Geoffrey Shepherd's edition of Sidney's *Apology for Poetry* (p. 161).

5. 14. *Others might ... bayes*] i.e. though others (with unknown justification) may wear the bays, I should indubitably deserve them. Compare *Britannias Pastorals* II.2.302 (referring to Jonson): 'Who writes him well shall well deserve the bays'. In his ode, 'Awake faire Muse', Browne envisages himself being crowned with the bays into Apollo's troop. In *Amoretti* 29, Spenser links the bays with true praise of the lady: 'Then would I decke her head with glorious bayes, / and fill the world with her victorious prayse' (13-14).

6.1. *Sing soft ... Birds*] In Browne's poem 'Ye merry birds', the speaker, suffering in love, appeals to the birds to fly away from his secluded grove, or else to exchange their 'inticing harmony' for a song as sad as his own. *while Caelia sleepes*] The second song of *Astrophil and Stella* shows Astrophil discovering Stella asleep and stealing a kiss from her. He subsequently suffers her disapproval.

6.3. *the neighbour ... deepes*] Compare Browne's elegy on Prince Henry, when he has to explain the strange silence of other poets: 'Shallow fords mutter, silent are the deep' (line 40). The sentiment is a commonplace: see Tilley, W123, 'Still waters run deep'.

6.6. *the Delphian Lyre*] Apollo's instrument.

6.7. A line appears to have been omitted in the manuscript copy.

6.11. *Almost in Death*] as sleep is the image of death, compare Donne's, 'Death be not proud', 'rest and sleepe, which but thy pictures bee' (line 5), and Jesus' question to the mourners for Jairus's daughter: 'why make you this ado, and weep? the damsel is not dead, but sleepeth' (Mark 5.39).

6.14. *she cannot die*] A similar claim about Delia is qualified by the condition that this will be so only if the sonnets praising her should survive: 'If they remaine, then thou shalt live thereby; / They will remaine, and so thou canst not dye' (34.13-14).

7. Various sonnets describe the lover's experience of absence from the beloved, e.g. *Astrophil and Stella* 88, *Amoretti* 78, Shakespeare's sonnet 50. The argument of Browne's sonnet resembles the consolation offered in Donne's *Valediction forbidding Mourning*: this love is not of the common sort that is determined by physical proximity, but instead is inspired by the beloved's inner qualities. Contrastingly, Astrophil betrays his moral failings by his preference for Stella's physical presence: 'Let virtue have that Stella's self; yet thus, / That virtue but that body grant to us' (52.13-14).

7.1-2. *the Glasse / Of Time*] Browne has an epigram on the hourglass (Lansdowne 777, poem 60).

7.8. *the high'st ... one*] Compare the speculation in Browne's *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelity*, about Fidelity's reactions had her lover been found secluded with a lady 'of a howse whose Name / From Phoebus rise to Tagus where he setts / Hath bin as famous as Plantagenetts' (lines 30-32).

7.13-14. *Yet outward ... beautye*] Shakespeare uses a similar analogy: 'The rose looks fair, but fairer we it deem / For that sweet odour which doth in it live' (54.3-4).

8. *Astrophil and Stella* 92 also describes the lover's eagerness to question a man who has lately seen the lady, and to obtain from him the most recent and detailed news about her.

8.5-6. *Alas, thinke ... soe*] Similarly, Astrophil prefers that his love should not be publicly known (sonnet 54).

9. Shakespeare's sonnet 44 meditates on the power of thought to unite him with his friend despite their physical separation: 'For nimble thought can jump both sea and land / As soon as think the place where he would be' (lines 7-8).

Spenser's *Amoretti* 78, also describing a period of absence from Elizabeth, 'whose ymage yet I carry fresh in mynd' (line 4), finds no consolation in revisiting the places she has frequented, and concludes by looking for comfort in his thoughts of her: 'Ceasse then myne eyes, to seeke her selfe to see, / and let my thoughts behold her selfe in mee' (13-14).

9.9-12. Trees crowd forward to hear Orpheus's songs in the *Metamorphoses*, Book X (also mentioned in Horace's Ode 1.12, lines 7-12).

9.14-10.1. The repetition of lines between sonnets is frequent in *Delia* (e.g. between sonnets 9-10, 31-32, 32-33, 33-34, 34-35). Mary Wroth's 'Pamphilia to Amphilanthus' is a perfect corona, in which all 14 sonnets are linked by run-on repetitions.

10. The speaker reflects that, given the present state of corruption in the world, which does not recognize true worth, more obvious attractions than his are necessary to win recommendation to a lady. The syntax in lines 8-14 is obscure, but the speaker seems to be suggesting that (lines 8-11) by lacking some physical beauty Caelia may be freed from earthly prejudices and thus be able to judge inward worth as heaven does; otherwise he can only hope that Fortune will favour him, or that she were not so beautiful.

10.2. *these so warye times*] Compare the reference to 'abhorred dayes' in the elegy 'Is death so great a gamester', line 88). Drayton's epistle to Browne is subtitled 'of the evill time'.

10.5. *love no ... Eyes*] Compare Tilley L501: 'Love comes by looking (in at the eyes)', e.g. Erasmus, Adage I ii 79, 'Ex adspectu nascitur amor', 'Love comes by looking' (vol. 31, p. 214); Pettie, *A Petite Pallace*, 'Love first entereth in at the eyes' (p. 243).

10.6-7. *inward worth ... rise*] in contrast with the speaker's love, as described in sonnet 7.

10.10-11. *as free / From Earth*] that is, from earthly corruption and decay.

10.11. *heauenly*] as her name implies.

11.1. *Faire Laurell*] the symbol both of chastity and poetic inspiration (*Metamorphoses*, Book I): thus the appeal in line 14 for the laurel to assure the commemoration of the poet and lady after their deaths.

11.6. *kinde*] both 'affectionate' and 'natural'.

11.7. *shrieke not hye*] Although, traditionally, the laurel is immune to lightning (Pliny, *Natural History* 2.56), the 'vnusuall feruor' of the poet and his lady may risk setting it alight. (Compare Marvell's *Horatian Ode*, where Cromwell, 'angry Heaven's flame', is able to blast through Caesar's laurels.)

12.1-4. The Biblical references include the formation of man from the dust of the ground (Genesis 2.7) and the rivers of Eden (Genesis 2.10-14). The allusion to the 'soyle' which formed both the speaker and the lady is reminiscent of the account in Genesis 2.21-22 of Eve being created from Adam's rib.

12.7-8. *like a ... death*] Browne refers to the convention that the swan sings before she dies in 'Ye merry birds' (poem 18, lines 13-18) and his third *Vision* sonnet.

13. The reproach to Night, like Arthur's complaint in *The Faerie Queene* III iv 55-60, inverts the traditional lover's lament on the brevity of Night. (Astrophil has a contrasting sonnet, *Asrophil and Stella* 98, addressed to his bed, describing his night-time suffering.) The sonnet exploits this context to insist on the chastity of the love shared by the speaker and Caelia. The combination of this emphasis on chastity and the anticipation of marital consummation in line 14 is Spenserian.

13.4. (*O who ... blisses?*)] Compare the epistle 'Deare soule, the time is come', lines 18-19: 'For all that know your beauty and desert / Would swear he neuer lou'd that knew to part', and note.

13.11-12. *That were ... Anew*] Compare the very different example of love envisaged in Donne's *The Canonization*.

14.7-12. Browne's elaboration of this conceit of the heart resembles Donne. Sidney's 'My true love hath my heart, and I have his', poem 45 in *The Old Arcadia*, plays with the similar idea that true lovers exchange hearts.

Text BrW 249 (Lansdowne 777). The spaces numbered 2 and 8 are as Lansdowne 777.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 47-51. Goodwin, II, pp.279-282.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Tillotson, p. 76, Anne Lake Prescott, *French Poets and the English Renaissance*, p. 48, and in Chaudhuri's article on 'Visions' in the *Spenser Encyclopaedia*, p. 115.

Subject Browne's *Visions* sonnets form part of a tradition of visionary poetry deriving from Spenser, Du Bellay and ultimately Petrarch. One of Browne's contemporaries, Henry Peacham, used a 'vision' sequence for his elegy on Prince Henry, *The Period of Mourning* (1613). Unsurprisingly, Browne's adaptation of the tradition appears to derive directly from Spenser, rather than the Continental poets. Spenser's contribution to the 'vision' tradition began with his earliest published work, translations of Petrarch's *Rime* 323 and most of Du Bellay's *Songe* for Jan van der Noot's *Theatre for Worldlings* (1569). He subsequently included revised versions of these translations in his *Complaints* volume (1591). The *Complaints* also contains Spenser's more original engagements with the 'vision' tradition: a sonnet added to the translated material in the *Visions of Petrarch*; his own apocalyptic sequence *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*; and *The Ruines of Time*, the ambitious introductory poem which uses visionary tropes in its mourning for Leicester, Sidney, their families and English civilisation. As Anne Lake Prescott suggests, Browne's *Visions* are closer to the *Visions of the Worldes Vanitie* than to the translations from Du Bellay or Petrarch (Prescott, *French Poets and the English Renaissance*, p. 48). In part this is a matter of context. The visions of both Petrarch and Du Bellay are included in larger works which to some extent delimit the context of interpretation. Du Bellay's *Songe*, for instance, the original of Spenser's *Visions of Bellay*, has an immediately - though not exclusively - Roman application, as it was printed as an appendix to the *Antiquitez*, a sequence exploring the greatness and subsequent decline of Rome. (The *Antiquitez* was translated by Spenser as *The Ruines of Rome*.) It also borrows some of its imagery from the Roman context. Browne's *Visions*, like Spenser's *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*, are introduced and shaped as a self-contained sequence. Spenser and Browne differ, however, in that whereas Spenser uses images both from Nature and human constructions, Browne's *Visions* are entirely derived from nature. Also, whereas Spenser's visions invoke the crocodile, Leviathan, dragon and elephant, Browne's are more domesticated, more recognizably English, describing native birds and flowers and the river Thames.

Sonnet 1 illustrates some of these points. As an introduction to the sequence, it is closer to the beginning of *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* than to the first sonnet of either of the translations. *The Visions of Petrarch*, after locating

the narrator alone at the window, launches straight into the visions, without distancing them as a dream. The speaker in *The Visions of Bellay* emphasizes that his visions are a dream (in both the first and the last sonnets), and introduces a ghost to declaim that everything in the world is vanity. Browne's narrator, like Spenser's, devotes the first sonnet to explaining how his visions arise out of a profound meditation on the follies and corruptions of the age. Both poets speak of the uncertainties and injustices of human life. Where Spenser refers to 'strange showes' (line 10), Browne has the equivalent 'strange apparitions' (line 13). In both cases the visions are offered to the reader as an exposition and elucidation of what the first sonnet, and the narrator's waking mind, have only been able to indicate. However, between the morals expounded in these introductory sonnets there is a difference of emphasis. Spenser's narrator regrets that goodness is despised in the modern world. Browne's complaint is the corollary of this, the unworthiness of those who achieve worldly success (lines 7-9). The difference is significant. None of Spenser's 'vision' poems or translations present a pessimism as unrelieved as in Browne's *Visions*. In the *Visions of Bellay* there are instances of resurrection and regeneration (sonnets 7 and 13) to set against the prevailing tendency towards destruction, and for the narrator the despair which the vanity and instability of the world seem likely to induce is prevented by his assurance of God's steadfastness. The *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* and *Visions of Petrarch* also arrive at an assurance of moral consolation. In the *Bellay* and *Worlds Vanitie* sonnets, moreover, the issues are complicated by the uncertain moral status of many of the figures and forces represented in them. Also, not all of Spenser's *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* culminate in destruction. Sonnets 2, 3, 5 and 8 show small creatures succeeding at the cost of nothing worse than pain and vexation to the great creatures on which they prey. In the destruction described in other sonnets, both praise- and blameworthy victims are affected. Browne's moral categories are more distinct. He finds little to praise in humanity or its works. Whereas in the *Bellay* and *Petrarch* sonnets destruction is usually caused by a stroke of Nature, in four of Browne's five visions (sonnets 3, 4, 5 and 7) the disaster is attributed either to human agency or human neglect. The creatures who suffer misfortune in his sonnets - the swan, the turtle-dove, the flowers, the Shepherd - are described as unambiguously virtuous or beautiful, their misfortunes as unambiguously a cause for outrage. The narrator repeatedly emphasizes his grief at what he sees. The moral emphasis of Browne's *Visions* is less on the vanity of human effort - for human efforts towards evil seem to be remarkably successful - than on the vulnerability of innocence. It also indicts a failure to respect tradition: as represented, clearly, by the ingratitude of the shepherd's foster-child, but also by the neatheard, who kills the swan because he misunderstands the significance of her song. Browne offers none of the spiritual comfort realized by Spenser and Du Bellay. The reference to Joseph in sonnet 1 provides a possible starting point for the exploration of a spiritual context, but the sequence as it stands makes no attempt to develop either the parallel with Biblical dream exegesis, or the narrator's spiritual awareness.

The apparent incompleteness of the sequence - as attested by the numbered spaces for sonnets 2 and 8 in Lansdowne 777 - adds to the difficulty of interpreting Browne's sonnets. Spenser's *Visions of Petrarch* also depict the

destruction of good, beautiful things, and only the seventh sonnet, Spenser's addition, reinterprets the visions as an indication of the folly of attaching too much importance to earthly matters. It is possible that a completed version of Browne's sequence might have effected a similar transformation in its concluding sonnet, though the existing verses, with their uncompromising gloom and their exclusive attention to a familiar, material world, leave little scope for such a manoeuvre. Indeed, Browne's pessimism seems to increase as the sequence continues. As in the *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*, the visionary figures of the later sonnets are not destroyed outright. Rather than offering hope, however, the result is to leave the representatives of good still in the grip of danger and injustice, still embattled and beleaguered, without any prospect of rescue or regeneration. At the end of sonnet 6 the lilies, daisy and violet are left withering in the shade of the arrogant mushroom; in sonnet 7 the shepherd remains unjustly out of Pan's favour. The implication in these latter sonnets is of the persistence and insidiousness of corruption. In this, there are strong parallels between the *Visions* and Browne's published poems. The Prince Henry elegy, *Britannias Pastorals* and *The Shepherds Pipe* all insist on the corruption prevalent in contemporary society; and in particular the shepherds of the eclogues manifest a hostility to criticism or incursions from the outside world, and a jealous defensiveness of their own interest, narrowly defined, tantamount to cultural paranoia. It is worth noting that these are all Spenserian poems, and thus have at least a potential nostalgia for pre-Stuart England. As with the other Spenserian poems, it seems likely that at least some details of Browne's 'vision' sonnets refer directly to contemporary persons and events. The reference to injury to a friend in sonnet 1 sounds like a specific grievance, as do the tales of the arrogant mushroom and the ungrateful foster-son. In the ode, 'Awake, fair Muse', Browne uses the image of a mushroom to refer to an undeserving upstart, and his portrayal of a Pan who is induced to treat a dependent unjustly at the instigation of an unworthy favourite, suggestively reminiscent of his censure of negligent kings in *Britannias Pastorals* II.1.825-884, also resembles contemporary criticism of the influence of favourites in King James's government. The 'satyr' of sonnet 7 may plausibly refer to George Villiers, elevated from the ranks of the country gentry to become Duke of Buckingham. Buckingham's rise to royal favour was originally furthered by Browne's patron, the Earl of Pembroke, as a means of winning James's affections away from his previous favourite, Robert Carr, but in subsequent machinations at court Buckingham's prosperity was often at the expense of Pembroke's interest.

The later sonnets, moreover, develop the visionary form away from the emblematic mode of Spenser's translations for the *Theatre*, to lay an increasing emphasis on narrative. Sonnet 7, the account of the shepherd and his foster-son, is less a vision than an exemplum, a case-history of filial ingratitude. Spenser's *Visions*, illustrated with woodcuts, rely on the visual images available to the speaker of the sonnets. The 'vision' of sonnet 7 - the shepherd's discovery of the satyr - occupies only a few lines (4-6), and the sonnet's information about the shepherd's background and musical competence, as well as the subsequent history of relationships it describes, seem to exceed what could have been supplied by sight alone. It is difficult to imagine how sonnet 7 could have been adequately summarized by a woodcut.

Visions

1

Sitting one daye beside the bankes of Mole,
Whose sleepey streame, by passages vnknowne,
Conuayes the fry of all her finny Shole
(As of the Fisher she were fearefull growne):
I thought vpon the various turnes of Time, 5
And suddaine Changes of all humane state,
The Feare-mixt pleasures of all such as Clyme
To Fortunes meerly by the hand of Fate
Without desert. Then weighing inly deepe
The griefes of some whose neernes makes him myne, 10
(Wearyed with thoughts) the Leaden god of sleepe
With silken Armes of rest did me intwyne:
While such strange apparitions girt me round,
As need another Joseph to Expound.

2

I saw a silver swan swim downe the Lee,
 Singing a Sad Farewell vnto the vale,
 While fishes leapt to heare her Melodie;
 And on each thorne a gentle Nightingale,
 And many other Birds forbore their notes, 5
 Leaping from tree to tree, as she along
 The panting bosome of the current floates,
 Rapt with the Musick of her dyeing Song:
 When from a thick & all intangled spring,
 A neatheard rude came with noe small adoe 10
 (Dreading an ill presage to heare her sing)
 And quickly strooke her slender neck in two.
 Whereat the Birds (me thought) flew thence with speed,
 And inly griev'd for such a cruell deed.

Within the compasse of a shadye Grove,
 I long time sawe a loveing Turtle flye,
 And lastlie pitching by her gentle Love,
 Sit kindelie billing in his Company;
 Till (haples soules) a faulcon sharply bent, 5
 Flew towards the place where these kind wretches stood,
 And sev'ring them (a fatall accident),
 She from her make flung speedye through the wood;
 And scapeing from the Hawke, a fowler sett
 Close & with cunning vnderneath the shade, 10
 Intrapt the harmles Creature in his nett,
 And nothing moved with the plaint she made,
 Restraynde her from the groves & deserts wide,
 Where ouergone with grieffe, poore Bird, she dy'de.

5

A Rose as faire as euer saw the North,
 Grewe in a little Garden all alone,
 A sweeter flowre did Nature nere put forth,
 Nor fairer Garden yet was never knowne.
 The Maydens danc't about it morne & noone, 5
 And learned Bards of it their ditties made,
 The Nimble Fairyes by the palefaced Moone,
 Water'd the Roote & kiss'd her pretty shade.
 But welladaye the Gardner careles grewe,
 The maids & Fairyes both were kept awaye, 10
 And in a drought the Caterpillers threwe
 Themselues upon the Budd & euery Spraye.
 God shield the stock, if heaven send noe supplyes,
 The Fairest Blossom of the Garden dyes.

6

Downe in a Vallye by a forrests side,
 Neere where the Christall Thames roules on her waves,
 I saw a Mushrome stand in haughty pride,
 As if the Lillyes grew to be his slaves.
 The gentle Daisye with her silver crowne, 5
 Worne in the brest of many a shepheards lasse,
 The humble Violet that lowly downe,
 Salutes the gaye Nimphs as they trimly passe:
 These with a many more, me thought complaind,
 That Nature should those needles things produce, 10
 Which not alone the Sun from others gain'd,
 But turne it wholly to their proper vse.
 I could not chuse but grieve that Nature made
 So glorious flowers to live in such a Shade.

A gentle Shepherd borne in Arcadye,
 That well could tune his pipe and deftly playe
 The Nimphs asleepe with rurall Minstralsye,
 Me thought I saw, vpon a Summers daye,
 Take up a little Satyre in a wood, 5
 All masterlesse, forlorne as none did know him;
 And nurseing him with those of his owne blood,
 On mightye Pan he lastlie did bestowe him.
 But with the God he long time had not been,
 Ere he the Shepherd and himselfe forgott, 10
 And most ingratefull ever stept between
 Pan and all good befell the poore mans Lott.
 Whereat all Good men griev'd, & strongly swore
 They never would be Foster Fathers more.

1.1. *Mole*] Browne also mentions the Mole in his epistle 'Hasten o hasten' (lines 21 and 52). There is a river Mole in Devonshire (described in Westcote, *View of Devonshire*, pp. 276ff), and this is also Spenser's name, in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (lines 104-155), for the Ballyhowra Hills.

1.3. *the fry ... Shore*] young fish.

1.11. *the Leaden ... sleepe*] Morpheus.

1.14. *As need ... Expound*] Joseph, son of David, interpreted dreams for Pharaoh's butler and baker, and won his freedom from prison by explaining Pharaoh's dream of the cows and the corn (Genesis 40-41).

3.1-2. *I saw ... the vale*] Browne refers frequently to the tradition that the swan sings before she dies. See poem 18, 'Ye merry birds', lines 13-14 and note.

Lee] perhaps simply 'river'; though it may also be a reference to the tributary of

the Thames, or to the Lee in County Cork. The Irish Lee appears in *The Faerie Queene* (IV xi 44.3-4), as a guest at the wedding of the Thames and the Medway, and is also mentioned in Spenser's *The Ruines of Time* (line 603), as the setting for his second vision of the apotheosis of Philip Sidney.

3.4. *on each ... Nightingale*] See poem 22, 'Caelia is gone', lines 2-3 and notes.

3.10. *a neatheard*] a cowheard - evidently of the same category of despised characters as the swineheard whom Jockie complains of in *The Shepherds Pipe*, Eclogue 2.

3.11. (*Dreading an ill ... sing*)] afraid that her song was a bad omen.

4.1 *compasse*] confines.

4.2. *a loveing Turtle*] a turtle dove, traditionally celebrated for her loving fidelity (e.g. Chaucer, *Parliament of Fowls*, 'The wedded turtill with hire herte trewe' (line 355); Spenser, *Epithalamion*, 'My truest turtle dove' (line 24); Donne, *Epithalamion, or Mariage Song on the Lady Elizabeth and Count Palatine* (line 98); Shakespeare, *The Phoenix and the Turtle*). Browne mentions the desolation of the bereaved turtle dove in 'Caelia is gone', line 11.

4.4. *kindelie*] both 'affectionately' and 'naturally'.

4.8. *make*] mate.

6.3. *I saw ... pride*] Compare the derisory allusion to 'a Mushrome Fauorite' in the ode 'Awake faire Muse', line 12, and note.

6.11-12. *Which not ... vse*] i.e. which did not merely consume some of the sunlight at the expense of the flowers, but arrogated it all for its own use.

7.1. *A gentle ... Arcadye*] a direct quotation from Spenser's *Astrophel* (line 1), where it refers to Sidney. It is difficult, however, to match the events and relationships described in sonnet 7 with the lives of either Sidney or Spenser. *Arcadye*] traditionally the earthly paradise inhabited by shepherds (though Sidney's Arcadia is more equivocally presented).

7.5. *Satyre*] a satyr: in Greek mythology a lustful, drunken woodland spirit, associated with Dionysius.

7.8. *Pan*] traditionally the God of shepherds. Browne's representation of Pan tends to be unfavourable. In *Britannias Pastorals* II.5 he is indirectly responsible for the unduly harsh sentence of execution on Philocel and Caelia, from which they escape only by supernatural means.

7.10. *he the Shepherd ... forgott*] forgot what the shepherd deserved from him, and what he owed to the shepherd.

7.12. *befell*] i.e. that might have befallen, that the shepherd would otherwise have received.

Poem 21.

Epistle on the Papists' Bells

Text BrW 42 (Lansdowne 777). The italics, emboldening and marginal notes are as Lansdowne 777.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 77-81. Goodwin, II, pp. 229-232.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Moorman, p. 15, and Tillotson, pp. 45 and 94. Tillotson adduces Browne's praise for John Helmes as evidence for his love of music.

Subject The long title of this epistle is one of the best examples in Lansdowne 777 of the typical emphasis in manuscript compilations on the occasional character of poetry, and their consequent tendency to record the circumstances of composition in the title of a poem. As described in the Introduction, Browne appears to have travelled in France more than once, but it is likely that the poem refers to an occasion in 1618-19, when both he and Palmes had been granted passports to travel abroad. The epistle, one of Browne's attempts at comic writing, relentlessly satirises Roman Catholic practices and institutions, considered superstitious by Protestants. Nonetheless, although Browne subjects the French Catholics of his acquaintance to ridicule, his tone is more gentle than might have been expected of a writer often associated (e.g. by Norbrook and O'Callaghan) with uncompromising Puritanism. The satire, though sustained throughout the poem, never becomes invective, and there is no reason to dismiss the poet's allusions to habits of friendship between himself and the local people. Browne's model for an epistolary satire addressed to a named individual may have been Wyatt, who addressed satirical letters to John Pains and Sir Francis Brian. However, Browne's version uses his own preferred poetic form, the pentameter couplet, rather than the terza rima introduced by Wyatt.

An Epistle occasioned by the most
intollerable iangling of the papists Bells
on All Saints night, th'Eve of All Soules
daye, being then vsed to be rung all
night (and all as if the Towne were
on fire) for the soules of those in
Purgatorie. Written from Thouars to
Saumur. to Mr Bryan Palmes.

Palmes, and my friend, this nyght of Hollantyde,
Left all alone and no way occupyde,
Not to be Idle (though I idle be

In writeing verse) I send these lynes to thee.
 Aske me not how I can be left alone, 5
 For all are heere so in devotion,
 So earnest in their prayers for the dead,
 And with their *De Profundis* soe farr led,
 And soe transported (poore night-seeing fowles)
 In their Oraisons for all Christian sowles, 10
 That knoweing me for one but yesterdaye,
 May be they dreamt me dead & for me praye.
 This maye coniectur'd be the reason why
 I haue this night with me noe company,
 I meane of that Religion; for indeed, 15
 But to Consort with one that sayes his Creed
 In his owne Mother tongue, this daye for them,
 Were such a Crime that nor Jerusalem
 Nor yet Romes voyage (for which I am sorry)
 Could free these friends of mine from Purgatorie. 20
 And had I gone to visit them, may be,
 They at my Entrance might haue taken mee
 (If that I spoke in English) for some one
 Of their good friends new come from Phlegeton,
 And so had put them to the paines to wooe 25
 My friend Fryer Guy and Bonaventure to,
 To publish such a Miracle of theirs
 By ringing all the Bells about mine Eares.
 But peace be to their Bells, say I, as is
 Their prayer euery day *pax defunctis*. 30
 For I am sure all this long night to heare
 Such a 'charauary that if ther were }tinkling of
 All the Tom Tinkers since the world began, }kettles &
 Inhabiting from Thule to Magellan, }pans
 And those that beat their kettles when the Moone, 35

Darckning the Sun, brings on the night ere noone,
I thinke all those together would not make
Such a curs'd noyse as these, for all soules sake.

Honest ²John Helmes, now by my troth, I wish }² a good
(Although my popish hostesse hath with fish } ringer 40
Fed me three dayes) that thou wert here with speed,
And some more of thy Crue, not without need,
To teach their Bells some time or tune in swinging,
For sure they have noe reason in their ringing.

For mine owne part, heareing so strang a coyle, 45
Such discord, such debate & such turmoyle
In a high steeple, when I first came hither,
And had small language, I did doubt me whether
Some had the Towre of Babell new begun,
And god had plagued them with Confusion: 50
For which I was not sorry, for I thought
To Catch some tongue among them, & for nought.

But being much deceiu'd, good Lord, quoth I,
What pagan noise is this? One that stood by,
Swore I did wrong them, for he me advised, 55
The Bells vpon his knowledge were baptizd.

My friend, quoth I, y'are more to blame by farre,
To see poore Christian Creatures so at Jarr,
And seeke not to accord them; as for me,
Although they not of my acquaintance be, 60
Nor though we never have shooke hands as yet,
Out of my Love to peace, not out of debt,
See theres eight Soulz or ten, it makes not whether,
Get them some wyne & see them drinke together.

Or if the Sexton cannot bring them to it, 65
As he will sure have much adoe to doe it,
Tell him he shall be thank'd if soe he strives,
With speciall care to take away their knives.

And for their cause of stirre that he record it,

Vntill a gen'rall Councell doe accord it.

70

Till when I'le hold, what ere the Jesuits say,

Although their Church erre not, their Steeple may.

WB

Title. the most ... night] The custom of bell-ringing on All Saints' Day, to alleviate the suffering of souls in Purgatory, is described by Brand (*Popular Antiquities* i 218-219). In England the practice was banned during Henry VIII's reign, revived under Mary, and forbidden again under Elizabeth. According to Keith Thomas it persisted in some areas long after the Reformation (*Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 720). It would, however, have been closely associated with the old religion. *and all ... fire]* In fact, lighting fires for the souls of the dead was also customary on All Souls' Night (Brand, i pp. 217-219). *Thouars to Saumur]* towns in north-western France. Thouars is in the present-day arrondissement of Deux-Sevres, in the region of Poitou. It is 34 km north of Saumur. Saumur, on the Loire, was a centre of Huguenot activity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Duplessis Mornay founded his Academie de Theologie Protestante there in 1599. In *Britannias Pastorals* III.1 Browne as narrator claims to be writing his poem in this area of France: 'Where to the nymphs of Poitou now I sing' (line 115). The *Acts of the Privy Council* for 1616 has a record for 'A passe for William Browne, to travaile with one man, and other necessaries not prohibited; not to go to Rome' (p. 638). The fact that this pass was procured by the Lord Chamberlain, i.e. William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, strengthens the probability that this Browne was the poet. *Mr Bryan Palmes]* See *DNB*. He was the son of Sir Guy Palmes of Ashwell, Rutland, and Lindley, Yorkshire, and was knighted in 1642. The *DNB* describes him as an intimate friend of Browne's, and claims that they made a tour of France together, but appears to have no evidence for this assertion other than Goodwin's note on this epistle. The *Acts of the Privy Council, 1618-1619*, records that Palmes was granted a passport on 17 May 1618, 'to travell for 3 yeares with one servant etc' (p. 143).

1. *Hollantyde]* All Saints Day (1 November).

8. *De Profundis]* the first words of the Vulgate Psalm 129 (Authorized Version Psalm 130: 'Out of the depths [have I cried unto thee, O LORD]', one of the Penitential Psalms. The Protestant rejection of the Catholic belief that the prayers of the living could affect the dead in the afterlife was a corollary of their denial of the existence of Purgatory.

16-17. *one that ... tongue]* a Protestant custom (see line 23).

18-19. *nor Jerusalem ... voyage]* the most efficacious of the pilgrimages recommended by the Catholic church.

24. *Phlegeton]* One of the five rivers of Hades. Compare Spenser, *The Faerie Queene* II vi 50.8-9: Pyrochles, burning with fury, 'roste[s]' more fiercely than a 'damned ghoste / In flaming *Phlegeton*'.

26. *Fryer Guy and Bonaventure*] Hazlitt suggests that the reference to 'Fryer Guy' may be to Guy, Bishop of Amiens, author of a poem on the Battle of Hastings (II, p. 367). Goodwin called this conjecture 'unfortunate', and opines: 'Friar Guy was probably a monk of Thouars, who may have acted as Browne's cicerone, and probably begged of him for his convent' (II. p. 346). However, since 'Guy' is paired with Bonaventure (c.1217-1274), satirically, it would be plausible for the name to refer to a historical figure who could not have been wooed by Browne's friends without a miracle. Another possibility for 'Fryer Guy' is Guy de Montpellier, the founder of the order of the Holy Spirit at Montpellier, who died at Rome in 1208. Manuscripts refer to him as 'Fra Guido'. Bonaventure was a leading medieval theologian and reformer of the Franciscan order, who lived mostly in France.

30. *pax defunctis*] peace to the dead.

32. *charauary*] 'A serenade of 'rough music', with kettles, pans, tea-trays and the like, used in France, in mockery and derision of incongruous or unpopular marriages, and of unpopular persons generally; hence a confused, discordant medley of sounds; a babel of noise', *OED* (indexed under the modern spelling 'charivari', first citation 1735).

33. *Tom Tinkers*] 'Tymme' or 'Thomme' the Tinker is mentioned as a proverbial character in *Piers Plowman* (A-text V 160, C-text VI 364). He also appears as a proverbially unlettered figure in the poem 'Jockye would bee a gentleman', in the manuscript miscellany Bodleian MS Ashmole 38: 'Tom Tinker hee [would bee] a minister / Though learning hee had none' (cited Marotti, p. 116).

34. *Thule*] The ancient Greek and Latin name for the country thought to be the most northerly region in the world. *Magellan*] the Magellan Straits, the passage between the continent of South America and Tierra del Fuego, discovered by the Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan. *OED* (improbably) lists the use of 'Magellan' as a synonym for the Straits as a nonce-use first occurring in Burns's *To William Simpson Of Ochiltree* (1787), here also denoting remoteness: 'She lay like some unkend-of isle / Beside New Holland, / Or where wild-meeting oceans boil / Besouth Magellan' (lines 39-42) - though 'Magellan straights' is recorded from 1671.

35-36. *those that ... noone*] Brand refers to this practice as occurring among the 'Ancients, including the Spartans and Romans: 'which they did to drowne the Charmes of Witches, that the Moon might not heare them, and so be drawne from her Spheare as they supposed' (iii, p. 159). He cites Osborne, in the 'Advice to his Son' (1656), as attributing it to the Irish and Welsh (Brand, iii, p. 160).

kettles] kettle-drums (compare *Hamlet* V ii 267, 'Let the Kettle to the Trumpets speake').

39. I have been unable to trace John Helmes.

40-41. *Although my ... dayes*] The penitential eating of fish on holy days was associated particularly with Catholics.

45. *strang*] perhaps both 'strong' and 'strange'. *coyle*] a noisy disturbance.

48. *small language*] little knowledge of the language.

49-50. *Some had ... Confusion*] In Genesis 11.1-9, God's punishment of the people for building the Tower of Babel is to 'confound their language'.

52. *Catch some tongue*] to be subjected to verbal abuse, punning on 'tongues' as the clappers of the bells.

56. *The Bells ... baptizd*] Catholic church bells were consecrated, a practice which sceptical Protestants derided as superstitious 'baptism'; compare the Elizabethan Henry Barrow, in an account of the magical powers attributed to the fabric of a Catholic church: 'They have at the west end their hallowed bells, which are also baptised, sprinkled, etc' (cited Thomas, p. 66).

58. *at Jarr*] compare *Britannias Pastorals* II.2.621-622: '... to leave their jars, / Their strifes, dissensions, and all civil wars'.

62. *not out of debt*] not because I think I owe them anything: perhaps a reference to the taxes imposed by the Catholic church.

63. *Soulz*] plural of 'sou', a French coin worth one-twentieth of a livre; also a pun on 'souls'.

70. *a gen'rall Councell*] a convocation of the Church at large, called to deliberate on matters of Christian doctrine and /or ecclesiastical discipline and practice, and claiming to speak with the authority of the universal Church. Following the early sixteenth-century schisms in Western Christianity, however, a general council had become effectively a Roman Catholic assembly. Browne's reference probably recalls the Council of Trent (1545-63), which redefined Catholic doctrines in contradistinction from Protestant heresies, and affirmed the authority of the Papacy and church traditions.

71. *Jesuits*] The Society of Jesus, founded by St Ignatius Loyola in 1533 and sanctioned by Paul IV in 1540, was distinguished among Catholic orders - and particularly castigated by Protestants - for its zeal in propagating Catholic beliefs. Jesuit missionaries had been working in England since the 1580s.

'Caelia is gone'

Text BrW 18 (Lansdowne 777). Copy in *Britannias Pastorals* Book III.1.45-86. The indentation and division of verse paragraphs are as Lansdowne 777. (The *Britannias Pastorals* copy is in 6-line stanzas.)

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 129-131. The *Britannias Pastorals* version was first printed in Croker's edition of *Britannias Pastorals*, Book III (1852). Goodwin, II, pp. 25-27.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Tillotson. Assuming the Lansdowne 777 copy to be autobiographical, he remarks disapprovingly that '[b]y an odd kind of irreverence, the poem was either an adaptation of the lyric inserted in Book Three of the *Pastorals*, ..., or was itself adapted to fit the lips of Celadyne' (p. 37). Lines 29-30 are cited by Joan Ozark Holmer as evidence that Caelia was 'not a personified poetic ideal but a real person' (p. 360).

Subject In *Britannias Pastorals* these verses are sung by Celadyne, Marina's neglectful lover, when she has mysteriously disappeared and he has begun to regret her loss.

1. Caelia is] Marina's *BP*. 6. Afford such] Breathe forth *BP*. 12. So is]
And so *BP*. 18. paines] pain *BP*.

Caelia is gone, & now sit I
As Philomela (on a Thorne,
Turnd out of Natures liverye),
Mirthles, alone & all forlorne;
Onely she sings not, while my Sorrowes can 5
Afford such notes as fit a dying Swan.
Soe shuts the Marygold her leaues,
At the departure of the Sunne,
Soe from the honysuckle sheaues,
The Bee goes when the day is done, 10
Soe sits the Turtle when she is but one,
So is all woe, as I, now she is gone.
To some few Birds kind Nature hath
Made all the Summer as one daye,

Which, once enjoyde, cold winters wrath 15
As night they sleeping passe away.
Those happy Creatures are that know not yet,
The paines to be depriv'de or to forgett.
I oft haue heard men saye there be,
Some that with Confidence professe, 20
The helpfull Art of Memorie;
But could they teach Forgetfullnes,
I'de learne & trye what further Art could doe,
To make me loue her & forget her to.

Sad Melancholy that perswades 25
Men from themselues to think they be
Headles, or other bodyes shades,
Hath long & bootles dwelt with me;
For could I thinke she some Idea were,
I still might loue, forget & haue her heere. 30
But such she is not: nor would I
For twice as many torments more,
As her bereaued companye
Hath brought to those I felt before,
For then noe future time might hap to know, 35
That she deseru'd, or I did loue her soe.

Ye howres then but as Minutes be
(Though soe I shall be sooner old)
Till I those louely graces see,
Which but in her can none behold! 40
Then be an age that we may neuer trye
More grieffe in parting but grow old & dye.

1. *Caelia*] literally 'heavenly'. See title note to Browne's sonnet sequence to Caelia.
2. *Philomela*] the nightingale. The analogy is strained, since there is little in common between Philomela and the poet / Celadyne, other than their loneliness. In classical legend, Philomela was raped by her brother-in-law, Tereus, and connived with her sister in murdering Tereus's children in revenge. The (male) speaker in 'Caelia is gone' has merely been abandoned.
3. *Turnd out ... liverye*] Withered [the thorn]?
5. *Onely she sings not*] Philomela's tongue had been cut out, before her metamorphosis into a nightingale.
6. *such notes ... Swan*] References to the tradition that the swan sings before death are common in Renaissance literature. Browne refers to this legend in several poems, e.g. 'Ye merry birds' (lines 13-14), and his third *Vision* sonnet.
7. *the Marygold*] Compare Browne's *An Elegie on the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke*: 'Yet (could I choose) I would not any knew / That thou wert lost but as a pearle of Dewe / Which in a gentle Evening mildelie cold / Falne in the Bosome of a Marigold / Is in her golden leaues shut up all night / And seen againe when next we see the light' (lines 17-22). The responsiveness of the marigold (or the sunflower) to sunlight was a popular theme in emblem-books. Browne's third emblem in Ashmole 767 compares the reactions of the marigold to the sun to the relationship between marital partners.
11. *Soe sits the Turtle*] The fidelity of the turtle-dove is also traditional. See Browne's *Visions*, sonnet 4 and note.
- 17-18. *Those happy ... forgett*] Compare poem 11, 'Shall I love againe', lines 11-12.
- 19-24. Norman Ault, *Seventeenth Century Lyrics* (1950), p. 504, points out the similarity between these lines and a half-stanza by T. Beaumont in Bodleian MS Malone 17:

Oh, whilst others strive to be
 Versed in the art of memory,
 I only wish I could profess
 The dark art of forgetfulness.

Browne also refers to 'darke forgetfulnes' in poem 26, *On a dreame*. Ault, who dates Malone 17, 'almost certainly the poet's autograph', to c. 1640-50, is evidently puzzled to account for the clear similarity between Beaumont's verse and 'Caelia is gone', since 'Browne's poem was not printed till 1815, and this never until now'. As far as I know, 'T. Beaumont' has not been certainly identified, but it is tempting to speculate that he may have been a relative of the Beaumont brothers, whom Drayton associates with Browne in his letter to Henry Reynolds. The elder Beaumont, Sir John, had a son, Thomas, who succeeded to the title. 'Caelia [or Marina] is gone' and *On a dreame* are both included in the Salisbury manuscript of *Britannias Pastorals Book III*, as well as Lansdowne 777.

21. *Art of Memorie*] As Frances Yates explains, in *The Art of Memory*, systems claiming to teach the art of memory had been devised at least as early as the classical period in Greece (e.g. by Aristotle) and enjoyed a new popularity in the Renaissance. Giordano Bruno, Peter Ramus and Robert Fludd are among the recent proponents of memory systems whose work Browne may have known.

Bruno's connections with the Sidney family might have brought his theories to Browne's attention.

25-27. *Sad Melancholy .. shades*] i.e. Melancholy can persuade men to believe such absurdities as that they have no heads, or that they are the ghosts of other men.

29. *Idea*] A Platonic form. Ironically, Drayton's use of the name 'Idea' in many of his sonnets has often been interpreted as an allusion to an identifiable woman, Anne Goodere (though this reading has been convincingly questioned by Jean Brink, in *Michael Drayton Revisited*, passim).

31-34. i.e. even if the loss of Caelia were causing me twice as much torment as I am actually suffering, I would not wish she were an Idea.

41-42. *Then be ... dye*] may the time come when the only separation between lovers is that caused by death (?)

Poem 23.

‘Give me three kisses, Phillis’

Text BrW 55 (Lansdowne 777). One other manuscript extant (BrW 56, Rosenbach MS).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 131. Goodwin, II, p. 131.

Give me three kisses, Phillis; if not three,
Giue me as many as thy sweet lips be.
You gaue & tooke one, yet deny me twaine,
Then take back yours, or give me mine againe.

1. *three kisses*] The tradition of arithmetical love poems goes back to Catullus 7.

Poem 24.

On the Countesse of Somersets picture

Text BrW 231 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 73. Goodwin, II, p. 284.

Subject Frances Howard, born 1592/3 (and thus only a year or two younger than Browne) was the daughter of Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk. Her first marriage, to the third Earl of Essex, in 1606, provided the occasion for one of Jonson's most celebrated masques, *Hymenaei*. After a notorious divorce hearing in 1613, her marriage to Essex was annulled, and she married King James's favourite, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. In 1616 she and Somerset were tried for the murder of his former friend, Sir Thomas Overbury, who had opposed their marriage. At their trial, Frances Howard pleaded guilty, but insisted on her husband's innocence. Both were convicted and sentenced to death, but were later reprieved by the King and held in the Tower until 1621. The Countess died of cancer in 1632. The only contemporary pictures known to depict Frances Howard are the engravings published during her lifetime. Arthur Hind's *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, reproduces one picture by Renold Elstrack, showing her with Somerset (vol. II, plate 105) and two states of an engraving by Simon van de Passe, showing her alone (II, plates 159 b and d). She has been doubtfully identified as the subject of two portraits attributed to William Larkin, one now in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London, the other in Sweden. Both are reproduced in Roy Strong, *The English Icon*, p. 326, and discussed in Strong's *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, vol. I, pp. 297-298. Recent books on the Overbury trial include David Lindley's *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (1993) and Anne Somerset's *Unnatural Murder: Poison at the Court of James I* (1997). Contemporary opinion, as Lindley shows, vilified the Countess, as much for her alleged promiscuity and use of witchcraft as for the poisoning of Overbury. Browne's poem, referring to her misery, presumably follows her disgrace. On Lindley's evidence, it is unique among contemporary comments in suggesting that she may deserve pity - and even love. This response is all the more curious in that Browne also wrote an elegiac poem on Sir Thomas Overbury (Lansdowne 777, poem 51), which was printed among the dedicatory verse in the eighth impression of Overbury's *The Wife*, in 1616 (i.e. after Frances Howard's responsibility for Overbury's death had been made public). In the elegy, Browne describes Overbury's death as murder, but is reticent about attributing responsibility for the crime.

On the Countesse of
Somersets picture.

The pittie'd Fortune most men chiefly hate,
And rather thinke the envyde fortunate.
Yet I, if Miserie did looke as she,
Should quicklie fall in loue with Miserie.

1-2. i.e. most men hate to have a fortune which inspires pity, and think that those who are envied are more fortunate.

Poem 25.

'Hasten, o Hasten'

Text BrW 41 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 97-100. Goodwin, II, pp. 234-236.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Moorman (pp. 12-13), as evidence for Browne's marital history.

An Epistle

Hasten, o Hasten, for my loues sake, haste!
The spring alreadye hath your Beachworth grac'd,
What need you longer stay to grace it more,
Or adde to that which had enough before?
The heauens admit no Suns; why should your seate, 5
Haue two then, equall good & as complete?
Hasten o hasten then! for till I see
Whom most I loue, 'tis Winter still with mee.
I feele no Spring, nor shall I till your light
Repell my too too long & lonely night. 10
Till you haue quickned with your happy shine,
A drooping, discontented heart of mine,
No Mirth but what is forc'd shall there be plac'd.
Hasten, o hasten then, for loues sake, haste.
Soe louying Hero oftentimes was wont, 15
Vpon the flowry bankes of Hellespont,
To walke, expecting when her loue should land,
As I haue done on siluer Isis strand.
I aske the snowy Swans that swim along,
(Seeking some sad place for their sadder song) 20
Whither they came from Mole; or heard her tell,
What worth doth neere her wanton Riuer dwell.

And nameing you, the gentle spotlesse Birds
(As if they vnderstood the power of words)
To bend their stately necks doe straight agree, 25
And honoring the name so answer me.

Those being gone, I aske the Christall Brooke,
Since part of it (vnwillinglie) had tooke
An euerleau of that more happy place
Then pleasant Tempe which the gods did grace, 30
The streame I ask'd if when it lately left
Those daisyed banks (& grieu'd to be berefte
So sweet a Channell) you did meane to stay,
Still in that vale whence they were forc'd away.

Hereat the waue a little Murmur makes, 35
And then another waue that ouertakes,
And then a third comes on & then another,
Rowling themselves vp closelye each to other
(As little lads to know their fellowes minde,
While he is talking closely steale behinde). 40
I aske them all & each like murmur keepes,
I aske another & that other weepes.

What they should meane by this, I doe not knowe,
Except the Muttrings and the teares they showe,
Be from the deare remembrance of that scite, 45
Where when they left you they forsooke delight.

That this the Cause was, I perceiued plaine,
For going thence I thither came againe,
What time it had bin flood a pretty while,
And then the dimpled Waters seem'd to smile, 50
As if they did reioice & were full faine
That they were turning back to Mole againe.

In such like thoughts I spend the tedious day,
But when the night doth our halfe Globe array
In mournfull black, I leaue the curled streame, 55

And by the kindnes of a happy dreame
 Enioy what most I wish: your selfe & such
 Whose worth, whose loue, could I as highly touch
 As I conceiue, some houres should still be spent,
 To raise your more then earthly Monument. 60
 In sleepe I walke with you, and doe obtayne
 A seeming Conf'rence, but, alas, what paine
 Endures that man which euermore is taking
 His ioyes in sleepe & is most wretched waking?
 To make me happy then, be you my Sun, 65
 And with your presence cleere all clouds begun;
 My Mists of Melancholy will outweare,
 By your appearing in our Hemispheare,
 Till which within a vale as full of woe,
 As I haue euer sung or eye can knowe, 70
 Or you can but imagine, reading this,
 Intralled lyes the heart of him that is

Careles of all others loue
 without your respect.

From an Inner Temple WB
 then the Inner Temple
 May the third 1615

2. *Beachworth*] Hazlitt and Goodwin explain this name as an allusion to Beachworth Castle in Surrey. According to the family tree in the British Library Harley MS 6164, this was the original seat of the Browne family. Its occupant in 1615 was Sir Matthew Browne. Moorman, on the basis of this allusion, speculates that Browne may have been courting Sir Matthew's daughter, Jane.

5. *The heauens ...Suns*] proverbial, see Tilley S992: 'Two Suns cannot shine in one sphere'.

15-17. *Soe louying ...To walke*] Browne also refers to the story of Hero and Leander - newly familiar from Chapman's translation of Musaeus as well as Marlowe's unfinished epyllion and Chapman's continuation - in *Britannias Pastorals* I.1.432. Daniel compares his narrator to Leander and Delia to Hero in *Delia* 38. Neither Marlowe nor Chapman describes Hero walking on the strand.

18. *Isis*] The Thames, especially at Oxford. Browne also refers to the Isis in his poem 'Ye merry birds', line 22.
- 19-20. *I aske ... song*] Browne refers several times to the legend that the swan sings only before it dies, e.g. in his third 'Vision' sonnet.
21. *Mole*] Mole is a river in Devonshire (see Westcote, *View of Devonshire*, pp. 276ff), and also Spenser's name, in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (lines 104-155), for the Ballyhowra Hills. The name is mentioned by Browne in his first *Vision* sonnet.
30. *Tempe*] a valley in Greece, cited e.g. in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* I. 569 and VII. 222 and 371.
50. *dimpled Waters*] Browne's epistle 'Dear soule, the time is come', attributes a 'dimple cheek' (line 21) to the waters from a spring. Compare also *Comus*, 'By dimpled brook and fountain-brim' (line 119).
62. *Conf'rence*] meeting.
67. *outweare*] wear away and disappear.
- 68-69. *a vale ... sung*] refers to the vale of woe described by Aletheia in *Britannias Pastorals* I.4 (1613).

On a dreame

Text BrW 19 (Lansdowne 777). Copy in *Britannias Pastorals* III.I.159-234.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 53-57. The *Britannias Pastorals* version was first printed in Croker's edition of *Britannias Pastorals*, Book III (1852). Goodwin, II, pp. 29-32.

Subject In the *Britannias Pastorals* text, these lines are spoken by Celadyne, Marina's neglectful lover, after he has repented of his ill-treatment of her. He has just awakened from dreaming that she has appeared to him and forgiven him.

19. Siev] net *BP*. 21. easye] easily *BP*. 25. strive] thrive *BP*.
31. those] her *BP*; saw] sees *BP*. 32. Is Adam living still] Lives, while he
lives so, still *BP*. 39. Syms] one *BP*. 48. such as these] dreams as these
BP. 56. downe with] on by *BP*. 71. nightly] hourly *BP*. 73. that]
when *BP*. 74. that we may] so shall we *BP*.

On a dreame

Vaine dreames forbeare, ye but deceiuers be.
For as in Flattering glasses women see
More beauty then possesse, so I in you,
Haue all I can desire, but nothing true.
Who would be rich, to be soe but an howre, 5
Eates a sweet fruite to rellish more the sowre?
If but to lose againe we things possesse,
Nere to be happy is a happines.
Men walking in the pitchye shades of night,
Can keepe their certeyne way, but if a light 10
Oretake & leaue them, they are blinded more,
And doubtfull goe that went secure before.
For this (though hardly) I haue ofte forborne
To see her face, Faire as the Rosye Morne;
Yet mine owne thoughts in Night such Traytors be, 15
That they betray me to that miserie.
Then thinke no more of her! As soon I may,

Command the Sun to robbe vs of a day,
 Or with a Sive repell a liquid Streame,
 As loose such thoughts or hinder but a Dreame. 20
 The lightsome Ayre as easye hinder can
 A glasse to take the forme of any man
 That stands before it, as or time or place,
 Can draw a vayle betweene me & her face.
 Yet by such thoughts my Torments howrely strive, 25
 For as a prisoner by his prospective,
 By them I am enformd of what I want,
 I envye none now but the ignorant.
 He that nere saw of whom I dream'd last night,
 Is one borne blynd that knowes no want of light. 30
 He that nere kist those lipps, yet saw her eyes,
 Is Adam living still in Paradise.
 But if he taste those sweetes (as haples I)
 He knowes his want & meets his Miserie.
 An Indian rude that neuer heard one sing, 35
 A heauenly Sonnet to a Siluer String,
 Nor other Sounds but what confused hears
 In pathles Deserts make, or brooks or Birds,
 Should he heare Syms the sweet pandora touch,
 And loose his heareing streight, he would as much 40
 Lament his knowledge as doe I my Chance,
 And wish he still had liv'd in Ignorance.
 I am that Indian, and my soothing Dreames
 In thirst haue brought me but to painted streames,
 Which not allaye but more increase desire: 45
 A man neere frozen with Decembers ire,
 Hath from a heape of Glowwormes as much ease,
 As I can euer haue by such as these.
 O Leaue me then! & strongest Memorie,
 Keepe still with those that promisebreakers be. 50

Goe! bid the Debtor mind his payment day
 Or helpe the Ignorant-Deuout to saye
 Prayers they vnderstand not; Leade the Blynde
 And bid ingratefull wretches call to mynde
 Their Benefactors! And if Vertue be 55
 (As still she is) trod downe with miserie,
 Shew her the Rich that they may free her want,
 And leaue to nurse the fawning Sycophant.
 Or if thou seest faire honor Careles lye,
 Without a Tombe for after memorye, 60
 Dwell by the Graue & teach all those that passe,
 To imitate by shewing who it was.
 This way (remembrance) thou mayst doe some good,
 And haue due thanks! but he that vnderstood
 What throes thou bringst on me would say I misse 65
 The sleepe of him that did the pale moone kisse;
 And that it were a blessing throwne on mee,
 Sometimes to haue the hated Lethargie.
 Then darke forgetfulnes (that onely art
 The friend of Lunatiques) seize on that part 70
 Of Memorie which nightly shewes her me,
 Or suffer still her wakeing Fantasie,
 Euen at the instant that I dreame of her,
 To dreame the like of me, that we may erre
 In pleasures endles Maze without offence, 75
 And both connex as soules in *Innocence*.

2. *Flattering glasses*] mirrors. In *The Steele Glas*, Gascoigne contrasts the crystal mirror, which 'shewes the thing, much better than it is', with the 'glasse of trustie Steele, / ... [which] shewes, all things in their degree'.
 5-8. Compare poem 11, 'Shall I loue againe': ''Tis knowledge that gives vigour to our woe / And not the want but losse that paines vs so' (lines 11-12).
 16. *that miserie*] the misery of realizing that his dream of seeing her was only an illusion.

18. *Command the ... day*] Possibly an allusion to the myth of Jupiter and Almena. In order to prolong his pleasure with Almena, Jupiter made the night last three times its usual length. See Apollodorus, *The Library*, vol. 1 p. 173.
19. *with a ... Streame*] a possible allusion to the myth of the Danaids, who murdered their husbands on the wedding night, and were condemned eternally to pour water into sieve-like vessels. See Horace, Ode III.11.
20. *loose*] lose.
- 21-23. *The lightsome ... it*] i.e. the air can as easily prevent a mirror from reflecting the image of a man standing in front of it.
26. *his prospective*] the view from his window.
35. *An Indian rude*] For the Indian as a symbol of what is most remote from European civilisation, compare Sir John Davies' *Of the Soule of Man and the Immortalitie thereof*: 'For not the *Christian* nor the *Jew* alone, / The *Persian*, nor the *Turke* acknowledge this; / This mysterie to the wild *Indian* knowne, / And to the *Canniball*, and *Tartar* is' (lines 1829-1832), and the implications of Othello's 'the base Indian, [who] threw a pearl away / Richer than all his tribe' (V ii 350-1).
39. *Syms*] I have been unable to trace Syms. *pandora*] also spelt 'bandora' and 'bandore': a stringed instrument like a zither.
47. *Glowwormes*] Browne also mentions the glow-worm in *A Sigh from Oxford*, line 175, and *Britannias Pastorals* (II.5.344), as a source of light too small to be useful.
- 52-53. *helpe the ... vnderstand not*] Compare Browne's derision of religious ignorance in poem 21, the epistle on the papists' bells.
66. *The sleepe ... kisse*] Endymion, lover of Phoebe, famed for his eternal sleep.
69. *darke forgetfulnes*] See poem 22, 'Caelia is gone', note to lines 19-24.
75. *pleasures endles Maze*] Browne also uses the imagery of the maze in his first sonnet to Caelia (line 8), *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia* (line 196), and his elegy on Prince Henry (lines 133-144).
76. *connex*] i.e. connect, join together. The conjunction of the speaker and Caelia in a dream will be morally irreproachable, though their bodily conjunction in the real world might not have been.

Poem 27.

A Sigh from Oxford

Text BrW 243 (Lansdowne 777)

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 57-67. Goodwin, II, pp. 201-208.

Criticism Discussed by Moorman, p. 13, Tillotson, pp. 28-29 and 37, Brown and Piva, p. 398, and Holmer, pp. 361-362, mostly with reference to the issue of dating.

Subject *A Sigh from Oxford* has been tentatively dated to 1624-5. If the biographical information of the title is to be trusted, the poem must have been written during Browne's later period of residence in Oxford, as tutor to Robert Dormer, since Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador to London mentioned in line 204, did not arrive in England until 1613, when Browne had already left Oxford for the Inns of Court. A later date is also likely given the reference in line 8 to 'the Fleet that went out last' - possibly the 1625 expedition against Cadiz - and the satirical use of diplomatic language in the last section of the poem (lines 143-212). Criticism of King James's cordiality to Spain was most intense during and immediately after the failure of the Spanish marriage negotiations in the early 1620s.

A Sigh from Oxford, premised on the development of a single conceit - the adventures and transformations of a sigh as a messenger of love - is one of Browne's most metaphysical poems. Two contemporary poems, Carew's *Prayer to the Wind*, and Habington's *To Castara, Being Debarred her Presence*, also entrust the wind with a message to their mistresses, but Browne's *Sigh* is much longer than either, and subjects its sigh to more detailed instructions and more ingenious transformations. Of the two analogues, Carew's is the closer to Browne's. *To Castara*, published in 1634 and not known to have circulated in manuscript, does not address the sigh, and is surer of the poet's relationship with his mistress (and of where she is). In the *Prayer to the Wind*, however, the speaker entrusts a sigh to the care of the wind, but is, as in Browne's poem, uncertain about where his mistress will be found. Although the *Prayer* did not appear in print until 1640, 49 manuscript copies are recorded by Beal, many occurring in volumes which also include poems by Browne. Carew's Oxford editor, Dunlap, derives the theme of the *Prayer* from Petrarch (*Rime sparse* 153: 'Ite caldi sospiri, al freddo core'), but since the two English poems are each more similar to each other than either is to Petrarch (Petrarch, for instance, says nothing of the wind) it is plausible that one of them was inspired by the other, rather than each independently imitating Petrarch. The date of Carew's *Prayer* is unknown. However, since Carew's instructions to his sigh dwell on the details of how it is to caress the mistress's body and perfume itself from her 'pure streames of Nectar' (line 16), it is tempting to read the references in Browne's poem to the lustfulness and untrustworthiness of other men's sighs (e.g. lines 63-68, 164-166,

189-196), and his insistence on the spotless chastity of his own, as a rebuke to his licentious contemporary.

Other contemporary references to the expressiveness of sighs include Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*, lines 635-637, Herbert's 'The Bag', lines 41-42, and Milton, *Paradise Lost* XI.5-8.

A Sigh from Oxford

Goe, and if thou chance to finde
(That is southwards bent) a wynde,
Take it vp on any hire,
But be sure it doe not tyre;
If with Loue-sighes mixt it bee, 5
Be secure 'twill carry thee;
Spurre it on and make more haste,
Then the Fleet that went out last.
Doe not stay to curle a Rill,
Clense a Corne or driue a Mill, 10
Nor to crispe a locke, or turne it,
Thou hast fire and so mayst burne it.
For thy lodging doe not come,
In a bag-pipe or a drumme:
In the belly of some Lute, 15
That hath strooke Apollo mute,
Or a gentle ladyes eare,
That might dreame whilst thou art there,
Of such vowes as thou dost carry.
There for one night thou mayst tarry, 20
Whisper there thy message to her,
And if she haue any woor,
In her sleepe (perhaps) she maye,
Speake what she denyes the daye,
And instruct thee to repleye, 25
To my *Caelia* more then I.

For thy lodging (the next daye)
Doe not thankelesse goe awaye,
Giue the Lute a Test of Ayre,
That a Poets sigh lay there; 30
And informe it with a soule,
Of so high diuine controule,
That whoeuer heares it next,
Shall be with a Muse perplext,
And a Lawyer shall rehearse, 35
His Demurres and pleas in verse.

In the Ladyes Lab'rinth leaue
Not a sound that may deceaue.
Driue yt thence; and after see,
Thou there leaue some part of thee, 40
By which shee maye well descry,
Any louers forgery:
For yt neuer will admit,
Ought that is not true as it.

When that Office thou hast done, 45
And the Lady lastly wonne,
Let the ayre thou leftst the Girle,
Turne a dropp and then a pearle,
Which I wish that she would weare,
For a pendant in her Eare, 50
And its vertue still shall be,
To detect all flatterie;
Could I giue Each Monarch such,
None would say I sighd too much.
When thy largesse thou hast giuen 55
(My best sigh next that for heauen)
Make not any longer stay:
Kisse thyne Hostesse and awaye.

If thou meet as thou dost stirre,

Any Sigh a Passenger, 60
 Stand vpon thy Guard and be,
 Jealous of a Robberye.
 For the Sighes that trauell now,
 Beare not so much truth as thou;
 Those may robbe thee to Supply, 65
 That defect of Constancye,
 Which their Masters left to be
 Fill'd by what was stolne from thee.
 Yet aduventure, for in Soothe,
 Few dare meddle now with truthe, 70
 Tis a Coyne that will not paye,
 For their Meat or horses haye,
 Tis cri'de downe, and such a Coyne,
 As no great Thiefe will purloyne.
 Petty-foot-sighes, thou mayst meet, 75
 From the Counter or the Fleet:
 To a Wife or Mistresse sent,
 That her Louers meanes hath spent:
 Of such ones beware, for those,
 Much spent on their Masters woes, 80
 May want of that store which thou,
 Carry'st to my *Caelia* nowe;
 And soe robbe thee, and then spend thee,
 Soe as I did nere intend thee,
 With dishonor thou shalt moue, 85
 To begg an Almes, not get a loue.
 Shun them, for they haue noe ruthe,
 And knowe that few are hang'd for Truthe.
 Naye the Lawes haue bin more briefe,
 To iayle that theft more then a thiefe. 90
 The Hue and Cry will not goe post,
 For the worth which thou hast lost.

Yet for Faith and Death betrayde,
 Countryes heretofore haue payde.
 Warye be; and fearing Losse, 95
 Like those of the *Rosy-Crosse*,
 Be not seen, but hye thee on,
 Like an Inspiration;
 And as ayre ascending hyer,
 Turnes to drops or else to fire, 100
 So when thou art neerer come,
 To my Starre and to thy Home,
 If thou meet a Sigh which she,
 Hath but coldly sent to me,
 Kisse it, for thy warmer ayre, 105
 Will dissolue into a teare,
 As the steame of Roses will,
 At the Cold top of a Still.
 Nor shalt thou be lost, her eyes,
 Haue Apollo's facultys, 110
 Their faire Rayes will worke amayne,
 And turne thee to a Sigh againe.
 What thou art yet closely shrowde,
 Rise vp like a Fleecy Clowde,
 And as thou doest so aspire, 115
 To her Element of fire,
 (Which afarre its forces darte,
 And Exhal'd thee from my heart)
 Make thyne owne shape (iust as we
 Fashion clouds by phantasie): 120
 Be a Cupid, be a Heart,
 Wounded and her rayes the dart;
 Haue a Chasma too and there,
 Only let our vowes appeare.
 Lastly I would wish thee be, 125

Such a Clowd resembling me,
That Ixion-like she might
Claspe thee with his appetite,
Yet more temperate and Chaste.
And whilst thou art so imbrac't, 130
And afforded some sweet sippes,
From her Muse-inspiring lipps,
Vanish! and then slip by Art,
Through those Rubyes to her heart.

Wynde yt round, and let yt be 135
Thoughtles of all Earth but mee.
Grow acquainted with that ayre,
Which doth to her heart repayre,
And so temper and so blysse it,
And so fanne yt and so kysse yt, 140
That the new borne Rose may be,
Not so truely Chast as she.

With that Regent from that howre,
Lieger lye Embassadour,
Keepe our truce vnbroke, preferre 145
All the suites I send to her;
Get Dyspatches that may stand,
With the good of either hand,
Soe that thou be bold and true,
Neuer feare what may Ensue. 150
For there is noe pollicy
Like to that of Honesty.

Gett into her Mynion thought,
Howsoeuer dearely bought,
And procure that she dispence 155
To transport some kisses thence.
These are Rarityes and deare,
For like hers I meet none heere.

This thy Charge is; then begonne
With thy full Commission. 160

Make her myne and cleere all doubts,
Kill each Jealousye that Sprouts,
Keepe the honor of thy place,
Let no others Sigh Disgrace
Thy iust worth, and neuer sitt, 165
To her though he brybe for it.

And when I shall call thee home,
To send another in thy roome,
Leaue these thoughts for Agents there:

First, I thinke her pure and Chaste 170
As the Ice congealed last,
Next as Iron (though it glowes)
Neuer melts but once and flowes,
So her loue will onely be
Fluent once, and that to me. 175

Lastly as the Glow-wormes might,
Neuer kindled other light,
I belieue that Fire which shee,
Haplye shewes in louing mee,
Neuer will encorage man, 180

(Though her loues *Meridian*
Heat him to it) once to dare
To mention Loue, though vnaware;
Much lesse fire a Sigh that may
Incorporate with my faire Raye. 185

I haue read of two erewhile
Enemyes, burnt in one pyle,
That their flames would neuer kisse,
But made a Seuerall Pyramis:
Lett all Sighes that come to thee, 190
By thy loue inlightned be,

If they ioyne, and make one flame,
 Be secure from me they came;
 If they seperate, beware,
 There is Craft that would Ensnare. 195
 Myne are rarifyde and iust,
 Truth and loue, the others lust.
 With this charge, Farewell, and try
 What must be my destenye;
 Wooe, secure her, pleade thy due, 200
 This Sigh is not so long as true.
 And whoeuer shall enclyne,
 To send another after myne,
 Though he haue more cunning farre,
 Than the Jugler Gondimar, 205
 All his sleights and all his faults,
 Hollownesse of heart and halts,
 By thy Chaster fire will all,
 Be so wrought Diaphanall,
 She shall looke through them and see, 210
 How much he comes short of mee.
 Thou my Sigh shalt be approued,
 And kisse that heart whome I haue loued.

8. *Fleet that ...last*] Hazlitt, followed by Goodwin, suggests that this may have been the fleet sent by James against the Algerian pirates, in 1620, under the command of Sir Robert Mansel. Mansel and his ships were at sea from October 1620 to August 1621. Another possibility mentioned by Goodwin is the expedition against Cadiz, in 1625. Given the anti-Spanish reference to the 'Jugler Gondimar' (line 204), the latter is more likely.

9. *Rill*] a small stream.

10. *Clense a Corne*] thresh corn.

22. *woor*] i.e. wooer.

29. *Giue the ...Ayre*] i.e. blow across its strings, to sound a note.

37. *Ladyes Lab'rinth*] Compare the use of the image of the maze in the final stanza of the elegy on Prince Henry, and the 'maze of love' in *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia*, line 196.

- 47-48. *Let the ... pearle*] i.e. let the air of the sigh condense into liquid, and solidify into pearl.
- 53-54. *Could I ... much*] Compare Browne's censure of the vulnerability of monarchs to flattery in *Britannias Pastorals* II.1.825-884.
- 63-74, 87-94. Compare Browne's allegory of truth in the story of Aletheia, *Britannias Pastorals*, I.4. His pessimism about contemporary England is pervasive.
75. *Petty-foot-sighes*] inferior sighs, which travel by foot (not on the wind).
76. *Counter*] a debtor's prison. *Fleet*] a London prison.
91. *The Hue and Cry*] a loud clamour, calling for the capture of a criminal. *post*] i.e. very quickly. Compare Remond's comments on female flirtatiousness in *Britannia's Pastorals* I.1.573: 'She follow'd, flies; she fled from, follows post'.
95. *Losse*] perhaps, in this case, 'discovery'.
96. *those of the Rosy-Crosse*] the Rosicrucians, an occult society, whose members were said to claim various kinds of secret and magic knowledge, including the transmutation of metals, the prolongation of life, and power over the elements and elemental spirits. The society is said to have been launched by an anonymous pamphlet of 1614, which attributed miraculous powers to a (mythical) 15th century knight, Christian Rosenkreuz. The first reference in *OED* is from Scott's *Vox Dei*, 1624 ('The bretheren of the invisible order of the Rosicru[ci]ants'), i.e. approximately contemporary with *A Sigh from Oxford*. For Browne, so heavily influenced by Spenser, 'Rosy-Crosse' might also have been reminiscent of the Red Crosse knight, the titular hero of *The Faerie Queene*, book 1.
97. *hye thee on*] make haste.
98. *Inspiration*] perhaps 'breath'.
- 99-100. *And as ... fire*] either by condensing into liquid, or by ascending into the fiery region (compare line 116). See Lewis, *The Discarded Image*, pp. 95-96.
- 105-108. Alludes to the process by which rosewater is distilled from roses. Compare Donne's elegy, *The Comparison*: 'As the sweet sweat of Roses in a Still' (line 1).
110. *Apollo's facultys*] i.e. they perform the function of Phoebus Apollo, the sun-god.
114. *Fleecy Clowde*] Comparisons to fleece also occur in *Britannias Pastorals* I.1.624 ('fleecy train'), *One a faire Ladyes yellow haire*, line 8, and *On one drown'd in the Snowe*, line 1.
116. *her Element of fire*] The highest sublunary sphere. See lines 99-100, and note. Compare also Cleopatra: 'I am fire and air; my other elements / I give to baser life' (*Antony and Cleopatra* V ii 287-288).
123. *Chasma*] Latin for 'chasm', used in this unchanged form in the 16th and early 17th centuries.
- 127-129. In classical myth, Ixion, who had attempted to seduce Hera, was deceived into embracing a cloud shaped into her likeness by Zeus.
136. *of all Earth*] i.e. of anything in the element of earth, the planet and all its inhabitants.
144. *Lieger*] Also spelt 'ligier', 'legier', 'lidger', 'leiger', 'ledger': a resident ambassador. Browne's sardonic use of diplomatic vocabulary and imagery in the

subsequent lines may represent disapproval of the cordial diplomatic relations between Jacobean England and Spain.

145. *preferre*] recommend.

147. *Dyspatches*] official written messages on state or military matters.

151. *pollicy*] Both the more neutral 'course of action' and the Machiavellian sense of expedient dissimulation were current in the period. Given Browne's low opinion of the Jacobean government, the latter sense is more likely, in the context of diplomacy.

153. *Mynion*] intimate.

165-166. *sitt / To her*] Perhaps 'distress' (*OED* 15a).

166. *he*] i.e. the 'other' of line 164,

169. This line has no rhyming pair, though there is no apparent hiatus in the text.

171. *congealed*] frozen, compare *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia*, line 33.

176. *Glow-wormes*] also mentioned in *Britannias Pastorals* II.5.344, and poem 26, *On a dreame*, line 47, as a source of heat or light too small to be useful.

181. Meridian] its highest altitude.

186-189. The 'erewhile Enemies' are Eteocles and Polynices. The story appears in Statius's *Thebaid*, 12:429-431. It is also mentioned by Dante, in the *Inferno* 26:52-54.

196. *rarefyde*] purified.

205. *Jugler*] trickster. *Gondimar*] Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, conde de Gondomar (1567-1626) was the Spanish ambassador to London from 1613-18 and 1620-22. Unpopular in England, he was widely accused of deceiving James in the protracted negotiations for Prince Charles's marriage to the Infanta.

Middleton's controversial play *A Game at Chess* (1625) represents him as the Black Knight, the master-manipulator intent on furthering Catholic interests at court, preferably by treacherous means. The third book of Browne's *Britannias Pastorals* includes a satire on a Spanish grandee, which may refer to Gondomar.

209. *Diaphanall*] i.e. Diaphanous - transparent.

Poem 28.

An Epistle throwne into a Riuer

Text BrW 43 (Lansdowne 777). One other manuscript extant (BrW 44, Rosenbach MS).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 93-94. Goodwin, II, pp.232-233.

An Epistle throwne into
a Riuer in a ball of Wax

Goe, gentle paper, happy (happier farre
Then he that sends thee) with this character.
Goe, view those blessed Banks enriched by
A faire but faithles Maidens company,
And if Consorted with my teares of bryne, 5
Which (Gentle floud) add waues to those of thyne,
Thou chance to touch the Sand in thy progression,
Made valuable by her Stepps impression:
Stay, stay, thy Course and, fortunate from danger,
Dwell there where my ill Fate makes me a Stranger. 10
If, faithfull Paper, which holdst nought of Art,
Thou Come into her hands who kyls my Heart,
And she demand thee how I spend my howres,
Tell her, O tell her! how in gloomy bowers,
In Cauernes yet vnknowne euen to the Sun, 15
And places free from all Confusion
Except my thoughts, there sit I girt with feares,
Where day and night I turne my selfe to teares,
Onelye to wash awaye that stayne which shee,
Hath (carelesse) throwne vpon her Constancye. 20
And if (towchd with repentance) she bedewe
Thee with some Christall drops, I would she knewe
Her Sorrowes, or the breakyng of the dart,

Heales not her wounded faith, nor my slaine Hart.
 And my iust Griefes (of all redresse bereauen) 25
 Shall euer witnes before men and heauen,
 That as she is the fair'st and most vntrue,
 Of those that euer man or read or knewe,
 So am I the most constant without mate,
 Of all that breathes, And most affectionate, 30
 Although assur'd that nor my Loue nor Faith,
 Shall reape one Joye but by the hand of death.

2. *with this character*] with this message written on it.

11. *Art*] deception.

15. *Cauernes yet ... Sun*] Compare the 'Deep, hollow hideous' cave into which Celadyne follows the forlorn shepherd, in *Britannias Pastorals* III.1.285ff.

Fido: An Epistle to Fidelity

Text BrW 54 (Lansdowne 777). In Lansdowne 777 the poem *In urbem Romam qualis est hodie* is inserted between lines 130-131, on a new folio. *Fido* resumes on the verso of this sheet.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 132-143. Goodwin, II, pp. 237-245.

Criticism *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelity* is discussed by O'Callaghan (p. 320), who describes it as an answer to Wither's *Fidelity*. Grundy, quoting lines 137-141 and 145, describes the poem as 'a protest against the charges of imitation or plagiarism which had evidently been brought against him after the publication of Book I of the *Pastorals*' (p. 143). No direct evidence supports this conjectural interpretation. Tillotson, describing the poem as 'sustained, distinguished, almost brilliant poem', notes the similarity between lines 202 and 210, and line 10 of poem 16, 'Deare soule, the time has come' (pp. 30-33, 70-71).

Subject Following the treatment of female infidelity in the *Epistle throwne into a Riuer in a ball of Wax*, *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelity* is voiced by a man who claims to have been falsely accused of a breach of faith. His self-defence begins with his name: 'Fido', Latin for 'I trust'. (One of the heroines of Britannias *Pastorals* is called 'Fida'.) 'Fidelity', in this context, may mean 'she who is (or was) trusted'. As O'Callaghan and others have pointed out, Browne's friend George Wither published a poem called *Fidelity* in 1622, in which the eponymous lady is described as 'a discreet and constant Woman', and the recipient of her letter, 'her vnconstant Friend', is accused of wooing and then abandoning her. Since Browne and Wither had collaborated in 1614 on *The Shepherdes Pipe*, it is tempting to hypothesize a connection between these two poems: to read *Fido* (as O'Callaghan does) as an answer-poem, a rebuttal of *Fidelity*'s accusations. However, the charges against which Browne's *Fido* appears to be defending himself do not tally exactly with the allegations in *Fidelity*. The main complaint of Wither's heroine is that her lover has forsaken and betrayed her. She does not suggest that he has used 'borrowed phrases' to woo her, which is the charge which *Fido* is at greatest pains to deny. There is no response in Browne's poem to the defence of virginity and the impassioned attack on the role of parents in determining their children's lives, voiced in *Fidelity*; similarly there is no warrant in Wither for Browne's references to *The Faerie Queene*. Browne may have been inspired by Wither's poem to write on fidelity from a male point of view, but *Fido*'s epistle is not a direct reply to Wither's *Fidelity*.

147. flame] *editorial emendation*, flames BrW 54.

Fido: An Epistle to Fidelity

Sitting one day beside a Silver Brooke,
Whose sleepy waues vnwillingly forsooke
The strict embraces of the flowry shore,
As loath to leaue what they should see no more:
I read (as Fate had turned yt to my hand) 5
Among the famous Layes of Faerie Land,
Boelphoebes fond mistrust when as she mett
Her gentle Squire with Louely Amorett;
And laying by the booke, Poore lad, quoth I,
Must all thy ioyes like Eues posterity 10
Receiue a doome not to be changd by Suite,
Onely for tasting the forbidden fruite?
Had faire Belphoebe licensd thee some tyme
To kysse her cherry lipp, thou didst a Cryme.
But since she for thy thirst noe help would bring, 15
Thou lawfully mightst seeke another Spring.
And had those kisses stolne bin melting Sipp,
Tane by consent from Amoretts sweet lipps,
Thou mightst haue Answerd, if thy loue had spyde,
How others gladly gaue what she denyde. 20
But since they were not such, yt did approue
A Jelousie not meritinge thy loue,
And an Iniustice offered by the mayde,
In giuing Judgment ere she hearde thee pleade.
I haue a Loue (and then I thought of you, 25
As heauen can witnesse I each Minute doe)
Soe well assurd of that once promised faith,
Which my unmoued Loue still Cherrisheth,
That should she see me priuate with a dame,
Faire as her selfe and of a howse whose Name 30
From Phoebus rise to Tagus where he setts,

Hath bin as famous as Plantagenetts;
 Whose eyes would thawe congealed harts of Ice,
 And as we now dispute of Paradise,
 And question where Faire Eden stood of olde, 35
 Among so many sweet plots we beholde
 Which by the Armes of those braue Ryuers bin
 Imbraced which of yore did keepe it in:
 So were she one who did so much abounde
 In Graces more than euer Mortall Crownde, 40
 That yt might fitly for a question passe,
 Where or wherein her most of beauty was.
 I surely could belieue, Nay I durst Sweare,
 That your sweet Goodnesse would not stoope to feare:
 Though she might be (to any that should wyn it), 45
 A Paradise without a Serpent in yt.

Such were my thoughts of you, and thynking soe,
 Much lyke a man who running in the Snowe,
 From the Surprisall of a Murd'rous Elfe,
 Beates out a Path and so betrayes himselfe. 50
 I in Securitie was further gone,
 And made a Path for your Suspition
 To finde me out: Tyme being nigh the same,
 When thus I thought and when your letters came.

But oh how farre I err'd, how much deceiu'd 55
 Was my beliefe; your selfe that haue bereau'd
 Me of that Confidence my loue had got,
 Judge if I were an Infidell or not;
 And let me tell you, Faire, the Fault was thyne,
 If I did misbelieue and none of myne. 60

That man which sees as he along doth passe,
 Some beaten way, a piece of sparcklyng glasse,
 And deemes far of that yt a Dyamond is,
 Adds to the Glasse by such a thought of his.

But when he findes it wants, to quitt his payne, 65
The value soone returnes to him agayne.

If in the ruder North some Country Clowne,
That stands to see the kyng ryde through the Towne,
Spyeing some gaye & gold belaced thyng,
Should cry, See Neighbors, yonder comes the kyng! 70

And much mistaken both in state and age,
Points at some Lord, and for a Lord a Page.
Is not that Lord or Page beholding much
To him that thynkes them worthy to be such
He tooke them for? And are not you to me, 75
Endebted much, since my Credulytie

Made you the same I thought you? and from thence
Raisd an assurance of your Confidence?

These were the thoughts of you I still was in,
Nor shall your Letters so much of me wyne, 80
I will not trust myne eyes so much to thynke,
Your white hand wrote with such a stayning inke;

Or if I euer take yt for your hand,
I sure shall thincke I doe not vnderstand
In reading as you meant, and fall from thence, 85
To doubt if points peruerted not the Sence.

For such a constant faith I haue in thee,
That I would dye euen in that heresy.

In this beliefe of you I stand as yet,
And think, as those that followe *Mahomet*, 90
He merrits much that dothe Continue still,
In his first faith, although that faith be ill.

A vaine inconstant dame that counts her loues,
By this Enamelld Ring, that paire of Gloues,
And with her Chamber-mayde, when closely set, 95
Turning her Letters in her Cabinnett,
Makes knowne what Tokens haue byn sent vnto her,

What man did bluntly; who did courtly wooe her,
 Whoe hath the best face, neatest legg, most Lands,
 Whoe for his Carriage in her fauour stands, 100
 Op'ning a Paper then she showes her wytt,
 On an Epistle that some foole had wrytt,
 Then meeting with another which she lykes,
 Her Chambermayds great readyng quickly strykes
 That good opynion dead, and sweares that this 105
 Was stolne from Palmerin or Amadis.
 Next come her Sonnetts which they spelling reade,
 And say the man was very much afrayde
 To haue his meaning knowne, since they from thence
 (Saue Cupids darts) can picke no iot of sence. 110
 And in conclusion, with discretion small,
 Scoffe thys, scorne that, and so abuse them all.
 If I had thought you such an empty prise,
 I had not sought now to Apologize.
 Nor had these Lynes the virgin paper staynde, 115
 But (as my Loue) vnspotted had remaynde.
 And sure I thinke to what I am about,
 My inke then it was wont goes slower out,
 As if it told me I but vaygely writt
 To her that should, but will not, creddytt it. 120
 Yet goe, ye hopeles Lines: and tell that faire,
 Whose flaxen tresses with the wanton ayre
 Intrappe the darling Boy that dailye flyes
 To see his sweet face in her sweeter eyes,
 Tell my Fidelia if she doe auerre, 125
 That I with borrowed phrases courted her,
 Or sung to her the layes of other men,
 And lyke the cag'd Thrush of a Cittizen
 Tyrd with a Note (contynually sung ore)
 The eares of one that knew that all before: 130

If thus she thinke (as I shall nere be wonne,
 Once to imagine she hath truly done)
 Let her then know (though now a many be
 Parrots which speake the tongue of Arcadye
 Yet in themselues not so much Language knowe 135
 Nor wit sufficient for a Lord Maiors showe)
 I neuer yet but scorn'd a tast to bring,
 Out of the Channell when I saw the Spring;
 Or like a silent Organ been so weake,
 That others fingers taught me how to speake. 140
 The sacred Nyne (whose powrefull songs haue made
 In wayles deserts trees of mighty shade
 To bend in admiracion, & alayde
 The wrath of Tigers with the notes they plaide)
 Were kind in some small measure at my birth, 145
 And by the hand of Nature to my Earth,
 Lent their Eternall heat by whose bright flame,
 Succeeding time shall read & know your name,
 And pine in envye of your praises writ,
 Though now your brightnes strive to lessen it. 150
 Thus haue I done, & like an Artist spent
 My dayes to build anothers Monument;
 Yet you those paines so Careles ouerslip,
 That I am not allowed the workmanship.
 Some haue done lesse, and have been more rewarded; 155
 None hath lov'd more, and hath bin lesse regarded.
 Yet the poore silkenworme & onely I
 Like parallells run on to worke & dye.
 Why write I then againe, since she will thinke
 My heart is limned with anothers inke. 160
 Or if she deeme these lines had birth from me,
 Perhaps will thinke they but deceiuers be.
 And as our flattering painters doe impart,

A faire made copy of a faithles heart,
 O my Fidelia, if thou canst be wonne, 165
 From that mistrust my absence hath begun,
 Be now converted, kill those iealous feares,
 Creddit my lines, if not believe my teares,
 Which with each word, nay euery letter, stroue,
 That in their number you might read my love; 170
 And where (for one distracted needs must misse)
 My language not enough perswasive is,
 Be that supplied with what each eye affords,
 For teares haue often had the powre of words.
 Grant this, faire saint, since their distilling rayne, 175
 Permits me not to read it ore againe.
 For as a Swan more white then Alpine snow,
 Wandring vpon the sands of siluer Po,
 Hath his impression by a fuller sea,
 Not made so soone as quickly washt awaye, 180
 Such in my writeing now the state hath been;
 For scarce my pen goes of the inke yet green,
 But floods of teares fall on it in such store,
 That I perceiue not what I writt before.
 Can any man do thus, yet that man be 185
 Without the fire of Loue and Loialtie?
 Know then, in breach of Natures constant Lawes,
 There may be an effect and yet no cause.
 Without the Sun we may haue Aprill showers,
 And wanting moysture know no want of flowers. 190
 Causeles the Elements could cease to warr;
 The seamans needle to the Northern starr
 Without the Loadstone would for ever move,
 If all these teares can be, and yet no love.
 If you still deeme I onely am the Man, 195
 Which in the Maze of Loue yet never ranne,

Or if In love I surely did persue,
 The Fauour of some other not of you,
 Or loving you would not be strictly tyde,
 To you alone but sought a saint beside, 200
 Know then, by all the vertues we inthroned,
 That I haue lov'd, lov'd you & you alone.
 Read ore my lines where truthfull passion mov'd,
 And Hate it selfe will say that I have lov'd.
 Thinke on my vowes, which have been ever true, 205
 And know by them that I affected you.
 Recount my tryalls, & they will impart
 That none is partner with you in my heart.
 Lines, vowes & tryalls will conclude in one,
 That I haue lov'd, lov'd you & you alone. 210
 Lines, seeke no more then to that doubtfull faire,
 And ye my Vowes for euer more forbear;
 Trialls to her proue never true againe,
 Since Lines, vowes, tryalls striue all but in vaine.
 Yet when I writt, the ready tongue of Truth, 215
 Did euer dictate, not deceiuing youth.
 When I have sworn my tongue did never erre,
 To be my harts most true interpreter;
 And profe confirm'd when you examin'd both,
 Love caused those lines and Constancy that Oath. 220
 And shall I write, protest (you proue) & then,
 Be left the most vnfortunate of men?
 Must truth be still neglected, Faith forgot,
 And Constancy esteem'd as what is not?
 Shall deare Regard & Love for euer be 225
 Wrongd with the name of lust & flatterie?
 It must for this your last suspicion tells,
 That you intend to worke noe miracles.

1. *Sittyng one ... Brooke*] Compare Browne's *Visions* poems (and their model, Spenser's *Visions of the Worldes Vanitie*), which begin with the narrator seated beside a river.
6. *the famous ... Land*] Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.
- 7-8. See *The Faerie Queene* IV vii. Belpheobe, the virgin huntress, rejects the service of her 'gentle Squire', Timias (a figure for Raleigh in Spenser's historical allegory), after finding him kissing Amoret. *fond*] foolish.
- 10-11. *like Eues ... Suite*] Genesis 3:16. Protestant theology was especially insistent that no action available to humanity was sufficient to deliver Eve's descendents from this curse.
11. *Suite*] introduces a series of legal terms ('licensd', line 13, 'lawfully', line 16, 'pleade', line 24).
23. *A Jelousie ... loue*] jealousy which the sincerity of your love did not deserve.
27. *that once promised faith*] i. e. a specific promise, 'Which my unmoued Loue still Cherrisheth' (line 28).
29. *priuete*] secluded from public view.
30. *howse*] a noble family.
31. *From Phoebus ... setts*] i.e. from the extreme east to Portugal, the most westerly country in continental Europe. Browne refers frequently to the river Tagus in *Britannia's Pastorals* (e.g. I.2.290, I.4.386, II.1.619, II.2.514).
32. *Plantagenetts*] the name of the English royal dynasty from the accession of Henry II in 1154 to the death of Richard III in 1485. The Houses of Lancaster and York were branches of the Plantagenets.
33. *congealed harts of Ice*] compare *A Sigh from Oxford*, lines 170-171.
- 34-35. *as we ... olde*] e.g. Andrew Willet, in his *Hexapla in Genesin: That is, a Sixfold Commentary upon Genesis* (1605) summarizes and adjudicates between the opinions of previous commentators on the location of Paradise. See Arnold Williams, *The Common Expositor: An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis, 1527-33*.
36. *sweet plots*] possible locations of Eden.
37. *those braue Ryuers*] according to Genesis, the four rivers of Paradise were Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel and Euphrates (2.11-14).
- 48-53. Compare Browne's epitaph *On one drown'd in the Snowe*, where the traces of the dead body in the snow are visible to all the passers-by.
49. *a Murd'rous Elfe*] For the malevolence popularly ascribed to elves, see Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 724-725.
51. *Securitie*] a culpable absence of anxiety.
- 61 ff. Compare the discussion in *Troilus and Cressida* II ii on the appropriate criteria for ascribing value.
64. *Adds to ... his*] i.e. his thoughts increase the value of the glass.
66. *The value ... agayne*] i.e. he stops over-valuing the glass.
67. *the ruder North*] This reads like a contemporary allusion, perhaps to King James's journey from Edinburgh to London in 1603, or his return to Scotland in 1617, but I have been unable to trace it. *Country Clowne*] ignorant countryman.

81-82. Compare Browne's description of the contrasting white paper and black ink in *Britannias Pastorals* I.5.75-78: 'My blubb'ring pen her sable tears lets fall / In characters right hierographical, / And mixing with my tears are ready turning / My late white paper to a weed of mourning'.

84-86. See Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 108, for a discussion of the misunderstandings allowed by the ambiguities of 16-17th century punctuation. In Marlowe's *Edward II*, V iv, Mortimer exploits just such an ambiguity to order the murder of the king.

90-92. That is, there is merit in fidelity to the Moslem faith, though the faith itself is false.

95ff. Compare the more complimentary portrayals of mistress-maid discussions in contemporary drama, e.g. *The Merchant of Venice* I ii and *Two Gentlemen of Verona* I ii.

106. *Palmerin or Amadis*] The *Palmerin* chivalric romances, from Portugal, and the Spanish or Portuguese *Amadis* were both translated into English by Anthony Munday (the latter dedicated to Susan, Countess of Montgomery), and proved very popular. The chambermaid in Thomas Overbury's *Characters* 'reads Greenes works ouer and ouer, but is so carried away with *the Myrrhour of Knighthood*, she is many times resolu'd to run out of her selfe, and become a Lady Errant'. Ascham, among others, warned of the deleterious moral effect of romances on young people (*The Schoolmaster*, pp. 68-69). As Joan Grundy has demonstrated, Browne himself was heavily influenced by Italian romances ('William Browne and the Italian Pastoral').

107. *spelling*] reading letter by letter, slowly and with difficulty.

115. *the virgin paper*] compare *Britannias Pastorals* II.5.388: 'the virgin parchment'.

116. (*as my Loue*) *vnsported*] with a double meaning: as undiminished as the speaker's love for Fidelity, and as intact as Fidelity's virginity.

119. *vaygely*] pointlessly.

123-124. Compare the sonnet commonplace (e.g. *Astrophil and Stella* 7, 11) of Cupid's appearance in the mistress's eyes. In poem 8, *One a faire Ladyes yellow haire*, Browne refers to 'a thousand Cupids born / And playing in each eye' (lines 9-10).

128-30. Sympathy for caged birds is expressed in Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* III ii, and Chaucer's *Manciple's Tale*, lines 163-174. Boethius refers to the effect of captivity on the song of a wild bird.

134. *the tongue of Arcadye*] the language of pastoral poetry (as in Sidney's or Sannazaro's *Arcadia*).

136. *wit sufficient ... showe*] i.e. not very much at all. The annual Lord Mayor's Show, in London, is held on the second Saturday in November. Pace Browne, the Jacobean Lord Mayor's Shows were notable for their wit and intellectual ambition (D. J. Gordon comments on their 'increasingly esoteric imagery', *The Renaissance Imagination*, p. 14). Munday, Dekker, Webster, Middleton and Heywood, among others, were involved in their design, following sources as diverse as Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*, Ripa's *Iconologia* and Jonson's *Hymenaei*. See David Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642*.

141. *The sacred Nyne*] i.e. the Muses.

141-44. that is, as Orpheus was said to have tamed the tigers (e.g. by Horace, *Art of Poetry*, line 393). Compare the reference in poem 7, 'Loue when I mett her first', to 'one whose Songs would make a Tyger tame' (line 12).

142. *wayles*] i.e. wayless.

148. *Succeeding time ... name*] Compare the insistence of Renaissance poetry, notably sonnets, on the ability of poetry to confer immortality (e.g. *Amoretti* 75 and Shakespeare's sonnets, *passim*). Ironically, however, Browne's *Fido*, like Shakespeare's sonnets, fails to disclose the identity of its subject.

154. *I am ... workmanship*] I am not given credit for my own works.

157. *silkenworme*] See note to *Lidford Journey*, lines 53-54, for Browne's references to the silkworm.

158. *Like parallells*] like each other. *run on to worke & dye*] Moffet, in *The Silkwormes and Their Flies* stresses how closely the silkworm's death follows the end of its work: 'Nay those that longest here do work and dwell, / Liue but a while, to end their threed renownd, / For I haue seene, and you may see it well, / After that once their bottoms are begunne, / Not one suruiues to see the tenth dayes sunne' (f. 61).

160. *limned*] painted.

163-164. As Lucy Gent shows, painting was conventionally agreed to be a deceiving art (*Picture and Poetry 1560-1620*, pp. 43-44).

169-170. Perhaps an allusion to the sophisticated numerological structures of many Renaissance poems (see Alastair Fowler, *Triumphal Forms*), or simply to the process of metrical composition.

174. Compare the equation of tears and words in 'Vnhappy Muse that nothing pleasest me'.

187-188. Suggesting a contradiction of the proverb 'Remove the cause and the effect will cease' (Tilley C202), as in *The Faerie Queene* VI vi 14.3-4: 'For when the cause, whence euill doth arize, / Remoued is, th'effect surceaseth still'.

191. *the Elements ... warr*] Spenser gives an approximately Neo-Platonic account of the warring elements in the *Hymne in Honoure of Loue* (lines 78-84).

193. *Loadstone*] magnet.

196. *the Maze of Loue*] compare 'pleasures endles Maze' in which the poet dreams of meeting his beloved in *On a dreame* (line 75): also the physical maze in which Rosamund is hidden by her lover, King Henry, in Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*, and E.K.'s explanation of the unknown poet's emphasis on love in *The Shepheardes Calender*: 'his unstayed yougth had long wandred in the common Labyrinth of Love' (*Shorter Poems*, p. 19).

202. *That I ... alone*] Repeated below, line 210; see also the epistle 'Deare soule the time is come', line 10.

223-226. Compare *Astrophil and Stella* 31, 10-14: 'Is constant love deemed there but want of wit? / Are Beauties there as proud as here they be? / Do they above love to be loved, and yet / Those lovers scorn whom that love doth possess? / Do they call virtue there ungratefulness?'

Poem 30.

One Rome as it is Nowe

Text BrW 179 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 52. Goodwin, II, p. 301.

Subject *On Rome as it is Nowe* translates *In urbem Romam qualis est hodie* (also transcribed in Lansdowne 777, see below), a neo-Latin poem by Janus Vitalis, a priest from Palermo, Sicily, who died in Rome, c. 1560. Vitalis's epigram, first printed in *Iani Vitalis Panormitani sacrosancta Romanae Ecclesiae Elogia* (Rome, 1553), was frequently reprinted and inspired numerous translations and imitations in several European languages during the century after this first publication. Malcolm Smith, in 'Looking for Rome in Rome: Janus Vitalis and his disciples', cites versions in Latin, French, English and Polish, including the third sonnet of Du Bellay's *Antiquitez de Rome*, Spenser's translation of Du Bellay, and a translation of the original Vitalis by Thomas Heywood (included in *The Hierarchie of the blessed Angells*, 1635), as well as Browne's version. According to Smith, Browne's Latin text and English translation follow Franciscus Sweertius's edition (in *Selectae Christianae Orbis Deliciae*, Cologne, 1625), with a few variants. By itself, the transcription of Sweertius's Latin text in Lansdowne 777 does not prove that Browne used that edition, since the scribe who produced the manuscript could have checked his manuscript copy against any of the printed texts. Only a few words and differences in word order distinguish the Sweertius from its copy-text, the Venice edition of 1554, but one variant line provides evidence that Browne's translation derives from the later version. Browne's line 9, 'Now conqu'ring Rome doth conquerd Rome interre', is closer to Sweertius's 'Nunc victa in Roma, victrix Roma illa sepulta est' ('Now conquered in Rome, Rome the conqueror is buried') than the Venice edition's 'Nunc victa in Roma, Roma illa invicta sepulta est' ('Now conquered in Rome, that unconquered Rome is buried'). However, Smith was apparently unaware that Vitalis's poem had also been included in some copies of an earlier edition of *Selectae Christianae Orbis Deliciae*, in 1608 and a difference of 3 words in the titles indicates that it was this 1608 text which was used by Browne. The 1608 edition heads the poem: 'IN EANDEM [i.e., Romam] / QUALIS EST HODIE / IANVS VITALIS PANORMITANVS'. 1625 omits 'QUALIS EST HODIE'. In Lansdowne 777, this poem on the transience of human achievements is followed by Browne's elegies and epitaphs.

One Rome as it is
Nowe

Thou who to looke for Rome to Rome art come,
And in the midst of Rome findst nought of Rome,
Behold her heapes of walls, her structures rent,
Her Theaters orewhelmd of vast extent,
Those nowe are Rome. See how those Ruynes frowne, 5
And speak the threats yet of so braue a towne.
By Rome (as once the world) is Rome o'recome,
Least ought on Earth should not be quelld by Rome.
Now conqu'ring Rome doth conquerd Rome interre,
And she the vanquisht is and vanquisher. 10
To show vs where she stood there rests alone
Tiber, yet that too hastens to be gone.
Learne hence what fortune can: Townes glyde away,
And Rivers which are still in motion, stay.

In Lansdowne 777, Vitalis's *In urbem Romam qualis est hodie* is inserted (uncredited) between lines 130-131 of *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia*, on a new folio. *Fido* continues on the verso of this sheet. This copy of *In urbem Romam* follows the text as given in Franciscus Sweertius's anthology *Selectae christianae orbis Deliciae ex Urbibus, Templis, Bibliothecis, et aliunde* (Cologne, 1608), with a few variants, listed below. It was first printed with *On Rome as it is Nowe* by Goodwin, II, pp. 300-301. However, Goodwin's note (II, p. 351), which claims that Vitalis's text is a translation of Du Bellay's 'Nouveau venu', from the *Antiquitez de Rome*, is incorrect and misleading.

In urbem Romam qualis est hodie] *In eandem* [i.e. Romam] *qualis est hodie*
Janus Vitalis Panormitanvs Sweertius. 6. spirant] spirent *Sweertius*. 11.
nunc restat] restat nunc *Sweertius*.

In urbem Romam qualis est hodie

Qui Romam in media quaeris nouus aduena Roma

Et Romae in Roma nil reperis media

Aspice murorum moles preruptaque Saxa

Obruptaque horrenti vasta theatra situ
Haec sunt Roma. Viden' velut ipsa cadauera tantae 5
Urbis adhuc spirant imperiosa minas
Vicit ut haec mundum visa est se vincere: vicit
A se non victum ne quid in orbe foret
Nunc victa in Roma, victrix Roma illa sepulta est
Atque eadem victrix victaque Roma fuit 10
Albula Romani nunc restat in nominis index
Quoque etiam rapidis fertur in aequor aquis
Disce hinc quid possit Fortuna: immota labascunt
Et quae perpetua sunt agitata manent.

An Epiced on Mr Fishbourne

Text BrW 39 (Lansdowne 777). The marginal notes are as in Lansdowne 777.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp.106-110. Goodwin, II, pp. 258-61.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Tillotson, p. 30 and O'Callaghan, pp. 317-318.

Subject 'Mr Fishbourne', a London benefactor, also inspired elegies by Robert Gomersall and William Strode. Strode's editor, Bertram Dobell, records: 'Richard Fishburne, a wealthy cloth merchant, died in 1625, leaving by his will a great part of his fortune for the benefit of the poor. He left considerable sums to improve the circumstances of the poorer clergy of London. These facts I learn from a Funeral Sermon on him preached by Nat. Shute, Rector of St Mildred in the Poultry' (*The Poetical Works of William Strode*, p. 85). Margot Heinemann (*Puritanism and Theatre*, p. 126), adds that both Fishbourne and his partner, John Browne, had Puritan sympathies. In his youth, Fishbourne had been a privateer, captain of a ship called the *Elizabeth*. He took part in Drake's Cadiz expedition in 1587, as well as raids in 1589, 1590 and 1591 (see also K. R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*, pp. 94, 197-198, 255). Fishbourne's anti-Spanish propensities may also have influenced his later involvement, with John Browne, in trade with the Low Countries (dealing in Dutch newsletters, as well as silks and clothing). Middleton dedicated a religious pamphlet, *The Marriage of the Old and New Testament*, to Fishbourne and Browne in 1620. Both Gomersall and Strode celebrate his generosity to the Church.

An Epiced on Mr Fishbourne

As some to farre inquisitiue would fayne
 Know how the Arke could so much lyfe contayne,
 Where the Ewe fed and where the Lyon lay,
 Both hauing Den & Pasture yet all Sea,
 When fishes had our Constellations true, 5
 And how the hawke and Partridge had one mewes:
 So do I wonder (in these looser tymes
 When men commit more villainies then rymes)
 He gave } How honord Fishbourne in his lesser Arke
 20 000 } Could so much immortality imbarke 10
 to pious } And take in man too; how his good thoughts laye
 uses } With wealth & hazard both of them at Sea;

Howe when his debtors thought of Longer oweing
 His chiefest care was of that Summes bestowing
 In pious vses. But to question all: 15
 Did this Rich man come to an Hospitall
 To curbe the Incomes or to beg the Leads,
 Or turne to Straw more Charitable bedds?
 Or gaz'd he on a Prison with Pretence
 More to inthrall then for a prayer thence? 20
 Or on the Leuites part the churches liuing
 Did he ere look without the thought of giuing?
 Noe! (as the Angell at Bethesda) He
 Came neuer in the Cells of Charitye,
 Vnlesse his mynde by heauen had fraughted byn 25
 To helpe the next poore Cripple that came in.
 And he came often to them; and, withall
 Left there such virtue since his funerall
 That, as the Ancient Prophetts buryed bones
 Made one to knowe two Resurrections, 30
 So after death it will be said of hym,
 Fishborne reuiued this man, gaue that a Lymme.
 Such myracles are done in this sad age,
 And yet we doe not goe in Pilgrimage.
 When by the Graues of men alyue he trode, 35
 Prisons where Soules and bodyes haue abode,
 Before a Judgment and (as there they lye)
 Speake their owne Epitaphs and Elegye,
 Had he a deafe eare then? threw he on more
 Irons or Actions then they had before? 40
 Nay: wishd he not he had sufficient worth
 To bid these men (dead to the world) come forth?
 Or since he had not, did not he anone
 Prouide to keepe them from Corruption?

Made them new Shrowds (their cloths are sure no more) 45
 Such had the desert wandrers heretofore;
 Imbalmd them, not with Spice and Gums whereby
 We may lesse noysome not more deadly lye,
 But with a Charitable food; and then
 Hid him from thanckes to doe the lyke agen? 50
 Me thyntes I see him in a sweet repaire,
 Some walke (not yet infected with the ayre
 Of newes or Lybell) weighing what may be
 (After all these) his next good Legacie:
 Whither the Church that lyes within his ken 55
 With her Reuenews feeds or beasts or men;
 Whither (though it equiuocally keepe
 A Carefull Shepherd and a flock of Sheepe)
 The Patron haue a Soule? & doth intreate
 His friends more to a Sermon then his meate? 60
 In fine: if Church or Steeple haue a Tongue,
 Bells by a Sexton or a Weather Rung,
 Or where depopulations were begun
 An Almeshouse were for men by it vndone?
 These (Fishbourne) were thy thoughts; the pulse of these 65
 Thou felt'st and hast prescribd for the disease.
 Some thou hast curd and this thy Gilead Balme,
 Hath my Praeludium to thy Angells Psalme.
 And now ye Oracles of Heauen for whome
 He hath preparede a Candle, Stoole and Roome, 70
 That to St Marys, Pauls or else where come,
 To Send vs Sighing and not laughing home;
 Ye that the howre may run away more free,
 Bribe not the Clerk but with your doctrine mee.
 Keep ye on wing his euer honor'd Fame, 75
 And though our Learned Mother want his name,

* His partner	<p>Tw'as Modesty in him; that his deare *<i>Browne</i> Might haue place for his charity, And crowne Their Memoryes Together. And though his The Citty gott, the vniuersityes</p> <p style="text-align: right;">80</p> <p>Might haue the others name. You need not call A Herald to proclaime your funerall, Nor Load your Graues with Marble, nor expend Vpon a Statue more then on a friend; Or make Stones tell a Lye to after tymes</p> <p style="text-align: right;">85</p> <p>In prose inscriptions, or in hyred rymes. For whilst there shall a Church vnruinde stand, And fiue blest Soules as yours preserue the Land, Whilst a good Preacher in them hath a Roome, You liue, and need nor Epitaph nor Tombe.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">90</p>
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Title. Epiced] Peacham distinguishes the epicede from elegy and epitaph in the notes to his elegy on Prince Henry: 'The difference between an *Epecede* and *Epitaph* is (as Servius) that the *Epicedium* is proper to the body while it is unburied, the *Epitaph* otherwise; yet our Poets stick not to take one for the other'. Browne's advice for Fishbourne's funeral (lines 81-86) imply that at the notional time of writing, the body is not yet buried. Browne uses the term 'epiced' once in *Britannias Pastorals* (I.5.32).

1. *to]* too.

1-5. This query is mentioned, to be denounced and rebutted, by Du Bartas in *La Seconde Semaine* ('The Arke', 'The I part of the II day of the II week', lines 295-326 in Sylvester's translation). William Lisle's translation adds an emphatic sidenote: 'A sure answer to all profane obiections'.

6. *mewe]* cage.

9. *Arke]* compare Donne, *To Sir Edward Herbert at Julyers*: 'Man is a lumpe, where all beasts kneaded bee, / Wisdome makes him an Arke where all agree' (lines 1-2). Browne compares his subject's coffin to an ark in his elegy 'Is Death so great a Gamester' (lines 89-90).

15 *ff.* Compare Browne's account of the exploitation suffered by the poor at the hands of the rich in *Britannias Pastorals* II.1.829ff. The implication of this passage is that such shameful practices were typical of other rich men, though not of Fishbourne. Strode says that were not Fishbourne's executor, John Browne, available to administer his friend's legacy, 'some incroching governour might pare / Those almes and damne himselve with pooremens share, / Lameing once more the lame, and killing quite / Those halfe-dead carcasses' (lines 23-26).

16. *an Hospital]* Fuller says that Fishbourne bequeathed 1000 marks to Christ Church Hospital (*Worthies of England*, vol. 1, p. 474).
17. *Leads]* The sheets of lead used to cover a roof.
20. *inthrall]* enslave. *then for a prayer thence]* than to pray for the prisoners' freedom.
21. *the Levites part]* The Levite in the parable of the Good Samaritan passed by on the other side of the road, rather than help the wounded man (Luke 10:32).
- 23-26. Whenever the angel of the Lord stirred the waters of the pool of Bethesda, the next person to enter the pool would be cured of his ailments (John 5:2-7).
24. *Cells]* small rooms, as in a monastery or prison.
25. *fraughted]* laden
28. *Left there ... funeral]* left such generous bequests; or made gifts during his life which were not withdrawn after his death.
- 29-30. *The Ancient ... Resurrections]* II Kings 13:21 describes how a man was restored to life after his corpse had been lowered into Elisha's sepulchre and touched his bones. Strode says that men like Fishbourne 'renew mens lives with double breath' (line 48).
31. *after death]* i.e. as a result of his benefactions. Strode says of Fishbourne: 'Sorrow I would, but cannot thinke him dead, / Whose parts are rather all distributed / To those that live' (lines 7-9).
33. *this sad age]* Browne makes several references to the degeneracy of the present age, e.g. in *An Elegie on the Countess Dowager of Pembroke* (line 24) and the elegy 'Is Death so great a Gamester' (lines 84-88).
35. *by the ... alyue]* i.e. near living men whose destitution was such that they were effectively dead - also, while Fishbourne himself was alive. Compare the conclusion of Browne's epitaph *On Mr Vaux the Phisician*.
40. *Irons]* fetters. *Actions]* The acts or records of a court.
42. *bid these ... forth]* as Jesus bids Lazarus (John 11.43).
44. *Corruption]* by analogy, the decay of the human body after death; in practice, the physical decay of the body during life, in prison conditions.
47. *Spice and Gums]* used in the Bible to anoint dead bodies. In Mark 16 and Luke 24 Jesus' empty tomb is discovered by the women who have come to anoint him with spices.
48. *noysome]* evil-smelling.
50. *Hid him ... agen]* The Gospel accounts of Jesus' behaviour after his healing miracles provide mixed examples. There are numerous instances in the Synoptic Gospels of Jesus instructing the person he has healed and his/her family to say nothing in public about the cure (Matthew 8.4, 9.30; Mark 1.34, 1.43-44, 5.43, 7.36; Luke 4.41, 5.14, 8.56). On other occasions, when the healed are enjoined to make public what has happened to them, it is emphasized that this is so that God may be glorified e.g. in the conclusion to the story of the 10 men healed of leprosy (Luke 17.11-19), Jesus expressed disappointment that only one man has 'returned to give glory to God'. The Jesus of John's gospel, which tells the story of the healing of Bethesda, is in general less concerned than the Synoptics with healing miracles, and does not seem to share his anxiety about public recognition.
51. *repaire]* retirement.

53. *newes or Lybell*] perhaps a reference to the news-books imported by Fishbourne and Browne (see Subject note).
55. *within his ken*] within his knowledge.
57. *equiuocally*] equal in name but not in reality.
58. *A Carefull ... Sheepe*] The Biblical sources for the metaphor of the church as sheep and their leader as a shepherd include Psalm 23 and John 10.
- 61-62. Browne exploits personifications of church, steeple and bells in *An Epistle occasioned by the most intollerable iangling of the papists Bells*. A 'Weather' (modern spelling, 'wether') is a castrated ram, and thus indicates one of the church's parishioners (developing the sheep imagery of line 58).
63. *Depopulations*] Often used in the seventeenth century to refer to the clearance of the peasantry from their estates by landowners (*OED* 2).
67. *Gilead Balme*] proverbially soothing in the Bible (Jeremiah 8:22 and 46:11).
68. *Hath my ... Psalme*] Browne's poem is a prelude to the praise Fishbourne will receive from the angels in heaven.
69. *Oracles of Heauen*] presumably clergymen. Fuller records that Fishbourne endowed a preaching ministry (*Worthies of England*, vol. 1, p. 474). See line 89.
71. *St Marys*] perhaps St Mary Woolnoth, or St Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside.
- Pauls*] the cathedral.
75. *on wing*] active; well known.
- 76-81. The 'dear Browne' of line 77 was Fishbourne's partner, John Browne, who died in 1629. He was apparently not related to William Browne. Strode's epitaph is dedicated jointly to him (as Fishbourne's executor) and Fishbourne. Both Gomersall and Strode emphasize the warmth of the friendship between Fishbourne and Browne. Gomersall compares it to the 'Graecian friendships', and Strode speaks of the bereaved John Browne as 'His widdow-friend' (line 35). Fishbourne, out of 'Modesty' (line 77), concentrated his philanthropy on 'The Citty' (line 80), thus conceding to his partner the honour of giving donations to Oxford University ('our Learned Mother', line 76).
- 82-90. Similarly, in *An Elegie on ... Mr Thomas Ayleworth*, the addressee does not need a material tomb to guarantee his monument. Gomersall comments on the modesty of Fishbourne's funeral.
89. *Whilst a good ... Roome*] See note to line 69.

Poem 32.

An Elegye on Mr Willm Hopton

Text BrW 34 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 69-72. Goodwin, II, pp. 246-248.

Criticism Mentioned by Tillotson, who calls it a 'variously convincing elegy', and says that it 'seems dictated by "learn'd Pembroke" as well as by his immediate subject' (p. 64).

Subject Goodwin, citing no evidence, identifies Hopton as 'Probably second son of Sir Owen Hopton, M.P., Lieutenant of the Tower of London, who died in September, 1591: seated at Langley-Burrell, Wilts' (II, p. 357). On the evidence of line 64, he was in the service of the Pembroke family, probably under William Herbert, the third earl. Another poem on a William Hopton at Wilton, by Henry Halswell, appears in Bodleian MS Firth d. 7 and Malone 21 (see Crum G589). Crum describes Hopton as a retainer at Wilton, though this designation does not appear in either of the Bodleian manuscripts. Halswell's poem is printed in Huth's *Inedited Poetical Miscellanies*. Browne's elegy on Hopton is the first of the poems related to the Herbert family in Lansdowne 777.

An Elegye on Mr Willm Hopton

When shall myne eyes be dry? I daily See
Proiects on foot, And some haue falne on mee.
Yet (with my fortune) had they tane awaye,
The sense I haue to see a friend turne Claye,
They had done something worth the name of Spite; 5
And (as the grymme and vgly vayle of night,
Which hydes both good and bad) their malyce then
Had made me worthlesse more the Loue of men
Then are their manners; I had dyde with those,
Who once Intombd shall scarce be read in prose. 10
But whilst I haue a teare to shed for thee,
A Starr shall drop and yet neglected bee.
For as a thrifty pismire (from the plaine)

Busily dragging home some little Graine,
 Is in the midway to her pretty Chamber, 15
 Fatally wept on by some drop of Amber,
 Which straight congealed (to recompense her doome)
 The Instrument to kill becomes her Toombe.
 And such a one that she may well compare,
 With Egypts Monarchs for a Sepulcher. 20
 Soe as I homewards wend to meet with dust,
 Bearing this Griefe along, and it is iust
 Each eye that knew and (knowing) held thee deare,
 One these sad lines shall shed so true a teare,
 It shall beget a second, that, a third, 25
 And propagate so many that the Bird
 Of Araby shall lacke a Sun to burne her,
 Ere I shall want a Tombe or thou a Morner.
 For in those teares we will embalmed be,
 And prove such *Remoras* to memorye, 30
 That some, malicious, at our fame grown sick,
 Shall dye and haue their dust made into brick;
 And onelye serve to stop some prisons holes,
 That hydes as wretched bodyes as their soules.
 When (though the earth benight vs at our Noone), 35
 Wee there will lye like shadowes in the moone,
 And every dust within our Graues shall bee,
 A Star to light vs to Posteritie.
 But (haples Muse) admitt that this may come,
 And men may reade I wept vpon his Tombe, 40
 What comfort brings it me? Princes haue tryde
 To keep their Names, yet scarce are known they dyde,
 So weake is brasse and Marble; and I pierce
 His memorye while that I write this verse,
 Since I (his liuing Monument) endyte, 45

And moulder into Dust the whyle I write.
 Such is the Griefe thy losse hath brought on mee,
 I cut some lyfe of in each lyne on thee.
 The cold stone that lyes on thee, I suruaye,
 And looking on it feele my selfe turne claye. 50
 Yet Grieue not: but to thinke when I am gone,
 The Marble will shed teares when I shed none.
 This vexeth mee, that a dead stone shall be
 My Riuall in thy Losse and memorye,
 That it should both outweepe me and reherse, 55
 When I am dust, thy Glory in my verse.
 And much good may it do thee, thou dead stone,
 Though not so dead as he thou lyst vpon.
 Thou mayst instruct some after age to saye,
 This was the last bed whereon Hopton laye, 60
 Hopton that knew to chuse & keepe a friend,
 That scorn'd as much to flatter as offend,
 That had a soule as perfect as each Lymme,
 That seru'd Learn'd Pembroke and did merit him.
 And to name Hopton with his Master is 65
 More then a Tombe although a Pyramis.

8. *worthlesse more ... men*] less worthy of the love of men.

10. *in prose*] i.e. even in prose.

13. *pismire*] the ant, proverbially thrifty.

13-18. There are precedents for the death of an insect in amber in Martial 4.32, 4.59, and 6.15.

18. *The Instrument ... Toombe*] compare the snow of *On one drown'd in the Snowe* and the mother's womb in *On an Infant vnborne*.

19-20. See line 66. As Karl Dannenfeldt notes ('Egypt and Egyptian Antiquities in the Renaissance', *Studies in the Renaissance* VI (1959): 7-27), Europeans through the Middle Ages had been mystified by the pyramids, but by the early seventeenth century had begun to realize that they had been built as tombs.

George Sandys, for instance, in his account of his travels in the Near East, *A Relation of a Journey* (p. 127) dismisses earlier theories that they had been built by the Hebrew slaves, or commissioned by Joseph as granaries for the corn he

hoarded in preparation for the 7 years' famine (Exodus 1, Genesis 41), but rather 'most manifest it is, that these [i.e. the pyramids at Giza], as the rest, were the regall sepulchers of the Aegyptians'. Browne mentions pyramids several times, always as an image of the honour accorded to a worthy man after his death, e.g. *Britannias Pastorals* II.1.1011-18, where a pyramis is commissioned by Thetis to commemorate Spenser, 'in honour of his worthy name' (line 1015); *A Sigh from Oxford*, lines 186-189.

21. *homewards*] i.e. towards death.

26-27. *the Bird / Of Araby*] the Phoenix, which lives for 500 years in the Arabian desert, before burning itself and rising from the ashes to begin a new life.

30. *Remoras*] The sucking-fish, described by Pliny in his *Natural History* (32.1). The remora was believed to have the power to halt any ship to which it attached itself, and thus appears in *Spenser's Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* (9) as the misfortune which afflicts 'A goodly ship with banners bravely dight'.

41-43. In *Britannias Pastorals* II. 4.190-193 Browne proclaims the ability of poetry to outlast more material memorials: 'Here in this poem I erect my tomb. / And Time may be so kind in these weak lines / To keep my name enroll'd past his that shines / In gilded marble, or in brazen leaves'. He may have been inspired by Spenser's sonnet 32 in *The Ruines of Rome*, e.g. lines 5-8: 'If under heaven anie endurance were, / These moniments, which not in paper writ, / But in Porphyre and Marble doo appeare, / Might well have hop'd to have obtained it'. *brasse and Marble*] Hall mentions in *To the Praise of the Dead and the Anatomy* that the Egyptians used brass and marble on their tombs (lines 27-29).

45. *living Monument*] the phrase is used in *Hamlet*, V i 291.

50. *feele my ... claye*] see line 4, above.

55. *outweepe*] compare *On the R. H. Susan, Countesse of Montgomerie*: 'Outspeakes all tombes outliues all life' (line 10).

60. *This was ... laye*] Compare the bed of war where Sir John Prowde dies (*An Epitaph on Sir John Prowde*, line 10); and also Milton's epitaph *On the University Carrier*, lines 17-18: 'If any ask for him, it shall be said, / Hobson has supp'd, and's newly gone to bed'.

64. *Learn'd Pembroke*] presumably William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke. His successor, Philip Herbert, was more renowned for his physical accomplishments than his learning. William Herbert's character and attainments are described by Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, vol. 1, pp 71-74.

65-66. See note to lines 19-20.

Poem 33.

A Pastorall Elegie on Mr Thomas
Manwood

Text BrW 242 (Lansdowne 777). One other manuscript extant (Salisbury Cathedral MS). Copy in *The Shepherds Pipe* (partially reproduced in Croft, *Autograph Poetry in the English Language*).

Publication Printed as eclogue 4 of *The Shepherds Pipe*, 1614. Printed from Lansdowne 777 by Brydges, pp. 118-127.

Criticism Discussed by Tillotson, p. 70, O'Callaghan, pp. 71-75, and Lambert, *Placing Sorrow*, pp. 147-148.

Subject Thomas Manwood was the son of Sir Peter Manwood, a Kentish landowner, member of the Society of Antiquaries, and lifelong friend of the Lord Zouch, to whom Book I of *Britannias Pastorals* was dedicated. Thomas was a student at the Inner Temple in 1610 and gained his B.A. from Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1611. He was drowned in France in 1613. Little apart from the title associates Browne's elegy with Manwood. O'Callaghan suggests that the ship imagery of lines 115-120 may be an allusion to Manwood's death by drowning, but if so the reference is, to say the least, paradoxical. *The Shepherds Pipe* text of the elegy strengthens its connection with Manwood by appending to it an altar-shaped mourning poem, addressed to the dead man's sisters, but this is not reproduced in Lansdowne 777 or the Salisbury manuscript. O'Callaghan (p. 73) suggests that Browne's main interest in this elegy is less in Manwood, its ostensible subject, than in asserting his own claim to be regarded as the poetic heir of Sidney (subject of Spenser's pastoral elegy, *Astrophel*) and Spenser (poet of *Astrophel* and the 'November' elegy in *The Shepherdes Calender*). Even by writing a pastoral elegy, Browne was associating himself with the Spenserian tradition, and his patterning of long and short lines within the elegiac stanza testifies to the direct influence of Spenser's 'November'. (The transcription of the poem in 10-line stanzas in the Lansdowne 777 and Salisbury manuscripts - as opposed to the 12-line stanzas of *The Shepherds Pipe* - reinforces the similarity with 'November'.) The stanzaic form used in the elegy is one of the most ambitious ever attempted by Browne: a quatrain of pentameters, rhyming *abab*, followed by a quatrain of tetrameters, *cdcd*, and concluding in an Alexandrine couplet, *ee* (in the Lansdowne and Salisbury transcription). It is probably significant that the nearest equivalent to this form amongst his poems is the 12-line stanza of his elegy on another promising young man, Henry Prince of Wales.

A Pastorall Elegie makes full use of the conventions of elegiac poetry in general, and pastoral elegy in particular (see George Norlin, 'The Conventions of the Pastoral Elegy', *American Journal of Philology* 32 (1911): 294-312). Sonnet 2 invokes the pathetic fallacy: all nature droops and declines in mourning for Philarete. The explanations and consolations offered by Willy for Philarete's death are also conventional. He died because he was too good for the world

(lines 99-100); he lived out his appointed time (lines 101-104); the poet's grief is for his own loss, not the brevity of Philarete's life (lines 109-110, 121-130); he did not really die, for he is now in heaven (lines 111-120). However, at least for the speaker, the consolations he suggests in the poem seem to be largely ineffective: Willy, at the end, is still 'As far from future hope as present mirth' (line 144). The role of poetry is also called into question in several of the few but significant differences between the Lansdowne 777 version of the poem and the text in *The Shepherds Pipe*. In *The Shepherds Pipe*, the mourned shepherd, Philarete, is himself a poet: Willy laments that 'Floras beauties shall no more / Be honour'd by thy quill'. The equivalent line in Lansdowne 777, however, simply reiterates the grief of the shepherd world: 'No pretty Spring [should] smile on the vales, noe shepherd on his love' (line 130). Similarly, whereas in *The Shepherds Pipe* Willy ends his 14th stanza with a reflection on the prospects for his own poetry now that Philarete is dead - 'And thou, my loved Muse, / No more shouldst numbers move, / But that his name should ever live, / And after death my love' - in Lansdowne 777, again, the equivalent lines reiterate the mourning for Philarete in the natural world: 'Yee Nymphs of myghtye woods with flowres his grave betrym, / And humbly pray the Earth he hath would gently couer him' (line 139-140). The Lansdowne 777 text has perhaps marginally less interest than *The Shepherds Pipe* in directly commemorating Philarete / Manwood: and it would certainly have less financial interest than a printed text which might win patronage from Manwood's surviving family. The manuscript version seems also to be less concerned than the printed text with the issue of poetic fame identified by O'Callaghan. It does not predict immortality for Willy and Philarete by means of this elegy, and it is consistently more inclined to portray the mourning for Philarete as arising from the community of shepherds than as uniquely articulated by one ingenious celebrant. See lines 79, 80, 89, 99, 109 and 110, where the manuscript reads 'our' for the 'my' of the printed text, and line 75, where in the manuscript Willy is associated with the rest of 'we poore shepherds', while in *The Shepherds Pipe* he speaks more distantly of 'the shepherds all'. These discrepancies, though slight, are consonant with the tendency of print to value the author of a poem, and of manuscript to assume the participation of its readers in the context of production and circulation.

Although, as I explain in my introduction, I have not been able to examine the Salisbury manuscript copy of this poem, I have referred to the photographic copy of lines 1-48 reproduced by Croft in *Autograph Poetry in the English Language*, vol. 1, p. 31. The few variants in these lines are listed in the collation below. It is noteworthy that, on the partial evidence of this section, the text of the elegy in the Salisbury manuscript - which is in Browne's own hand - is intermediate between Lansdowne 777 and *The Shepherds Pipe*. In stanzas 1 and 2 its readings agree with *The Shepherds Pipe* against Lansdowne 777 - even in line 14, which differs completely in the two versions - but agrees with Lansdowne against the printed text in the (admittedly smaller) variants of lines 29 and 47. This pattern, if consistent throughout the Salisbury version, would be interesting evidence of self-revision by Browne, and would be relevant to the question of whether some of the other manuscript variants in his poetry may be

authorial. Examination of the Salisbury manuscript will be essential to any complete edition of Browne's poems.

In *The Shepherds Pipe*, the elegy is headed 'The Fourth Eclogue', and begins: 'In this the Author bewailes the death of one whom he shadoweth vnder the name of Philarete, compounded of the Greeke words φιλος and αρετη, a louer of vertue, a name well befitting him to whose memory these lines are consecrated, being sometime his truly loued (and now as much lamented) friend M^r Thomas Manvvood sonne to the worthy Sir Peter Manvvood Knight'. The last two lines of each stanza are printed as four short, indented lines. The Salisbury manuscript, however, matches the lineation of Lansdowne 777, and Croft suggests that the division into four lines in the printed text was 'no doubt simply because the small page of *The Shepherds Pipe* could not accommodate the longer line' (*Autograph Poetry*, vol. 1, p. 30).

2. that] who *SP, Salisbury*. 6. which] That *SP, Salisbury*. 10. out] rue *SP, Salisbury*. 14. mighty forrests stood with saples flanks] void of sap stood Ida's cedar-rankes *SP, Salisbury*. 23. which] whoe *Salisbury*. 29. lay] was *SP*. 33. fixt] fix *SP*. 47. fitteth best] well befits *SP*. 54. Cease with deare Philaret] With Philarete cease *SP*. 60. ere I haue paid] before I pay *SP*. 61. my] to *SP*. 70. the viollets] and violets *SP*. 71. nor] a *SP*. 75. we poore shepherds] the shepherds all *SP*. 79. our] my; this] these *SP*. 80. our] my *SP*. 84. time] age *SP*. 89. our] my *SP*. 99. our] my *SP*. 100. wherein] whereon *SP*. 108. hath] had *SP*. 109. our] my *SP*. 110. our] my *SP*. 112. this comfort onely] this onely comfort *SP*. 113. did] should *SP*. 119. So fled deare Philaret] So Philarete fled *SP*. 120. While] When *SP*. 123. I lament] do lament *SP*. 129-30. noe bird his Ditty moue, / No pretty Spring smile on the vales, noe shepherd on his love] But briny tears distill, / Since *Flora's* beauties shall no more / Be honour'd by thy quill *SP*. 137. Melt into teares if he vnkinde] Shed drops, if he be so vnkind. 138. pat] with *SP*. 139-40. Yee Nymphs of myghtye woods with flowres his grave betrym, / And humbly pray the Earth he hath would gently couer him] And thou my loved *Muse*, / No more should'st numbers moue, / But that his name should euer liue, / And after death my loue *SP*. 143. When] Then; he sadly gan] full sadly gan *SP*. 146. shepherd] sorrow *SP*.

A Pastorall Elegie on Mr Thomas
Manvvood

1

Vnder an aged Oake was Willy laid,
Willy, the Lad that whilome made the Rockes
To ring with ioye whilst on his pipe he plaid,

And from their Masters woe'd the neigbring flocks;
 But now o'recome with dolours deepe, 5
 which nye his heart strings rent,
 Ne car'd he for his silly sheepe,
 ne car'd for Merriment;
 But changd his wonted walks for vncouth paths vnknowne,
 Where none but trees might heare his plaints & Eccho out his mone. 10

2

Autumne it was when droopd the sweetest Flowers,
 And Riuers (swolne with pride) orelookt the Banks,
 Poore grew the Day of Sommers golden howers,
 And mighty forrests stood with saples flanks;
 The pleasant meddowes sadly laye, 15
 in chill and cooling sweats,
 By riseing fountaines or as they
 fear'd winters wastfull threats,
 Against the broad spread Oakes each wind in fury beares,
 Yet fell their leaues not halfe so fast as did the Shepherds teares. 20

3

As was his seat, soe was his gentle heart,
 Meeke and deiected but his thoughts as hye
 As those aye-wandring lights, which both impart
 Their beames on vs and heauen still beautify.
 Sad was his looke (o heavy fate) 25
 That swayne should be so sad;
 Whose merry notes the forlorne mate,
 with greatest pleasure clad.
 Broke lay his tunefull pipe that charm'd the christall floods,
 And thus his grieffe tooke ayrie wings and flew about the woods. 30

Daye! thou art too officious in thy place,
 And night too spareing of a wished staye.
 Ye wandring Lampes, o be ye fixt a space,
 Some other Hemispheare grace with your raye.

Great Phoebus, Daphne is not heere, 35

nor Hiacynthus faire;

Phoebe! Endymion & thy deare,

hath long since cleft the ayre.

But ye haue surely seen (whom we in sorrowe misse)

A Swayne whom Phoebe thought her loue, & Titan deemed his. 40

But he is gone, then inwards turne your light;
 Behold him there; heere neuer shall you more.
 Ore hang this sad plaine with eternall night,
 Or change the gaudy green she whilome wore

To Fenny blacke. Hyperion great, 45

to ashy palenes turne her;

Green fitteth best a Louers heart,

but black beseemes a Mourner.

Yet neither this thou canst, nor see his second birth,

His brightnes blyndes thine eye more now, then thyne did his on Earth. 50

6

Let not a shepherd on our haples plaines,
 Tune notes of glee, as vsed were of yore;
 For Philaret is dead. Let mirthfull straynes,
 Cease with deare Philaret for euermore.

And if a fellow swayne doe live, 55
 a niggard of his teares,
 The shepherdesses all will give
 to store him parte of theirs.

Or I would lend him some but that the store I haue,
 Will all be spent ere I haue paid the debt I owe his graue. 60

7

O what is lefte can make me leaue my mone,
 Or what remaynes but dothe increase it more?
 Looke on his sheepe, alas their Masters gone;
 Looke on the place where we two heretofore

With locked Armes haue vowed our loue 65
 (our loue which tyme shall see,
 In shepherds songs for euer moue
 and grace their harmonye)

It solitary seemes; behold our flowrie beds,
 Their beautyes fade, the violets for sorrow hang their heads. 70

'Tis not a cypresse bough nor Covnt'nance sad,
 A mourning garment, wayling Elegye,
 A standing herse in sable vesture clad,
 A Tombe built to his names eternitye
 (Though we poore shepherds all should strive 75
 by yearlie obsequies,
 And vowe to keepe thy Fame alive
 in spight of Destinyes)
 That can suppress our griefes; all this and more may be,
 Yet all in vayne to recompence our greatest losse of thee. 80

Cypresse may fade, the Count'nance be changed,
 A Garment rott, an Elegye forgotten,
 A Herse 'mongst irreligious rites be rang'd,
 A Tombe pluckt downe or else through time be rotten:
 All things th'vnpartiall hand of fate 85
 can raze out with a thought,
 These haue a seuerall fixed date
 which ended turne to nought.
 Yet shall our truest cause of Sorrow firmely staye,
 When these Effects the wings of Tyme shall fanne & sweep away. 90

Looke as a sweet Rose fairelie budding forth,
 Bewrayes her beautyes to th'inamor'd Morne,
 Vntill some keen blast from the envious North,
 Kills the sweet bud that was but newly borne;
 Or else her rarest smells delighting 95
 make her herselfe betraye,
 Some white & curious hand inviteing
 to plucke her thence away;
 So stands our mornefull case, for had he been lesse good,
 He yet vncropt had kept the stock wherein he fairelye stood. 100

Yet though so long he lived not as he might,
 He had the time appointed to him giuen;
 Whoe liveth but the space of one poore night,
 His birth, his youth, his Age is in that Even.
 Whoe euer doth the period see 105
 of dayes by heauen forth plotted,
 Dyes full of Age as well as he
 that hath more yeares allotted.
 In sad tones then my verse shall with incessant teares,
 Bemone our haples losse of him & not his want of yeares. 110

In deepest passions of my grieffe swolne breast
 (Sweet Soule) this comfort onely seiseth me,
 That so few yeares did make thee so much blest,
 And gave such wings to reach Eternitye.

Is this to Dye? Noe, as a Shipp, 115
 well built, with easye winde,
 A lazye Hulke doth farr outstripp,
 and soonest harbor find.

So fled deare Philaret, quick was his passage given,
 While others must have longer time to make them fit for heauen. 120

Then not for thee these brinye teares are spent,
 But as the Nightingale against the Breere,
 'Tis for my selfe I mone & I lament,
 Not that thou leftst the world, but leftst me heere.

Heere! where without thee all delights 125
 faile of their pleaseing power,
 And glorious dayes seeme vglye nights;
 Me thinks no Aprill showre
 Embroder should the Earth, noe bird his Ditty moue,
 No pretty Spring smile on the vales, noe shepherd on his love. 130

And ye his sheepe (in token of his lack)
 Whilome the fairest flock on all the playne,
 Yeane neuer Lambe but be it cloth'd in black!
 Ye shadye Siccamors, when any Swayne
 To carue his name vpon your rinde 135
 doth come where his doth stand,
 Melt into teares if he vnkinde
 to raze it pat his hand.
 Yee Nymphs of myghtye woods with flowres his grave betrym,
 And humbly pray the Earth he hath would gently couer him. 140

This sayd, He sighd & with oredrowned Eyes,
 Gaz'd on the Heauens for what he mist on Earth;
 When from the ground he sadlye gan arise,
 As far from future hope as present Mirth.
 Vnto his cote with heavy pace 145
 as Euer shepherd trode,
 He went with mind no more to trace
 where mirthfull swaynes abode.
 And as he spent the daye, the Night he past alone,
 Was neuer Shepherd lov'd more deare, nor made a truer mone. 150

1. *Willy]* Browne's pastoral persona in *Britannias Pastorals* and *The Shepherds Pipe*.
29. *Broke lay ... pipe]* as Spenser's Colin breaks his pipe in *The Shepherdes Calender*, 'January'.
31. *to]* too.
33. *Ye wandring Lampes]* the planets.
- 35-36. *Great Phoebus, ... faire]* In the *Metamorphoses*, Daphne and Hiacynthus were both loved and lost by Phoebus Apollo, the sun god.
36. *Phoebe]* the moon. *Endymion & thy deare]* thy dear Endymion.
40. *A Swayne ... loue]* a shepherd whom Phoebe mistook for Endymion.
- Titan]* the sun (compare *Venus and Adonis*, line 177). It is possible that Browne has mixed his myths. Line 40 seems to attempt to match Titan with the 'Phoebus' of line 35, as 'Phoebe' refers back to line 37. Phoebus, however, was not a Titan, but rather of the Olympian generation of gods which wrested power from the Titans.
45. *Fenny]* i.e. as in a fen; boggy, swampy (OED).
46. *her]* Phoebe.
53. *Philaret]* defined in *The Shepherds Pipe* as 'lover of virtue'. O'Callaghan claims that the name 'has associations with Sidney' (p. 74), presumably because of the 'Phil' prefix. Wither's persona in *The Shepherd's Hunting* (which includes revised versions of his eclogues from *The Shepherds Pipe*) is called Philarete.
58. *to store him]* to make up his rightful share.
71. *a cypresse bough]* symbolic of mourning.
- 71-80. Lambert calls this stanza 'the only original passage in the poem' (*Placing Sorrow*, p. 147), because it perceives that the conventions of pastoral elegy are only empty forms - though she appears to regret the poet's lack of a sense of betrayal.
- 91-100. Compare Browne's *Visions* sequence, sonnet 6, and *Delia* 31: 'Looke, Delia, how we steeme the half-blown rose'.
- 99-100. A traditional pastoral consolation: he was too good for the world.
- 101-110. Another traditional consolation: his life, though brief was perfect - and perhaps all the more perfect because it was brief. Compare Jonson's ode on Cary and Morison, lines 65-74.
122. *the Nightingale ... Breere]* Compare 'Caelia is gone', line 2.
133. *Yeane]* to give birth to a lamb.
140. *humbly pray ... him]* Compare the last line of Jonson's epitaph on his first daughter: 'Which couer lightly, gentle earth' (*Epigrammes*, 22).

Poem 34.

'A haples Shepherd'

Text BrW 1 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, in Goodwin, II, pp. 208-209.

A haples Shepherd on a daye
yode to St Michaels Mounte,
And spent more teares vpon the waye
then all the Sands could counte.

Full was the sea (so were the eyes 5
of this vnhappy Louer)
Yet without Oare or Wynd in Skies
His sighs did waft him over.

2. *yode*] went, a Spenserian archaism (as in *The Shepheardes Calender*, 'Maye', line 22). *St Michaels Mounte*] an island in Mounts Bay, off the southern coast of Cornwall. According to Richard Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* (1602), St Michael's Mount 'is sundred from the mayne land, by a sandy playne, of a slight shoot in breadth, passable, at the ebbe, on foote; with boat, on the flood' (p. 154v.). Drayton describes '*Mount-Michaells Bay*' in his *Poly-Olbion*, Song I, 80ff. It is the first of the 'holy hylles' mentioned by Morrell in Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, 'Julye' (lines 41-42).

Poem 35.

'Faire *Canace*'

Text Lansdowne 777 (BrW 45).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 95. Goodwin, II, pp.291-292.

Subject Browne's epitaph translates Martial's epigram 11.91, 'Aeolidos Canace iacet hoc tumulata sepulchro' ('Aeolis' child, Canace, lies buried in this tomb', Loeb translation). (This Canace is not related to the heroine of Ovid's *Heroides* 11, who later reappears in Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale* and Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, or to the 'Canace' of Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*). It is a remarkably close translation, even managing to replicate the number of lines in the original. For the influence of Martial's epigrams in the English Renaissance, see T. K. Whipple, *Martial and the English epigram from Sir Thomas Wyatt to Ben Jonson*. The same epigram was later translated into English by R. Fletcher (1656). The most famous English poems on the deaths of children are the epitaphs by Jonson - also much influenced by Martial - on his first son and daughter. Browne has two other epitaphs on young children: *On Mrs Anne Prideaux* (poem 64) and *On a Twin at two yeares old dead of a Consumption* (poem 68).

An Epitaph

Faire *Canace* this little Tombe doth hyde,
Who onely seuen Decembers told, & dy'de.
O Crueltie! O synne, yet no man heere
Must for so short a life let fall a Teare.
Then Death the kinde was worse: what did infect 5
First seas'd her mouth & spoil'd her sweet aspect.
A horrid Ill her kisses bitt away,
And gaue her almost lipples to the Clay.
If Destenye so swift a flight did will her,
It might haue found some other way to kill her. 10
But Death first strooke her Dumbe (in hast to haue her)
Lest her sweet Tongue should force the fates to save her.

1. *Faire Canace*] Unlike Martial, who introduces the girl, albeit enigmatically, as 'Aeolis' child', Browne makes no attempt to identify his Canace.
2. *onely seuen ... dy'de*] Browne slightly adapts Martial: 'whose seventh winter came her last'.
3. Browne omits Martial's reference to a 'wayfarer, ... quick to weep', who (as in Browne lines 3-4) must be exhorted not to weep for Canace.
5. *Then Death ... worse*] Martial reads 'tristius est leto leti genus', translated in the Loeb edition as "sadder than death is death's guise".
8. *the Clay*] Browne substitutes an English burial for Martial's consignment of Canace to 'the smoky pyre'.

Poem 36.

To Don Antonio

Text BrW 246 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 95. Goodwin, II, p. 284.

Subject Antonio, Prior of Crato (1531-95) was the illegitimate son of Luis, brother of kings John III (1521-57) and Henry (1578-80) of Portugal. After Henry's death, Portugal was annexed by Spain, but Antonio's claim to the throne received English support. Sidney was involved in negotiations on his behalf, and both Drake and Essex took part in raids on Portugal in 1589, avowedly to enforce Antonio's claim. See R. B. Wernham (ed.), *The Expedition of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake to Spain and Portugal, 1589*, and John Cummins, *Francis Drake: The Lives of a Hero*, pp. 210-223. These efforts on Antonio's behalf were unsuccessful, and Portugal remained under Spanish control until the 1640s.

To Don Antonio King of Portugall

Between thee & thy kingdome late with force,
Spaine happily hath sued a Divorce.
And now thou maist, as Christ did once of his,
Saye that thy kingdome not of this world is.

1. *late*] Philip II of Spain took possession of Portugal in 1580.
2. *happily*] has happened to.
- 3-4. Jesus' reply to Pilate, John 18.36.

Poem 37.

An Epitaph on Mr Wm Hopton

Text BrW 51 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 73. Goodwin, II, p. 288.

Subject See note to poem 32, *An Elegye on Mr Willm Hopton*.

An Epitaph on Mr Wm Hopton

Reader, stay & read a Truth,
Here lyes Hopton, Goodnes, youth.
Drop a teare & let it be
True as thou wouldst wish for thee;
Shed one more, thou best of Soules, 5
Those two teares shall be new Poles.
By the first wee'le sayle & find
Those lost Jewells of his mynde.
By the Later we will swymme
Back againe & sleep with him. 10

1. *Reader, stay*] Jonson's *Epitaph on Master Philip Gray* (*Underwood* 16, speculatively dated by Donaldson to 1625/6) has 'Reader, stay' as the only words in its defective first line. The last four lines of his epitaph on Vincent Corbett also appeal to the reader. Crum R64 records an anonymous poem beginnins 'Reader stay and thou shalt know', extant in two Bodleian manuscripts (MSS Rawl. poet. 117, f. 157^v rev. and Sancroft 59, p. 281 rev.) Other contemporary epitaphs addressed 'Reader' include Carew's second poem on the death of the Duke of Buckingham, 'Reader, when these dumbe stones have told'.
6. *Poles*] i.e. points for determining one's direction (replacing the pre-existing North and South Poles).

Poem 38.

On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke

Text BrW 180 (Lansdowne 777). 50 other manuscripts extant (BrW 181-230). Three early printed sources.

Publication First published in William Camden, *Remaines* (London, 1623), and *Poems by Pembroke and Ruddier* (1660). Printed from Lansdowne 777 by Brydges, p. 5. Goodwin, II, p. 294.

Criticism Discussions of the text and authorship of *On the Countesse Dowager* include Goodwin (II, p. 350); Herbert Grierson, “‘Underneath this sable hearse’, etc.’, *MLR* 6 (1911): 517-518; Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, vol. viii, pp. 433-434; and Joan Grundy, ‘A New Manuscript of the Countess of Pembroke’s Epitaph’, *N&Q* n.s. 7 (1960): 63-64. It is also discussed by Tillotson, p. 63, and by Margaret Hannay, in *Philip’s Phoenix*, pp. ix, 206. Hannay quotes Browne’s praise of the Countess as ‘Sydneyes Sister, Pembrokes mother’ in the first paragraph of her preface, arguing that ‘written for her son, Browne’s poem presents her in a diminished role that does not fit the newly discovered facts of her life’. Perhaps Hannay had not noticed Browne’s reference to the Countess’s learning, in line 5.

Subject The Countess Dowager of Pembroke was Mary Herbert, one of the most celebrated Englishwomen of the late 16th / early 17th centuries. She was the daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, three times lord deputy governor of Ireland, and the sister of the poets Philip and Robert Sidney. Philip Sidney's first version of the *Arcadia* was written for her, and after his death she was responsible for the publication of his literary works. By her marriage to Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke, she was the mother of William, the third earl, and Philip, fourth earl of Pembroke and first of Montgomery, both patrons of Browne’s. She was both a writer and translator in her own right, best known for her completion of the metrical translation of the Psalms begun by her brother, and her own translations of works including Petrarch's *Trionfo della morte* and *Antonie*, from a neo-classical play by Robert Garnier; and was also one of the most renowned literary patrons of the 1590s. Among the writers who eulogized her were Spenser, Daniel and Abraham Fraunce. After her husband’s death in 1601, many poets transferred their allegiance to her son William, the new earl, but the more nostalgically-minded continued to honour her as a living link with an earlier generation of poets. She died in 1621. The Countess is the subject of a recent biography, *Philip’s Phoenix*, by Margaret Hannay, and her role as a literary patron is analysed by Michael Brennan in *Literary Patronage in the English Renaissance: The Pembroke Family*, passim. Her collected works are published by the Clarendon Press.

As well as this epitaph, Browne wrote a longer elegy, ‘Time hath a long course run since thou wert claye’ (poem 40), on the Countess’s death. Whereas the elegy survives in only two manuscript copies, one of them mutilated, the

epigrammatic epitaph was published in 1623, one of only two epitaphs added in the new edition of Camden's *Remaines*, and enjoyed a wide circulation in the manuscript miscellanies. Although Browne's authorship of the poem is now generally accepted, his responsibility for it was previously a matter of some doubt. The copy in Camden's *Remaines* is unattributed, and its next appearance in print was in a posthumous volume of poems by Mary Herbert's son, William, in 1660. However, this collection, edited by John Donne the younger, is notoriously unreliable, including numerous poems known to be by writers other than the Earl. Peter Whalley included it in his edition of Jonson's works in 1755, possibly by inference from W. R. Chetwood's statement in *The British Theatre* (Dublin 1750) that 'Ben Johnson has wrote a celebrated epitaph on her [the Countess]' (p. 18). Though there is no seventeenth-century authority for this ascription, it won widespread approval, possibly on the flattering but dubious grounds that so acclaimed a poem must be the work of the master of the Renaissance epigram. Other commentators adopted a compromise position, attributing the first stanza to Jonson, and the allegedly inferior second stanza - which is not always included in seventeenth-century manuscript copies of the poem - to a lesser poet, sometimes Browne or Pembroke. The supposedly indecorous image in lines 9-12 of the woman turning to marble, it was argued, could not be by Jonson. However, most of the seventeenth-century manuscript copies of the poem include both stanzas, and all the witnesses which state an attribution ascribe it to Browne. It is subscribed 'Browne' in Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 160 (BrW 191), and 'William Browne' in Trinity College Dublin MS 877 (BrW 227), both of which date from the 1630s. Its inclusion in Lansdowne 777 is also strong, though not certain, evidence for Browne's authorship. The ascription to Browne also has the unreliable but not negligible endorsement of John Aubrey, who subscribed his copy 'by Will Browne, who wrote the Pastorals, who Will Earle of Pembroke preferred to be Tutor to the first Earle of Carnarvon' (Bodleian MS Aubrey 6, BrW 183).

Title On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke] On the Countesse of Pembroke *BrW 181, 192, 196, 198, 200, 201, 206, 208, 209, 210, 212, 215, 217, 224*, Epitaph on the death of Marie Countesse of Pembroke *BrW 182*, An Epitaph on the Lady Mary Countesse of Pembroke in print somewhere *BrW 183*, An Epitaph on the Countesse of Pembroke *BrW 184, 188, 216, 224, 225, PR*, On the Countesse of Pembroke Epitaph *BrW 186*, The Epitaph *BrW 187* (following the elegy on the Countess), Epitaph upon the Countesse of Pembroke *BrW 189*, EPITAPHIVM Comitissae Pembroke *BrW 191*, Epitaph on the Death of the Countesse of Pembroke *BrW 193*, In Comitissam Sussexiae *BrW 194*, Upon the late Countesse of Pembroke 1622 *BrW 195*, Upon the Countesse of Pembroke *BrW 197, 214*; A Ladyes Epitaph ex libris Miscelan. Fratris *BrW 199*, Lady Pembrokes Epitaph *BrW 202, 205*, Epitaph on the Countesse of Pembroke *BrW 203*, On the Arcadian Countess of Pembroke *BrW 204*, Vpon the late Countesse of Pembroke *BrW 211*, The Countesse of Pembrokes Epitaph *BrW 213*, An Epitaph Vpon the Countesse of Pembroke *BrW 218*, Untitled *BrW 223*, An Epitaph *BrW 226*, On the death of the Countesse of Pembroke *BrW 227*, An Epitaph on the death of Mary Countesse of Pembroke

BrW 229. 1. Vnderneath this sable hearse] Vnder here this marble *BrW 184*, Vnder this cold marble *BrW 194*, Under this same marble *BrW 207*; Vnderneath] Vnder *CR29*, Intombd within *BrW 218*; sable] marble *BrW 185*, *192*, *203*, *CR*, stable *BrW 198*. 2. Lyes] Here lies *BrW 218*; all] *omitted BrW 186*; this *BrW 198*. 3. Sister] daughter *BrW 216*. 4. ere thou hast slaine] dars thou kill such *BrW 181*, thou nere kill such *BrW 201*, n'eaere yett killd such *BrW 216*; ere] when *BrW 212*; hast slaine] shalt kill such *BrW 183*, strike such *BrW 187*, kill such *BrW 195*, *198*, *199*, *209*, *210*, *211*, killst such *BrW 196*, *197*, *204*, *206*, *223*, *224*, slaiest such *BrW 214*, shalt kill *BrW 215*, kilst *BrW 225*; slaine] kill'd *BrW 182*, *184*, *185*, *186*, *188*, *192*, *193*, *200*, *202*, *203*, *205*, *207*, *208*, *217*, *219*, *226*, *227*, *229*, *CR*, *PR*, tane *BrW 218*. 5. Faire & Learn'd & good] So faire, soe Learned, so good *BrW 181*, *195*, *196*, *211*, *216*, So faire, so wise, so good *BrW 212*, Learn'd & faire & good *BrW 193*, *203*, Rich & good & fair *BrW 213*, Soe faire, soe good, soe wise *BrW 215*, Learned, fair, and good *PR*; & Learn'd & good] as good wise *BrW 201*, rich, good *BrW 218*; Learn'd & good] good and learn'd *BrW 183*, *187*, *197*, *204*, good, wise *BrW 198*, *210*, *224*, *225*, wise and learned *BrW 199*, *223*, good & wise *BrW 206*, vertuous, wise *BrW 209*; & good] wise *BrW 186*, good *BrW 184*, *188*, *217*, *226*, *229*, as good *BrW 202*, *205*, *207*. 6. shall] will *BrW 181*, *183*, *186*, *188*, *195*, *196*, *198*, *200*, *201*, *203*, *206*, *208*, *210*, *211*, *214*, *215*, *216*, *217*, *223*, *224*, *225*; throw] cast *BrW 226*; a] his *BrW 183*, *187*, *227*. No stanza division *BrW 181*, *185*, *186*, *187*, *188*, *190*, *193*, *195*, *196*, *197*, *198*, *199*, *200*, *201*, *203*, *204*, *206*, *208*, *209*, *210*, *211*, *212*, *213*, *215*, *216*, *217*, *218*, *224*, *225*, *227*, *229*, *PR*. Indentation of second stanza *BrW 207*. 7-12 *omitted BrW 183*, *214*, *223*. 7. pyles let no man] structures let none *BrW 186*; pyles] pillars *BrW 182*, *209*, *215*, *217*, *224*, *229*; no man] none *BrW 207*, *209*, *217*, *229*. 8. To her Name, for after dayes] Nor any structures in her praise *BrW 198*, *201*, *206*, *209*, *210*, *215*, *224*, *225*; To] Unto *BrW 218*; Name] fame *BrW 218*, hearse *BrW 186*; for after] for in after *BrW 218*; for] in *BrW 186*; after] future *BrW 212*; dayes] praise *BrW 203*. 9. Some kind woman borne as she] Some good lady, as was shee *BrW 181*, *195*, *211*, *216*, *217*; Some kind woman borne] Some good lady kind *BrW 186*, *188*, *200*, *208*, *213*, Some kind Lady good *BrW 196*, Least some Ladyes good *BrW 198*, *209*, *210*, *215*, Lett some Lady good *BrW 201*, Least some ladye good *BrW 206*, *224*, *225*, Some good woman fair *BrW 218*; kind] good *BrW 187*, *189*, *191*, *203*, *212*; borne as she] *omitted BrW 189*. 10. Reading this] *omitted BrW 189*, For her death *BrW 194*, Seeing her *BrW 212*; this] it *BrW 195*, *196*, *198*, *201*, *206*, *209*, *210*, *211*, *215*, *216*, *217*, *224*, *225*; like] as *BrW 229*. 11. Shall turne Marble & become] Will turne a stone and soe become *BrW 195*, *196*, *211*, *217*, Will turne to stone and so become *BrW 216*; Shall turne] Weepe to *BrW 198*, *201*, *206*, *209*, *210*, *215*, *224*, *225*; Shall] Will *BrW 181*, *186*, *188*, *200*, *203*, *208*, *213*; Marble] to Marble *BrW 181*, *212*, *213*, statue *BrW 197*, *199*, *204*; become] soe become *BrW 181*. 12. her ... her] the ... the *BrW 193*, *198*, *201*, *206*, *209*, *210*, *215*, *224*, thy... thy *BrW 229*. Subscribed Finis Browne *BrW 191*, William Browne *BrW 227*. *BrW 183* (Bodleian MS Aubrey 6) subscribes title: - by Will: Browne who wrote the Pastoralls (whom Will: Earle of Pembrock preferr'd to be Tutor to the first Earle of Carnarvon ['Dormer' inserted above line], which was worth to him, 5, or 6000£. (i) he bought 300 £ per annum land) From one Jack Markham.

An alternative version of the poem is appended to *The Life and Death of Queen Elizabeth* (1639) by the author, probably Thomas Heywood. Entitled 'An Epitaph upon the Renowned Queene *Elizabeth*', it reads: Vnderneath this sable Herse/ Lyes the subject of all Verse/ Womens glory, *Englands* Mother,/ Death, e're thou hast slaine another/ Faire, and good, and learn'd as she,/ Time shall make an end of thee./ Marble Piles let no man raise/ To her name for after dayes:/ Some sweet Princesse, borne as she,/ Reading this, like *Niobe*,/ Turnes to Marble; shall become/ Both her Mourner and her Tombe. See Allan Holaday, 'William Browne's Epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke', *PQ* 28 (1949): 495-497.

On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke

Vnderneath this sable Herse,
 Lyes the Subiect of all verse.
 Sydneys Sister, Pembrokes mother,
 Death ere thou hast slaine another
 Faire & Learn'd & good as she, 5
 Tyme shall throw a Dart at thee.

Marble pyles let no man raise
 To her Name, for after dayes
 Some kind woman borne as she,
 Reading this, like Niobe, 10
 Shall turne Marble & become
 Both her Mourner & her Tombe.

1. *Herse*] a funeral pall (often cited in Renaissance elegies and epitaphs, rhyming with 'verse'; compare the refrain of Spenser's 'November').

3. *Sydneys*] Sir Philip Sidney. *Pembrokes*] William, third Earl of Pembroke, Browne's patron.

4-6. Compare I Corinthians 15:55: 'O Death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?' and the death of death in Donne's Holy Sonnet 'Death be not proud': 'And death shall be no more, Death thou shalt die'.

5. *Faire & ... she*] Note that many of the manuscript variants omit Browne's reference to the Countess's learning.

7-8. *Marble pyles ... Name*] The Countess was buried in Salisbury Cathedral, but no monument was raised in her honour.

9. *kind*] both 'generous', and 'of her own rank'.

10. *Niobe*] The story of Niobe is told in *Metamorphoses* Book VI.

Poem 39.

An Elegie on the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke

Text BrW 36 (Lansdowne 777). One other manuscript extant (BrW 37). The italics are as Lansdowne 777.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, in Brydges, pp. 81-90. Goodwin, II, pp. 248-255.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Brennan, pp. 158-159, and mentioned by Hannay, p. 247.

Subject For Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, see note to poem 39. Unlike Browne's epitaph on the Countess, his elegy survives only in Lansdowne 777, and in a truncated version, beginning with line 53, '& though thy glasse a burning one become', in Bodleian MS Eng. poet .f. 9 (BrW 37), a volume of poems mostly by Donne, compiled by Henry Champernowne of Devon. Beal's dating of the Champernowne miscellany to c. 1623 would make this transcription of the elegy (purportedly written 'a long course' after the Countess's death in 1621) impressively early - nearly 30 years before the compilation of Lansdowne 777, in c. 1650. However, the 1623 dating of MS Eng. poet. f. 9 relies on the inscription '1623. me posidett Hen: Champernoune' on folio 1, and does not guarantee that the whole of the miscellany was compiled in this year, especially since the poems by Browne occur at the end of the manuscript (pp. 237-241) and the handwriting varies throughout the volume. The 126 lines transcribed in the Champernowne volume are, indeed, remarkably close to the Lansdowne 777, most of the variants being comparatively minor differences of number and tense, or substitution of synonyms. It also seems curious if coincidental that the first line of the Champernowne version (line 53) is also the start of a new folio in Lansdowne 777. It is tempting to posit a direct or near-direct relationship between the two manuscripts, though without more information about the provenance of Lansdowne 777 and the social contacts of the Champernowne family it is difficult to say what the link might have been. It is known that the manuscript transmission of poems sometimes involved the circulation of single loose leaves or gatherings of a few sheets of paper (Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, pp. 11-13), and such a derivation between the Champernowne miscellany and Lansdowne 777 (in either direction) is at least possible.

Champernowne's compilation includes texts of poems by Jonson, Wotton, Raleigh, Ayton, Pembroke and Rudyerd as well as by Browne and Donne. Nonetheless, the physical predominance of Donne in the collection seems particularly noteworthy since this elegy is both one of Browne's most metaphysical and one of his most Donnean poems. (Herbert Grierson, albeit doubtfully, printed it in his 1912 edition of Donne (I, 462-465).) Images such as the prospective in line 44 are developed and twisted (the perspective into a burning glass which will cremate both its inventor and the poet-speaker into

And so much grieffe that some from sicknesse free, 15
Would gladly Dye to be bewaild like thee.

Yet (could I choose) I would not any knewe
That thou wert lost but as a pearle of Dewe,
Which in a gentle Euening mildelie cold,
Fallne in the Bosome of a Marigold, 20
Is in her golden leaues shut vp all night,
And seen againe when next wee see the light.

For should the world but know that thou wert gone,
Our Age too prone to Irreligion,
Knoweing soe much divinitie in thee, 25
Might thence conclude noe Immortalitye;
And I belieue the Puritans themselues,
Would be seduc'd to think that Ghostes & Elves
Doe haunt vs yet, in hope that thou wouldst deigne
To visite vs, as when thou liv'dst againe. 30

But more I feare (since we are not of France
Whose gentry would be knowne by Ignorance)
Such witts and noble as could merrit thee,
And should read this, spight of all penalye
Might light vpon their studyes, would become 35
Magicians all and raise the from thy Tombe.

Naye, I belieue, all are already soe,
And now halfe madd or more with inward woe,
Doe thinke great Drake maliciously was hurld,
To cast a Circle round about the world, 40
Onely to hinder the Magicians lore,
And frustrate all our hopes to see thee more.

Pardon my Sorrowe; is that Man aliue,
Who for vs first found out a prospective
To search into the Moone, and hath not he 45
Yet found a further skill to looke on thee?

Thou goodman whoe thou be'st that ere hast found,
The meanes to looke on one so good, so crown'd,
For pittie find me out! & we will trace
Along together to that holye place, 50
Which hides so much perfection; there will wee
Stand fixt & gaze on her Felicitye.
And should thy Glasse a burning one become,
And turne vs both to Ashes on her Tombe,
Yet to our glorye till the latter daye, 55
Our Dust shall Dance like Atomes in her raye.

And when the world shall in Confusion burne,
And kings with paisants scramble at an vrne,
Like Tapers new blowne out, wee blessed then,
Will at her beames catch fire & live againe. 60

But this is sence and some one may be glad,
That I soe true a cause of sorrowe had,
Will wish all those whom I affect might dye,
So I might please him with an Elegye.

O let there neuer line of witt be reade, 65
To please the living that doth speake thee dead!
Some tenderhearted Mother, good & milde,
Who one the deare Graue of her onelye Child
So many sad teares hath been knowne to rayne,
As out of dust could molde him vp againe, 70
And with her plaints inforce the wormes to place
Themselues like veynes so neatly on his face
And every limme, as if that they were striving
To Flatter her with hope of his reviving,
She should read this, and her true teares alone 75
Should copy forth these sad lines on the stone
Which hydes thee dead. And euery gentle heart
That passeth by should of his teares impart

So great a portion that (if aftertimes
 Ruyne more churches for the clergyes crimes) 80
 When any shall remove thy marble hence,
 Which is lesse stone than he that takes it thence,
 Thou shalt appeare within thy tearefull cell,
 Much like a faire Nymph bathing in a Well.
 But when they find thee dead, so lovelie faire, 85
 Pitty and Sorrow then shall streight repaire
 And weepe beside thy graue with Cypresse crown'd,
 To see the second world of beauty drown'd;
 And add sufficient teares as they condole,
 Would make thy body swim vp to thy Soule. 90

Such eyes should read the lines are writ on thee,
 But such a losse should haue no Elegye.
 To palliate the wound wee tooke in her,
Who rightly grieues admits noe Comforter.

He that had ta'ne to heart thy parting hence, 95
 Should haue bin chain'd in Bethlem two howres thence,
 And not a friend of his ere shed a Teare,
 To see him for thy sake distracted there,
 But hugg'd himselfe for loveing such as he,
 That could run mad with griefe for loseing thee. 100

I, haples soule, that never knew a friend,
 But to bewayle his too vntimelye End,
 Whose hopes, cropt in the Bud, haue neuer come
 But to sit weeping on a senceles Tombe,
 That hides not dust enough to counte the teares, 105
 Which I haue fruitles spent in so few yeares;

I that haue trusted those that would haue given
 For our deare Sauyour & the son of heauen
 Ten times the value Judas had of yore,
 Onely to sell him for three pieces more; 110

I that haue lou'd & trusted thus in vayne,
Yet weepe for thee. And till the Clowds shall deigne,
To showre on Egipt more then Nile ere swell'd,
These teares of myne shall be unparalleld.

He that hath love enioy'd and then been crost, 115
Hath teares at will to mourne for what he lost.
He that hath trusted & his hope appears
Wrong'd but by Death may soon dissolue in teares.
But he, vnhappy Man, whose love & trust
Nere met fruition nor a promise iust, 120
For him vnles like thee he deadly sleepe,
'Tis easier to run mad then 'tis to weepe.

And yet I can! Fall then, ye mournfull showres,
And as old Time leads on the winged howres,
Be you their Minutes. And let men forgett 125
To Count their Ages from the Plague of Sweat,
From Eighty eight, the powder plot, or when
Men were afraid to talke of it agen:
And in their Numeration be it said,
Thus old was I when such a Teare was shed; 130
And when that other fell a Comet rose,
And all the world tooke notice of my woes.
Yet findeing them past cure, As doctors fly
Their patients past all hope of remedy,
Noe charitable soul will now impart 135
One word of Comfort to soe sick a heart;
But as a hurt deare beaten from the heard,
Men of my Shaddow almost now afeard,
Fly from my woes that whilome wont to greet me,
And wellnye thinke it Ominous to meet me. 140

Sad lines goe ye abroad, goe saddest Muse,
And as some Nation formerly did vse

To lay their Sick men in the streets, that those
Who of the same disease had scapt the throes,
Might minister reliefe as they went by, 145
To such as felt the selfe same Maladye,
So haples lines fly through the fairest Land,
And if ye light into some blessed hand
That hath a heart as merry as the shyne
Of golden dayes, yet wrong'd as much as myne, 150
Pitty may lead that happy man to me,
And his Experience worke a Remedye
To those sad Fits which (spight of Natures lawes)
Torture a poore heart that outlives the Cause.

But this must never be, nor is it fit, 155
An Ague, or some sicknes lesse then it,
Should glorye in the death of such as he,
That had a heart of Flesh & valued thee.

Brave Roman, I admire thee, that wouldst dye
At no lesse rate then for an Emperie! 160
Some Massye Diamond from the center drawne,
For which all Europe were an Equall pawne,
Should (beaten into Dust) be drunke by him
That wanted courage good enough to swym
Through seas of woe for thee, & much despise 165
To meet with Death at any lower prise;
Whilst Griefe alone workes that effect in me,
And yet no griefe but for the losse of thee.

Fortune! now doe thy worst, for I haue got
By this her Death soe strong an Antidote, 170
That all thy future Crosses shall not have
More then an Angrye Smile. Nor shall the Grave
Glorye in my last days. These lines shall give
To vs a second life; and we will live

To pull the Distaffe from the hands of Fate,
 And spin our owne thredds for so long a Date,
 That Death shall never seize vpon our Fame,
 'Till this shall perish in the whole worlds flame.

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6. *sit me ... weepe*] like the exiled Israelites in Psalm 137.1: 'By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea we wept, when we remembered Zion'.

20. *a Marigold*] Browne's numerous references to the marigold include his third emblem, *Britannias Pastorals* I.5.414 and III.1.51, and 'Caelia is gone', line 7. Compare the purple violet and her dewy contents in the elegy 'Is Death so great a Gamester', lines 53-55. See Hannay, p. 115, on the use of the marigold - 'Mary's gold' - image to describe Mary Sidney.

24. *Our Age ... Irreligion*] Hannay reads this line as 'subtly appealing to [the Countess's] son to continue the Dudley / Sidney / Herbert patronage of Protestant works' (p. 207).

28-29. *Would be ... yet*] As Keith Thomas emphasizes, early Protestants decisively rejected belief in ghosts, and thus regarded it as one of the many deplorable constituents of Catholic faith: 'it was in the sixteenth century a shibboleth which distinguished Protestant from Catholic almost as effectively as belief in the Mass or the Papal Supremacy' (*Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 703). E.K. is emphatic in his scorn for the belief: 'But to roote that rancke opinion of Elfes oute of mens hearts, the truth is, that there be no such thinges, nor yet the shadowes of the things, but onely by a sort of bald Friers and knavish shavelings so feigned; which as in all other things, so in that, soughte to nousell the comen people in ignoroune, least being once acquainted with the truth of things, they woulde in tyme smell out the untruth of theyr packed pelfe and Massepenie religion' (note to *Shepherd's Calender*, 'June', line 25). Donne, however, in *The First Anniversarie*, opines that in the newly uncertain world, 'now alas, / the Fayries, and the Pigmies well may passe / As credible' (lines 141-143).

31-32. *France / Whose ... Ignorance*] Browne makes a similarly unflattering reference in the 'French and fools' of 'Poore silly foole' line 12. His *Epistle occasioned by the most intollerable iangling of the papists Bells* and *Britannias Pastorals* Book III both refer to the narrator's travels in France.

34. *spight of all penaltie*] Acts of 1542, 1563 and 1604 imposed the death penalty for various kinds of witchcraft (*Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 525).

36. *the*] thee.

39-40. *Doe thinke ... world*] Browne refers to Drake five times in *Britannias Pastorals* (I.5.150, II.3.610, II.4.212, III.1.516-517 and III.1.1002), more often than to any other public figure. The allusion in III.1.516-517 also mentions Drake's circumnavigation of the earth, in 1577-80: 'And long ere Drake (without a fearfull wrack) / Girdled the world, and brought the wandrer back'.

43-46. It is not known for certain who invented the perspective (telescope), but both Galileo and the English astronomer, Thomas Harriott, are possible

candidates. Galileo lived until 1642, but Harriott died in 1621, the same year as the Countess. Browne also refers to 'a glass perspective' in *Britannias Pastorals* II.1.859 ff, as an instrument 'By which things most remote are full in view' which monarchs might use to discover the true behaviour of their unworthy favourites. Donne, in *The Obsequies to the Lord Harrington*, compares the use of the perspective with the glimpses of virtue afforded by the deeds of good men (lines 35-40).

56. *Our Dust ... raye*] compare *Britannias Pastorals* II.1.854-855, referring to a king's unworthy favourites, 'Who, atom-like, when their sun shined clear, / Danc'd in his beam; but now his rays are gone'.

67. *Some tenderhearted Mother*] compare the 'kind woman', whose grief for the Countess is predicted in the preceding epitaph.

75-77. compare *On an Infant vborne*, for tears which carve out lines on a burial stone.

79-80. *if aftertimes ... crimes*] Browne's concern for the fabric of church buildings is worth noting, as a qualification to the recent tendency to associate him with political and poetic Puritanism in Jacobean England. (Lines 27-29 of this poem strongly suggest that Browne did not consider himself a Puritan.) Compare the elegy 'Is Death so great a Gamester' (lines 84-87), where he deplores the desecration of graves.

82. *lesse stone ... thence*] compare Browne's elegy *On Mr Vaux the Phisician* and *Britannias Pastorals* I.3.67-68: 'We cannot choose but grieve, except that we / Should be more senseless than the senseless tree'.

94. *Who rightly ... Comforter*] Compare the proverb: 'That Grief is light which is capable of counsel' (Tilley G450).

96. *Bethlem*] the hospital of St Mary of Bethlehem (Bedlam), which housed the insane.

103. *cropt in the Bud*] a version of the proverbial 'to nip in the bud' (Tilley B702).

109. *the value ... yore*] that is, thirty pieces of silver (Matthew 26.15).

126. *the Plague of Sweat*] The Sweating Sickness, a febrile disease also known as 'the English Sweat', is graphically described by John Caius in *A Booke, or Counsell against the Disease commonly called the Sweate, or Sweatyng Sicknesse* (1552). According to Caius, England had been afflicted by virulent outbreaks of the disease in 1485, 1506, 1517, 1528 and 1551. It is not clear if Browne is referring to one of these years, or to a later incidence.

127. *Eighty eight*] the Spanish Armada, 1588. *the powder plot*] the Gunpowder Plot, 1605.

127-128. *when / Men ... agen*] presumably another epoch-making event by which Browne's contemporaries liked to measure their lives. The phrase may refer directly to 'the powder plot' (line 127): though it is unclear when between 1605 and 1621 men would have been afraid to remember the Gunpowder Plot.

131. *a Comet rose*] In classical Rome, the appearance of a comet was said to denote the ascension of the deceased person's soul into heaven (thus, as Suetonius describes, the Senate was able to decide that Julius Caesar must have been a god). In Browne's time, scientific attempts to analyse and understand comets (e.g. John Bainbridge's *An Astronomical Description of the Late Comet* (1619), which draws on the work of Gilbert, Tycho Brahe, Kepler and Galileo)

were contributing to the long process of discrediting the medieval model of the universe. See F. R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England*. 133-134. *As doctors ... remedy*] Similarly unflattering sentiments about most doctors are expressed in *On Mr Vaux the Phisician*, and about surgeons in the epigram 'It hapned lately at a faire or wake'.

142-146. I have been unable to trace a reference for this practice. It is, however, reminiscent of Hoccleve's *Tale of Jonathas*, retold by Browne in *The Shepherds Pipe*, eclogue 1, in which Jonathas cures the king of the disease from which he himself has previously suffered.

158. *a heart of Flesh*] see Ezekiel 36.26: 'A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh'.

159. *Brave Roman*] I have been unable to identify this figure.

161. *Massye*] solid and weighty.

162. *an Equall pawne*] a pledge of equivalent value.

171. *all thy future Crosses*] all the reversals you may inflict.

172-173. *Nor shall ... daye*] compare Paul's assertion of the Christian triumph over death in 1 Corinthians 15.55: 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?'

175-176. *To pull ... Date*] In Greek and Roman mythology (e.g. Hesiod's, *Theogony*, 217-222), the Fates were three sister goddesses, with authority over the course of human life. They were often represented as determining the length of an individual life by the spinning - and snipping - of a thread. Spenser uses a variant of this myth in his story of Triamond and his brothers in *The Faerie Queene* IV ii 47-52. Browne refers to it in several other elegies, e. g. the elegy on Mr Francis Lee (lines 1-4), and *On the R: H: Charles* (lines 21-24); and it is the conceit of the last stanza in his elegy on Henry Prince of Wales. It also appears in *Britannias Pastorals* II.5.384-386: 'Whose thread of life, spun to a thread that mates / Dame Nature's in her hair, stays them to wonder,/ while too fine twisting makes it break in sunder'. *Distaffe*] spindle.

Poem 40.

On the R. H. Susan, Countesse
of Montgomerie

Text BrW 233 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 103. Goodwin, II, pp. 294-295.

Subject Susan, Countess of Montgomery, daughter of Edward Vere, seventeenth earl of Oxford. She was the first wife of Philip Herbert, the first Earl of Montgomery (and later fourth Earl of Pembroke), and was thus the daughter-in-law of the Dowager Countess of Pembroke, sister-in-law of William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, and mother of Charles Herbert. She was the dedicatee of several literary works, most notably Lady Mary Wroth's prose romance *Urania* (1621). Jonson's epigram 104 was addressed to her. For other literary dedications to Susan Herbert, see Brennan, p. 157. She died in January 1628/9, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. See the *Complete Peerage*, vol. X, p. 418.

On the R. H. Susan, Countesse
of Montgomerie

Though we trust the earth with thee,
We will not with thy Memorie.
Mynes of Brasse or Marble shall
Speake nought of thy funerall;
They are veryer dust then we, 5
And doe begg a Historye.
In thy Name there is a Toombe,
If the world can giue it Roome;
For a Vere & Herberts wife,
Outspeakes all Tombes, outliues all life. 10

Title. R. H.] Right Honourable. *Montgomerie]* in mid-Wales, near the border with Shropshire.

3. *Mynes]* abundant quantities.

5. *They are ... we]* Man, according to Genesis 2.7, was formed from the dust of the ground.

6. *begg]* conceal.

7. *In thy Name*] For the self-explanatory power of a name, see Jonson on the Countess's brother-in-law, William Herbert (epigram 102): 'I doe but name thee Pembroke, and I find / It is an *Epigramme* on all man-kind'.
10. *Outspeakes ... outlives*] compare 'Ye merry birds', line 11.

Poem 41.

On Mr John Deane of New Colledge

Text BrW 101 (Lansdowne 777). One other manuscript extant (BrW 102).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 92. Goodwin, II, p. 291.

Subject Foster, in *Alumni Oxonienses* (1500-1714), records a John Deane of Berkshire, who matriculated at New College in 1615, aged 19, gained his BCL in 1622-23 and became a fellow of his college, and died in 1626 (vol. 1, p. 389). Hobbs mentions him as 'The New College poet', and suggests that the common miscellany habit of crediting poets only by their initials may have led to some of his poems being ascribed to John Donne. His verse, she says, survives in 'tantalisingly few identifiable examples' (*Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, pp. 9, 89-90). In the *First Line Index*, Margaret Crum records two attributions to Deane in Bodleian manuscripts (A439, A874). Perhaps surprisingly, Browne does not mention Deane's poetry. His imagery of eyes and tears is intriguingly similar to Marvell's in *Eyes and Teares*: 'Thus let your streams o'erflow your springs,/ Till Eyes and Tears be the same things:/ And each the other's difference bears,/ Those weeping eyes, those seeing Tears' (lines 53-56).

Title On Mr John Deane] On Mr Deane *BrW 102*.

On Mr John Deane
of New Colledge

Let no man walke neere this Toombe,
That hath Left his Griefe at home.
Heere so much of Goodnesse Lyes,
We should not weepe teares, but eyes;
And Grope homeward from this stone, 5
Blinde for Contemplation
How to liue and dye as he.
 Deane, to thy deare memorye,
With this I would offer more,
Could I be secur'd before, 10
They should not be frown'd vpon,
At thy Resurrection.

Yet Accept vpon thy hearse,
My Teares farre better then my Verse;
They may turne to eyes & keepe 15
Thy bed vntouchd whilst thou dost sleepe.

6. *for Contemplation*] i.e. because of so much contemplation.
13-15. *Yet Accept ... Verse*] poems were sometimes pinned to the funeral pall.
16. *Thy bed vntouchd*] For death as a bed, see Browne's epitaph for Sir John Prowde.

Poem 42.

'Is Death so great a Gamester'

Text BrW 27 (Lansdowne 777). 6 other manuscripts extant (BrW 28-33).

Publication First printed in *Le Prince d'Amour* (1660). Printed from the Victoria and Albert MS (BrW 33) by F. G. Waldron, in *A Collection of Miscellaneous Poetry* (London, 1801), pp. 3-5. Printed from Lansdowne 777 by Brydges, pp. 143-148. Goodwin, II, pp. 266-270.

Criticism Discussed by Tillotson, pp. 33-35, noting duplication with the elegy on Mr Thomas Ayleworth (see lines 3-8, and note).

Subject The manuscript miscellanies provide conflicting evidence about the authorship of this poem. Of the 7 extant manuscript copies, 3 explicitly attribute it to Donne (BrW 28, BrW 29 and BrW 32), and another is included in a volume of poems mostly by Donne. However, its inclusion in Lansdowne 777 and the repetition of lines 3-8 in Browne's elegy on Thomas Ayleworth (poem 55) are strong evidence for Browne's authorship, and *Le Prince d'Amour*, the first printed volume to include a text of the poem, subscribes the poem 'WB'. Moreover, the elegy is closer in style to Browne's more leisurely couplets than to Donne's compressed syntax; and many of its themes and figures - the loss of friends (lines 5-14), the representative female mourner (line 46 ff.), the shortcomings of the legal system (lines 57-60), the desecration of graves (lines 84-87) - have analogues elsewhere in Browne's poetry. It is impossible to be certain, but Browne's authorship of 'Is Death so great a Gamester' seems more likely than Donne's. The poems of *Le Prince d'Amour*, a Restoration anthology with Inns of Court connections, were praised by its editor, William Leake, as manifesting 'not any thing of the gall and venome which has mixed it self with the Ink of these last twenty years, but *wit* born long before our unhappy *intestine* divisions, and had that mark of eternity, that it is not like to grow old, but is still new, florid and innocent'. According to Marotti, the anthology was intended to appeal to 'an audience happy about the Restoration of the Stuarts, but not just to Royalist or loyalist readers' (Marotti, p. 278). Browne's sorrow at the loss of friends, and his condemnation of desecration would gratify the nostalgia of this audience.

The subject of the elegy is not identified, though it is clearly a woman: female pronouns are used in line 12, 23, 24, 44, 46 etc., and comparisons are drawn with 'the fairest mayde' in line 26, 'woemen apter to endure' in line 30, and 'a Mayden, faire & good as shee' in line 46. One of the miscellany copies of the poem identifies her as the poet's wife, three as his mistress. However, although the poet refers more than once to his love for the dead woman (lines 51 and 75), he at no point implies that their relationship has been intimate (his allusion to the death of his 'best hopes' in line 56 is Browne's usual hyperbole) and lines 10-14 suggest that she is one amongst several of his friends who have

recently died. The plural pronouns of lines 50-52 similarly suggest that others have as much reason to mourn the dead woman as he has.

Title Dr Donnes Elegy on his Wives Death *BrW 28*, Dr Dun vpon the death of a Gentlewoman *BrW 29*, On the death of his Mistres *BrW 30, 31*, Dr Dunne on the death of his Mistress *BrW 32*, Elegia *BrW 33*, An Elegy written by a Gent. upon the death of his Mistris *P. 2.* & must I still] must I euer *BrW 28, 30, 31, 32, 33.* 3. Are] And *BrW 32*; as] *omitted BrW 28, P*; first] fast *BrW 28, 30, 31, 32.* 5. Will] Shall *BrW 28*; ranke] Hape *BrW 28*, heapes *BrW 31*, the ranke, the ranke *BrW 30*, ranks *P*; in whom] wherein *BrW 28.* 6. Sodomes] Sodom *BrW 28*; Trees yeeld me no fruit] apples yeild nothing *BrW 31.* 7-8. *omitted P.* 7. Must] Will *BrW 28*; as] like *BrW 28, 31*; Sparkes that] Sparkles *BrW 28, 30, 31, 32.* 8. worth] face *BrW 30.* 9-42. *omitted BrW 28.* 9. O] And *BrW 31*; tend] bend *BrW 31.* 13. those] these *BrW 30, 32.* 15. Cannons] Canonie *BrW 31.* 16. Registers for] the regestering *BrW 32*; Registers] register *BrW 31*; for] of *BrW 30, 31*; our] *omitted BrW 30.* 17. keep] hould *BrW 31*; bonds] doubt *BrW 31*; feares] feare *BrW 30.* 19. For should they loose & mourne] When should all mourne and loose *BrW 31*; they] all *BrW 29, 30, 33, P.* 21. These] Those *BrW 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, P*; to] doe *BrW 32.* 22. with those] for them *BrW 31*; those] them *BrW 32*; before the] in Noah's *BrW 30, 32.* 23. forceth] forced *BrW 30*, forcest *BrW 31.* 25. been] be *BrW 30, 32, 33, P.* 26. fifteen] twenty *BrW 30, 31, 32, 33, P*; fairest] chastest *P.* 28. for] to *BrW 31.* 29. spend the] sell that *BrW 31*; the] that *BrW 32*; most] so *BrW 33.* 31-2. *omitted BrW 31.* 31. prouidently] prudently *BrW 30*; there] that there *BrW 30.* 32. and Islands which she was to] which askt for people from her *BrW 30, 32, 33.* 34. for] in *P.* 35. her] *omitted BrW 32*; neat] fine *BrW 31.* 36. A third for her sweet eyes] This for her fine foote *BrW 30*, This for her foote *BrW 32*; sweet eyes] neate foote *BrW 31*, fine foote *BrW 33*; was] for *BrW 31.* 37-38. *omitted [BrW 28], 30, 31, 32, 33.* 37. who] that *BrW 29, P.* 38. Queen of Loue] Paphian Queen *P.* 39. Seldome all beautyes met in one till] And seald all beauty in one vntill *BrW 31*; Seldome] And held *BrW 30*, And seld *BrW 32, 33.* 40. else] had *BrW 31*, being *P*; came] and *BrW 31.* 41. our Sweet] this small *BrW 31*; &] where *BrW 31.* 42. Her] Their *BrW 31*; gan to] cannot *BrW 30, 32.* 43. To lauishnes in euery] Nature is lauish in each *BrW 28.* 44. she her fairest] her faire fairest *BrW 32*; that] who *BrW 31.* 45. as a blossome forced from the tree] as my Joyes for Ever Ever bee *BrW 28, 30, 32, 33, P*, as my hopes for euer euer Bee *BrW 31.* 46. a] *omitted BrW 31*; Mayden] woman *BrW 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, P*; faire & good] good or fayre *BrW 28.* 47 thy] her *BrW 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, P*, the *BrW 29*; let her there professe] may she there become *BrW 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, P.* 48. Her selfe for euermore an Anchoresse] A statue like Lots wife and be her Tombe *BrW 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, P*, A statue like Lots wife and prove her Tombe *BrW 30.* 49-52. *omitted BrW 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, P.* 53. let] may *BrW 31.* 54. feele] knowe *BrW 28, 30, 31, 32, 33.* 55. full of] wett with *BrW 28*; with euer] which euery *BrW 31.* 56. Shew] Shewes *BrW 31*; hopes are] love is *P*; hopes] Joyes *BrW 28.* 57. Murd'ers] Murthers *BrW 31, 33*; Theives] thriues *BrW 31.* 58. Can] May *BrW 28, 31*; Pardons] pardon *BrW 30.* 59. hath

been often] often hath beene *BrW* 28. 61. Yet Vowes nor prayers could not] Yet neither Vowes nor prayers could *BrW* 29, But yet nor vowes nor teares could *BrW* 30, But neither Vowes nor prayers would *BrW* 31, But vowes and prayers could not *BrW* 32; Yet] But *BrW* 28. 62. the] thee *BrW* 28, 30. 63. with] though *BrW* 28; spring & liue] live & Spring *BrW* 28, 31, 32. 64. lost] gone *BrW* 28; as] like *BrW* 28. 65. Falne] Falls *BrW* 30; for] and *BrW* 31. 66. Take up] Recall *BrW* 31; or] and *BrW* 31. 67. ere] once *BrW* 28, wee *BrW* 31. 68. the] thy *BrW* 32; have] am *BrW* 31. 69. where thou dost] wherein you *BrW* 31, 32. 70. An] But *BrW* 28. 71. draw] winn *BrW* 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, *P*; her] my *BrW* 32; were] are *BrW* 28. 72. would] should *BrW* 30, *P*; & to] unto *BrW* 29; to] by *BrW* 32. 73. vsed] did *BrW* 33; with] to *BrW* 31. 74. that] as *BrW* 29; mightst] shouldst *BrW* 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, *P*. 75. As] And *BrW* 30. 76. doe] say *BrW* 28, 31. 78. those] our *BrW* 31; dead] omitted *BrW* 29; which] that *BrW* 28, 31; thee] us *BrW* 31. 79-92. omitted *BrW* 31. 79. came] come *BrW* 30, comes *BrW* 32. 80. I'de] wee'd *BrW* 33. 81. were] be *BrW* 32. 83. Knew] Knowes *BrW* 30, 32, 33. 84. Can] Could *BrW* 28; bring thee backe to life] ever bring thee back *BrW* 29; many one] many a one *BrW* 28, 29, 30. 85. Our] These *BrW* 28; cursed] wicked *BrW* 29, *P*; that] who *BrW* 28. 87. beds] bed *BrW* 30. 88. dayes] Times *BrW* 28, 29, 30, 32, *P*, crimes *BrW* 33. 90. one] Arke *BrW* 28. 91. can] shall *BrW* 28, will *BrW* 30, 32; reward] record *BrW* 29; greatest] Dearest *BrW* 28. 92. the] his *BrW* 28; call] fetch *BrW* 28, 30, 32, 33. Subscribed WB *P*.

An Elegye

Is Death so great a Gamester that he throwes
 Still at the fairest, & must I still loose?
 Are we all but as Tarryers first begunne,
 Made & together put to be vndone?
 Will all the ranke of friends in whom I trust, 5
 Like Sodom's Trees yeeld me no fruit but dust?
 Must all I loue, as careles Sparkes that fly
 Out of a flint, but show there worth & dye?
 O where doe my for euer Losses tend!
 I could already by some buryed Friend 10
 Count my vnhappy yeares, & should the Sun
 Leaue me in Darknes as her losse hath done,
 (By those few friends I haue yet to intombe,
 I might (I feare) account my yeares to come.

What need our Cannons then be so precise, 15
 In Registers for our Natiuities?
 They keep vs but in bonds, and Strike with feares
 Rich Parents till their Children be of yeares.
 For should they loose & mourne, they might as I
 Number their yeares by euery Elegie. 20
 These Bookes to Sum our dayes might well have stood
 In vse with those that liued before the Flood.
 When she Indeed that forceth me to write,
 Should haue byn borne had Nature done her right;
 And at fiue hundred yeares been lesse decayde, 25
 Then now at fifteen is the fairest mayde.
 But Nature had not her perfection then,
 Or being lothe for such long liuing men,
 To spend the Treasure which she held most pure,
 She gaue them woemen apter to endure; 30
 Or prouidently knowing there were more
 Countryes and Islands which she was to store,
 Nature was thrifty & did thinke it well
 If for some one part each one did excell:
 As this for her neat hand, that for her hayre, 35
 A third for her sweet eyes, a fourth was faire;
 And 'tis approu'd by him who could not drawe
 The Queen of Loue till he a hundred sawe,
 Seldome all beautyes met in one till she
 (All other Lands else stor'de) came finally 40
 To people our Sweet Isle: & seeing now
 Her substance Infinite, she gan to bowe
 To Lauishnes in euery Nuptiall bed,
 And she her fairest was that now is dead.
 Dead, as a blossome forced from the tree. 45
 And if a Mayden, faire & good as shee,

Tread on thy graue, O let her there professe,
Her selfe for euermore an Anchoresse.
Let her be Deathles! Let her still be yong,
Without this meanes we haue no verse nor Tongue, 50
To say how much I lou'd, or let vs see
How great our losse was in the losse of thee.
Or let the purple violett grow there,
And feele noe reuolution of the yeare;
But full of dew, with euer drooping head, 55
Shew how I liue since my best hopes are dead.

Dead! as the world to Vertue. Murd'ers, Theiues,
Can haue their Pardons or at least Reprieues;
The Sword of Justice hath been often wonne
By letters from an Execution. 60
Yet Vowes nor prayers could not keepe thee here,
Nor shall I see, the next returning yeare,
Thee with the Roses spring & liue againe.
Th'art lost for euer! as a drop of Raine
Falne in a Riuer; for as soone I may 65
Take up that drop, or meet the same at Sea,
And know it there, as ere redeeme thee gone;
Or know thee in the Graue when I have one.

O! had that hollow Vault where thou dost lye
An Eccho in it, my strong phantasye 70
Would draw me soone to thinke her words were thine,
And I would hourelie come, & to thy Shrine
Talke, as I often vsed to talke with thee,
And frame my words that thou mightst Answer me
As when thou liuedst: I'de sigh & say I loued, 75
And thou shouldst doe so to, till we had moued
(With our complaints) to teares each marble cell,
Of those dead Neighbors which about thee dwell.

And when the holy father came to saye
 His Orisons, I'de aske him if the daye 80
 Of Miracles were past, or whether he
 Knew any one whose faith & pietye
 Could raise the dead; but he would answer, none
 Can bring thee backe to life, though many one
 Our cursed dayes afford that dare to thrust 85
 Their hands prophane to raise the Sacred Dust
 Of holy Saints out of their beds of Rest.
 Abhorred dayes! O maye there none molest
 Thy quiet peace! but in thy Arke remayne
 Vntouch'd, as those the old one did contayne: 90
 Till he that can reward thy greatest worth
 Shall send the peacefull Doue to call thee forth.

1. *Gamester*] gambler, as in Jonson's 'On Reformed Gam'ster', epigram 21. *throwes*] i.e., aims.

2. *still*] always.

3-8. These lines are repeated in Browne's *An Elegie on ... Mr Thomas Ayleworth*, lines 3-8.

6. *Like Sodomes ... dust*] See Tilley, A300: 'Sodom Apples outwardly fair, ashes at the core', e.g. Webster, *The White Devil*: 'You see my Lords what goodly fruct she seemes, / Yet like those apples travellers report / To grow where Sodom and Gomora stood, / I will but touch her and you straight shall see / Sheele fall to soote and ashes' (III ii 63-67).

7-8. *careles Sparkes ... flint*] See Tilley, F371, 'In the coldest flint there is hot fire',

15-16. *What need ... Natiuityes?*] The *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* (1603) of the Church of England, section LXX: 'Ministers to keep a Register of Christenings, Weddings and Burials', provides minute instructions for the regular transcription, witnessing, countersigning, locking and copying of church records, and threatens severe penalties for any ministers and churchwardens who fail to keep the rules.

17-19. Obscure. Line 18 may refer to the notoriously high infant mortality rate, which created practical difficulties for rich families wanting to secure their inheritance.

21-26. In *The First Anniversarie*, Donne regrets the loss of the longevity men enjoyed before the Flood: 'Where is this mankind now? who lives to age, / fit to be made *Methusalem* his page? / Alas, we scarce live long enough to trie / Whether a new made clocke run right, or lie' (lines 127-130).

27-44. Browne describes Nature's *improvident* lavishness in *Britannias Pastorals* I.4.259-262: 'Nature was here so lavish of her store, / That she bestow'd until she had no more; / Whose treasure being weaken'd (by this dame) / She thrusts into the world so many lame', and her prodigality in the Golden Age in *Britannias Pastorals* II.3.470-474: 'Nature now is turn'd a prodigal, / And on this age so much perfection spends, / That to her last of treasure it extends;/ For all the ages that are slid away / Had not so many beauties as this day'.

30. *woeman*] the spelling recalls the false Renaissance etymology of 'woman' as 'woe to man'. *apter to endure*] This phrase also appears in *Britannias Pastorals* II.2.754: 'use hath made us apter to endure'.

32. *she was to store*] For Nature's store, compare the allusions to a less thrifty provider in the description of Aletheia, *Britannias Pastorals* I.4.259-262 (see note to lines 27-44). In II.3.243-244 abundance in Nature is a characteristic of the Golden Age: 'None had a body then so weak and thin, / Bankrupt of Nature's store'.

37-38. *him who ... hundred sawe*] probably an allusion to the painter Zeuxis. Cicero tells how Zeuxis, wanting to paint a picture of Helen 'so that the portrait though silent and lifeless might embody the surpassing beauty of womanhood', chose five beautiful women as models for her likeness. 'He chose five because he did not think all the qualities which he sought to combine in a portrayal of beauty could be found in one person, because in no single case has Nature made anything perfect and finished in every part. Therefore, as if she would have no bounty to lavish on the others if she gave everything to one, she bestows some advantage on one and some on another, but always joins with it some defect' (*De Inventione*, 2.1.1-3, Loeb translation). This anecdote was frequently retold in the Renaissance, e.g. by Nashe, in *The Anatomie of Absurditie (Elizabethan Critical Essays*, vol. 1, p. 321), who, however, referred to Zeuxis' picture as a portrait of Juno. Browne's version does not match Cicero in every particular: his 'Queen of Loue' in line 38 is presumably Aphrodite, the 'Paphian Queen' of *Le Prince d'Amour*'s version, rather than Cicero's Helen, and where Cicero's artist needs five women to model his portrait, Browne's needs one hundred. However, his description of Nature's prudent distribution of beauty amongst the women of the world, and her fear of exhausting her bounty prematurely, are so close to Cicero that they must surely be derived either from *De Inventione* or a close imitation.

41. *our Sweet Isle*] Browne refers in his elegy for Henry, Prince of Wales, to the tradition that Britain was one of the Fortunate Islands (line 86).

46. *a Mayden ... she*] compare the symbolic mourner in Browne's epitaph for the Countess of Pembroke, line 9.

53-55. Compare the marigold and its drop of dew in *An Elegie on the Countess Dowager of Pembroke*, lines 17-22.

54. *feele noe ... yeare*] i.e. feel no passage of time (compare Lydgate, *As a Mydsomer Rose*, 61-62: 'By revoluciuon and turnyng of the yeere, / As gery March his stoundys doth disclose').

59-60. *The Sword ... Execution*] Under contemporary law, 'benefit of clergy' allowed the penalty for certain offences to be remitted for those who could prove an ability to read. Jonson pleaded benefit of clergy when accused of the murder of Gabriel Spencer in 1598. The 'letters' of line 60 could also, simply, be

missives, such as the letters of reprieve expected by Pedringano in *The Spanish Tragedy*.

64-66. Proverbial: Tilley D613, 'As lost as a drop of water in the sea'.

71. *her*] Echo's. The Echo of classical legend, e. g. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Book III, is female.

74. *And frame ... me*] Compare the echo scenes of contemporary drama, e.g. Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* Viii, or echo poems such as Herbert's 'Heaven'. Browne uses a similar echo scene in his account of the repentance of Riot (*Britannias Pastorals*, I.5.605ff).

80-84. According to Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (pp. 92, 126, 146-147), it was widely held, especially among Protestants, that miracles had ceased.

84-87. Compare Browne's condemnation of the destruction of churches, in his elegy on the Countess of Pembroke, lines 79-80.

89. *thy Arke*] i.e. her tomb or coffin.

90. *as those ... contayne*] as Noah's ark (Genesis 6-8) kept its inhabitants safe.

91-92. *Till he ... forth*] Compare *Britannias Pastorals* I.1.180, where the forsaken Marina, deliberating over the merits of suicide, is likened to 'The Nuncius of peace, the seely dove', beset by two predatory hawks. Noah sent out two birds, a raven and a dove, from the Ark, but it was the return of the dove with an olive branch in its beak that told him that the water had receded from the earth (Genesis 8).

Poem 43.

On Mr Vaux

Text BrW 104 (Lansdowne 777). 3 other extant manuscripts are recorded by Beal (BrW 105-107) There is another copy in Folger V. a. 262, p. 51.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 75. Goodwin, II, pp. 289-290.

Subject 'Mr Vaux the Phisitian' has not been securely identified. Goodwin suggests that he may have been Francis Vaux, a graduate of Broadgates Hall, Oxford, who gained his M.B. in 1626, and was dead by 1631-2 (II, p. 349). The date of Vaux's M.B. would make him contemporary with Browne's second residence in Oxford, so the identification, though speculative, is plausible. Bodleian MS. Rawl. poet. 206, an Inns of Court and Oxford manuscript of the 1630s, includes on pp. 17-20 (just before a copy of Browne's *On an Infant vnborne*) a poem headed: 'Vpon the death of the Noble Phisition, & his ever honourde Friend Mr James Vaulx'. Attributed to 'N. D.', it provides no biographical information about this Vaulx, but praises his near-miraculous medical skills (compared favourably with 'Some Galenist (whose Physick smell o'th book)').

Title On Mr Vaux the Phisitian] Will Browne on Mr Vaux Phisitian *BrW 106*, Vppon the death of Mr Vaux A famous Phisition *BrW 107*, *Folger*. 6. the] corrected from 'their' *BrW 105*. 8. flesh] life *BrW 107*. 11. busyed] busy *BrW 106*. 12. Distributing both] In distributing *BrW 106*. 14. he hath] he *BrW 106*. 15. omitted *BrW 106*. 17. Be] By *BrW 106*; or] are *BrW 106*. 18. Will] Who *BrW 106*; thinke] Judge *BrW 106*.

On Mr Vaux the
Phisitian

Stay! this Graue deserues a Teare,
'Tis not a coarse but lyfe lyes here;
May be thine owne, at least some part,
And thou the Walking Marble art.

'Tis Vaux! whom Art & Nature gaue, 5
A powre, to plucke men from the Graue.
When others Druggs made Ghostes of men,
His gaue them back their flesh agen.
Tis he lyes heere, & thou & I

May wonder he found time to dye, 10
So busyed was he & so rife
Distributing both health & life.
Honor his Marble with your Teares,
You to whom he hath added yeares,
You whose lifes light he was about 15
Soe carefull, that his owne went out.
Be you his liuing Monument! or we
Will rather thinke you in the Graue then he.

2. *coarse*] a corpse.

7. *When others ... men*] Vaux is an exception to Browne's usually low opinion of doctors. In the preceding elegy, on the Countess of Pembroke, he claims that 'doctors fly / Their patients past all hope of remedy' (lines 133-134).

17-18. *we / Will ... then he*] Compare Jonson's epitaph on Vincent Corbett (died 1619): 'For truly, since he left to be, / I feele, I'm rather dead than he' (*The Underwood* 12, lines 35-36). *liuing Monument*] compare poem 32, line 45.

Poem 44.

On one drown'd in the Snowe

Text BrW 148 (Lansdowne 777). 30 other manuscripts extant (BrW 149-178). Two early printed sources.

Publication Published in *Wits Recreations* (1640) and *Parnassus Biceps* (1656). Printed from Lansdowne 777 by Brydges, p. 76. Goodwin, II, p. 290.

Subject *On one drown'd in the Snowe* was evidently one of Browne's most popular poems. Beal records 31 copies in seventeenth-century manuscripts, and it was also published in *Wits Recreations* (1640). Marotti lists it in his survey of the most popular miscellany poems, categorizing it among the 'witty trivia' (p. 131). Several of the miscellanies in which it occurs have Oxford connections, e.g. Bodleian MS Ashmole 47 (BrW 149) and MS Eng. poet. e. 97 (BrW 152), Corpus Christi College MSS 176 (BrW 150) and 328 (BrW 151), British Library Add. MS 58215 (BrW 159), Folger MSS V. a. 97 (BrW 165) and V. a. 162 (BrW 167), and Huntington MS HM 116 (BrW 171). The title given to the poem in Bodleian MS Firth e. 4 (which is not known to derive from the university) even suggests that the event commemorated in the poem may have occurred in Oxford: 'Upon one that was drowned in the snow at Christchurch in Oxford' (BrW 153). The titles provided by many of the other miscellanies tend to confirm Marotti's guess that some popular miscellany poems may have achieved their currency because they could be easily adapted to suit the preferences of the compiler: thus the dead speaker of *On one drown'd in the Snowe* (Lansdowne 777 title), whose sex is not specified in the text, becomes 'a Woman lost in the Snow' in BrW 158, 'a Boy drowned in the Snow' in BrW 168, and 'a Gentelman who was founde dead in the snow and afterwarde buried' (BrW 157). The anonymity as well as the wit of Browne's poem perhaps helps to explain its inclusion in *Wits Recreations*, an anthology mostly consisting of short satirical poems and epigrams, but typified, according to Marotti, by 'antiromantic, misogynistic, anti-Puritan, courtly, and encomiastic pieces' (p. 267): scarcely the sort of literary environment with which Browne is usually associated.

Title On one drown'd in the Snowe] On one drownd in snow *BrW 149, 150, 156*, An Epitaph Upon one drown'd in the Snow *BrW 152, 178*, Vpon one that was drown'd in the snow at Christ Church in Oxford *BrW 153*, IN NIVE Tumulatu Tumul *BrW 155*, An epitaph on a Gentelman who was founde dead in the snow and afterwarde buried *BrW 157*, On A woman lost in the snow *BrW 158*, Vpon One who was drowned in the Snowe *BrW 159*, On one drowned in a great snow *BrW 161*, On one drown'd in a great snow by W Browne *BrW 162*, Vpon one dead in the snow *BrW 164, PB*, Upon one drowned in the snow *BrW 166*, Vpon a Boy drowned in the Snow *BrW 168*, On a man drownd in the snow *BrW 169, 173, WR*, Upon one that was drowned in the snow *BrW 170*, Upon one drowned in snowe *BrW 171*, An Epitaph on one drownd in snowe *BrW 172*, Uppon one drowned in snowe. W^m Browne *BrW 176*. 1. fleece of Silent] silent fleece of *BrW 171*; waters] water *BrW 151, 158*. 2. I met with death]

'I met with death' in main text, underlined, 'my d was known' in margin *BrW* 151, my death was known *BrW* 149, 153, 155, 158, 159, 166, 169, 170, 171, 173, *WR*, with] my *BrW* 150, 152, 156, 157, 161, 162, 172, 176, 178. 3-4. omitted *BrW* 158. 3. That] The *BrW* 169. 4. froze] thawd *BrW* 153, freezd *BrW* 154, 157; it selfe] omitted *BrW* 178. 5. One onely Element my fate] One Element a Loving fate *BrW* 150, One element my angry Fate *BrW* 159, 166, 169, 170, 173, *WR*; One onely Element] One element alone *BrW* 151, 152, 156, 161, 162, 172, 176, 178, Only one element *BrW* 154, 160, 164, 167, 168, *PB*; onely Element my fate] element the angry fates *BrW* 153; my fate] the Fates *BrW* 168. 6. Death, Graue, Tombe &] tombe, my graue, my *BrW* 158; Grave, Tombe] Tombe, Grave *BrW* 150, my graue and *BrW* 168; Tombe] omitted *BrW* 149. 7. himselfe my Epitaph] my Epitaph himselfe *BrW* 171; my] an *BrW* 149, 158, 169, mine *BrW* 153, 154, 173, *WR*; had writ] did write *BrW* 150; had] hath *BrW* 152, 172, 173, 176, 178. 8. But] 'Yet' in main text, 'But' in margin *BrW* 151, Yett] *BrW* 161, 162, 172, 176, 178; many] omitted *BrW* 168; ere he thought one fit] euer, one thought fitt *BrW* 171; thought] found *BrW* 153. 9. wrote vntill my Tombe & Graue were] writt so longe till graue and tombe was *BrW* 158; wrote] writt *BrW* 154, 168; vntill my] 'untill my' in main text, underlined, 'solong' in margin *BrW* 151; Tombe & Grave were] wat'ry tombe was *BrW* 149, graue & tombe was *BrW* 171, 176; Tombe & Graue] grave and tombe *BrW* 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 159, 161, 162, 166, 168, 169, 170, 172, 173, 178, *WR*. 10. And 'twas an] This was my *BrW* 160; And 'twas] And nowe *BrW* 178; an] my *BrW* 158, 171; that] though *BrW* 172; had] have *BrW* 178. 11. For] Soe *BrW* 158; man] one *BrW* 149, 153, 155, 158, 159, 166, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, *WR*; past along the] passed by that *BrW* 153, 159, 166, 168, 169, 170, 173, *WR*; the waye] that way *BrW* 150, 152, 154, 155, 156, 158, 161, 162, 164, 167, 171, 172, 176, 178, *PB*. 12. Without a Sculpture read that there] Without Sculpture did read that here *BrW* 150; read] omitted *BrW* 149, sayd *BrW* 153; there I] I there *BrW* 171; there] here *BrW* 155, 157. Stanza division between lines 12-13 *BrW* 155. 13-18. omitted *BrW* 153, 158, 159, 166, 170. 13. the second tyme Intomb'd] intomb'd the second time *BrW* 149, 155, 167; Intomb'd] inclosd *BrW* 164, *PB*; untomb'd *BrW* 169, 173, *WR*. 14. much haue] haue I *BrW* 149, 155; haue] hath *BrW* 154. 15. from] for *BrW* 173; only one was] but one is *BrW* 150; only] but *BrW* 162. 16. feed] seize *BrW* 164, *PB*. 17. me from] from me *BrW* 168. 18. My] The *BrW* 149, 155; back] upp *BrW* 157, breath *BrW* 168; life] live *BrW* 168. Subscribed W Brow *BrW* 150, Dr Corbett *BrW* 152, Finis W: B: *BrW* 157, GD *BrW* 160, William Browne *BrW* 161.

On one drown'd in the
 Snowe

Within a fleece of Silent waters drown'd,
 Before I met with death a graue I found.

That which exilde my life from her sweet home,
 For grieffe streight froze it selfe into a Tombe.
 One onely Element my fate thought meet, 5
 To be my Death, Graue, Tombe & Winding-Sheet.
 Phoebus himselfe my Epitaph had writ,
 But blotting many ere he thought one fit,
 He wrote vntill my Tombe & Graue were gone,
 And 'twas an Epitaph that I had none. 10
 For euery man that past along the waye,
 Without a Sculpture read that there I laye.
 Here now the second tyme Intomb'd I lye,
 And thus much haue the best of Destenye:
 Corruption (from which only one was free) 15
 Deuour'd my Graue but did not feed on mee.
 My first Graue tooke me from the race of men,
 My last shall giue me back to life agen.

1. *fleece of Silent waters*] Browne also compares snow to a fleece in *One a faire Ladyes yellow haire*, line 8. Comparisons to fleece also occur in *Britannias Pastorals* I.1.624 (the shepherd's flock is his 'fleecy train'), and in *A Sigh from Oxford* (a 'fleecy Cloud', line 114). There is a partial precedent for likening snow to fleece in Psalm 147:16: 'He giveth snow like wool'.

5. *One onely Element*] i.e. water.

9-12. Phoebus appears in a paradoxical capacity: as the god of poetry, attempting to compose an epitaph in the snow, and as god of the sun, who melts the snow.

12. *Without a Sculpture*] without a monument.

14. *haue the ... Destenye*] get the better of Destiny.

15. *one*] Jesus.

17. *race of men*] either 'mankind', or the New Testament sense of 'the Christian life', as in Hebrews 12:1: 'Let us run with patience the race that is set before us'.

Poem 45.

On one borne blynde

Text BrW 144 (Lansdowne 777). 3 other manuscripts extant (BrW 145-147; BrW 147 Rosenbach MS).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p.148. Goodwin, II, p. 285.

Title and soe dead] and died blind *BrW 146*; dead] died *BrW 145*. 1. could euer] that liud could *BrW 146*. 2. Death] fate *BrW 146*; from] for *BrW 146*; a daye] of day *BrW 146*.

On one borne blynde
and soe dead

Who (but some one like thee) could euer saye,
He master'd Death from robbing him a daye?
Or was Death euer yet soe kinde to any?
One Night she tooke from thee, from others many;
And yet (to recompence it) in thy Toombe, 5
Giues the a longer till the Daye of Doome.

2. *He master'd ... daye?*] because a blind man has no day and so cannot be robbed of it.

4. *One Night ... thee*] because the man had lived in perpetual night.

6. *the*] *thee*. *a longer*] longer time to wait until the Resurrection: a longer night in death than the man had known in life.

On an Infant vnborne

Text BrW 77 (Lansdowne 777). 19 other manuscripts extant (BrW 78-96). One early printed source. Italics are as Lansdowne 777.

Publication First published in *Parnassus Biceps* (1656). Printed from Lansdowne 777 by Brydges, pp. 90-91. Goodwin, II, pp. 255-256.

Subject *On an Infant vnborne* was one of Browne's most popular manuscript poems. Although not mentioned by Marotti, it clearly falls into his third category of popular poems, the 'witty trivia' (p. 131). Twenty copies survive in seventeenth-century manuscripts, and it was published in *Parnassus Biceps* (1656), a Royalist anthology which drew heavily on the manuscript tradition, and which also published Browne's *On one drown'd in the Snowe*, another epitaph on an unusual death. A subscription to the poem in British Library Add. MS 21433 records the *Parnassus Biceps* publication, and may have been copied from the printed text. Nearly all texts in the miscellanies include two extra lines between Lansdowne 777 24-25.

Title On an Infant vnborne & the Mother dyeing in Trauell] Upon an infant the mother thereof dying in travell *BrW 78*, Upon a woman dying in Childbed *BrW 79*, Doctor Corbett one a mother with hir Infant dyinge in Travell *BrW 80*, On a woman dying in Travell the child vnborne *BrW 81, 93, PB*, Vpon an infant & the mother dying in travaile *BrW 82*, On a woman dying in travaile with child *BrW 83*, Uppon an Infant vnborne the mother thereof dying in trauel *BrW 85*, On a woman dying in child birth *BrW 88*, On a Gentlewoman dying in Trauell and the childe unborne *BrW 89*, Vppon an infant vnborne whose Mother dyed in trauell *BrW 90, 96*, On one dying in child bed with her child *BrW 92*, On a Mother dying in childbedd *BrW 94*, On an Infant & the Mother dying in travaile *BrW 95*. 1. Intomb'd] intoomb *BrW 93*. 2. & a] with hir *BrW 80, 88*; inwoomb'd] vnwombed *BrW 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 90, 95, 96*, inwoomb *BrW 93*. 3. 'Twas] Tis *BrW 80, 81, 90, 95, 96*; vigour] rigor *BrW 90*. 4. ne're was borne] was unborne *BrW 78, 85, 90, 96*; ne're] never *BrW 88*. 5. Yet an Iniunction Stranger] omitted *BrW 88*; Iniunction] iniu *BrW 78*. 6. Tombe] a Tombe *BrW 80*, Entombd *BrW 85*, the Toomb *BrW 81, 86, 87, 88*; that which] one that *BrW 88*. 8. Buryes] Buried *BrW 81*; the Childe, the Graue] the graue, the child *BrW 78, 85, 90, 96*, the graue, the tombe *BrW 81, 88*; &] the *BrW 79, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 96*. 9. the] an *BrW 79, 88, 94*, this *BrW 80, a BrW 92*; Whereon] thereon *BrW 88*. 10. The Childe, the Graue, the Monument] The graue, the tombe, the Epitaph *BrW 88*; is] are *BrW 81*. 11. a] with *BrW 79*. 11-26. omitted, ' - heer she lyes - ' inserted *BrW 88*. 12. Where] When *BrW 87*; cut] write *BrW 79, 81, 85, 89, 90, 93, 96, PB*; Tombes owne] tombe an *BrW 85*; own] an *BrW 85*. 13. &] that *BrW 81*; now] one *BrW 85*; omitted *BrW 86, 87*. 14. As on] Write on *BrW 95*; As] Like *Br 90*; on] in *BrW 91*. 15. of] with *BrW 84*; fingers] finger *BrW 78*. 16. An Epitaph both on the Child &] Within the dust the sad contents o'th' *BrW 83*; An]

One *BrW* 79, 80, 82, 94, 95. both on] within *BrW* 78, vppon *BrW* 90, 96; Child] tombe *BrW* 81, 89, 93, *PB*. 17. Within the Dust] O'th' teeming grave] *BrW* 83; Within] With *BrW* 82; but] and *BrW* 78, 85, 90, 96; when some dayes are] some dayes being *BrW* 79; dayes] hours *BrW* 81, 89, 93, *PB*. 18. that] the *BrW* 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 93, 94, 95, 96, *PB*, omitted *BrW* 92. 19. will] well *PB*; yet] but *BrW* 78, 85, 89, 90, 96; there so] therefore *BrW* 93, *PB*; there] here *BrW* 86, 87, 95. 20. those which knew the losse and truly] these which truly know the losse and *BrW* 90, 96; which knew the losse and truly] that truly know the losse and *BrW* 78, that know the losse and iustly *BrW* 79, that knewe your losse & iustly *BrW* 95; knew the losse and truly] truly knew the losse, may *BrW* 85; which knew] that know *BrW* 81; which] that *BrW* 82, 83; knew] know *BrW* 86, 87, 89, 93, 94, *PB*; &] may *BrW* 81, *PB*; truly] iustly *BrW* 80, 82, 86, 87, 92, 94. 21. May] And *BrW* 81, 85, *PB*; shedd] see *BrW* 92; iustly] fittly *BrW* 79, 80, 82, 92, 94, 95; that] the *BrW* 80, 82, 95. 22. a finger] our fingers *BrW* 79, 81, 89; a] our *BrW* 83; finger] fingers *BrW* 78. 23. That] And *BrW* 79, 92, 94; they] there *BrW* 82; shall] may *BrW* 81, 83, 93, *PB*; lye] bee *BrW* 79. 24. As] Like *BrW* 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 92, 94, 95, 96; inlayde] layd in *BrW* 81. Inserted between 24-25: And so to make all sure we shall Engraffe / An Epitaph within an Epitaph *BrW* 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 92, 94, 95; so] for *BrW* 78, 90, 96; to] omitted *BrW* 80; shall] will *BrW* 78; within] upon *BrW* 78, 83. 25. Where (as on Glasse] Wheras on glasse] *BrW* 79, 94, 95, Whereon alasse *BrW* 80; on] in *BrW* 78, 81, 83, 84, 85, 90, 93, 96, *PB*, in a *BrW* 89; any] omitted, 'you' inserted above line *BrW* 86, omitted *BrW* 87; write] make *BrW* 95. 26-28. Emphasis retained *BrW* 86, 87, 91. 26. thus] this *BrW* 79, 80, 82, 92, 94, 95; a] an *BrW* 81; hapless] wretched *BrW* 78, 85, 90, 96. 27. a] omitted *BrW* 78. 28. keepes] kept *BrW* 93, *PB*, keepe *BrW* 88, 94. Subscribed: printed in Parnassus Biceps in the year 1656 for G. Eversden at the signe of the Maidenhead in St. Pauls churchyard. Which Book contains a number of B. Corbets poems & other university wits, I saw fair Chloris walk alone is there printed *BrW* 86; W Davenant *BrW* 89; William Browne *BrW* 90, 96.

On an Infant vnborne & the Mother
dyeing in Trauell

Within this Graue there is a Graue Intomb'd:
Heere lyes a Mother & a Child inwoomb'd.
'Twas strange that Nature so much vigour gaue,
To one that ne're was borne to make a Graue.
Yet an Iniunction Stranger, nature will'd her,
Poore Mother, to be Tombe to that which kill'd her;

5

And not with soe much cruelye content,
 Buryes the Childe, the Graue & Monument.
 Where shall we write the Epitaph? Whereon?
 The Childe, the Graue, the Monument is Gone; 10
 Or if vpon the Child we write a Staffe,
 Where shall we cut the Tombes owne Epitaph?
 Onely this way is left: & now we must,
 As on a Table carpetted with dust,
 Make Chisills of our fingers & Ingraue 15
 An Epitaph both on the Child & Graue
 Within the Dust; but when some dayes are gone,
 Will not that Epitaph haue need of one?
 I know it will; yet Graue it there so deepe,
 That those which knew the losse & truly weepe, 20
 May shedd their teares so iustly in that place,
 Which we before did with a finger trace,
 That filling vp the letters they shall lye
 As inlayde Christall to Posteritye.
 Where (as on Glasse) if any write another, 25
 Let him say thus: *Heere lyes a haples Mother,*
Whom cruell Fate hath made to be a Tombe,
And keepes in Travell till the Day of Doome.

1-2. *Within this ... inwoomb'd]* Compare the conclusion to Browne's depiction in *Britannias Pastorals* II.1.709-710 of a starving woman in the Cave of Famine who eventually eats her own child: 'O cursed womb, / That to thyself art both the grave and tomb'. Jonson begins his ode on Cary and Morison by describing an infant who chooses to die in his mother's womb, rather than be born into a city at war.

6. *Tombe to ... her]* compare the reference to the ant's death in a drop of amber, in *An Elegye on Mr Willm Hopton*, line 18, and the snow of *On one drown'd in the Snowe*, which both kills and entombs the speaker.

9. *Where shall ... Epitaph?]* The melting of the snow in *On one drown'd in the Snowe* creates a similar problem.

11-24. None of the emendations in any of the manuscript copies of *On an Infant vnborne* do much to resolve the ambiguity of these lines. Presumably 'vpon the

Child' (line 11) means that the 'Staffe' (a short poem) is to be written *about* the child, but also plays with the idea of a physical inscription on the dead foetus. The reference to 'the Tombes owne Epitaph' in line 12 plays on the methodological difficulty of engraving an epitaph for the child when the usual surface for the engraving, the tomb, is the mother's body. The corpse of the mother can be compared to 'a Table carpetted with dust' because in the Bible the human body is formed out of the dust of the ground (Genesis 2.7). The inscription will be traced out on her body by the fingers of the mourners; but since flesh decays, such an epitaph will prove to be impermanent, and will itself require an epitaph. In line 19, 'Graue it there so deepe' puns on the burial of the bodies, and on the engraved letters of the epitaph, which will fill with the tears of the mourners. The spelling of 'Christall' in line 24 adds to the sense of crystalline permanence and purity the assurance of salvation through Christ.

21-24. Compare Browne's *An Elegie on the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke*:
 '... and her true teares alone / Should copy forth these sad lines on the stone'
 (lines 75-76).

24-25. Almost all manuscripts except Lansdowne 777 add an extra couplet between these lines, a variant on 'And soe to make all sure we shall Engraff / An Epitaph within an epitaph' (quoted from *BrW* 79).

28. *Travell*] both 'travel' and 'travail'.

Poem 47.

An Epitaph on Sir John Prowde

Text BrW 52 (Lansdowne 777). One other manuscript (BrW 53). The italics are as Lansdowne 777.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 74. Goodwin, II, pp. 288-289.

Subject Goodwin (II, p. 349) identifies John Prowde as 'Son of Serle Proude, Kent. Knighted 1622'. The Lansdowne 777 title, distinguishing the subject of Browne's epitaph as a victim of the Thirty Years' War, implicitly endorses English involvement in military action in defence of European Protestantism. The reference to Zutphen, where Philip Sidney was killed, fighting the forces of Catholic Spain, also recalls the history of English involvement in this cause. The other manuscript copy of the poem, in British Library Add. MS 22118 (perhaps less nationalistic in its sympathies) heads it simply: 'On the death of a souldier'.

Title An Epitaph ...1627] On the death of a souldier *BrW* 53. 1. &] or *BrW* 53. 2. Issells] Albions *BrW* 53. 3. Intrench'd] In trench *BrW* 53. 4. to] & *BrW* 53. 8. Were] was *BrW* 53. 9. my] mee *BrW* 53. 10. in] on *BrW* 53.

An Epitaph on Sir John Prowde
(Lieutenant Collonell to Sir
Charles Morgan) slayne at the
Siege of Groll & buryed at
Zutphen. 1627

After a March of twenty yeares & more,
I set me downe on Issells warlike shore.
There now I lye Intrench'd where none can seise me,
Vntill an Hoste of Angells come to raise me.
Warre was my mistresse & I courted her 5
As *Semele* was by the Thunderer;
The Mutuall Tokens 'twixt vs two allow'd,
Were Bullets wrapt in fire sent in a Clowd.
One I receiued which made my passe so farre,
That Honor Layde me in the Bed of Warre. 10

Title. Sir Charles Morgan] See *DNB*. Morgan was the English military commander in the Netherlands, sometimes in service under the Veres. He is mentioned by Clarendon as being among the ‘persons of quality, of relation or dependence upon the [third] Earl of Pembroke’ (Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, vol. 1, p. 73). *Groll*] Now Groenlo, in Gelderland, in the east of the Netherlands. The siege resulted in the capture of Groll from the Spanish by the forces of the Prince of Orange, Frederick Henry. *Zutphen*] A town in Gelderland, near Groll: the site of the battle where, in 1586, Philip Sidney had suffered his fatal injuries.

1. *March*] With reference both to Prowde’s military experience and to the journey of life.
2. *Issell*] the river which flows through Zutphen.
3. *Intrench’d*] literally in a trench; as well as, simply, stuck.
- 5-6. *Warre was ... Thunderer*] The disconcerting shift from active to passive voice is preserved in both Lansdowne 777 and Add. MS 22118. *Semele*] Wooed by Jupiter and subsequently mother of Dionysius. Her story is told by Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, Book III).
8. *fire sent ... Clowd*] compare the pillars of fire and cloud which guide the Israelites out of Egypt (Exodus 13:21-22).
9. *passé*] a military term: here, his departure from life.
10. *Honor Layde ... Warre*] Prowde’s honourable bedding by *Honor* contrasts with Jupiter’s adulterous liaison with Semele. Compare Browne’s reference to the bed of death in *An Elegy on Mr Willm Hopton* (line 60), and Jonson’s description of death as a second marriage in his elegy on the Lady Jane, Countess of Shrewsbury (Ungathered Verse, 28, line 26).

All that Sweetnesse, all that Youth,
All that Virtue, all that Truth,
Can or Speake, or Wishe or Praise,
Was in him in his few dayes.

His blood of Herbert, Sydney, Vere, 15
(Names great in either Hemyspheare)
Need not to Lend him of their Fame.
He had enough to make a name,
And to their Gloryes he had come,
Had heauen but giuen a Later Tombe. 20

But the fates his thred did Spinne,
Of a Sleauē so fine & thinne,
Minding still a piece of wonder,
It vntimely broake in Sunder;
And we of their Labours meet 25
Nothing but a Winding Sheet.

What his mighty prince hath lost,
What his fathers hope & cost,
What his Sister, what his Kin,
Take too all the Kingdome in. 30
'Tis a Sea wherein to Swimme,
Weary, faint, & dye with him.

O let my priuate grieffe haue roome,
Deare Lord to wayte vpon thy Toombe.
And since my weake and saddest verse, 35
Was worthy thought thy Grandams Herse,
Accept of this! Just teares my Sight
Haue shut for thee - Deare Lord - Good night.

Et longum formose vale vale inquit Iole.

Title. Sherland] On the Isle of Sheppey, in Kent

1. *a Teare vnshedd]* Browne uses the image of the unshed tear in his *Elegy on ... Prince Henry* (lines 25-36).

5-10. Tears and elegies are compared in lines 23-24 of Browne's elegy for William Hopton, and throughout his elegy on Prince Henry.

5. *Custome showres]* tears which result only from convention, not grief.

6. *marble weepes]* Marble also weeps in the elegy for Hopton (line 52).

9. *slight]* think little of, and consequently sacrifice.

10. *fall for]* fall in place of.

15-16. *His blood ... Hemyspheare]* Philip Sidney, and William and Philip Herbert were all interested in the American colonial enterprises. Sidney invested in one of Frobisher's expeditions, and was the dedicatee of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* (1582). He was granted the rights to 3 million acres in America. The Herbert brothers both owned land in North America, and were also involved in the East India Company. Like Philip Sidney, two of Edward de Vere's cousins, Francis and Horace de Vere, were distinguished commanders of the English forces in the Netherlands. Browne also uses the image of the hemisphere in the epistle 'Hasten, o hasten' (line 68), his second sonnet to Caelia (line 5) and his pastoral elegy on Thomas Manwood (line 34).

21-24. For the Fates and their threads, see *An Elegie on the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke*, lines 175-176 and note.

22. *Sleaue]* a slender filament

26. *Winding Sheet]* compare *On one drown'd in the Snowe*, line 6.

27. *his mighty prince]* Charles I

29. *Sister]* his elder sister, Anna Sophia Herbert. In 1625 she had married Robert Dormer, 1st Earl of Carnarvon, to whom Browne had been tutor at Oxford.

36. *Grandam]* Grandmother, i.e. Mary Sidney, Dowager Countess of Pembroke, commemorated by Browne with an elegy and an epitaph (poems 38-39).

Et longum ... inquit Iole] Virgil, *Eclogue* 3, line 79: 'in lingering tones [Phyllis] cried: "Farewell, farewell, my lovely Iollas"' (Loeb translation). Browne had already used this line as an epigraph to his elegy on Henry Prince of Wales. In the original context, the farewell is spoken for a departure, not a death, but Browne presumably thought it suitable for the premature death of a young man. He may also have wanted to associate Charles Herbert with Prince Henry's celebrated virtue and accomplishments.

Are all our liues, which I must say
Was but a dinner and away.

Title. St Mary-Hall] An academic hall at Oxford. It was founded in the early fourteenth century in the rectory of the University Church of St Mary the Virgin, from which it took its name. It was always closely linked with Oriel College, which usually supplied its principal, but in the sixteenth century gradually acquired a slightly more distinctive identity. It was merged with Oriel in 1902. See *The Encyclopaedia of Oxford*, ed. Christopher Hibbert, p. 410.

13. *And haue ... Industry?]* Compare Jonson's epitaph on Vincent Corbett: 'Much from him I professe I wonne, / And more and more I should have done, / But that I understand him scant. / Now I conceive him by my want' (*Underwood*, 12, lines 29-32).

18. *a dinner and away]* The poet's reference to his dinner with Turner also recalls the proverb 'a snatch and away' (Tilley S587). Tilley cites John Higgins's *The Nomenclator or Remembrances of Adrianus Junius*, which mentions: 'A standing dinner ... eaten in haste: a snatch and away' (I, p. 79).

Poem 51.

An Elegye on Sir Thomas Overburye

Text The first 10 lines of this elegy are preserved in Lansdowne 777(BrW 35), f. 56. The 50-line poem is included among the prefatory poems in the 8th impression of Overbury's poem *A Wife*, 1616 (see Subject, below). The 10 lines common to both texts are verbally identical, and differ only slightly in spelling and punctuation. This text gives the Lansdowne text of lines 1-10, followed by the 40 lines of the 1616 text.

Publication The 10 lines extant in Lansdowne 777 were first printed by Brydges, p. 111, without reference to the longer version. The longer elegy was first printed among Browne's poems by Hazlitt. Goodwin, II, pp. 261-263.

Subject Sir Thomas Overbury (1581-1613), the son of Sir Nicholas Overbury of Bourton-on-the-Hill, Gloucestershire achieved an influential position at the Jacobean court as the friend and adviser of James's favourite, Robert Carr. The discovery, in 1615, that his death had been the result of poison administered by agents of Carr's wife, developed into the most notorious scandal of James's reign. Overbury had apparently connived in the early stages of Carr's relationship with Frances Howard, then the wife of the third Earl of Essex (son of Elizabeth's favourite, whom Browne praises in *Britannias Pastorals*, I.4 and his elegy on Henry, Prince of Wales), but opposed the plans for her divorce from Essex and marriage to Carr. He declined the offer of a diplomatic appointment, and in April 1613 he was imprisoned in the Tower, where he died the following September. Robert Carr (created Earl of Somerset, November 1613) and Frances Howard were married in December of the same year; but in 1615 were implicated in the murder of Overbury by accomplices, who confessed to having committed the crime at the Countess's instigation. These lesser suspects (Overbury's gaoler, apothecary, etc.) were tried and convicted in November 1615, and later executed; the Earl and Countess of Somerset were tried and convicted in May 1616, and committed to the Tower, but were both released in 1621. Browne also wrote an epigram on Frances Howard (poem 24).

Overbury's poem, *A Wife*, was, according to his father (in a statement preserved in British Library Add. MS 15,476), written to persuade Robert Carr to aspire to a more suitable partner than the divorced Countess of Essex. A description of a perfect wife and the ideal marriage, it was first published in 1614 by Laurence Lisle, and reached its 18th impression in 1664. Browne's is the fourth of 25 elegies on the author's untimely demise which first appeared in the 8th impression, 1616. Most of these poems are subscribed only with initials, but Browne is given a slightly more definite attribution with 'W. B. Int. temp'.

Among these 25 prefatory poems there are two main subjects: the circumstances of Overbury's death, and praise of *A Wife*. Browne's is one of several which are entirely concerned with commemorating Overbury. By comparison with its companions, it is oblique and circumspect in its references to

the murder. The preceding poem in Lisle's collection takes the opportunity to rail explicitly against the context of courtly corruption within which the murder took place ('Whence so great crimes commit the greater sort, / And boldest acts of shame blaze in the court'), and names Weston, Overbury's gaoler, as the destroyer of 'The frame of this sad-good-man's life' (see Browne line 13), while hinting that only a rival from the court would have had sufficient motive for the murder. Other poets, while not naming Carr, speak of the murder as a breach of friendship, and allude to the guilt of adulterers. Browne's references to 'her hate' (line 13) and to attempts to blacken Overbury's reputation (also mentioned by other elegists) are his closest approach to specific detail about Overbury's death. His emphasis on the posthumous reputation of the subject, and his own role in sustaining and enhancing it, is typical of his funeral elegies.

Criticism Discussed by O'Callaghan, pp. 193-194.

Title An Elegye on S^r Thomas Overburye poisoned in the Towre of London] AN / ELEGY CONSECRATED TO THE MEMORY OF / THE TRULY / WORTHY AND LEARNED / SIR THOMAS OVERBURY, / KNIGHT *A Wife*.
7. inspire] aspire *A Wife*. 9. For] Since *A Wife*.

An Elegye on Sir Thomas Overburye
poisoned in the Towre of London

Had not thy wrong, like to a wound ill cur'd,
Broke forth in Death, I had not bin assured
Of grieffe enough to finish what I write;
These lynes, as those which doe in cold blood fight,
Had come but faintly on: for euer he 5
That shrines a name within an Elegye
(Vnles some neerer cause doe him inspire)
Kindles his bright Flame at the Funerall Fire,
For passion (after less'ning her extent)
Is then more strong & soe more Eloquent. 10

6. *shrines a ... Elegye*] The identification of the funeral elegy with the tomb is conventional.

8. *his bright Flame*] the fire of poetic inspiration.

10. *then*] i.e. as a result of the death and funeral.

How powerfull is the hand of *Murther* now!
 Was't not enough to see his deare life bowe
 Beneath her hate? but crushing that faire frame,
 Attempt the like on his vnspotted *Fame*?
 O base reuenge! more than inhumane fact! 15
 Which (as the *Romans* sometime would enact
 No doome for *Patricide*, supposing none
 Could euer so offend) the vpriight *Throne*
 Of *Iustice* salues not: leauing that intent
 Without a *Name*, without a *Punishment*. 20
 Yet through thy wounded *Fame*, as thorow these
Glasses which multiply the *Species*,
 We see thy vertues more; and they become
 So many *Statues* sleeping on thy *Tombe*.
 Wherein, confinement new thou shalt endure, 25
 But so; as when to make a *Pearle* more pure,
 We give it to a *Doue*, in whose wombe pent
 Sometime, we haue it forth most orient.
 Such is thy lustre now, that venomd *Spight*
 With her blacke Soule dares not behold thy light, 30
 But banning it, a course begins to runne
 With those that curse the rising of the *Sunne*.
 The poyson that works vpwards now, shall striue
 To be thy faire *Fames* true *Preservatiue*.
 And witch-craft, that can maske the vpper *Shine*, 35
 With no one cloud shall blinde a raye of thine.
 And as the *Hebrewes* in an obscure pit
 Their *holy Fire* hid, not extinguish'd it,
 And after time, that brake their bondage chaine
 Found it, to fire their sacrifice againe: 40
 So lay thy *Worth* somwhile, but being found,

The *Muses Altars* plentifully crown'd
 With sweet perfumes, by it new kindled be,
 And offer all to thy deare Memorie.
 Nor have we lost thee long: thou art not gone, 45
 Nor canst descend into *Obluion*.
 But twice the *Sun* went round since thy Soule fled,
 And only *that time* men shall terme thee dead.
 Hereafter (raisd to life) thou still shalt haue
 An *Antidote* against the silent Graue. 50

W.B Int: Temp.

13. *her*] probably *Murther*'s, but possibly Frances Howard's. *frame*] physical life, the body.

16-18. In his *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* (xxv) Cicero mentions that Solon gave this reason for omitting a penalty for parricide from the Athenian statutes. The Romans, however, did have an established punishment from parricide: under their law the culprit was sewn alive into a sack and then thrown into a river (*Orations*, Loeb vol. 6, p. 71). O'Callaghan, consequently, reads these lines as guarded criticism of James's leniency towards the Earl and Countess of Somerset: 'The claim that the Romans occasionally did not exact a punishment for patricide is deliberately ironic as this crime was one of the most rigorously punished by the Romans. Browne implies that justice was not upheld because of James's leniency' (p. 193). It is also possible that Browne simply made a mistake.

22. *Glasses*] the microscope, invented at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Browne elsewhere refers to the telescope, also newly invented and associated with Galileo (see *An Elegie on the Countess Dowager of Pembroke*, lines 44-56).

25. *confinement*] The first confinement had been Overbury's imprisonment in the Tower of London; 'confinement' also introduces the metaphor of the womb (line 27).

26-28. I have been unable to trace references to this practice, though there is an interesting analogue in Bacon's *Sylva*: 'There hath been a tradition, that pearl, and coral, and turquois-stone, that have lost their colours, may be recovered by burying in the earth: which is a thing of great profit, if it would sort: but upon trial of six weeks' burial there followed no effect. It were good to try it in a deep well; or in a conservatory of snow, where the cold may be more constringent; and so make the body more united, and thereby more resplendent' (*The Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. II, IV.380, pp. 467-468). *orient*] lustrous and precious.

31. *banning*] cursing.

34. *Preservatiue*] See *On Mrs Anne Prideaux*, line 4.

35. *witch-craft, that ... Shine*] Frances Howard and her accomplice, Mrs Turner, were accused of having practised witchcraft against Overbury. vpper Shine] the sun.

37-40. This story is told in II Maccabees 1:18-36.

47-48. Compare Donne's *Anniversaries*, and the allusion to the passage of time since the subject's death in Browne's *An Elegie on the Countess Dowager of Pembroke*, line 1.

50. *Antidote*] i.e. the commendatory poems, which will preserve his memory. The penultimate prefatory poem to *A Wife* speaks of 'a poem mixt with antidote'. In *An Elegie on the Countess Dowager of Pembroke* (lines 169-172) Browne describes the Countess's death as an antidote against fear of Fortune.

Poem 52.

On Mr Francis Lee

Text BrW 100 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 96. Goodwin, II, p. 292.

Subject Lee is identified by Goodwin (II, p. 350) as a kinsman of Browne's. His maternal grandmother was Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Browne, of Betchworth. Lee entered the Inner Temple in 1633, and died in 1637. This poem, with the epitaphs on Mr Turner (poem 50) and Goodman Hurst (poem 58), appears to be one of Browne's last poems.

On Mr Francis Lee of the
Temple, gent

Nature, haueing seen the Fates
Give some births vntimely dates,
And cut of those thredds before
Halfe their web was twisted o're,
Which she chiefly had intended 5
With iust story should be friended,
Vnderhand shee had begun,
From those distaffes halfway spun,
To haue made a piece to tarry,
As our Edward should or Harry. 10
But the Fatall sisters spyeing
What a faire worke she was plying
Curstly cut it from the Loome
And hid it vnderneath this Tombe.

1. *the Fates*] See Browne's elegy on the Countess of Pembroke, lines 175-176 and note.

2. *Give some ... dates*] i.e. assign early deaths.

5-6. *Which she ... friended*] i.e. she meant to ensure that these young people were able to live out the long lives they deserved.

7. *Vnderhand*] secretly.

8. *distaffes*] spindles.

9-10. *To haue ... Harry*] to have spun a life for Francis Lee as long as Edward VI or Henry Prince of Wales - both, like Lee, young men of exemplary personal qualities who suffered untimely deaths - should have enjoyed.

11. *the Fatall sisters*] the Fates.

13, 14. *it*] the thread which Nature was attempting to extend, i.e. Lee's life.

Poem 53.

‘Vnhappy Muse that nothing pleasest me’

Text BrW 248 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 149. Goodwin, II, p. 214.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Tillotson, who notes that it is a pair with poem 54 (p. 33), also a sonnet.

Vnhappy Muse, that nothing pleasest me,
But tyr'st thy selfe to reape anothers blisse:
She that as much forbeares thy Melodye,
As fearefull Maydens doe the Serpents hisse.
Doth she not fly away when I would sing? 5
Or Doth she staye, when I, with many a Teare,
Keepe solemne Tyme to my woes vttering,
And aske what wilde Birds grant to lend an Eare?
O haples Tongue, in Silence euer Live;
And ye my founts of teares, forbeare supply: 10
Since neither words nor teares nor Muse can give,
Ought worth the pittying such a wretch as I.
Griue to your selues, if needs you will deplore,
Till teares & words are spent for euermore.

8. *what wilde ...Eare]* i.e. whether any wild bird will listen to him. Compare poem 18, ‘Ye merry birds, leaue of to sing’.

Poem 54.

‘Vnhappy I, in whom no Joye appears’

Text BrW 247 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 150. Goodwin, II, p. 215.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Tillotson, p. 33.

Vnhappy I, in whom no Joye appeares,
And but for Sorrowe of all else forlorne,
Mishaps encreaseing faster then my yeares,
As I to grieue & dye were onely borne,
Dark sullen Night is my too tedious daye, 5
In it I labour when all others rest,
And weare in discontent those howres awaye,
Which make some lesse deseruing greater blest.
The rose cheekt Morne I hate because it brings
A sad remembrance of my fairer Faire, 10
From whose deare graue arise continuall Springs,
Whose mistye vapours cloude the lightsome ayre,
And onely now I to my Loue preferre,
Those Clowdes which shed their Rayne & weepe for her.

4. *As I ... borne*] compare *Fido: an Epistle to Fidelia*: ‘Yet the poore silkenworme and onely I / Like parallells run on to worke and dye’ (lines 157-158), and the pessimism of ‘Are we all but as Tarryers first begunne, / Made & together put to be vndone?’ (lines 3-4) in the elegies ‘Is Death so great a Gamester’ and on Thomas Ayleworth.

9. *rose cheekt Morne*] In *On a dreame*, Browne says that Caelia’s face is ‘Faire as the Rosye Morne’ (line 14). Compare Thomas Campion’s ‘Rose-cheekt Lawra’ (*The Example*, line 1).

12. *lightsome ayre*] Browne also refers to the air as lightsome in *On a dreame* (line 21).

Poem 55.

An Elegie on ... Mr Thomas Ayleworth

Text BrW 38 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, in Brydges, pp. 111-115.
Goodwin, II, pp. 263-266.

Criticism Discussed by Tillotson, pp. 33-34, noting the duplication with 'Is Death so great a Gamester' (see lines 3-8, and note).

Subject Hazlitt (II, pp. 363-364) cites the admission books of the Middle Temple: '24 Jan. 1605[-06]. Tho. Ayleworth, son and heir of Peter Ayleworth of Kington, in the county of War[wick]', and *Extracts from the Parish Registers of Croydon*, printed by Nichols (*Collect. Topogr. et Genealog.* ii, p. 295): '1615, June 21. Thomas Aylworth, gent., "wounded the xvij. day of May, lay long languishing under the handes of surgeons, unto the xx. day of June, and then dyed, and was buried the xxi day, 1615, in the middle chancell in Croydon Churche."' Goodwin adds: 'He was a cousin of the Sir Thomas Eversfield, whose daughter, Timothy, Browne afterwards married' (II, p. 348).

An Elegie

On the vntimelye Death of his
euer honor'd & as much
beloued as lamented Friend *Mr Thomas
Ayleworth* of the Middle Temple slayne
at Croyden & there buried.

Is goodnes shortest liv'd? Doth Nature bring
Her choicest flowres but to adorne the Spring?
Are all men but as Tarryers, first begun,
Made & together put to be vndone?
Will all the ranke of friends in whom I trust, 5
Like Sodomes trees, yield me no fruit but dust?
Must all I love, as careles sparkes that flye
Out of a flint, but shew their worth & dye?
Will Nature euer to things fleeting bowe?
Doth she but like the toying Hind at plough 10

Sow to be in'd? then I'll begin a lore
 Hard to be learn'd: loue still, to wayle no more.
 I euer will affect that good, which he
 Made the firme steps to his Eternitye.
 I will adore no other light then shynes 15
 From my best thoughts to read his life: the Mynes
 Of richest *India* shall not buy from me
 That booke one howre wherein I studye thee:
 A booke wherein mens lives so taxed bin,
 That all men labour'd Death to call it in. 20
 What now as licenc'd is dispers'd about
 Is no true cobby or the best left out.
 No Ornaments I'll love bought from the Change,
 But what's in it & in the Court more strange,
 Vertue, which clad thee well, & I may haue 25
 Without the danger of a living Graue.
 I will not wish Fortune should make of me
 A worshipp'd golden Calfe (as most rich be)
 But let her (for all Lands else) grant me this
 To be an Inmate in that house now his. 30
 One stone will serue, one Epitaph aboue,
 So one shall be our dust as was our loue.
 O if privation be the greatest paine
 Which wretched soules in endles night susteyne,
 What mortall Torment can be worse then his, 35
 That by enioyeing knowes what looseing is?
 Yet such is mine. Then if with sacred fire,
 A passion euer did a Muse inspire,
 Or if a grieffe sick heart hath writt a Lyne,
 Then Art or Nature could more genuyne, 40
 Now full of Accents sad; Let it appeare
 In what I write if any drop a teare

To this small payment of my latest debt
He witness is that 'twas not counterfet.

Maye this be neuer knowne to harts of Stone 45
That measure all mens sorrowes by their owne!
And thinke noe flood should euer drowne an Eye
That hath not issue from an Iniurye
Of some misfortune tending more the losse
Of goods then goodnes; Let this haples Crosse 50
Alone be read & knowne by such as be
Apt to receive that seale of Miserie
Which his vntimely Death prints on my heart.

And if that Fatall hand (which did the part
That Fate should haue performed) shall euer chance 55
(Either of purpose or through Ignorance)
To touch this paper, May it rose-like wither!
Or as the plant Sentida shrink together!
Let him not read it! be the Letters dym
Although the Ordinarie give it him! 60
Or let the words transpose them and impart
A Crying Anagram for his desert!
Or maye this Inke (nowe drye) grow green againe
As wounds (before the murdrer) of the slayne.
So these sad lynes shall (in the Iudges Eye) 65
Be his Accuser and mine Elegie.

But vayne are imprecations. And I feare
Almost to show him in a Character,
Least some accursed hand the same should stayne,
Or by depraving murder him againe. 70

Sleepe then sweet Soule; and if thy vertues be
In any breast, by him wee'le portraict thee.
If thou hadst liv'd where heathen gods haue raig'n'd,
Thy vertues thee a Deitie had gain'd.

But now more blest. And though thy honord shryne, 75
 Be vnaddorn'd by stone or Indyan mine,
 Yet whilst that any good to Earth is lent,
 Thou canst not lye without a Monument.

1-4. A tissue of such commonplaces as 'Those that God loves do not live long / The good die young' (Tilley G251), and 'As soon as Man is born he begins to die' (Tilley M73).

3-8. A version of these lines is to be found in the elegy 'Is death so great a gamester' (also lines 3-8).

6. *Like Sodomes ... dust*] See Tilley, A300: 'Sodom Apples outwardly fair, ashes at the core', and compare Webster, *The White Devil* III ii 63-67: 'You see my Lords what goodly fruit she seemes, / Yet like those apples travellers report / To grow where Sodom and Gomora stood, / I will but touch her and you straight shall see / Sheele fall to soote and ashes'.

11. *in'd*] gathered in.

16-17. *the Mynes ... India*] The mines of India were proverbially wealthy; see Donne, *The Sunne Rising*: 'both the'Indias of spice and Myne' (line 17), and Drayton, *The Poly-Olbion*, Song 29: 'For which both farre and neere, that place no lesse is fam'd / Then *India* for her Mynes' (lines 124-125). See below, line 76.

18-22. Hazlitt takes these lines to refer to an actual book written by Ayleworth. 'The remarkable allusion to some work by Aylworth, of which there appears to be no precise trace, led me to conjecture that the poem entitled *The Massacre of Money*, by T. A. 1602, 4^o., was by this person, and not by Thomas Achelley, whose authorship, in fact has long been disputed and questioned. The poem is a sort of satire on the love of gain, and curiously enough, in all the extant copies, the text seems to break off abruptly and imperfectly with a catchword, as if something had been suppressed. This may be explained, perhaps, by Browne's lines [21-22]', (Hazlitt, vol. II, pp. 363-364). The second edition of the *Short Title Catalogue* (1986), circumspectly, says only that *The Massacre of Money* (STC 17.3) has been attributed to T. Achelley, T. Andrewe, and T. Aylworth. However, it is also possible that the poet is referring not to a physical text but to the book of Ayleworth's life as construed by his own 'best thoughts' (line 16). In that case, the book which 'now as licenc'd is dispers'd about' (line 21) might be Ayleworth's posthumous reputation, in which the best parts of his life are not acknowledged.

19. *taxed*] assessed and found wanting.

20. *labour'd*] attempted to influence or persuade. OED cites Spenser: 'The landlords ... began ... to labour the Earle of Tirone into their part'. *to call it in*] i.e. to have it withdrawn from commercial circulation, as seems, for example, to have happened to Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale* (Yale *Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*, p. 327).

23. *Change*] the Exchange, where merchant meet to transact their business.

28. *A worshipp'd golden Calfe*] The idol made by Aaron to please the Israelites while Moses was on Mount Sinai: thus, a human artefact falsely venerated as divine.
29. *her*] i.e. Fortune.
30. *house*] as in John 14:2, 'In my Father's house are many mansions'. Lines 31-32 also suggest that the poet wants to be buried in Ayleworth's grave.
- 33-35. In traditional Scholastic philosophy, souls in hell are thought to suffer both physical torment (*poena sensus*) and the anguish of exclusion from God's presence (*poena damni*). Some theologians, following Origen, have emphasized the latter punishment - notably Calvin, e.g. *Institutes* III xxv.12: 'As we thus require to be assisted to conceive the miserable doom of the reprobate, so the consideration on which we ought chiefly to dwell is the fearful consequence of being estranged from all fellowship with God' (vol. II, p. 629). See D. P. Walker, *The Decline of Hell: Seventeenth-Century Discussions of Eternal Torment*. The early Anglican reformers, however, were more willing to emphasize the physical agony of Hell, e.g. *The Remains of Miles Coverdale*, vol. I, pp. 205-208 ('The Pains of Hell and the Matter for the Continuance of the Torments, with the Space of the Place, and Kinds of Punishments'), and the *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer*, p. 192.
- 35-36. Compare the proverb 'In knowing nothing is the sweetest life' (Tilley K188; and Browne's poem 'Shall I loue againe', lines 11-12).
50. *this haples Crosse*] the text used to teach children how to read, known as a 'criss-cross' or 'cross' (as in *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*, 'I have learned my Criscrosse today so I have', p. 54).
58. *the plant Sentida*] the sensitive plant.
60. *Ordinarie*] can mean an official of either ecclesiastical or civil law, in this case perhaps 'A diocesan officer appointed to give criminals their neck verses, and to prepare them for death' (OED 4a).
- 61-62. *Or let ... desert!*] The anagram, defined by Puttenham as 'the posie transposed, or in one word, a transpose' (*The Arte of English Poesie*, p. 108), enjoyed great popularity in the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century. Puttenham himself produced anagrams of the Queen's name, and other enthusiastic practitioners included Sylvester and Peacham. It was believed that transposition into an anagram could disclose the hidden esoteric significance intrinsic in a name. Camden, who includes a section on anagrams in his *Remains Concerning Britain*, circumspcctly expounds this theory, while attributing it elsewhere: 'The French exceedingly admire and celebrate this facultie [i.e. the production of anagrams], for the deepe and farre fetched antiquitie, the piked fines and the mysticall significations thereby: for that names are divine notes, and divine notes do notifie future events; so that events consequently must lurke in names, which onely can be pried into by this mystery' (*Remains*, p. 142). Donne uses the image of the anagram in his elegy 'Marry, and love thy Flavia': Flavia 'hath yet an Anagram of a good face' (line 16). The transposed letters of Browne's poem should arrange themselves into an indictment of the murderer.
63. *maye this ... againe*] For wet, newly inscribed ink as 'green', see Browne's *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelity* (line 182).
64. *As wounds ... slayne*] refers to the belief that the proximity of the murderer induces his victim's wounds to bleed (see Opie and Tatem (eds.), *Dictionary of*

Superstitions, p. 270). Reginald Scot, frequently sceptical, was inclined to believe in the sensitivity of wounds: 'I have heard by credible report, and I have read many grave authors constantlie affirme, that the wound of a man murdered reneweth bleeding; at the presence of a deere freend, or of a mortall enimie.

[Marginal note]: This common experience can justify' (*The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Book 13 Chapter 9, p. 247).

68. *him*] i.e. Ayleworth himself. *in a Character*] This may simply mean 'in writing', or may refer to the literary genre, the Theophrastian character sketch, which was popular in the early seventeenth century. Thomas Overbury, the subject of Browne's elegy (poem 50) wrote a book of 'many witty characters' (published 1614).

73-74. *If thou ... gain'd*] In classical Rome, heroes such as Julius Caesar were thought to have achieved apotheosis after death. Compare also Acts 14.8-18, where the eloquence of Paul and Barnabas induces the people of Lystra take Paul for Mercury and Barnabas for Jupiter.

76. *Indyan mine*] See lines 16-17 and note.

Poem 56.

An Epitaph on him

Text BrW 46 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 116. Goodwin, II, p. 266.

Subject This epitaph immediately follows *An Elegie on ... Mr Thomas Ayleworth* in Lansdowne 777 and appears to be on the same subject. Comparably, among the elegies appended to the first edition of Donne's poems (1633), 'R. B.'s elegy 'In memory of Doctor Donne' is followed by an epitaph, and the four-line epitaph which Carey incises on Donne's tomb at the end of his elegy is separated from the preceding text, indented and italicised. A similar format is used in the Champernowne manuscript, Bodleian MS Eng. poet .f. 9, where Browne's elegy on the Countess of Pembroke is immediately followed by his epitaph on the same subject.

An Epitaph
on him

Heere withre'd lyes a flowre, which blowne
Was cropt assone as it was knowne.
The losse was great, and the offence,
Since one vnworthie tooke it hence.

WBrowne

1. *which blowne*] once it had blossomed.
4. *one vnworthie ... hence*] he was murdered (see title to poem 55).

Poem 57.

In Obitum M S

Text BrW 58 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 74. Goodwin, II, p. 289.

Criticism Discussed by Bullen, p. xix, Moorman, p. 12, and Tillotson, pp. 25-7.

Subject The identity of 'M S' is unknown. Bullen's suggestion that 'The letters "M S" may well stand for "Maritae Suae"' was dismissed by Moorman as 'pure conjecture', while Tillotson pointed out that an epitaph by Browne's contemporary, Herrick, on a 'Mrs. M S', actually commemorates a woman called Mary Stone. Browne's reference to 'Myne onely' (line 4), and the concise poignancy of his epitaph - Joan Grundy calls it 'exquisite' (p. 144) - however, make it likely that the subject is someone he loved, though not necessarily his wife. 'M S' would also stand for 'Matris Suae', 'Matris Sacrum' (as in Herbert's poems on his mother) or 'Meae Sororis'. It is also possible that they are a translation of line 4's 'Myne onely', i.e. 'Mea Sola'. The title and date, moreover, need not be authorial.

In Obitum M S x^o May
1614

May! be thou neuer grac'd with birds that sing,
Nor Flora's pride.
In thee all flowers and Roses spring,
Myne onely di'de.

WB

Poem 58.

On goodman Hurst

Text BrW 97 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 118. Goodwin, II, pp. 296-297.

Subject In 1637, the Earl of Nottingham was Charles Howard, second Earl of Nottingham by the 6th creation, and Baron Howard of Effingham. He lived at Reigate, in Surrey. His father, the first Earl, was the commander of the English fleet against the Spanish Armada. Charles Howard was born in 1579, became Earl in 1624, and died in 1642. See the *Complete Peerage*, vol. IX, pp. 788-789. This epitaph has no exact precedents, but makes use of the Biblical image of life as a journey in which the traveller is never truly at home (Hebrews 13.14), and the comparisons with hosts and guests in many of the New Testament parables e.g. Luke 14.16-24). On the evidence of the Lansdowne 777 title, this is the latest of Browne's datable poems.

On goodman Hurst of the George at Horsham
dyeing suddainely while the E of Nottingham
laye there 26 August 1637

See what we are: for though we often saye,
We are like guests that ride vpon the waye,
Trauell and lodge, & when the morne comes on,
Call for a reck'ning, paye & so are gone:
Wee erre, and haue lesse time to be possest,
For see! the Hoste is gone before the guest.

5

Title. Goodman] the landlord of an Inn. E] Earl.
4. a reck'ning] the bill.

Poem 59.

On an Houre glasse

Text BrW 76 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 68. Goodwin, II, p. 284.

Subject Browne mentions the hour-glass in his 7th sonnet to Caelia (lines 1-2), and in *An Epitaph on Mr John Smyth*, lines 2-6. Jonson's epigram on the hour-glass, although not printed until 1640-1, in the posthumous *The Underwood* (8), appears to have been in circulation for some years beforehand. Drummond quotes a copy in the *Conversations*. Jonson also associates the hour-glass with decay and diminution, speculating that its sand may once have been 'The body ... Of one that loved' (lines 5-6). This conceit is borrowed from Girolamo Amaltei's *Horologium Pulverum*. Herrick's epigram *The Houre-glasse*, describes a water glass through which the tears shed by unhappy lovers during their life-times continue to trickle after their deaths.

On an Houre glasse

The truest houre glasse lyes, for you'le confes,
All holes grow bigger and the Sand growes lesse.

1-2. that is, by the process of telling the time, the sand in the hour glass is ground finer, and the hole between the chambers is worn wider.

Poem 60.

On a Ropemaker hangd

Text BrW 74 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 151. Goodwin, II, p. 286.

On a Ropemaker hangd

Heere lyes a Man much wrong'd in his hopes,
Who got his wealth backwards by makeing of Ropes.
It was his hard chance in his fortunes to falter,
For he liv'd by the Rope, & dy'de by the halter.

4. *he liv'd ... halter*] A version of the proverb 'He has made a halter to hang himself' (Tilley, H58); compare Hamlet's famous equivalent: 'Hoist with his own petar', III iv 207).

Poem 61.

On John Tooth

Text BrW 99 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 94. Goodwin, II, p. 284.

On John Tooth

Heere lyeth in sooth,
Honest John Tooth;
Whom Death on a Daye,
From vs drew awaye.

4. *From vs drew awaye*] with a pun on the extraction of teeth.

Poem 62.

'Heere lyes kind Tom'

Text Lansdowne 777 (*omitted* Beal).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 131. Goodwin, II, p. 297.

Heere lyes kind Tom, thrust out of dore,
Nor hye, Nor low, nor rich, nor poore.
He left the world with heauy cheere,
And neuer knew what he made heere.

1. *kind Tom*] i.e. 'natural' or even 'foolish', as well as generous: like 'poor Tom' in *King Lear*.

Poem 63.

An Epitaph on Mrs El: Y

Text JnB 130 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 116. Goodwin, II, p. 295. Jonson's *Epitaph on Elizabeth, L. H.*, was printed among his epigrams (no. 124) in the folio *Works* (1616).

Subject Beal treats this epitaph as a misattributed copy of Jonson's *Epitaph on Elizabeth, L. H.*, from the 1616 *Epigrams* (quoted below). This is questionable. While there are clear similarities between the two poems, the differences are also significant. The Lansdowne 777 text lacks any equivalent to lines 1-2 of the Jonson, and although its opening couplet resembles lines 3-4 of the *Epitaph on Elizabeth, L. H.*, and both poems conclude with the word 'Farewell', the intervening lines have little in common apart from an assurance of the virtue of the dead woman - scarcely an unusual theme in contemporary epitaphs. Although the Lansdowne poem, like Jonson's, conceals its subject's name behind initials, it does not reproduce Jonson's enigmatic determination to make an ostentatious secret of her identity. The eye imagery of lines 2-4 is common in Browne, as is the mistrust of the ability of marble to make a true record of the dead (compare his elegies on William Hopton, lines 41-43, and Susan, Countess of Montgomery, lines 3-6, and *On his Wife an Epitaph*, lines 1-2). The similarity between the two epitaphs - in both titles and main texts - is unavoidable, but it is probably more appropriate to read *An Epitaph on Mrs El: Y* as an imitation of Jonson's *Epitaph on Elizabeth, L. H.*, rather than as an inaccurate copy. For other imitations by Browne see the *Vision* sonnets (poem 20), and perhaps *A Sigh from Oxford* (poem 27) and 'Like to a silkworme' (poem 65). Of the 15 manuscripts listed by Beal as including texts of Jonson's *Epitaph on Elizabeth, L. H.*, 14 also include at least one poem by Browne.

An Epitaph on
Mrs El: Y

Vnderneath this stone there lyes,
More of Beauty, then are eyes,
Or to read that she is gone,
Or alyue to Gaze vpon.

She in so much fairenes clad,
To each Grace a Virtue had,

5

All hir Goodnes cannot be,
Cut in Marble. Memorie
Would be vseles ere we tell
In a Stone her worth. Farewell. 10

Jonson, Epigram 124. *Epitaph on Elizabeth, L. H.*

Would'st thou heare, what man can say
In a little? Reader, stay.
Vnder-neath this stone doth lye
As much beautie, as could dye;
Which in life did harbour giue 5
To more vertue than doth liue.
If, at all, shee had a fault,
Leaue it buryed in this vault.
One name was Elizabeth,
Th'other let it sleepe with death: 10
Fitter, where it dyed, to tell,
Then that it liued at all. Farewell.

Poem 64.

On Mrs Anne Prideaux

Text BrW 108 (Lansdowne 777). 35 other manuscripts extant (BrW 108-143). Two early printed sources.

Publication Published in William Camden's *Remaines* (1636) and *Wits Recreations* (1640). Printed from Lansdowne 777 by Brydges, p. 72. Goodwin, II, p. 287.

Subject John Prideaux, born in 1578, took orders in 1603 and was appointed chaplain to Prince Henry; elected rector of Exeter College Oxford in April 1612; appointed chaplain to the king after Prince Henry's death; appointed regius professor of divinity, following Abbot, in December 1615; and held the position of vice-chancellor of the university July 1619-July 1621, July 1624-1626, and October 1641-February 1642-3. He would therefore have been present at Exeter during Browne's second residence at Oxford, in the 1620s. As well as the link with Prince Henry, Browne and Prideaux shared a patron in William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, who was Chancellor of Oxford between 1617 and his death in 1630. Prideaux consistently opposed the Arminian tendency which was gaining in royal favour throughout the 1620s and 30s, and Tyacke (*Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640*) pp. 58-86 *passim*, notes that he and his theology were consistently approved and protected by Pembroke. In 1641 Prideaux was appointed Bishop of Worcester - perhaps in a late attempt by Charles I to gain the favour of his political opponents - and was subsequently nominated to one of the Westminster Assembly of divines. He died in 1650.

Prideaux married twice. His second wife, Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Reynall and widow of William Goodwin, dean of Christ Church, died on 11 August 1627 and was buried with two of her children. The names of these children are not known. Manuscript epitaphs on another daughter and an unnamed son of Prideaux's are also extant. William Strode wrote four poems on another of Prideaux's daughters, seven-year-old Mary, and a poem headed *On a Sonne of Mr Dr Prideaux*, an Epitaph by Mr George Morley of Ch. Ch.' is transcribed in Lansdowne 777, f. 70v (and was also published in the printed anthology *Musarum Deliciae*, 1655). Prideaux and Browne both contributed poems to *Epithalamia Oxoniensia*, Oxford 1625, on the marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria. For other epitaphs on young children, see poem 35, 'Faire *Canace*', and note.

Title On Mrs Anne Prideaux daughter of Mr Doctor Prideaux Regius Professor. She dyde at the age of 6 years.] On the death of a young gentle woman *BrW 109, 121, 135*, In eundem [i.e. De Infante immatura morte prerupto] *BrW 110*, On Mrs Anne Price of 6 years age *BrW 111*, On the death of M^{ris} Mary Prideaux *BrW 112*, On a Gentelewoman dying younge *BrW 113, 119*, On a gentlewoman *BrW 114, 132, 133*, Of a Gentlewoman that dyed being 7 years

old *BrW 115*, On a yong Gentlewomans death *BrW 116*, On the Death of a Gentlewoman *BrW 117*, On a childe *BrW 118, 130*, On a Gentlewomans death *BrW 120, 143*, On a Young Gentlewoman *BrW 122, 126, 134, WR*, On Mrs E P *BrW 123*, Vpon a young Gentlewomans death *BrW 124*, On Mrs Anne Prideaux daughter of Mr Dr Prideaux Regius Professor she died aged 6 yeeres *BrW 125*, Untitled *BrW 127, 137*, On Dr Prideaux his daughter 6 yeeres old *BrW 128*, The Epitaph on Dr Prideaux daughter *BrW 129*, On a yong Gentlewoman that dyed *BrW 131*, On one that dyde att the age of six yeeres *BrW 140*, On Dr Prideaux daughter dying very young *BrW 141*, On the Death of a Vertuous Lady *BrW 142*, Upon a young Gentlewoman *BrW 136, CR*, untitled *BrW 137*. 1. small] same *BrW 110*; was] went *BrW 109, 110, 113, 118, 121, 135*. 2. what] that *BrW 129*; woman] women *BrW 115, 122, 129, 130, 141*, woemen *BrW 114, 135*. 3. Yet fearefull least a Piece soe well begun] But feareing that the worke shee had begun *BrW 113*, But least a work by her so well begun *BrW 129*; Yet fearefull least] But fearing such *BrW 110*; Yet] But *BrW 112, 122, 130, 136, 141, CR*; fearefull] carefull *BrW 109, 116, 117, 120, 121, 123, 124, 127, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 142, WR*, fearing *BrW 122, 130, 136, 141, CR*, care *BrW 143*; a piece] the piece *BrW 121, 124, 135*; Piece] Price *BrW 111*. 4. Might want Preseruatiues] Should preservation want *BrW 117*; Might] Should *BrW 109, 112, 113, 116, 120, 121, 124, 126, 129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 142, 143, WR*; Preseruatiues] perfection *BrW 114, 142*, preseruatiue *BrW 120, 143*, Eternity *BrW 141*; when she] when that she *BrW 114*; she] he *BrW 126*; had] all had *BrW 142*; had done] was young *BrW 119*. 5. could finish] had finished *BrW 129, 141*; could] would *BrW 110, 113, 128*; she] sh'ad *BrW 112*. 6. Threw Dust vpon yt & shut vp the Booke] omitted *BrW 117*; vpon yt] vpont *BrW 143*; and] omitted *BrW 143*; shut] so shut *BrW 110, 113, 123, 127*; vp] omitted *BrW 123, 127*; the] her *BrW 141*. Subscribed W Stroad *BrW 112*, Browne *BrW 137*, Will: Browne *BrW 140*.

On Mrs Anne Prideaux
 daughter of Mr Doctor
 Prideaux Regius Professor.
 She dyde at the age of 6 yeeres.

Nature in this small Volume was about
 To perfect what in woman was left out.
 Yet fearefull least a Piece soe well begun,
 Might want Preseruatiues when she had done,
 Ere she could finish what she vndertooke,
 Threw Dust vpon yt & shut vp the Booke.

5

1. *Volume*] For female virtue as a volume, see Jonson's *Epitaph on Katherine, Lady Ogle*: 'Doe but looke / With pause vpon it; make this page your booke; / Your booke? your volume! Nay, the state, and story, / Code, Digests, Pandects of all female glory' (Ungathered Verse, 31, lines 5-8).

3. *piece*] sometimes used for a woman or a girl; compare also Jonson's *On My First Son*, where the son is 'Ben Jonson his best piece of poetry' (line 10).

6. *the book*] For a book as representative of human life, see note to 1, above, and Revelation 20:12: 'Another book was opened, which is the book of life'.

Poem 65.

‘Like to a Silkeworme of one yeare’

Text BrW 22 (Lansdowne 777). Copy in *Britannias Pastorals* III.1.552-563.

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 128. The *Britannias Pastorals* version was first printed in Croker’s edition of *Britannias Pastorals*, Book III (1852). Goodwin, II, p. 285.

Subject ‘Like to a silkworme’ (or, as it appears in *Britannias Pastorals*, ‘I know that like to silkworms’) exemplifies what Earl Miner has called ‘the *sic vita* motif, in which various things were set forth in order that a comparison to human life might be drawn’ - a style of poetry which achieved a brief popularity in the second quarter of the seventeenth century (Miner, *The Metaphysical Mode from Donne to Cowley*, p. 233). Poems of this style typically allude to a series of familiar but transitory items of nature (flowers, animals, winds), conclude ‘Even such is man’, and spell out the inevitable termination which all natural beings including man must experience. Of the three other *sic vita* poems usually cited, Henry King’s ‘Like to the falling of a star’ (often entitled *Sic Vita*), is said by Crum to be ‘Associated in MSS. with occasional poems of 1612-24’ (Crum, ed., p. 225); while Francis Quarles’s *Hos ego versiculos*, ‘Like to the damaske Rose you see’, appended to his romance *Argalus and Parthenia* in 1629, may have been circulating in manuscript for some years before their print publication (*Argalus and Parthenia*, p. 222), and the autograph copy of Strode’s ‘Like to the casting of an Eye’ (or *Song of Death and Resurrection*) is dated by Beal to 1620-30. The Brown/Piva and Holmer dating of *Britannias Pastorals* Book III to 1624 would give Browne a tenable claim to have invented the genre; though given the widespread dissemination of King’s and Strode’s poetry throughout the manuscript system, the priority of *Sic Vita* or the *Song of Death and Resurrection* over ‘Like to a silkworme’ still seems more likely.

In *Britannias Pastorals* these lines are included in a song by the ‘unknown shepherd’, in the ‘pretty curious rocky cell’ into which Celadyne has followed him.

1. Like to a Silkeworme] I know that like to silkworms *BP*. 2. a wronged] a kind and wronged *BP*. 3. the Waues] the pathless waves *BP*. 4. the Sparkles] the little sparkles *BP*. 5. little Cakes] thin round cakes *BP*. 6. made] only made *BP*. 7. Euen] I know that *BP*. 8. weake and] weak piece of *BP*. 9. the Teare's] the lover's tears *BP*. 10. lost] quickly lost *BP*. 11. is burnt] burns out in haste *BP*. 12. as these] as soon as these *BP*.

Like to a Silkeworme of one yeare,

Or like a wronged Louers Teare,

Or on the Waues a Rudders dynt,
 Or like the Sparkles of a Flint,
 Or like to little Cakes perfum'd, 5
 Or Fireworkes, made to be consum'd:
 Euen such is Man and all that trust,
 In weake and animated Dust.
 The Silkworme droopes, the Teare's soon shed,
 The Shipp's waye lost; the Sparkle dead, 10
 The Cake is burnt, the Fireworkes done,
 And Man as these as quickly gone.

1. Silkworme] Browne also refers to the silkworm in *Lidford Journey*, lines 53-54, and *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia*, lines 157-158. Moffet, in *The Silkwormes and Their Flies* stresses the brevity of a silkworm's life (f. 61). Marino's poem on the silkworm, 'Fabro della mia morte' (*Rime* (1602), Seconda Parte), was translated by Drummond (*Poems*, 1616).

3. a Rudders dynt] the wake of a ship (guided by its rudder). '[D]ynt' is a variant of 'dent'.

5-6. *had it ... Sin*] Donne suggests a similar consolation in his *Elegie on Mistresse Boulstred*: if she had lived longer, she might have succumbed to ambition, covetousness and superstition (lines 55-58).

8. *As we ... crosse*] as each of us must die.

Poem 67.

On his Wife an Epitaph

Text BrW 98 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, p. 102. Goodwin, II, pp. 293-294.

Criticism Discussed briefly by Bullen, p. xix, Moorman, p. 12, and Tillotson, pp. 26-27.

Subject Bullen associates this epitaph with poem 57, *In Obitum MS*, and assumes that both were written in memory of a first wife of Browne's who died in 1614. Moorman, however, recognizes that there is no evidence that Browne ever had a wife other than Timothy Eversfield, whom he married in 1628 and who is known to have survived him. He points out that 'the fact that Browne wrote an epitaph on his wife does not prove that she was dead. ... A man who can write epitaphs on himself, is quite capable of doing the same for other living persons.' Since no further evidence for a first marriage has been discovered, it remains most likely that if the epitaph is dedicated to a historical person, that person is Timothy Browne.

On his Wife an
Epitaph

Thou needst no Tombe (my wife) for thou hast one
To which all Marble is but Pumex Stone;
Thou art engrau'd so deeply in my heart
It shall outlast the strongest hand of Art.
Death shall not blott the thence, although I must 5
In all my other parts dissolve to Dust,
For thy deare name, thy happy Memorie
May so embalme it for Eternity,
That when I rise the Name of my deare wife,
Shall there be seen as in the booke of life. 10

2. *Pumex*] pumice - a light porous stone, unsuitable for a monument. For Browne's doubts about the longevity of marble, see his elegies on William Hopton, lines 41-43, and Susan, Countess of Montgomery, lines 3-6.

3. *Thou art engrau'd ... Art*] Compare *On an Infant vnborne*, in which the poet also imagines the writing of the epitaph on the body of the dead - though with less permanent results. The idea that writing on the heart will create a permanent record may derive from Jeremiah 31:33: 'After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts'.

5. *Death shall ... thence*] Compare Revelation 3:5: 'He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life'. *the*] thee.

5-6. *I must ... Dust*] As the Anglican funeral service reiterates, the physical destiny of the human body is 'ashes to ashes, dust to dust'.

9. *when I rise*] at the Resurrection.

10. *booke of life*] Revelation 20:12 describes how the book of life is opened on the day of resurrection: 'And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life'.

Poem 68.

On a Twin

Text BrW 75 (Lansdowne 777).

Publication First printed, from Lansdowne 777, by Brydges, pp. 151-152. Goodwin, II, pp. 270.

Subject For Browne's other epitaphs on young children, see 'Faire *Canace*' (poem 35) and *On Mrs Anne Prideaux* (poem 64). Compare also *Britannias Pastorals* I.2.525-529, where Browne compares marriage between unequals to the birth of a living and a dead twin: 'She that hath such a mate / Is like two twins born both incorporate: / Th'one living, th'other dead: the living twin / Must needs be slain through noisomeness of him / He carrieth with him'. Strode's editor, Dobell (pp. 247-248), suggests that the subject of this epitaph may have been a son of Dr Prideaux (see poem 64 and notes). Two of Prideaux's daughters - possibly Browne's 'Two faire Sisters, sweet & yong' - had died as children. Strode also wrote an epitaph *On the Death of a Twin*, as well as several poems on the death of Mary Prideaux.

On a Twin at two yeares old
dead of a Consumption

Death, thou such a one hast smit,
Any Stone can couer it.
'Twas an Enuy more then Sin,
If he had not been a Twin,
To haue kill'd him when his herse, 5
Hardly could contayne a verse.

Two faire Sisters, sweet & yong,
Minded as a prophets tongue,
Thou hadst kill'd, and since with thee,
Goodnes had no Amytie: 10
Nor could teares of Parents saue
So much sweetnes from the Graue.
Sicknes seem'd so small to fit him,

That thou shouldst not see to hit him;

And thou canst not truly saye,

15

If he be dead or flowne awaye.

Finis W Browne

1-2. *Death, thou ... cover it.*] i.e. because the victim was so small.

3-4. *'Twas an ... Twin*] had he not been a twin, his early death - bringing him quickly to Heaven - would have been enviable.

8. *Minded as ... tongue*] The syntax is ambiguous, but this adjectival phrase probably refers to 'thou' - Death - and alludes to the warnings of destruction typically voiced by the Old Testament prophets (e.g. Joel 1-2:11, Amos 1-4).

9-10. *since with ... Amytie*] since you could not be persuaded by virtue.

Appendix

One of the more regrettable textual shortcomings of previous editions of Browne's shorter poetry is their failure to comment on the curious text of 'Behold ô God, IN RIvers of my teares', the second poem in Lansdowne 777 and Browne's only known devotional poem. Brydges and Goodwin both fail even to indicate any peculiarity in their copy-text, Lansdowne 777. In Brydges' edition the poem appears without a title (as in Lansdowne 777), in normal type, and is listed in the index as 'Behold, O God!'. Goodwin similarly prints the poem in normal type, and gives it the unauthorized title 'Devotional Verses'. Hazlitt calls the poem 'Religious Verses', and with his characteristic blend of orthographical fidelity and lack of information, prints the text interspersed with mid-line capitals, apparently at random, without any explanation. Of subsequent commentators on Browne, only Tillotson remarks on the text of this poem, describing it, with frustrating brevity, as 'a fantastic virtuoso experiment embodying in its letters three texts arranged in vertical columns'.¹ What the texts are, he does not say.

Six manuscript copies of 'Behold ô God', other than Lansdowne 777, are now known. The *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* mentions three: Bodleian MSS Eng. poet. b. 5 and Eng. misc. c. 35, and the Monckton Milnes manuscript, then in private ownership. Since the publication of the *Index* in 1980, two further copies have come to light, in Folger MS V. a. 308 and Newberry Library, Chicago, Wing MS fZW 5451.001C. In most of these versions, the patterning of 'Behold ô God' is clearer than in Lansdowne 777. Even in the Lansdowne copy, however, the textual arrangement of 'Behold ô God', though less distinct than one might wish, is even more virtuosic than Tillotson's description suggests. Occupying the whole space of folio 3r., it registers a pattern of three T-shaped crosses ('Tau' or 'St Anthony's crosses') in the mid-text. In the first line, the middle letters INRI - the conventional abbreviation of 'Jesus Nazareus Rex Iudaeorum', the inscription above Jesus' cross - appear as enlarged and emboldened capitals: 'Behold ô God, **IN RI**vers of my teares'.² Similar though less obvious enlargement and emboldening, beginning at line 5 and continuing to the end of the poem, is deployed to create the pattern of crosses. The horizontal bar of the central and tallest cross is marked by the enlargement of the quoted text '**O God My God.**' Its vertical extends, slightly off centre, below the second occurrence of 'God', in an

emphatic capitalized intext ‘**WHY HAST THOU FORSAKEN ME,**’ one letter on each line from line 6 to line 26. The text quotes Christ’s last words on the cross, as reported in Matthew 27.46 and Mark 15.34. The two flanking crosses begin on line 8. The horizontal of the left cross is marked with the words ‘**Lord Remember**’ in enlarged and emboldened letters, and the vertical is marked with the capitalized or emboldened intext ‘**me WHEN THOU COMEST INTO THY KINGDOM,**’ one or sometimes two letters per line. These are the words of the repentant thief, from Luke 23.42.³ The horizontal of the right cross consists of an enlarged and emboldened ‘**If Thou be**’ and its vertical of a capitalized or emboldened ‘**The CHRIST SAVE THYSELF AND US**’, one or sometimes two letters per line. This quotes the words of the unrepentant malefactor (Luke 23.39). Once recognized, the patterning is unmistakable, mainly because the force of the quotations is so strong. However, as so often with the text of Lansdowne 777, its execution fails to match its aspirations. The ‘INRI’ emboldening in the first line is conspicuous, but the emphasis on the cross-shaped intexts is not always so distinct, and needs to be deciphered rather than read at a glance. The pattern of capitalization in the intexts is not consistent, and some of the emboldening is ineffective. The text, moreover, looks untidy. The enlargements which effect the emphasis in the horizontal text are often clumsy. The vertical alignment of the intexts is achieved by introducing blanks or filler strokes and curls if the letters are too few, or by untidy scale reductions if they are too many.

Of the other manuscripts of ‘Behold ô God’, Bodleian MS Eng. poet. b. 5 was compiled by Thomas Fairfax, a Catholic yeoman from Warwickshire, and consists almost exclusively of religious poems. F. M. McKay dates the compilation to between 1651 and 1657.⁴ Unfortunately, the page on which ‘Behold ô God’ was written has been partially torn out, and all that remains of the poem is a fragment of the first line. There is no way to tell whether this copy of the poem reproduced the cross-shaped patterns, but there is no trace in the remaining portion of line 1 of any emphasis on INRI. The Monckton Milnes manuscript, also known as the Crewe MS, is recorded in the *Index* as being in private ownership in England, but has since been acquired by Meisei University, Tokyo, Japan.⁵ In the *Index*, it is dated 1624-33, but is now ascribed more confidently to c. 1624. Headed ‘Prayer’ and subscribed ‘Will Browne seruiens Com Pembrock’, it emphasizes the ‘INRI’ label, emboldens and enlarges the three T-crosses, and also capitalizes most of the letters of the intexts. The Newberry Library manuscript, untitled and unattributed, reproduces a similar

pattern of emboldening, enlargement and capitalization, and even uses red ink for the crosses.⁶

A fifth early manuscript witness is Folger MS V. a. 308, a commonplace book of c. 1690-1730. It includes copies of two other poems by Browne, in a sequence of epitaphs: *On Mrs Anne Prideaux* (f. 127v., BrW 134) and *On One drowned in the Snow* (f. 128v., BrW 169). On ff. 87v.-88r. there are two cross-shaped poems, the first in Latin, entitled *In Gloriosissimam Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, and beginning ‘Alleluja alma dies, In Christi sacra Triumphum’, the second in English, entitled *On the Glorious Passion and Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. The English poem is Browne’s ‘Behold ô God’, with a few textual variants. In this version the outlines of the three crosses are drawn in, and each cross fixed into a column-base. The two thieves’ crosses are, as in Lansdowne MS 777, T-shaped, but Jesus’ cross is extended up through the first line and incorporates the INRI inscription. The construction of the cross-shaped intexts and the ordering of the text around them is much more exact than in Lansdowne MS 777. The distribution of lines and intexts is more even, and there is less squeezing of letters between the crosses. Apart from the italicized title, the hand is approximately roman.

The slightly longer set of Latin hexameters on f. 87v. (30 lines, compared with the 26 of ‘Behold ô God’) is even more elaborate than Browne’s poem. Again, it represents St Anthony’s crosses to the left and right, while the middle cross extends upwards to incorporate the ‘INRI’ inscription. The central intext reads ‘IN(Ch)RI’ horizontally, and vertically ‘DEUS MEUS DEUS MEUS CUR ME DESERUISTI’; the left cross ‘MEM(t)EN’ on the horizontal and ‘TO MEI CUM VENERIS IN REGNUM TUUM’ on the shaft; and the right cross ‘SI (t) TU’ on the horizontal and ‘ES CHRISTUS SERVA TE IPSUM ET NOS’ on the shaft. The source of the quotations and their arrangement on the page, that is, are precisely as in Browne. Here, however, there is also an acrostic along the left margin, reading ‘ARDEO AMORE TUI MUNDI SALVATOR IESU.’ and a telestic along the right margin, reading ‘MORS TUA UITA MEA EST ARDEO AMORE TUI.’ Neither poem is attributed in this manuscript.

A version of the Latin, only trivially different from the Folger version, appears also as the last plate in some copies of Edward Benlowes’s *Theophila* (1652). *Theophila* was an eccentrically produced work, probably printed under

Benlowes's close supervision, and the exact number and combination of its constituent parts varies from copy to copy.⁷ This pattern poem, illustrated in Elizabeth Cook's account of pattern poetry under the title 'The crosses at Calvary,' is not one of the twenty-five plates listed by Harold Jenkins as apparently included in all perfect copies of *Theophila*.⁸ It does, however, appear in William Lowndes's list of eleven extra plates present in the Inglis copy of *Theophila*, the last of which he describes as 'A curious piece of antiquity on the Crucifixion of our Saviour and the two Thieves.'⁹ Both Cook and, following her, Dick Higgins, attribute the poem to Benlowes, but seem to have no more reason for this than its inclusion in *Theophila*. This is weak evidence. Higgins himself mentions a 'Passio Christi' pattern poem, which is sometimes included in *Theophila* as well as 'The crosses at Calvary' ('Alleluja alma dies'), but sometimes replaces it, and which 'so closely resembles the 1632 printing of Samuel Pomario's poem on the passion ... as to amount to a plagiarism'.¹⁰ Moreover, four of the extra plates in the Inglis copy are known to derive from *The Extravagant Shepherd* by John Davies of Kidwelly, like Benlowes a former student of St John's College, Cambridge.¹¹ Jenkins notes that none of the eleven extra Inglis plates is known to appear in copies of *Theophila* which preserve the original binding, and argues that 'it is possible, even probable, that all of them are spurious. Benlowes may have had some or all of them bound up in a few odd copies; it would have been perfectly in character. But they may equally well have been inserted by some possessor of the book who thought them appropriate. It is clear that they appear today in *some* copies where they did not belong originally.'¹² Cook's reproduction shows the initials 'G.G.' after the title, and it is possible that these are an indication of authorship.¹³

While Browne's nineteenth-century editors treated 'Behold ô God' as an undistinguished devotional lyric, the poem simultaneously enjoyed a more celebrated life in anonymity. Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 35 includes a copy of 'Behold ô God' among a book of letters sent to an officer serving in India in the early part of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ Like the Folger text, this copy marks in the outlines of the crosses, now represented as approximations of Latin crosses, but tapered. The text is arranged more widely on the page, leaving more space to distribute the lines around the crosses.¹⁵ The poem is headed 'A curious Piece of Antiquity on the crucifixion of Our Saviour and the two theives [sic]' - inexplicably, the same title as Lowndes gives to 'Alleluja alma dies'. Two late nineteenth-century printed versions also supply variations on this title. The section on 'Emblematic Poetry' in Charles Carroll Bombaugh's *Gleanings from*

the Harvest-Fields of Literature, includes among various pattern poems (including a 'Rhomboidal Dirge' by George Wither) two poems on the crucifixion: a cruciform poem 'THE CROSS', and 'A CURIOUS PIECE OF ANTIQUITY, ON THE CRUCIFIXION OF OUR SAVIOUR AND THE TWO THIEVES', which here begins 'My God! My God! INRI vers of my tears.'¹⁶ In this version the poem is shaped around and through three Latin crosses, which have been marked in with typographical symbols. The distribution of the poem on the page resembles that of Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 35 more than any of the seventeenth-century manuscripts. Bombaugh does not identify the author or name a source, but seems to assume, as the title suggests, that the poem is antique. He certainly supposes the companion cruciform poem to be medieval, contrived by 'the Christian monks of the Middle Ages.' Of 'Behold ô God' he writes that 'The whole, comprised together, makes a piece of excellent poetry, which is to be read across all the columns, and makes as many lines as there are letters in the alphabet. It is perhaps one of the most curious pieces of composition to be found on record.' William Shepherd Walsh's *A Handy-Book of Literary Curiosities* reprints Bombaugh's version of the poem, but notes that 'the structure of the verse, the metre, and the rhythm indicate that it is not earlier than the last half of the seventeenth century, and may be much more recent.'¹⁷

As histories such as Cook's and Higgins's show, the tradition of pattern poetry is certainly ancient. The earliest known cross-shaped poem, found in a Roman catacomb, probably pre-dates the Empire's acceptance of Christianity.¹⁸ There are no cross-shaped poems among the figured poetry in the Greek Anthology, though by a curious coincidence the epigram which immediately follows Simias's (egg-shaped) 'Egg' in the Palatine Anthology (15.28) is an ephrastic piece 'On Christ Crucified ... with robbers crucified on either side' by Anastasius the Lisper, which may have been attached to a painted or sculpted version of the scene.¹⁹ In any case, the poem makes a strong visual appeal. 'A proud man shall be as an infant,' says Anastasius, 'when he reflects on this in his heart and sees it in pictures'.²⁰ Earlier than the Greek, the *carmina quadrata* of Porfyrius in the fourth century, or the later figured variations of them by Raban Maur in the ninth, testify to the continuing popularity of this affected naiveté. Its revival in the sixteenth and seventeenth century is contemporary with the well-known Renaissance interest in pictorially based meditations, emblems and devices.²¹ Donne is known to have had quite an energetic interest in Porfyrius, and Lancelot Andrewes owned a copy of the 1605 edition of Raban's *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis* (printed also in 1501, 1503, and 1626-7).²² Cook

suggests that the composition - and the reading - of Christian pattern poems can best be understood as a means of meditation.²³ In this way 'Behold ô God,' a prayer of contrition and submission to God's authority, forces the reader's attention on to its incorporation of an image of the redemptive act which makes possible the reconciliation between the repentant sinner and God.

It is impossible to tell whether Browne himself was responsible for the patterning of 'Behold ô God', but it would be consistent both with the theory that Lansdowne 777 derives directly from his own papers, and with his known interest in pattern poetry to assume that he was. His own responsibility for the patterning of the three figured poems which appear in his printed works need not be questioned. Two of these figured poems occur in *Britannias Pastorals* Book I Song 3 (1613): a set of uniform pipes, and a twisted, interlacing ribbon-shaped poem which Higgins describes as possibly the earliest poetic 'lover's knot' in English.²⁴ The third, an altar-shaped poem, follows the fourth eclogue, the elegy on Thomas Manwood, in *The Shepherds Pipe* (1614). This appreciation of pattern poetry is also consistent with the interest in emblems witnessed by his adaptation of Thomas Palmer's *The Sprite of trees and herbes* in Bodleian Ashmole MS 767.²⁵

¹ Tillotson, 'William Browne: His Life and Pastorals', p. 74.

² The words of the inscription derive from Matthew 27.37 and John 19.19. In traditional iconography, the INRI label does not usually co-exist with the T-shaped cross, for obvious reasons. According to Gertrud Schiller, the use of the T-shape to represent the cross, originally Waldensian, was common across Europe from the thirteenth century onwards (Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. Janet Seligman, 2 vols (London: Lund Humphries, 1971-2), vol. 2, p. 146).

³ The repentant thief is regularly on Christ's right: that is, the left as it appears to an onlooker. See Stephanie Brown, *Religious Painting: Christ's Passion and Crucifixion* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1979), p. 37.

⁴ For a full description of this manuscript, see McKay, 'A Seventeenth Century Collection of Religious Poetry', *BLR* 8 (1970): 185-191. The fragment of 'Behold ô God' appears on p. viii.

⁵ For information about both the Monckton Milnes manuscript and the Newberry manuscript, I should like to thank Peter Beal. A photocopy of the Monckton Milnes manuscript is available in the British Library manuscript reading room (RP 2031).

⁶ The Newberry MS also emboldens letters along the left margin in heavy black ink, although if this is an intext, I cannot decipher it.

⁷ The bibliography of *Theophila* is described by Harold Jenkins, in *Edward Benlowes (1602-1675): Biography of a Minor Poet* (London: Athlone Press, 1952). The pattern poem plate is described in Arthur Hind's *Engraving in England in the sixteenth & seventeenth centuries: a descriptive catalogue with introductions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952-64), vol. II, p. 366. It was engraved by Martin Droeshout.

- ⁸ Elizabeth Cook, 'Figured Poetry,' *JWCI* 42 (1979): 1-15 (plate 3a). See also Dick Higgins, *Pattern Poetry: Guide to an Unknown Literature* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987), p. 96, and Jenkins, p. 334.
- ⁹ William Thomas Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, 5 vols. (London, 1865), vol. 1, p. 154; compare Jenkins, p. 341. The present location of the Inglis copy of *Theophila* is unknown. It may have formed part of the 'singularly curious and valuable selection from the library of a gentleman' sold at Sotheby's in the name of John Bellingham Inglis, 9 June 1826, listed in the *Catalogues of English Book Sales 1676-1900 in the British Museum* (London, 1915), p. 165.
- ¹⁰ Higgins, p. 96. I have not seen this poem by Pomarius, and Higgins's account is brief and unclear. Another presumably similar piece, 'Arma Christi,' is reproduced and described in Jeremy Adler, 'Technopaigneia, carmina figurata and Bilder-Reime: Seventeenth-century figured poetry in historical perspective,' *Comparative Criticism: A Yearbook* 4 (1982): 107-147. Adler gives an excellent account of the baroque fashion for this kind of poetry.
- ¹¹ Jenkins lists four instances of duplicates from *The Extravagant Shepherd*, plates 32, 33, 34 and 35 (his numeration).
- ¹² Jenkins, pp. 340-341.
- ¹³ An unfinished copy of the same Latin poem survives in Bodleian MS. Rawl. poet 160, f. 1. It gives the title, the five complete intexts, and the first 6 lines of the poem. It is unattributed. This manuscript also includes one of the best miscellany texts of Browne's epitaph *On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke* (BrW 191), as well as *On one drown'd in the Snowe* (BrW 155). Beal's speculative date for the manuscript, 1633, would also tend to support the possibility that 'Alleluja alma dies' predates *Theophila*.
- ¹⁴ The MS is part of an official letter-book containing copies of letters and communications addressed to Lt-Col Ad. Gordon, commanding at Glazipur near Benares, June 11- Sept 27, 1810. The rest of the volume is scraps: plans and measurements of a private house, May 5, 1770, with notes of the tea and wine there: notes on kinds of snuff, about 1814: and, unattributed, an acrostic poem on the Crucifixion. See Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *Summary Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. 6, p. 182 (no. 32681). Compare Beal, I, 1, p. 116.
- ¹⁵ Some of the textual variants also result in a neater pattern of emphases: thus 'My crowne his Thornes' in Lansdowne 777 (line 12) becomes 'His THornes my crown' in the Bodleian document, and 'forgiUe as well as pay tHe Debt' (l. 16) becomes 'forgiVe me since tHoust paid my debt'.
- ¹⁶ C. C. Bombaugh, *Gleanings from the Harvest-Fields of Literature: A Melange of Excerpts* (London, 1890), p. 95.
- ¹⁷ William Shepherd Walsh, *A Handy-Book of Literary Curiosities* (London, 1893) p. 276. It cannot be certain that Browne plays with the 26 letters of the alphabet. Jonson's *English Grammar* gives the number of letters in the alphabet as 24.
- ¹⁸ Higgins, pp. 21-22.
- ¹⁹ This possibility is suggested by Félix Buffière in the Budé edition of the *Anthologie Grèque*, vol. 12 (1970), p. 218. Alan Cameron, commenting on Anastasius in *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 311-313, identifies him as a quaestor in Constantinople in 906.
- ²⁰ I quote the Greek Anthology in the Loeb edition, translated by W. R. Paton (London: Heinemann, 1916-18).
- ²¹ See Bart Westerweel, *Patterns and Patterning: A Study of Four Poems By George Herbert* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984). Herbert's 'The Altar' and 'Easter Wings' are, of course, the best-known examples of English pattern poetry. Herrick has a shaped poem, 'The Pillar of Fame' in the *Hesperides* (Martin, ed., p. 335), and a cross-shaped poem, 'This crosse-tree', in *Noble Numbers* (p. 401).
- ²² For Porfyrius and Donne see John Sparrow, 'A Book from Donne's Library,' *London Mercury*, 25 (1931-2): 171-180. Andrewes's possession of the Raban is mentioned by Cook, p. 3. Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta* (Herborn, 1630) has a section on pattern poetry which draws particular attention to Raban's cross-shaped poems.
- ²³ Cook, p.4.

²⁴ Higgins, p. 98; Goodwin, I, pp. 102-103. P. J. Croft also refers to the 'elaborate indentation' in the copy of Browne's elegy on Thomas Manwood in the Salisbury manuscript as manifesting 'some sense of visual effect' (Croft, *Autograph Poetry*, vol. 1, p. 31), thus providing further testimony to Browne's care in arranging the text of his poems. The fact that the lineation of this autograph copy of the elegy is identical to Lansdowne's also tends to support the assumption that L777 is close to holograph.

²⁵ See my own article, 'The Growth of an Emblem: Some Contexts for Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 767', in *Emblems and the Manuscript Tradition*, ed. Laurence Grove (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 1997), pp. 81-99, and also Geoffrey Tillotson, 'A Manuscript of William Browne' *RES* 6 (1930):187-191, and Percy Simpson 'Two Emblem Books', *BQR* 6 (1932): 172-173. There is a facsimile of part of this manuscript in P. J. Croft, *Autograph Poetry in the English Language*, 2 vols. (London: Cassell, 1973), I, p. 30.

= 3.

Behold o God IN Rivers of my teares
 If I come to the benediction the blessed eares
 To heare no weathre and let thine eares be
 Let not O God My God my faults though great
 And numberlesse Get in W oen thy mercyes great
 And my worse fault be not to come: Since we are taught
 Thou Lord Remember thy no If Thou be sought
 If a man be not found in any o Thee more
 Thou art what I by my sinne am in right in
 Be o in thy hand his wounde Symbole of thy
 My sinne be thy hande my death be to be in his
 And a in thy hande my bloode Redeemer sinne God
 Quitt my de COMPTS with hold the very full red
 I begg for me my sinnes on Thee are set
 And Ohie st forgi ve as no more
 Tho thou My fault hold to the wa ye of thine
 And but to thee O whether should I goe
 All o in thy hande a Rede vaine graunt thinke to mee
 For in thy hande my Saviour howe I the must be
 O in his hande howe thou wilt At I with Faith my love
 Loast I in death sent to me for Evermore
 Lasse O God my way Es direct And guide
 for a in death do not let me that I never
 And at thine hande Let me be raise O thou
 Do thou with thine hande most of vs save Amen.

1. 'Behold o God IN Rivers of my teares'. London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 777, fol. 3r. (Original page size 190 x 147mm.)

In Gloriosissimam Passionem, & Resurrectionem Domini nostri Jesu Christi

A	lleluja alma dies,	IN	CHR	I	sti sacra Triumphu-	M
R	edde decus masto, red=	DE	u	rea Secula Mund=	OR	
D	e Latho rediit lat=	US	q	uam ignobilis Arbo=	R	
E	xani=	MEN	(t)	EN	uit, que=	S
O	ccilium, et	TO	rtum Mil=	E	s, Mol=	T
A	t nunc fal=	M	ineo Cap=	U	at trum per C=	U
M	ortis inexpl=	E	ta resecam=	S	q Sepule=	A
R	brica S=	I	derco vi=	D	et unra sid=	U
E	mpatur ~	C	haas horr=	E	ndum, pccul I	I
T	e Chritte im=	U	lo claul=	U	s, victu=	T
U	dum oculis ~	M	ecito, te ~	S	tratam Mar=	A
I	nduitur V=	V	dis Cahu=	M	insons l=	N
M	armora findu=	E	stem av=	E	rlo Sol ~	E
U	ita def=	N	tur, revom=	U	nt reclusa S	A
N	utante int=	E	ctos, rurlu	S	Chaos horr=	E
D	clubro ~	R	emuit quatqz	C	ta, et ter=	S
I	ncerevere ~	I	n sancto f=	U	spenla A=	T
S	ingultantq t=	S	uis Lach=	R	ymis turb=	A
A	st ubi nu=	I	bi, terru=	M	q ferun=	R
L	atius os O=	N	re gremio	E	xurgis T=	D
V	ictor hab=	R	bi red=	D	is rediv=	E
A	etherca Re=	E	s merito sp=	E	ciola Tro=	O
T	erra re=	G	ione Cohor=	S	Galetti =	A
O	ceanus pla=	N	ascenti r=	E	clitum grat=	M
R	ugitu inge=	U	dit, cla=	R	unq Celeul=	O
I	ple ego Chrit=	M	inat, ferit a=	U	rea Syd=	R
E	xepias h=	T	te tibi, tib=	I	devinc=	E
S	upliciter f=	U	miles, quak=	S	mili Cami=	T
U	ita, Salusq	U	ndo, te ~	T	ce dulci inf=	O
		M	ihi dulciss=	I	me Chri=	S

2. 'In Gloriosissimam Passionem, & Resurrectionem Domini nostri Jesu Christi'. Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library ms V. a. 308, fol. 87v. (Original page size 202 x 160 mm.)

*In the glorious Passion, & Resurrection
of our Lord, & Saviour Jesus Christ.*

Behold O Lord, & I come to thee, bow To hear a Wretch, and let Did never close, behold & Let not && And hainous, come bet= And my poor Soul s'rt= Thou I co= Than && Be th= My Crown his And th= Quit my A= O beg for & And Chri= The live= And but & All o= For in th= O hear= Lest S= Lastly O & In &&& And at y' Do= To liv= 	IN RE MY GOD LORD REMEMBER ME WH EN TH OU CO ME ST IN TO TH Y K IN G D OM E	vers of my Tears & down thy blessed Ears thine Eyes, w ^{ch} Sleep a Sinner weep. & my Faults, though thy Mercy-Seat, great, row, since we are taught, ne, IF THOU BE taught. ny o= vious & my Balm, his h be le= Redeemer, old thy pes on & e as well as t ^{pay} e, the W ^{is} whither e vain, thin aveing Hea t I with & e me for s direct, A ed me, y' I e be rais E sweet Jes US say Amen.
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3. 'On the glorious Passion, & Resurrection of our Lord, & Saviour Jesus Christ'. Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library ms V. a. 308, fol. 88r. (Original page size 202 x 160 mm.)

WORKS CITED

(1) Manuscripts

(i) Browne Manuscripts

The table provides an at-a-glance digest of information about each of the manuscripts which include poetry by William Browne. Column 1, the manuscript name, is self-explanatory. Under 'Origin' I give the names of the institution from which the miscellany derives and/or the name of the compiler, if known. 'Date', of course, is the estimated date of compilation. 'Un', 'Pr', 'Sn' and 'Sa' refer to the four most popular poems: respectively, *On an Infant vnborne*, *On Mrs Anne Prideaux*, *On one drown'd in the Snowe*, and *On the Countess Dowager of Pembroke*. Where a manuscript includes one of these poems, the Beal number of this copy is listed in the appropriate column. Under 'Other' is given the abbreviated name of any other Browne poem included in the manuscript, followed by its Beal number. In the case of Lansdowne 777, this space has been left blank: the Beal numbers for each of the Lansdowne 777 poems are given in the edition. The information about the manuscripts derives mainly from the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, vols. I-II, supplemented by Hobbs, Marotti and my own observations.

<u>Repository / MS</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Un</u>	<u>Pr</u>	<u>Sn</u>	<u>Sa</u>	<u>Other</u>
<u>Great Britain</u>							
Bradford, Central Library							
Hopkinson MSS, vol. 17	Yorkshire: John Hopkinson,	late 17 th century					Nosegay: 9 ¹ Girdle : 9
<hr/>							
Cambridge, St John's College							
MS S. 23 (James 416)		30s-40s				224	
MS S. 32 (James 423)	Cambridge: John Pike	1630s-40s			176	225	

<u>Repository / MS</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Un</u>	<u>Pr</u>	<u>Sn</u>	<u>Sa</u>	<u>Other</u>
Cambridge, University Library Add. MS 7196		1630					Ring: 8
Add. MS 8447	Henry Rainsford	c. 1630			173		
Add. MS 8470	Edward Hyde	1630s		135		215	
Edinburgh, University Library H.-P Coll. 401	Richard Jackson	1620s-30s					Nosegay: 10
Leeds, Archives Department MX 237	Presented to Sir John Reresby	1630s				216	Vaux: 107
Leicestershire Record Office DG. 7/Lit. 2	William Parkhurst	1621-41				217	
London, British Library Add. MS 10309	Margaret Bellasys	1630				193	
Add. MS 14047	Oxford	1640			157		
Add. MS 15227	Cambridge	1630s		118		194	
Add. MS 19268	John Philips	1630s	85				
Add. MS 21433	Inns of Court	1630s	86				
Add. MS 22118	Cambridge?	1630s					Prowde: 53 ²
Add. MS 22603	Cambridge	mid 17 th century					Rounde: 239 ³
Add. MS 25303	Inns of Court	1620-30	87	119		195	

<u>Repository / MS</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Un</u>	<u>Pr</u>	<u>Sn</u>	<u>Sa</u>	<u>Other</u>
Add. MS 25707	Skipwith family	1630s				196	Fairlady: 73 ⁴
Add. MS 29921	'H. Packwood'	late 17 th century				197	
Add. MS 30982	Oxford: Daniel Leare	1631-33				198	
Add. MS 47111	Cambridge: John Percival	1646-9			158		
Add. MS 47112	Cambridge: John Percival	late 17 th century				199	
Add. MS 53723	Henry Lawes	1626-62					Slyde: 13 ⁵
Add. MS 58215	Christ Church: Thomas Manne	1625-30s			159	200	
Egerton MS 923	Oxford: 'W. Allen'	1630s	88			201	
Egerton MS 2421	Christ Church	mid 17 th century	89	121	160		
Harley MS 1221		mid 17 th century				202	
Harley MS 3511	Arthur Capell	mid 17 th century		122			BP: 14 ⁶
Harley MS 3910	Inns of Court	1620s		123		203	Lidford: 64
Harley MS 3991		late 17 th century				204	
Harley MS 4931	Parliament?	mid 17 th century					Lidford: 65
Harley MS 6038		mid 17 th century				205	
Harley MS 6057	Thomas Crosse	1630s					Gamester: 31

<u>Repository / MS</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Un</u>	<u>Pr</u>	<u>Sn</u>	<u>Sa</u>	<u>Other</u>
Harley MS 6917	Peter Calfe	1640s		124			
Harley MS 6931		1630s	90		161		Ode: 71 ⁷
Lansdowne MS 777	Inns of Court	c. 1650	77	108	148	180	
Sloane MS 542	Christ Church?	1630s			162		
Sloane MS 1446	Inns of Court: Francis Baskerville	1633	91	125	163		Deane: 102 ⁸ Vaux: 105 ⁹ Blinde: 145 ¹⁰ Smyth: 48 ¹¹
Sloane MS 1792	Christ Church	1630s	92			206	
Sloane MS 1867		mid 17 th century		126			
Stowe MS 962	Christ Church	1622-37		127			
London, Public Record Office							
SP. 14/123/30	Dudley Carleton	c.1621				219	
London, Royal Society							
MS 92	John Aubrey	1690-1				223	
London, Victoria and Albert Museum							
V&A, Dyce, Cat. No. 18 (Pressmark 25. F. 17)	Lincoln College, Oxford: John Nedham						Gamester: 33
Newcastle upon Tyne, University Library							
MS Bell / White 25		1643-50s.				218	

<u>Repository / MS</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Un</u>	<u>Pr</u>	<u>Sn</u>	<u>Sa</u>	<u>Other</u>
Oxford, Bodleian Library							
MS Ashmole 38	Oxford: Nicholas Burghe	1638				181	Poorfool: 235 ¹²
MS Ashmole 47	Oxford: Elias Ashmole	1630-40s			149		
MS Ashmole 767	William Browne						Emblems: 15, 257
MS Ashmole 781						182	
MS Aubrey 6	John Aubrey	1679-80				183	
MS Don. d. 58	Yorkshire: John Hopkinson	c. 1647.				185	
MS Don. e. 6	Cartwright family	mid 17 th century					Gamester: 28 ¹³
MS Eng.poet. b. 5	Warwickshire: Thomas Fairfax	1651-57					Behold: 3 ¹⁴
MS Eng. poet. c. 50	Oxford	1630-40		110			
MS Eng. poet. e. 14	Christ Church	1630s		111			Gamester: 29 Ring: 7 ¹⁵
MS Eng. poet. e. 97	Christ Church	1630-40	79	112	152	186	Girdle: 11 ¹⁶
MS Eng. poet. f. 9	Devon: Champernowne	1623				187	Countess: 37 ¹⁷
MS Eng. poet. f. 27	Cambridge: Edward Natley	c. 1638		113		188	
MS Firth e.4	Presented to Lady Harflete	c. 1640		114	153		
MS Juel-Jensen Drayton e. 2	Wadham and All Souls, Oxford Hugh Halswell	1624-5					Marina: 17 ¹⁸

<u>Repository / MS</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Un</u>	<u>Pr</u>	<u>Sn</u>	<u>Sa</u>	<u>Other</u>
MS Malone 21	Oxford	1630s					Gamester: 30
MS Rawl. poet. 84	New College, Oxford	mid					Lidford: 63 ¹⁹
MS Rawl. poet. 116	William Eliot	1640-55		115			
MS Rawl. poet. 117	Oxford, Christopher Wase	mid	80			189	
MS Rawl. poet. 147	Cambridge, 'HS'	1640-50					Poorfool: 236
MS Rawl. poet. 153		1640s	81		154	190	
MS Rawl. poet. 160		c. 1633	82		155	191	
MS Rawl. poet. 199	Oxford	1630s	83	116	156		
MS Rawl. poet. 206.	New College Inns of Court	1630s	84	117			
MS Tanner 465	Cambridge: Archbishop Sancroft	mid-late 17 th century				192	
Oxford, Corpus Christi College							
MS 176	Oxford	mid 17 th century			150		
MS 328	Wadham College, Oxford	late 1630s	78	109	151	184	
Oxford, Worcester College Library							
MSS 4. 29	Robert Eliot?	1630s		141			
Salisbury, Cathedral Library							
T.2.45	William Browne	1616-25					Amour: 2 ²⁰ BP III: 16

<u>Repository / MS</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Un</u>	<u>Pr</u>	<u>Sn</u>	<u>Sa</u>	<u>Other</u>
T.2.45 (continued)							Bough: 60 ²¹ SP 4: 241 ²² Sonnet: 244 ²³
<u>Ireland</u>							
Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 877.	Oxford: 'E. Puckering'	1630s		140		227	
<u>Japan</u>							
Tokyo, Meisei University Library Monckton Milnes MS		c.1624-33					Behold
<u>USA</u>							
Cambridge, MA Harvard MS Eng 686	New College Inns of Court	1630s				213	Girdle : 12
14457.23.8.7*						214	
Edwin Wolf, Private Collection	Oxford	c.1635				228	
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MA 1057	Cambridge: William Holgate	1630s.		136 137			Lidford: 66
Philadelphia, Rosenbach Foundation MS 239/16		1713				220	

<u>Repository / MS</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Un</u>	<u>Pr</u>	<u>Sn</u>	<u>Sa</u>	<u>Other</u>
MS 239/27	Christ Church	c.1634.			174	221	Lidford: 67 Smyth: 50
MS 240/2	Robert Berkeley	1640s					Merry: 252 ²⁴
MS 240/7	Flintshire: Mostyn family	c.35		138			Blind: 147
MS 243/4	Thomas Finch, Viscount Maidstone and Earl of Winchilsea	c.1634					Deep: 26 ²⁵ Phillis: 56 ²⁶ Poorfool: 237 Sonnet 14: 24 ²⁷ Merry: 253
MS 1083/16.	Oxford, Inns of Court: Robert Bishop	c.30			175		
MS 1083/17	Inns of Court: Horatio Carey	c.38-42		139		222	Wax: 44 ²⁸
San Marino, CA							
Huntington Library							
HM 116.	Oxford	late 1630s	95		171		Vaux: 106
HM 198, Part I	Charles Cokes for Edward Denny	c. 1630s			172		
Texas, University of Texas at Austin							
MS File / (Herrick,R/Works B	Robert Herrick	1621-3				226	
Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library							
MS V. a. 97	Christ Church	late 1630s	93	128	164	207	

<u>Repository / MS</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Un</u>	<u>Pr</u>	<u>Sn</u>	<u>Sa</u>	<u>Other</u>
MS V. a. 124	Richard Archard	mid 17 th century		129			
MS V. a. 125, Part I ²⁹	Lord Dungarvon	c. 1630s			165		
MS V. a. 125, Part II	Lord Dungarvon	1630s		130	166	208	
MS V. a. 162	Oxford	mid 17 th century			167		Ring: 8.5 Blinde: 146
MS V. a. 169, Part II	Cambridge, various compilers	1650s-60s			168		
MS V. a. 170	Christ Church	1630s	94	131		209	
MS V. a. 245		1630s		132		210	
MS V. a. 262	Oxford Inns of Court	late 1630s		133		211	Vaux ³⁰
MS V. a. 308		1690- 1730		134	169		Behold ³¹
MS V. a. 319		1640s				212	
MS V. a. 345	Christ Church	c.1630					Gamester: 32 BP: 6 ³² Smyth: 49
MS V. b. 43	Christ Church	1630s			170		
Yale, University Library							
Osborn Collection, b. 54.		1677-81			177		
Osborn Collection, b. 62.	Oxford	1640s		142		229	
Osborn Collection, b. 197	Suffolk: Tobias Alston	c. 1639					
Osborn Collection, b.200		1630s	96		178		

<u>Repository / MS</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Un</u>	<u>Pr</u>	<u>Sn</u>	<u>Sa</u>	<u>Other</u>
Osborn Collection, b. 205		mid 17 th century		143			
Osborn Collection, fb. 143		1694				230	

(ii) Other Manuscripts

London, British Library

Cotton Caligula A XI

Harley MS 6164

Harley MS 6910

Oxford, Bodleian Library

MS Ashmole 36-37

MS Ashmole 40

MS Ashmole 830

MS Douce 280

MS Don. b. 9

MS Tanner 169

MS Firth d. 7

Oxford, Corpus Christi College

MS 325

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- ¹ *A Nosegay with Nettles*, copy of *Britannias Pastorals*, Book I Song 3, lines 179-80.
- ² *An Epitaph on Sir Iohn Prowde*, Lansdowne 777 poem 47.
- ³ *A Rounde*: 'Now that the Spring hath fill'd our veynes', Lansdowne 777 poem 4.
- ⁴ *One a faire Ladyes Yellow haire, powdred with white*, Lansdowne 777 poem 8.
- ⁵ 'Slyde Softe, yea Siluer floods', version of *Britannias Pastorals*, Book II Song 1, line 242 ff.
- ⁶ Extracts from *Britannias Pastorals*, Book II. See Tillotson, 'The Commonplace Book of Arthur Capell', *MLR* 27 (1932): 381-92.
- ⁷ *An Ode*: 'Awake, faire Muse, for I intend', Lansdowne 777 poem 1.
- ⁸ *On Mr John Deane, of New Colledge*, Lansdowne 777 poem 41.
- ⁹ *On Mr Vaux the Phisitian*, Lansdowne 777 poem 43.
- ¹⁰ *On one born blynde, and soe dead*, Lansdowne 777 poem 45.
- ¹¹ *An Epitaph on Mr John Smyth*, Lansdowne 777 poem 49.
- ¹² 'Poore silly foole! thou striv'st in vaine to knowe', Lansdowne 777 poem 15.
- ¹³ *An Elegye*: 'Is Death so great a Gamester that he throwes', Lansdowne 777 poem 42.
- ¹⁴ 'Behold ô God, INRivers of my teares', Lansdowne 777 poem 2.
- ¹⁵ *On a Ring*, copy of *Britannias Pastorals*, Book I Song 3, lines 477-8.
- ¹⁶ *On a Girdle*, copy of *Britannias Pastorals*, Book I Song 3, lines 481-2.
- ¹⁷ *An Elegie on the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke*: 'Time hath a long course run since thou wert claye', Lansdowne 777 poem 39.
- ¹⁸ 'Marina's gone and now sit I', version of *Britannias Pastorals* Book III Song 1, lines 45-86; see also Lansdowne 777 poem 22. The Bodleian cannot locate this manuscript.
- ¹⁹ *Lidford Journey*: 'I ofte haue heard of Lidford Lawe', Lansdowne 777 poem 5.
- ²⁰ *Amour*: 'Like to the world my love I find to be' (not in Lansdowne 777).
- ²¹ 'Look as a bough cut lately from the rind' (not in Lansdowne 777).
- ²² The Shepherds Pipe, eclogue 4: 'Under an aged oak was Willie laid', Lansdowne 777 poem 33.
- ²³ Sonnet: 'For her gait if she be walking' (not in Lansdowne 777).
- ²⁴ 'Ye merry birds, leaue of to sing', Lansdowne 777 poem 18.
- ²⁵ 'Deepe are the wounds which strike a vertuous name', Lansdowne 777 poem 12.
- ²⁶ 'Give me three kisses, Phillis', Lansdowne 777 poem 23.
- ²⁷ Sonnet to Caelia, 14: 'Divinest Caelia, send no more to aske', Lansdowne 777 poem 19.
- ²⁸ *An Epistle Throwne into a Riuer in a ball of Wax*, Lansdowne 777 poem 28.
- ²⁹ This poem is recorded by Beal, but I have been unable to locate it in the manuscript.
- ³⁰ Unrecorded by Beal (p. 51).
- ³¹ Unrecorded by Beal.(ff. 87v.-88r.).
- ³² Extracts from *Britannias Pastorals*, Book I Song 3 lines 477-80 and Song 1, line 241-2.

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