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AND THE PSALMS.

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SING A NEW SONG
GEORGE HERBERT'S THE TEMPLE AND THE PSALMS

by
SUSAN MOLCK-UDE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
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FOREWORD

The composition of this dissertation was undertaken while I was living abroad, and would not have been possible without the resources of the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek of Vienna, the Koninklijke Bibliotheek of the Hague, and the National Reference Library of the British Museum. I am most grateful for their generosity in making their fine collections available to me. I am deeply indebted to my advisor, Professor John Hollander. He set my feet on the path, suggested the steps I should take, and having, no doubt, the end in view, provided landmarks of insight throughout. For sharing with me the rigors of the way, I can only express inadequately here my gratitude to my husband.

Spelling has been normalized in all quotations from primary sources. The names of well-known journals are abbreviated in accordance with the practice of the International Bibliography of the Modern Language Association. Quotations from the F. E. Hutchinson edition of The Works of George Herbert and from the William A. Ringler, Jr. edition of The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney are cited by permission of the Oxford University Press.

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Introduction

Praise ye the Lord. Sing unto the Lord a new song,
and his praises in the congregation of saints.
 (Psalm 149.1)

The Psalmist's injunction seemed to speak across the ages with a new and compelling insistence to the men of the Reformation. It was a time when changes in the conception of Christian spirituality, if not more far-reaching than those of the preceding four centuries and hardly new in content, were conceived by adherents and opponents alike as presenting irreconcilable imperatives which demanded the splitting of the seamless garment of Christian faith that had covered the Middle Ages. This perception of change in the basic structure and content of religious experience led to a demand for new modes of expression in the liturgy, private devotion, and, finally and inevitably, in all forms of religious art. It was in response to this demand that the English religious lyric burgeoned and bloomed in the Reformation period.

Beneath the specific, and often conflicting, doctrinal and liturgical positions of the Protestant Reformers lay a common foundation of revivalism that sought to substitute religious inwardness, the direct response of the individual Christian to God through faith, for the Catholic Church's emphasis upon the observance of outward institutional forms.¹ These men were not advocates of actual religious individualism, as M. M. Knappen cautions in his study of Tudor Puritanism; each sect established a creed which was meant to bind its adherents. But their position was individualistic in comparison with that of the Catholics, for they continued to believe, according to Knappen, that "The Correctness of a system would save nobody. Correctness there must be, but there must also be personal co-operation and per-

sonal responsibility."² As William Perkins succinctly put it at the beginning of the seventeenth century, "for everie man in regard of salvation is a private man."³

By conceiving of definitive Christian experience as a personal relationship ultimately to be established between the individual soul and its maker, though supported and nourished by the church, Protestantism reinvigorated Christianity, especially for the lay believer, with the spirit of devotionism. Hence the approach of the individual to God in the privacy of his cabinet, and indeed, in the whole course of his daily secular activities, gained in validity and significance. But while Protestantism increased the individual's responsibility for achieving a personal relationship with God, it did not provide, particularly in the early years, any appreciable body of devotional literature to guide and assist him. The explanation for this failure probably lies in the Reformers' preoccupation with their great works of scriptural translation, with defending and consolidating their doctrinal position vis à vis Rome (and each other), and with developing vernacular liturgies and institutional forms.

Pointing to the dearth of Protestant devotional material in sixteenth-century England, Louis L. Martz describes in The Poetry of Meditation the rich devotional resources generated by the continental Counter Reformation, and suggests that the large number of translations and adaptations of these works that appeared in England evidences "that by the opening of the seventeenth century a large proportion of the English public had taken to its heart the fruits of the Counter Reformation in the realm of inward devotion."⁴ Postulating that Counter Reformation devotional literature therefore played a crucial role in shaping the religious imagination of the age, Martz suggests that seventeenth-century English religious poetry "represents the impact of the continental art of meditation upon English poetical traditions."⁵

It must not be forgotten, however, that the Protestant Reformers did put in the hands of their followers something that

the Catholic lay believer lacked--the Bible. The image of the Christian pouring over the Holy Scripture in an attempt to understand his position in relation to God is characteristically, in fact exclusively, Protestant. And if he found there the basis for establishing his own personal relationship with his maker, it was in one book in particular, the Psalms, that he found the canonical medium for addressing this personal God.

The Psalter had been at the heart of private devotion throughout the history of the church. It provided the backbone of the public Hour services, which were adapted during the Middle Ages for private devotional use and, with the addition of the Ave Maria and Pater Noster, became the Primers.⁶ Yet the men of the Reformation turned to the Psalter with the excitement, almost, of a new discovery. As John Julian and William T. Brooke remark in The Dictionary of Hymnology, the Psalms "seemed, in the wonder aroused by a new-found Bible, the supreme, divinely ordained vehicle of human praise."⁷

The Protestants recognized in this book of prayer and praise, moreover, a canonical medium for the personal, unmediated relationship with their creator that they sought. Here the experience of grace in the intimate dialogue of the Psalmist with God awaited the devout soul, for the Psalmist's words belonged, through divine inspiration, to each individual Christian. As John Donne explained in a sermon upon Psalm 63, "David was not onely a cleare Prophet of Christ himselfe, but a Prophet of every particular Christian; He foretels what I, what any shall doe, and suffer, and say." Hence, "the whole booke of Psalmes is Oleum effusum, (as the Spouse speaks of the name of Christ) an Ointment powred out upon all sorts of sores, A Searchcloth that souldes all bruises, A Balme that searches all wounds."⁸

The flood of psalm translation that swept over Reformation England attests both to the demand for devotional material and to the conviction that this demand could best be satisfied with vernacular psalms. Even those translations which were primarily directed toward use as hymns in the liturgy (the English Church,

like her Genevan sister, having adopted the Psalter as the exclusive source of congregational song) never lost sight of the primary devotional use of the Psalter. As the title page of the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter, which held the position of unofficial hymnal of the church throughout the period, claimed, it was "Set forth & allowed to be song in all Churches, of all the people together . . . & moreover in private houses, for their godly solace and cōfort, lying apart all ungodly songs and ballades, which tend onely to the nourishing of vice, and corrupting of youth."⁹

The opening up of the Psalms for the devotional use of the laity represented, to the minds of the Reformers, a revival of the Psalter's role in the primitive Christian Church. During the Middle Ages, use of the Psalter in private devotion had degenerated, especially for the uneducated masses of the laity who could not understand Latin, into the rote recitation of psalms assigned for each day in the Primers, or imposed by the Priest as an act of penance.¹⁰ Drawing support from the commentaries of the early Church Fathers, the Reformers attempted to restore the full devotional potential of the Psalms as personal, rather than mere ritual, experience by emphasizing the necessity of comprehension and of appropriateness in choice of psalms to the reciter's spiritual state. As William Seres warned his readers in an epistle appended to his prose Booke of Psalmes (1576),

But because many ether of ignorāce or custome thinke that the exercise of the Psalmes standeth in oft repeating them over, and also by saying daily a certaine number, binding themselves to say verse for verse, till their taxe be ended, we thought briefly to admonish wherein the true use consisteth, which is . . . not unadvisedly to read whatsoever Psalme cometh first to hande, or that which is appointed for this day or that day, but diligently to marke, what maketh to the purpose, and present necessitie. For except we understande that, which we speake, we can not pray in faith, and that which we feele not in our selves, and to the which our heartes consent not, is done without understanding, and so is not available.¹¹

Seres provided his readers with a table designed to assist them in finding the psalms appropriate to each occasion. This practice, precedents for which existed in the commentaries of Church Fathers such as Athanasius, was adopted by many of the Reformation psalm translators. When the Westminster Assembly of Divines officially extended the sanction of the Commonwealth establishment to the devotional role of the Psalms in 1657, however, as Carolyn P. Collette remarks, it refused to publish a table of this kind.¹² Its novelty, presumably, induced the divines to justify their decision, which they did by pointing to the diversity of human sensibilities and temperaments and suggesting that each individual could best choose the psalms serving his immediate spiritual need.¹³ Behind this suggestion lay the assumption that the Englishman of every educational level knew the Psalter well enough to make his own selection, an assumption which could not have been made at the beginning of the Reformation and therefore testifies to the widespread use of the Psalms that had ensued. As Carolyn P. Collette concludes, "The Westminster Assembly formally established what had been implicit from the beginning of the Reformation: the Psalms were the foundation of individual prayer and their use a major aspect of English Protestantism."¹⁴

At the same time that the Reformers were rediscovering the excellence of the Psalter as a devotional medium, Renaissance literary figures began to emphasize its aesthetic excellence, placing it in the service of their defense of poetry and imaginative literature. In a fine article on "The Bible as Poetry in the English Renaissance," Israel Baroway points out that Renaissance Englishmen were deeply preoccupied with the question of the art of biblical poetry, although this preoccupation is not immediately apparent in their fragmentary and usually adventitious remarks on the subject. These incidental references are not merely the unrelated and haphazard theorizations of individuals. "The truth is this: they are the surface agitations issuing from a vast underground stream of critical lore . . . fed by various

sources--the rabbinical commentators, Philo and Josephus, the Church Fathers, and contemporary continental and English scholars."¹⁵

Based upon this body of learned commentary, the scattered references, which appeared throughout the period in a wide and miscellaneous range of contemporary writings, all asserted the eminence of biblical poetry as an indisputable fact. In A Defense of Poetry, Sir Philip Sidney observed that of the three general kinds of poetry, "The chief, both in antiquity and excellency, were they that did imitate the unconceivable excellencies of God. Such were David in his Psalms; Solomon in his Song of Songs, in his Ecclesiastes, and Proverbs; Moses and Deborah in their Hymns; and the writer of Job: Which, beside other, the learned Emanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius do entitle the poetical part of Scripture."¹⁶ And in The Reason of Church Government (1642), at the end of the period, John Milton voiced the same opinion, now a commonplace: "those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets . . . not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable."¹⁷

Drawing the conclusion that was implied in all of these comments, George Puttenham expostulated in The Art of English Poesie (1589), "King David also & Salomon his sonne and many other of the holy Prophets wrate in meeters, and used to sing them to the harpe, although to many of us ignorant of the Hebrue language and phrase, and not observing it, the same seeme but a prose. It can not bee therefore that anie scorne or indignitie should justly be offred to so noble, profitable, ancient and divine a science as Poesie is."¹⁸ Here was the classic Renaissance argument in defense of poetry, one which could hardly be refuted by its pious opponents. It was usually accompanied by the admission that poetry could be misused for vain and evil purpose, but it stood nevertheless as a justification of the poetic art, secular as well as sacred.

The implications of the argument, nevertheless, clearly pointed to the superior valuation of religious poetry which was an increasingly important theme in Renaissance thought. Although the

references to the excellence of biblical poetry from Sidney through Milton evidence a critical response to its artistry, that response cannot be separated from the appreciation of its divine import, which was as much a prerequisite of the highest poetry as aesthetic beauty. As John Donne observed in a sermon on Psalm 32, "David's last words are, and in that David's holy glory was placed, That he was not onely the sweet Psalmist. That he had an harmonious, a melodious, a charming, a powerfull way of entring into the soule, and working upon the affections of men, but he was the sweet Psalmist of Israel, He employed his faculties for the conveying of the God of Israel, into the Israel of God."¹⁹

The Psalms, then, were seen not only as the canonical medium for the congregational hymns of the church and for the private devotions of the individual believer, but as the most ancient and excellent exemplar of poetic art, in particular, of the religious lyric. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, English translators by the score attempted to recapture these qualities of the Psalms in metrical form. In questions of style and metrics, however, their original provided little guidance. Although scholars generally agreed that the Psalms were in meter, they could not decipher the mechanics of Hebrew prosody. It was uncertain whether the verse was quantitative or accentual, though most inclined to the former theory,²⁰ and the principles of strophic structure seemed wholly mysterious. With but a few exceptions, furthermore, the psalm translators lacked a sufficient knowledge of Hebrew to work from the original text, and were reduced to using the Latin Vulgate translation which was in prose. They were almost wholly dependent, consequently, upon contemporary lyric techniques and conventions.

In making their decisions on style and form, most of the translators subordinated aesthetic considerations to their religious goals. In the 1540's, at the beginning of the period, Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey produced versions which were not dominated by Reformation concerns; others began to appear again after the first decade of the seventeenth century. In be-

tween, most of the translators, with the notable exception of Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke, were preoccupied with fitting a plain style rendering of the Psalms, suited to the capacity of the entire Christian laity, into simple metrical forms which could be set to easy tunes for its congregational hymns and devotional songs. The poetic quality of their work, as they often admitted themselves, was poor. But all of these translations, the most awkward as well as the best, raised questions about the adaptability of contemporary lyric techniques and conventions to the sacred songs of the Psalter, and ultimately, about the special nature and prerequisites of the religious lyric. It remained for George Herbert to find solutions to these problems; responding more fully and complexly to the Psalms in original poetry than had any of the psalm translators, he achieved in The Temple the finest collection of devotional religious lyrics that had yet been produced in the English tongue.²¹

¹ See Wilhelm Pauck, "The Nature of Protestantism," in The Heritage of the Reformation, The Phoenix Series, gen. ed. James Luther Adams, No. 2 (Glencoe, Ill., 1950), pp. 115, 120.

² Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism (Chicago, 1939), pp. 347-48.

³ The Workes, III (London, 1613), 166 B.

⁴ The Poetry of Meditation, rev. ed. (New Haven, 1962), p. 9 (see also pp. 4-9).

⁵ Marts, p. 13.

⁶ Francis Procter, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer with a Rationale of its Offices (1855), rev. ed. by Walter Howard Frere (London, 1901), p. 18.

⁷ "Psalters, English," A Dictionary of Hymnology, ed. John Julian, rev. ed. (London, 1907), p. 916.

⁸ The Sermons of John Donne, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter, VII (Berkeley, 1954), p. 51.

⁹ The Whole Booke of Psalmes (1576), bound with The Bible (London, 1577).

¹⁰ The Seven Penitential Psalms, in particular, were frequently assigned for penance (see John Holland, The Psalmists of Britain (London, 1834), I, 23 and note.

¹¹ The Booke of Psalmes (London, 1576), sig. Ddvii^v-Ddiii^r.

¹² "Milton's Psalm Translations: Petition and Praise," ELP, 2 (Spring, 1972), 246.

¹³ Cited by Collette, from Annotations upon all the Books of The Old and New Testament (1657), sig. Y4^{r-v} (p. 246).

¹⁴ "Milton's Psalm Translations," pp. 246-47. Collette discusses the contemporary devotional role of the Psalms on pp. 243-46.

¹⁵ "The Bible as Poetry in the English Renaissance: An Introduction," JRMP, 32 (1953), 447-48.

¹⁶ A Defence of Poetry, ed. J. A. Van Dorsten (Oxford, 1966), p. 23.

¹⁷ The Reason of Church Government, in Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merrit Y. Hughes (New York, 1937), p. 669. A large selection of references has been cited by Barway, "The Bible as Poetry in the English Renaissance," passim, and by Lily B. Campbell, Diving Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 55-56.

¹⁸ The Art of English Poetry, ed. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge, 1936), p. 9.

¹⁹ The Sermons of John Donne, IX (Berkeley, 1958), 232.

²⁰ Israel Barway has published three studies on contemporary theories: "The Hebrew Metre: A Study in Renaissance Sources and Interpretation," ELH, 2 (1935), 66-91; "The Lyre of David: A Further Study in Renaissance Interpretation of Biblical Form," ELH, 8 (1941), 119-42; "The Accentual Theory of Hebrew Prosody: A Further Study in Renaissance Interpretation of Biblical Form," ELH, 17 (1950), 115-35.

²¹ The most recent book devoted to Herbert, Coburn Freer's Musica for a King: George Herbert's Style and the Metrical Psalms (Baltimore, 1972), deals ostensibly with the same subject that has been proposed for this thesis. In fact, however, Mr. Freer and I share almost no common ground, either in approach to the subject or in conclusions drawn; hence there will be no more than incidental references to Freer's work in the following pages. A brief summary of his argument, therefore, may be useful. In his consideration of the metrical psalm translations executed between the early years of the Reformation in England and the publication of The Temple, Mr. Freer distinguishes two primary categories, the "bathetic" metrical psalm style and the "elegant" psalm style (Chap. 1, Pts. II and III, and Chap. 2, passim). He suggests that Herbert found something of value in the poetic forms employed by both categories: Herbert's "acceptance of poetic homeliness" is revealed in his use of the bathetic psalm style, while "his equal emphasis upon rigor in poetic method" is revealed in his use of the elegant psalm style (pp. 13, 114). Finally, Freer observes a correspondence between Herbert's use of psalm forms and the major spiritual concerns of The Temple. The "bathetic" and "elegant" elements in his poems allow him to express that aggression and pride, respectively, which he might otherwise, as a Christian poet, suppress. The process is one of "weakness becoming strength," the recurrent theme of the Psalms (pp. 114, 245, 35-40). My own interest in the psalm translations focuses on the extent to which they were able to re-create the wide rhetorical and tonal range of their original in poetic forms adapted from contemporary lyric practice. Herbert, learning from their successes and failures, was able to duplicate in his original devotional lyrics the range of modulation of the Psalmist's voice and unite the poems of The Temple in the presiding presence of a persona equivalent to the David of the Psalms.

Chapter 1

Reformation Metrical Psalms: The Limits of Song

During the early Reformation period in England, there was a tremendous upsurge in psalm translating activity. Whole or partial translations of the Psalter, most of them in metrical form, exceeded by a considerable number the translations of any other book of the Bible. The primary reason that it claimed the most attention is to be found in the Reformation's new emphasis upon the devotional role of the Psalms. The psalm translators were not simply providing the laity with a vernacular text which would open the sacred word to its comprehension; that goal was satisfied by the prose translations which accompanied translation of the entire Bible. Rather, their work represented successive attempts to recapture for their contemporaries the Psalter's excellence as a devotional medium, as the means of the church's address to God in corporate worship and in private devotion.

Both the new interest in the devotional role of the Psalms, and the specific poetic forms or modes which were chosen for its re-creation in English, developed naturally out of the fundamental attitudes and prepossessions of Reformation thought. Its principal tenet, the preëminence of scriptural authority, was at least partially responsible for the almost exclusive attention paid initially to the Psalms in the Reformation's attempt to express its devotional form of religion. The Counter Reformation, as evidenced by its copious literature of devotion, came close to matching in practice, though not in ideology, the latter's emphasis upon the active devotional life of the individual Christian. Since it was not committed to the concept of the primary authority of the Scriptures, however, it had fewer reservations about making use of non-scriptural material, and consequently developed

much earlier a devotional and meditative literature of contemporary composition.

As a corollary to the tenet of the primacy of Biblical authority, according to Robert M. Grant in A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, the Reformers espoused a literal, historical, and grammatical method of exegesis which sought to understand the Bible by its own light rather than by the light of the church's tradition of interpretation.¹ In the Medieval tradition which extended into the Renaissance, the Psalms, Israel Baroway points out, "were intimately associated with the heroic," the whole book being regarded as "an esoteric, allegoric, prophetic epic of Christ's life, culminating in the triumph of Christianity."² The Reformation never relinquished this allegorical and typological interpretation of the Psalms, as shall be demonstrated below,³ but its grammatical and literal interpretative bias directed attention to the importance of the Psalter's mode of expression as well as of its import. That mode, as Sir Philip Sidney observed in A Defence of Poetry, was proclaimed by the very title to be the song lyric mode.⁴

All of the metrical psalm translators motivated by Reformation thought and attitudes in this early period, consequently, conceived of their metrical versions as song lyrics prepared for, if not exclusively demanding, a musical performance. Their unanimous decision was consonant with the Reformation's general desire to return to the practice of the early Christian Church. During that period of the church's history, as Matthew Parker, John Donne, and others proved with approbative accounts based upon ancient authorities, the Psalms served both as congregational hymns for the worship of the church, and as popular songs for the accompaniment of the people's daily activities, secular as well as devotional.⁵

In aspiring to compose English metrical versions which could assume the same role in the life of the English Church, the Reformation translators must have felt that they were reinvesting the Psalter, in a sense, with the original's full power

as a devotional medium. If the metrical form, as Hallett Smith notes, was considered an aid to memorization,⁶ the musical accompaniment was certain to support and enhance this effect. The combination of words and music in the song lyric, furthermore, was granted special power by the Renaissance which neither medium possessed singly. Their perfect partnership in the ancient lyric explained the miraculous effects reportedly achieved by such ancient musicians as Orpheus and Amphion.⁷ When Thomas Becon asserted, in the Preface to his prose dissertation upon Psalm 115 entitled Dauids Harpe ful of most delectable armony, newly stringed and set in tune (1542), that the Psalmist was the actual possessor of the power claimed by the ancient pagans, he was clearly referring to the former's Union of poetry and song and recommending the same to his contemporaries. The ancients claimed, he pointed out, to have moved mountains and brought back souls from hell, but "whatsoever the old Poetes have written in times past concerning ye excellency of the musike of their Minstrels, it is altogether nothing els than a very type, figure, cloud and shadow of this our Minstrel David, which doeth the very same thing in dede, which they fained in words."⁸

Finally, the Psalms, recast in their original song lyric form, were potential substitutes for the secular songs and ballads of the people. This theme, which was traced through the period by Lily B. Campbell in her discussion of Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England,⁹ was the one most frequently made explicit in the Psalm literature. Although it was part of a much broader, non-sectarian movement to combat the popularity of secular story and song with spiritual counterparts,¹⁰ the specific emphasis upon metrical psalms was a characteristically Protestant development. Again, it represented a recalling of the people from pernicious innovations to the pure simplicity of the early Christian period, and furthermore, a fulfillment of the Biblical injunction, "is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? let him sing psalms" (James 5.13).

The English translators' decision to recast the Psalms in

the song lyric mode, then, was a largely implicit consensus that developed naturally out of fundamental Reformation attitudes and beliefs. The choice of the specific poetic and musical forms and techniques which should be employed, however, was not as easily made. Although it was generally agreed that the Psalms were poetry, and specifically, song lyrics, little was known about Hebrew prosody and nothing about Hebrew music. Consequently, they had no help from the original in choosing the actual metrical forms and techniques with which to fashion for the scriptural Book of Songs a new English attire.

Models for vernacular metrical psalms set to music were already in existence on the continent, however, where the Reformation had begun earlier than in England. Luther had encouraged the use of psalms and hymns for congregational song in his churches from the beginning, providing some excellent exemplars himself. Forms and music were derived from an eclectic variety of sources, including secular song and the Latin hymn. By 1529, the Gesangbuch edited by Luther and published in Wittenburg represented a collection of fifty-four psalms and hymns.¹¹ As far as metrical psalms are concerned, however, the Lutheran versions were overshadowed by the unparalleled success of the psalms executed by the French poet, Clément Marot, which became the foundation of the official hymnal of the Reformed Church and, with their melodies, spread throughout Europe for use in congregational song and private devotions.

Marot, a court poet noted for amorous and satirical lyrics, cast thirteen psalms in the simple strophic forms of popular song between 1533 and 1539. Circulated among his friends at court, they immediately gained favor with the nobles, who selected individual psalms as personal devices or emblems, singing them to popular melodies of their own choosing.¹² At the same time, they spread rapidly beyond court, initially into both Catholic and

Huguenot circles, although their enthusiastic adoption by the latter soon endowed them with a party character which led to their abandonment and denunciation by the Catholics. The thirteen psalms were first published by Calvin, apparently without Marot's collaboration, in 1539 at Strasbourg, where he was already beginning to introduce congregational psalm-singing into public worship. Another edition of Marot's psalms, which had increased to thirty, appeared in Antwerp in 1541, along with fifteen additional psalms by almost as many authors. Marot brought out his own edition of thirty psalms in 1542, arousing the anger of the Sorbonne and necessitating his flight to Geneva. There he finished nineteen additional psalms with Calvin's approval, and saw them published before his death in 1544.¹³

The completion of the Psalter was accomplished under the direction of Calvin, who chose Theodore Beza to translate the remaining psalms and Louis Bourgeois to compose the music. Beza was not a poet of Marot's stature, but he produced metrical versions suitable for musical setting by faithfully imitating his predecessor. Bourgeois provided music for unison performance, one note to each syllable, to meet Calvin's specifications. His melodies bore a close stylistic resemblance to the popular tunes which had long been associated with Marot's psalms.¹⁴

The completed work was published in 1562, and rapidly found an acceptance that transcended national boundaries. A complete German version by the Lutheran, Ambrosius Lobwasser, appeared in 1573. Lobwasser's translation, which followed the text and meters and employed the melodies of the French version, became the recognized Psalter of Germany and German Switzerland, though it was never accepted by the Lutherans. It was also the medium through which the Marot-Beza Psalms spread to other countries; translated into Italian, Danish, and Dutch, in the latter version it became the universal Psalter of the Low Countries.¹⁵

The French Psalms' association with music in the popular style was one of the primary factors responsible for their rapid dissemination among the peoples of Europe. According to Paul

Laumonier, a leading authority on the French Renaissance, it was precisely this association, furthermore, which caused Marot's psalms to assume an important role in the development of the French lyric.¹⁶ His findings provide a standard of comparison for evaluating the role of English Psalters in the development of the English lyric, and relate directly to the Sidneian Psalter, the finest poetic version of the English Reformation period, which was extensively indebted to the Marot-Beza Psalms.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Marot began to write, the dominant lyric mode was that of "les Rhétoriquers." These poets employed fixed forms, such as the ballade, rondeau, and sestina, whose stanzaic structure was essentially defined by devices of sound: refrains, unisonant rhyme patterns, and complex rhetorical constructions. Even when the rhetoricians experimented with the free forms, "le Cantique," "le Chant lyrique" or "l'Ode," and "le Chanson," they did not attempt to preserve metrical identity of the stanzas, revealing their neglect of rhythm as a potential principle of stanzaic unity in the lyric. As Jean Rollin has observed in Les Chansons de Clément Marot, they were working in a purely literary tradition which retained no significant connections with music. When their lyrics were set, though this was by no means an invariable sequel, they were used by the "musiciens savants" for complex polyphonic compositions which ignored the structure of the text.¹⁷

In his early chansons, Marot had already begun to reject the rhetoricians' fixed forms for free forms connected with the popular song tradition, although he continued to use some of the former's obtrusive rhyme and rhetorical patterns. He also made his stanzas metrically identical, "mesurées," as he called it--a word which was later adopted by the Pléiade. The last vestiges of the rhetorical lyric were dropped in the psalms, which depend almost wholly upon rhythm as the basis of structure. The evidence lies in the metrical facts: he used many more free heterometric stanzas than had any of his predecessors, and increased the number of rhymes to the stanza, so that their function as temporal indicators of the

relation of the lines to each other was not mitigated by obtrusive sound patterns. These 'innovations,' according to Jean Rollin, constituted a return to the ancient tradition of the *trouvères*, which granted each lyric its own 'personal' form, and a revival of this tradition, through his virtuosity, for French lyric art.¹⁸ As Emile Faguet summarizes, Marot "a donné des leçons et des exemples aux poètes de son temps presque autant en choses de rythmes qu'en choses de style."¹⁹

Both the secular lyrics and the psalms were widely admired in France and had many imitators. The most important of these, though he never admitted his debt to Marot, was Pierre de Ronsard, leader of the *Pléiade*. Ronsard was accustomed to proclaiming himself the first French poet to write lyrics "mesurées à la lyre:"

Premier j'ai dit la façon
D'accorder le Luc aux Odes.²⁰

To Ronsard and the *Pléiade*, this meant much more than metrical identity of the stanzas, suiting the text for musical setting; in essence, it implied the overall substitution of rhythm for sound as the basis of structural unity, as begun by Marot, but rendered self-conscious and systematic.

The *Pléiade* recognized that its work represented a departure from that of the rhetoricians. They attacked the obtrusive rhetorical and rhyme schemes of their predecessors and, asserting the ideal union of lyric poetry with music, emphasized the rhythmic form of the stanza, to be judged by the ear, as the lyric's chief attribute and source of delight. Speaking of lines of eight syllables or less in the Abbregé de l'art poétique françois, for example, Ronsard observed that "Tels vers sont merveilleusement propres pour la musique, la lyre et autres instruments; et pource quand tu les appelleras Lyriques, tu ne leur feras point de tort, tantost les allongeant, tantost les accourcissant, et après un grand vers un petit, ou deux petits, au choix de ton oreille, gardant tousjours le plus que tu pourras une bonne cadence de vers . . . pour la musique," and again, shortly thereafter, he counsels, " [garde] tousjours une certaine mesure

consultée par ton oreille, laquelle est certain juge de la structure des vers, comme l'oeil de la peinture des tableaux."²¹

Ronsard perceived that greater vivacity and expressiveness were to be achieved in the lyric through the use of free and varied stanza forms. Once the initial stanza was composed, it had to be repeated exactly by the rest, but its genesis belonged to the untrammelled imagination of the poet, who sought to beget unique and neatly defined rhythmic forms. The search for the latter led Ronsard and his fellow-poets not only to reject the fixed forms of the rhetoricians and increase the number of rhymes to the stanza, but to prefer the short, heterometric stanza with an integral rhyme scheme to the long, isometric stanza with couplet rhyme. As a result, in Laumonier's words, "A l'unité strophique de son, très monotone et gênante, était substituée l'unité strophique de rythme, et cette unité de rythme était intégrale, car toutes les strophes d'un même système . . . étaient exactement superposables."²²

Ronsard took all the credit to himself for this transformation of the lyric, although at least one of his contemporaries, Peletier, reminded him that Clément Marot had preceded him in writing lyrics "mesurées à la lyre."²³ Ronsard borrowed at least thirty-four of the latter's stanza forms. In general, his practice bore more resemblance to Marot's than to the quantitative experiments of the French Academy, although the latter shared with the Pléiade the conception of an ideal union of poetry and music in the lyric.²⁴

In fact, the work of both poets was contrary to the Academy's concern for the mutual expressiveness of text and music. Marot wrote his psalms as formal parodies of popular tunes which were originally associated with secular, and sometimes light and frivolous, texts; he presented them to his friends as appropriately sung to any popular tune that fit the metrical form. Ronsard claimed that he wrote his lyrics in preparation for musical

settings, but this was a theoretical position rather than a working-relationship. He asked Crétin, Janequin, and Goudimel to compose music for some of his lyrics, which he published with his Odes of 1552. But, as Julien Tinnot points out, whereas the musicians had attempted to make the settings expressive of their texts, Ronsard indicated that the rest of the poems in the collection should be sung to the same tunes.²⁵ Clearly the classicist theories of the Academy had stimulated Ronsard's interest primarily in the verbal rhythmic structure of the stanza, for which he had a practical model in Marot's Psalms, rather than in an union of mutually expressive words and music.

The first Reformation psalm translations in English, executed in the late 1530's and early 1540's by Miles Coverdale and the Wedderburn brothers, were the only English psalms to depend heavily upon the German Lutheran models. Coverdale's Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songes contained fifteen psalms and twenty-six hymns printed with simple, unharmonized tunes. Teutandreas Riese, Die englische Psalmdichtung im sechzehnten Jahrhundert, has pointed out that the fifteen psalms Coverdale chose to translate are the German Enchiridien, of special importance to the Reformation, and that all but four are imitations of the German counterparts. Coverdale's dependence upon the German psalms, Riese concludes, was largely a matter of taking over their melodies and therewith, the structure of their stanzas. Although he sometimes followed their phrasing, this was only so long as they stayed close to the original; whenever they brought in foreign elements, Coverdale deserted them for literal translation. In general, he preferred to stay as close as possible to his own prose version, merely tailoring it and adding rhyme so that it could be fitted into the metrical container borrowed from the Germans.²⁶

The twenty-six hymns are similar in character and equally indebted to German forms. The latter, as Riese maintains, become

heavy and inflexible in Coverdale's hands.²⁷ Generally isometric tetrameter stanzas of between seven and eleven lines, they do not create a distinct recurring rhythm, particularly when executed with the metrical uncertainty of Coverdale:

God be mercifull unto us,
And send over us his blessinge;
Shewe us his presence glorious,
And be ever to us lovinge;
That men on earth may knowe thy waye,
Thy savinge health and righteousnesse;
That they be not led by night nor day,
Throwe the pretexte of trewe justice,
To seke salvacion where none is. (Ps. 67, st. 1)²⁸

This kind of verse offered little enticement to the people to take up singing psalms and hymns for recreation instead of the current popular ditties, as Coverdale suggested in the Preface to his collection. One suspects that even if it had not been banned, as it was in 1539, it would never have gained much popularity.

The suspicion is supported by the notable popularity of the other collection of spiritual songs circulating in this early period and banned as well, the Wedderburns' Gude and Godlie Ballatis. It was first published between 1542 and 1546, their editor, A. F. Mitchell, speculates, but had probably been in circulation earlier in broadsheet form. Unlike the Coverdale psalms and hymns, which were never republished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis went through at least four editions, and remained popular through the first quarter of the seventeenth century.²⁹

The collection contains twenty-two psalms, eleven of which, according to Teutandreas Riese, use German models. Only seven of the eleven take over the German verse form, however, as Riese points out, showing more independence on the Wedderburns' part than Coverdale had exhibited. Six of the psalms are set in Rhyme Royal, furthermore, and another four in heroic couplets, revealing the Wedderburns' relationship to the Scottish Chaucerian tradition. The strong points of this tradition are also those of the psalms: colorful figurative language, usually drawn from homely sources, and a fluent, colloquial diction and syntax.³⁰ Psalm 83's des-

cription of the enemies of Israel, for example, becomes a lively condemnation of the Catholics, with the non-scriptural image of the latter sticking together like burrs at once focusing the thought and the speaker's attitude toward them.

They now conspire with cruell hart and fell,
With ane consent, togidder in ane band,
Quhilk never befor culd gré amang thame sell,
Strivand for stait and nicht in everie land.
Bot contrair thé togidder stiffe thay stand,
And fast like burris, thay cleif baith ane and all,³¹
T. nald, O God, thy word and us in thrall. (st. 3)

The effect, in conjunction with the relatively long, isometric stanzas, is primarily non-lyrical.

The non-scriptural hymns and songs of the collection, which greatly outnumber the psalms, are more interesting from the point of view of the development of lyric forms for spiritual song. Many are translations of German hymns, but the third and last section consists entirely of original adaptations of Scottish and English popular ballads or parodies of their tunes. Some of the adaptations are primitive, such as this attempt to retain the original's forthright invitation while transposing it into spiritual terms:

Johne, cum kis me now,
Johne, cum kis me now,
Johne, cum kis me by and by,
And mak no moir adow.
The Lord, thy God, I am,
That Johne dois thé call,
Johne representit man
Be grace celestiall. (p. 58)

Others result in relatively fluent and attractive songs, such as this adaptation of "Welcum, Fortoun," which is in tetrameter quatrains:

Welcum, Lord, [sic] Christ, welcum againe,
My joy, my comfort, and my bliss,
That culd me saif from hellis paine,
Bot onlie thow nane was, nor is. . . .

My pairt is than from sin to ceis,
And cleif to Christ, quhilk hes supprest
Sin, deith, and hell, and maid my peace,
Throw Faith in him that I micnt rest. (pp. 171-72)

or this parody of an unidentified song with its rhythmic variation in the two short lines:

Richt sorelie musing in my minde,
 For pietie sore my hart is pinde,
 Quhen I remember on Christ sa kinde,
 That savit me:
 Nane culd me saif, from thine till inde [this place
 Bot onlie he. (p. 61) to India]

These homely ballads were no doubt primarily responsible for the collection's success, as suggested by the fact that although the Wedderburns entitled it A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs, it came to be popularly known as The Gude and Godlie Ballatis. All of them are characterized by distinct stanzaic rhythms, in contrast to the long, isometric stanzas of the psalms. Even though the rhythms are obtrusive and halting, and tend to fall into a jog trot, they have a rhythmic liveliness and a suitability for singing which the latter lacked, and point in the direction which the English metrical psalms, for many years the only hymns allowed in the church, were to take.

After the Coverdale and Wedderburn collections were banned, there were no new psalm translations motivated by Reformation thought for several years. Literary versions were attempted, however, by the two foremost poets of the period, Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey. These translations reveal an interest in investigating particularities of thought and emotion and relating the religious experience of the original to immediate, personal experience which places them in the mainstream of Renaissance thought, but they are clearly private, literary productions which do not seek to make the Psalms accessible to the masses and have no connection with song. Wyatt cast his Seven Penitential Psalms in terza rima, one of the fixed forms of the rhetoricians, which was essentially non-stanzaic in his hands. Surrey used Poulter's Measure and unrhymed hexameters for his translation of four psalms, providing Proems which place them in the meditative tradition, along with Wyatt's, to be discussed in the following chapter.

During the short hiatus in psalm translating activity, Calvinist theology penetrated English religious thought, ensuring

that the hymns of the English Church would be limited to metrical psalms as they were at Geneva. The spate of new translations which began to appear in the late 1540's was almost totally free of influence from the German psalms and hymns of the Lutheran Church. Instead, there was a remarkable unanimity of preference for three forms, derived from contemporary ballads, which have come to be called the hymn measures: common meter, a quatrain of alternating four- and three-stress lines; long meter, a tetrameter quatrain; and short meter, broken-up Poulter's Measure (henceforth to be indicated as CM, LM, and SM).³²

The success of the Marot-Beza Psalms, both as a song book for private devotions and as the hymnal of the Reformed Church, was becoming apparent by this time, and may have suggested the use of the forms of native popular song. In addition, these translators may have had in mind the popularity of the Wedderburn collection's spiritual ballads. If they had followed Marot's example faithfully, however, they would have used more variety of forms. Although the English popular song tradition did not have the rhythmic variety of the French, there were other forms besides these three, and some of them had been used in the Wedderburn collection. But the English translators were at once more devout religious figures and less accomplished poets than the brilliant French courtier. The French Psalter had laid itself open to criticism, furthermore, on exactly this count of rhythmic variety which was considered by many inappropriate to the divine text. The Catholics in particular used this line of attack, jeeringly referring to them as "Geneva jigga" and "Beza's ballettes."³⁴

By limiting themselves primarily to the three common and rhythmically simple ballad meters, the English translators may have hoped to forestall this kind of mockery. These meters, moreover, were related to long-lined forms with couplet rhyme, fourteeners, octameters, and Poulter's Measure, which, although sometimes treated as though they were interchangeable with the corresponding quatrains, nevertheless had pretensions to literary

respectability which the ballad forms lacked, and had been used for didactic and moralistic subjects.³⁵ In fact, the Sternhold and Hopkins measures are essentially couplets, as shall be demonstrated below, merely broken-up into quatrains and doubled to suit them for singing to the popular ballad tunes.³⁶

The first nineteen psalms of Thomas Sternhold, published in 1548, were probably preceded in point of composition by John Croke's thirteen psalms in LM.³⁷ The latter remained in manuscript, whereas Sternhold's seem to have gained immediate favor, leading to the posthumous publication of another edition, increased to the thirty-seven psalms Sternhold had completed before his death, in 1549.³⁸ The same year saw the publication of the first complete Psalter in English by Robert Crowley.³⁹ The latter presented no challenge to Sternhold's partial version, however, probably because it printed the psalms in fourteeners, providing a single, plain-song tune for all 150 Psalms. Partial translations by William Hunnis, John Hall, William Forrest, and Francis Seager, among others, cast almost exclusively in hymn measures, followed between 1550 and 1553; these, too, remained obscure.⁴⁰

Sternhold's thirty-seven psalms, possibly because of their author's connections at court, as Peter Le Huray suggests,⁴¹ and possibly because they were slightly less awkward than those of his contemporaries, were to become the cornerstone of the English Psalter. John Hopkins republished them in 1551, adding seven of his own. By the time the Whole Psalter was completed in 1562, the work was the product of at least twelve contributors, the most important of these being Sternhold, Hopkins, Thomas Norton, William Kethe, and William Whittingham.⁴² From this time until the end of the seventeenth century, the Whole Psalter was published with the Prayer Book and enjoyed the position of unofficial hymnal of the English Church.

In addition to being the only one of the early translations into hymn measures with historical significance, the Whole Psalter was a collective work that can be viewed as representative of the psalm translating activity of the period. Although it was the

product of at least twelve hands, furthermore, the common goals of all the contributors, along with their general acceptance of Sternhold's psalms as model and their shared mediocrity as poets, resulted in a work which, as Teutandreas Riese has observed, presents a unified impression.⁴³ Their first concern, Riese points out, was to remain as close as possible to the prose Psalter, particularly Coverdale's version. "Aus dieser Einstellung . . . folgt, daß in diesen Psalmen kaum subjektiv dichterisches Erleben gestaltet wird, daß es vielmehr lediglich darauf ankommt, den gegebenen Text so zu zerlegen und zu ergänzen, daß er möglichst natürlich in die metrische Form eingeht."⁴⁴ The following stanzas of Thomas Norton's Psalm 139, compared with the prose, show the awkward inversions and general flatness that resulted:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1) O Lord, thou hast
tried me & knowen <u>me</u> . | O Lord thou hast me tride and knowne, |
| 2) Thou knowest my
sitting and my rising;
thou understandest my
thought afarre of. | my sitting thou doost know:
And rising eke my thoughtes a far,
thou understandest also. |
| 3) Thou compassest my
pathes, and my lying
down, and art accus-
tomed to all my wayes. | My pathes, yea and my lying downe,
thou compassest alwayes:
And by familiar custome art
acquainted with my wayes. |
| 4) For there is not a
worde in my tongue, <u>but</u>
lo, thou knowest it
wholy, O Lord. 5) Thou
holdest me straite be-
hinde and before, and
layest thine hand upon
me. 6) <u>Thy</u> knowledge is
to wonderful for me:
it is so high that I
cannot <u>attaine</u> unto it. | No word is in my tounge (O Lord)
but knowne it is to thee:
Thou me behind holdst, and before,
thou layest thy hand on me.
To wonderfull above my reach,
(Lord) is thy cunning skill:
It is so hye, that I the same
can not attaine untill.
(sts. 1-2) ⁴⁵ |

The difficulty of fitting the parallelism of the Psalms into the metrical form was another rock upon which most of the translators foundered. As they had committed themselves to literal translation, they were obliged to attempt to reproduce the pervasive parallelistic formulations of the original, which had been quite satisfactorily reproduced in the prose versions. Accommodating them to the metrical form, however, was another matter,

since they possessed their own verbal structure which more often than not was either too long or too short for the metrical containers into which they were being forced. This necessitated the use of line fillers and circumlocutions which obscured the parallel structure, dissolving the language into redundancy, as in this first stanza of Sternhold's Psalm 6:

1) O Lord, rebuke me	Lord in thy wrath reprove me not,
not in thine anger,	though I deserve thine ire:
neither chastise me	Ne yet correct me in thy rage,
in thy wrath. 2) Have	O Lotd [sic] I thee desire.
mercie upon me, O	For I am weake, therefore (O Lord)
Lord, for I am weak:	of mercy me forbear:
O Lord heale me, for	And heale me lord for why thou knowest
by bones are vexed.	my bones do quake for feare.
	(st. 1)

Even when they were not struggling with parallelism, these poets were beset with flatulence. In the following treatment of the lovely, pensive opening of Psalm 137, for example, William Whittingham clearly ran out of matter before he had filled up his DCM form. A more poetic imagination would have developed the rich *imagistic* implications of the harps hung upon the willows, but Whittingham was satisfied with a quaintly practical explanation of how the trees came to be there.

When as we sat in Babilon,
the rivers round about:
And in remembrance of Sion:
the teares for grieve burst out.
we hangd our harpes and instruments,
the willow trees upon:
For in that place men for their use
had planted many one. (st. 1)

None of the twelve contributors to the Whole Psalter was enticed away from his preoccupation with reproducing the language of the prose in meter by the metaphors of the original. They were usually content simply to accord the figurative language the same literal translation as the rest, flattening out the metaphors into a kind of poetic diction.⁴⁶

All of these translators, finally, handle their form as though it were a couplet measure. Even Hopkins, who used a true

quatrain rhyme pattern instead of the xaxa scheme of his colleagues, Sternhold and Norton, merely produced rearranged fourteeners.

The earth is all the Lordes, withall
her store and furniture:
Yea his is all the world, and all
that therein do endure.
For he hath fastly founded it,
above the sea to stand:
And laid alow the liquid floudes,
to flow beneath the land. (Ps. 24, st. 1)

The syntactic consequence of this confusion, as Coburn Freer has observed, is that the second and fourth lines do not have the integrity of a poetic line, in contrast to those of the contemporary anonymous ballads, and are "left to hobble by themselves."⁴⁷ As an equally detrimental consequence, the stanzas retain the rhythmic monotony and rigidity of the corresponding couplet forms. In sacrificing normal stress, natural syntax, and even, sometimes, the sense, to fit the words into the metrical container, Sternhold and Hopkins eliminated the rhythm innerent in the language, in the same way that this occurs in nursery rhymes, or in Poulter's Measure and fourteeners with fixed metrical caesurae, leaving nothing to counteract the steady, inexorable beat of the hymn measures.

Although the contributors to the Whole Psalter, and the others who were translating psalms into hymn measures at the time, were working with the rhythms of popular song along the same lines as Clément Marot, therefore, their conservatism and ineptitude led to significantly different results. Hallett Smith's appraisal of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalms' influence upon English poetry, from his fine discussion of sixteenth-century metrical Psalters, may be granted:

commanding an audience roughly equivalent to the whole English-speaking race, they constituted a body of verse that was plain, bare, regular in beat, iambic, strictly measured. It came at a time when English prosody was in confusion, and it offered some kind of order. Furthermore, since it continued in vogue through the whole latter half of the sixteenth century, it cannot be overlooked by the

historian of Elizabethan poetry as a force working for that direct, plain, 'mere English' quality against the lavish, ornamental, stylized manners which more than once threatened to dominate literary expression.

To this summary should be added the observation that their elimination of ornate diction and rhetorical patterns and maintenance of a regular, iambic beat in metrically identical stanzas represented the achievement of lyric structure based upon a rhythmic principle of sorts. But their rhythms were so obtrusive and inflexible that instead of freeing the verse for greater subtlety and variety of expression, they simply imposed a new set of limiting factors upon the tone. Hence the impressive range of the Psalmist's voice is contracted to a single trite accent, as in William Whittingham's rendering of the plea to God in Psalm 51, the fourth of the Penitential Psalms:

O Lord consider my distresse
 and now with speed some pity take;
 My sinnes deface, my faultes redresse,
 good Lord for thy great mercyes sake.
 Wash me (O Lord) and make me cleane,
 from this unjust and sinfull act:
 and purifie yet once againe,
 my hainous crime and bloody fact. (st. 1)

Despite its aesthetic inadequacy, Sternhold and Hopkins retained its position as the unofficial Psalter of the English Church until well towards the end of the seventeenth century, reaching 280 editions by 1640.⁴⁹ **It remained predominant not because there was a lack of dissatisfaction with it, but rather because there was a lack of agreement upon what constituted an improvement.** Many of the psalm translations executed in the period under consideration here, from the latter half of the sixteenth century through the first quarter of the seventeenth, represented attempts to achieve versions better satisfying their author's **preconceptions**. There were translators, usually High Churchmen, who desired a more elevated version for congregational song; others, usually Low Churchmen, who desired an even plainer and rhythmically simpler one; translators who wished to expand

upon the Psalms' thought and contemporary, Christian implications for private devotions; and still others who sought to cast them into varied and graceful lyric forms in emulation of Marot and Beza.

One of the earliest of these was Archbishop Matthew Parker, who published a complete Psalter in the 1560's. It was the first to be unabashedly intended for congregational performance, some of the psalms being arranged typographically for antiphonal singing, with marginal assignments of the various sections to choir, rectors, and "The Meane." Parker clearly desired a more varied and elegant version for the hymns of the church, but at the same time he wished to retain, probably for practical reasons, the plain diction and rhythmic simplicity of Sternhold and Hopkins. The style that resulted, as Hallett Smith has pointed out, represented a compromise between the courtly style and that of the Puritans.⁵⁰ The great majority of the psalms are in the ballad forms, or their couplet equivalents, but upon them have been imposed the obtrusive and unisonant rhyme patterns of the rhetoricians.⁵¹ His first thirty psalms, for example, are CM with internal rhyme added to the four-stress lines.

Not so, not so: the wicked do,
like dust or chaffe they bee:
Uphoist by winde: as light by kinde,
from face of earth to see.

Therefore these men: so wicked then,
in judgement shall not stand:
Nor sinners bee: in companie,
of righteous men of hand. (Ps. 1, sts. 4-5)⁵²

The last fifty psalms exhibit more complex patterns; Parker may have considered them particularly appropriate for the increasingly congregational tone of the latter third of the Psalter. He plays many variations upon the basic LM stanza by adding inter-stanzaic rhyme patterns. In other instances, he severely limits the number of rhyme sounds: Psalms 100 and 101, for example, have a single rhyme sound throughout, while Psalms 123, 124, and 130 have only two. By thus increasing the difficulty of the task of fitting

the psalms into English metrical forms, Parker sacrificed clarity and expressiveness to an over-rich chiming of vowel sounds. His work was both aesthetically and practically a failure, and never threatened Sternhold and Hopkins' privileged position in the church service.

The most significant of the early attempts to present the Psalms in an aesthetically satisfactory English translation was that begun by Sir Philip Sidney and completed by the Countess of Pembroke. The date to which Sidney's translation of Psalms 1 through 43 should be ascribed cannot be established with any certainty, but the argument of the most recent editor of the Sidneian Psalter, J. C. A. Rathmell, for the 1580-1581 period is the most cogent. This would place the translations after the London publication in 1580 of Beza's prose paraphrase of the Psalms, to which, as W. A. Ringler has pointed out, Sidney's Psalms 4 and 29 show similarities in phrasing, but before the composition of Astrophil and Stella, which Rathmell judges on stylistic grounds to be the later work.⁵³

The choice of this period also has the advantage of reflecting the stylistic continuity between the psalm translations and the Arcadia lyrics, completed in 1580. The latter shared with Spenser's Shepherdes Calender lyrics the distinction of representing the English rhetorical style, similar to that of the earlier French rhetoricians and equally indebted to Italian forms, at its best. They have been described by Robert L. Montgomery, Jr., as "the climax of a generation of poetic endeavor to control the tempo and the contours of lyric expression and to seek intensity through repetition and overstatement."⁵⁴

Montgomery believes that in his psalms, as well as in The Arcadia, Sidney's goal was to achieve the rounded, obtrusive lyric form, and that he concentrated chiefly on verbal formality as the

means of fixing the structure of the poem. While granting Theodore Spenser's observation that Sidney managed to join extreme simplicity of diction with a clear metrical beat in some of the psalms, therefore, Montgomery maintains that "at the same time he [held] to his familiar strategy of a discourse primarily ordered by stylized rhetoric, and founded in the addition of like details to one another." The psalms, moreover, are the more primitive of the two works: their major experimental aim is "exactness in fitting the discourse into a preconceived lyric pattern," and form does not reflect content as it does in the best of the Arcadia poems.⁵⁵

While there seems to be no question of the similarity between a number of the psalms and the Arcadia lyrics, the whole collection should not be judged on the basis of whether it succeeds on the same terms as the latter. That Sidney's experimental goals were not identical for the two works is suggested by the fact that all but one of the stanzaic Arcadia lyrics are isometric, whereas twenty-nine of the forty-three psalms have heterometric stanzas.⁵⁶ The psalms Sidney treated in the Arcadian ornate style are primarily those which appear to be more ornate and elevated in tone in the original. He embellished Psalm 18's majestic description of God's creating and preserving power, for example, with formalized verbal repetitions and a weighty balancing of phrases:

Thee will I love, O Lord, with all my heart's delight,
 My strength my strongest rock, which my defence hast borne,
 My God, and helping God, my might and trustfull might,
 My never peirced shield, my ever saving horn,
 My refuge, refuge then, when moste I am forlorn;
 Whom then shall I invoke but Thee most worthy praise,
 On whom against my Foes my only safty stayer? (st. 1)⁵⁷

Abraham Fraunce was to carry this mode to extremes in his eight psalms in English hexameters, published in The Countess of Pembrokes Emanuel (1591):

This man's like to a tree, to a tree most happily planted
 Hard by a brooke, by a brooke whose streames of silver
 abounding

Make this tree her fruite, her pleasant fruite to be
 yeelding,
 Yeelding fruite in time to the planters daily rejoicing.
 (Ps. 1)⁵⁸

Sidney never indulged in such word-play for its own sake, but he seemed to consider it, used moderately, an appropriate mode of responding to the parallelism of the original, particularly in the more elevated psalms, and of approximating its effect in the stanzaic forms of English poetry. He also experimented in four psalms with the complex rhyme schemes which were characteristic of both English and French rhetorical, ornate style lyrics and had been employed extensively in psalm translation by Matthew Parker.⁵⁹

In many of the psalms, however, Sidney turned away from the rhetorical lyric and concentrated upon the development of clearly defined and varied stanza rhythms which could provide structural unity while responding to the varied conceptual and emotional contexts of the Psalms. The latter represented more than the tailoring of his matter to pre-conceived lyric forms; indeed, that description is more appropriate to the Arcadia lyrics, with their traditional fixed forms, such as the sonnet, sestina, and sixain. For his psalms, Sidney turned to the free and infinitely variable stanzas of the song lyric, choosing among preexisting forms or developing unique forms of his own.

Insofar as he succeeded, his work represented an innovation in English poetry, the extent of which can be measured by the absence of acceptable English models. The existing psalm translations' adaptation of popular song forms was clearly unacceptable, with its jog trot rhythms that rode roughshod over the thought and emotion of the original. The era of the song books, furthermore, and especially of the air literature with its graceful and varied stanzas, had not yet begun.

Sidney was primarily indebted, therefore, as his editors have suggested, to the Psalms of Marot and Beza for guidance and inspiration. W. A. Ringler concludes that four of Sidney's psalms were translated directly from the French, but he adds that the most im-

portant debt was formal. The general metrical characteristics of Sidney's work correspond closely to those of the French Psalter: both collections exhibit a wide variety of predominantly short, heterometric stanzas with line-lengths ranging from four to thirteen syllables for Marot-Beza and from three to fourteen syllables for Sidney.⁶⁰ In addition, Sidney used forms identical or nearly identical to those of Marot and Beza for at least thirteen psalms.⁶¹ Over half of his forms were of his own invention, however, proving that he was no mere imitator. Sidney clearly comprehended the significance of rhythmic stanzaic unity and carried out his own experimentation, which in some respects was similar to that of Ronsard.

Psalm 42 shows Sidney constructing his stanzas upon the principle of rhythmic unity in emulation of the Marot-Beza Psalter. The first two stanzas of Beza's translation run

Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire,
 Pour chassant le frais des eaux,
 Ainsi mō coeur qui souspire,
 Seigneur, apres tes ruisseaux
 Va tousjours criant, suivant
 Le grand, le grand Dieu vivant.
 Helas, donques quand sera-ce
 Que verrai de Dieu la face?

Jours & nuicts pour ma viande
 De pleurs me vai soustenant,
 Quand je voi qu'on me demande,
 Où est ton Dieu maintenant?

Je son en me souvenant,
 Qu'en troupe j'alloi' menant,
 Priant, chantant, grosse bande
 Faire au temple son offrande.

(sts. 1-2)⁶²

Sidney's version is metrically identical, even to the pattern of feminine endings.

As the chafed hart which brayeth
 Seeking some refreshing brook,
 So my soul in panting playeth,
 Thirsting on my God to look.
 My soul thirsts indeed in me
 After ever living thee;
 Ah, when comes my blessed being,
 Of Thy face to have a seing?

The effect of Sidney's rhythms is the opposite of the inflexible jog trot of the Whole Psalter's hymn measures. Sternhold and Hopkins were preoccupied with fitting a literal translation into simple and standardized verse containers which could facilitate singing by the Christian layman. Sidney not only sought varied and distinct rhythmic forms, but, as J. C. A. Rathmell has remarked, an appropriateness of each rhythmic form to the occasion of the psalm.⁶⁴ There was little precedent for this kind of experimentation in the song parodies of the Marot-Beza Psalter; its primary artistic goal, Paul Laumonier maintains, was metrical variety rather than the adaptation of sound and rhythm to sense.⁶⁵ As was the case later, with Astrophil and Stella, imitation for Sidney involved critical evaluation and advance, not mere recapitulation.

Sidney was freed for his experimentation in this area, it would seem, by the absence of a practical working-relationship with music. As W. A. Ringler has pointed out, eight of Sidney's psalms conclude with partial stanzas, most of which are not half-stanzas like those of Marot and Beza and thus are not adaptable for singing. Ringler concludes from this evidence that Sidney worked with the metrical forms alone, rather than with the music of the French Psalter.⁶⁶ Sidney, however, may well have intended to revise those of the partial stanzas which were not half-stanzas, a task the Countess of Pembroke carried out after his death, since all of his psalms are metrically identical, "mesurées à la lyre" in accordance with contemporary lyric theory, except these final passages where the remaining matter could not be readily encompassed in the form.

Sidney's attitude toward the contemporary musico-poetic lyric theories of the Academies may provide a vantage point for judging his position regarding music in his psalm translation. John Hollander has suggested that while Sidney frequently used the Neoclassicist concepts of the union of music and poetry, he was fully aware of their inapplicability, in any rigorous sense, to contemporary practice and needs, and consequently attempted

"to accommodate some of the esthetic standards and models of antiquity" to "the independent course which [he realized] poetry was to take, separated from music in the modern world."⁶⁷ In the course of a discussion on the relative merits of quantitative and accentual methods of versifying in the Defence of Poesie, Sidney, like the French academicians, judges the former, the 'ancient' method, best adapted for music. But of the modern accentual prosody, he observes that "The latter likewise with his rime striketh a certaine Musicke to the eare" (italics added)--"thus delineating for the first time, perhaps," Professor Hollander comments, "the notion of the 'music of poetry,'" and making "a point which, rendered slightly more general, is crucial to the understanding of the post-Classical divergence of music and poetry."⁶⁸

In his psalms, as the following analysis of examples will attempt to show, Sidney was primarily concerned with learning to exploit the music of poetry. His approach, then, seems to have been similar to Ronsard's. Both poets were probably influenced by the Academies' lyric theories to develop integral and unified stanzaic forms, but their accomplishment had little to do with the latter's retrospective and unrealistic longing to regain the ancient lyric's union of music and poetry. Instead, they developed the structure of their lyrics in terms of the rhythmic properties of measured language, creating complex rhythms which did not require, in fact, were often unsuited for, musical accompaniment.

Sidney's Psalm 6 is a case in point. The form (^{ab ab}_{55f52f}) seems to have had its origin in popular song. It was used by Wyatt, as well as the more common tetrameter equivalent, for bal-
 lettes such as "In eternum I was once determed," and by Marot for his version of Psalm 101. The rhythmic character of Sidney's poem, however, is distinctly unsong-like. Indeed, it is doubtful whether it could be set to music, as were the lyrics of Marot and, probably, Wyatt. Its extensive use of indeterminate caesura and irregular stressing breaks up the pentameter lines into rhythmically varied units which could hardly be accommodated

by the same melody from stanza to stanza.

Lórd,/ lét not me/ a worrne/ by thee be shent,
While Thou art in the heat of thy displeasure:
Ne let thy rage,/ of my due punishment
Become the measure.

But mercy,/ lord,/ let Mercy thine descend
For I am weake,/ and in my weakness languish;
Lórd hélp,/ for ev'en my bones their marrow spend
With cruel anguish.

Nay ev'n my soul fell troubles do appall;
Alas,/ how long,/ my God,/ wilt Thou delay me?
Turne Thee,/ sweet lord,/ and from this Ougly fall
My Deáre Gód stáy me. (sts. 1-3)

The metrical irregularities allow Sidney to make his rhythm responsive to local variations in the thought, creating an effect of dramatic urgency. The spondees on the words "Lord, let," and "Lord help" in lines 1 and 7, for example, give them an abrupt emphasis which creates the impression of a spontaneous cry forced out under the pressure of intense feeling. The breaking up of the lines by the repetitions of God's name in stanza 3 has a similar effect, and leads into the accumulation of stresses in "My Deare God stay me" which builds to a climax of urgency. These local variations, however, do not destroy the rhythmic outline of the stanza. The structure is so well-articulated, with its clearly perceptible temporal modulation from the five-stress to the two-stress line and its alternation of masculine and feminine rhyme, that it can accommodate irregularity without disintegrating. It creates a recurring rhythmic movement which provides the unifying structural foundation of the psalm, and at the same time, with its short, agitated phrases which seem to swell against the limitations of the meter in the invariably enjambed third line and then subside in the abbreviated final line, becomes expressive of the psalm's general emotional tenor of urgent supplication.

A comparison with Sidney's Arcadia poem in the same form, the only one with a heterometric stanza among the short lyrics of that collection, demonstrates the difference between the way rhythm functions in the rhetorical lyric and in the psalms.

Get hence foule Griefe, the canker of the minde:
 Farewell Complaint, the miser's only pleasure:
 Away vaine Cares, by which fewe men do finde
 Their sought-for treasure.

Ye helpllesse Signes, blowe out your breath to nought,
 Teares, drowne your selves, for woe (your cause) is wasted,
 Thought, thinke to ende, too long the frute of thought
 My minde hath tasted.

But thou, sure Hope, tickle my leaping heart.
 Comfort, step thou in place of wonted sadnes.
 Fore-felt Desire, begin to savour parte
 Of coming gladnes.

Let voice of Signes into cleare musike runne,
 Eyes, let your Teares with gazing now be mended,
 In stede of Thought, true pleasure be begunne,
 And never ended.

The form creates a more clearly defined rhythm than is usual in the Arcadia lyrics, but nevertheless, it is still subordinated, as in the others, to obtrusive logical and rhetorical constructions. The emotional as well as the conceptual content of the psalm is wholly conveyed by explicit and formalized statement, the exorcism of grief and rhetorically parallel invocation to comfort, while the rhythm inherent in the metrical form has no effect independent of the rhetorical formulations.

There are also rhetorical patterns of repetition and parallelism in the psalm, but they are freed from their function as structural pattern to reflect thought emotively or oratorically. Rhythm, too, liberated from the domination of rhetorical constructions, responds to the movement of thought. In the psalm, in other words, rhythmic structural unity allows for a more complex and subtle development of the poetic situation than could be handled in formalized patterns of rhetoric and rhyme. Emotion can be implied as well as described, giving rise to the dramatic intensity which Professor Martz has remarked as a characteristic of the Sidneian Psalms.⁷⁰

Sidney moved even further away from song lyric in experimenting with suiting the rhythms and tone of his verse to the sense of the original in Psalm 39. In this psalm, David addresses

God with the desire to be shown the frailty of mankind and the vanity of all his endeavors so that he might be strengthened in his commitment to the world of spiritual values. Beza's first three stanzas follow:

J'ai dit en moi, De pres je viserai
 A tout ce la que je ferai,
 Pour ne parler un seul mot de travers,
 En voyant debout le pervers.
 Voire deusse-je afin de ne parler,
 Ma propre bouche emmuseler.

Comme un muet du tout je n'ai dit rien,
 Mesme jusqu'à taire le bien:
 Mais j'ai senti augmenter ma douleur,
 Et mon coeur doubler sa chaleur:
 Si qu'en pensant j'estoi' comme bruslé,
 Parquoi de ma langue ai parlé,

O Eternel, declaire-moi ma fin,
 Et le temps de ma vie, afin
 Que de mes ans j'entende tout le cours.
 Voila, tu m'as taillé mes jours
 Au demi pied: mon temps de bout en bout
 Au pris du tien n'est rien au tout. (sts. 1-3)

Sidney used an identical stanza (aabbcc₅₄₅₄₅₄), but rather than treating it in the song lyric mode, he emphasized the psalm's brooding, ratiocinative quality.

Thus did I think: I well will mark my way,
 Least by my tongue I hap to stray;
 I muffle will my mouth while in the sight
 I do abide of wicked wight.
 And so I nothing said, I muet stood,
 I silence kept ev'n in the good.

But still the more that I did hold my peace,
 The more my sorrow did encrease,
 The more me thought my heart was rott in me;
 And as I mus'd such world to see,
 The fire took fire and forcibly out brake,
 My tongue would needs and thus I spake:

Lord unto me my time's just measure give,
 Shew me how long I have to live.
 Lo Thou a span's length madest my living line;
 A span? nay nothing in Thin eyne.
 What do we seeke? the greatest state I see
 At best is merely vanity. (sts. 1-3)

Sidney has tightened up the couplet movement of Beza's form, thus increasing the argumentative momentum while retaining the measured, but not widely fluctuating, rhythmic modulation of the alternating five- and four-stress lines as the structural underpinning. The rhetorical schemes of repetition and parallelism in stanzas 1 and 2 have a similar effect, marshalling and emphasizing the thought, as they do in speech, but not becoming formalized into a restrictive structural pattern. They contribute to the discursive, narrative rhythm of the first part, which introduces the direct address of stanza 3 with its emphatic inversions of stress in the first two lines, followed by the insistent interchange of interrogation and reply. The final effect is to carry tendencies which may be recognized in Beza's version to the point where they render the psalm inappropriate for sung performance. The rhythmic variations here are probably more properly described as oratorical rather than colloquial, as in most of Sidney's psalms, but they nevertheless create a wholly convincing illusion of the speaking voice.⁷¹ Responding to local variations in thought and emotion, this voice possesses a dramatic concreteness and intensity which distinguishes it from the undifferentiated, timeless voice of song.

At the other extreme, Sidney experimented in some of his psalms with a simple, highly formalized mode which perhaps may be best described as 'liturgical.' He was clearly responding to the parallelism of his original, which through the Psalms' traditional position as the basis of the church service and model for subsequently composed service material, had become one of the salient features of the liturgy. In Psalm 29, the parallelism is emphasized by repetitions in the English prose translations, and consequently, in Sternhold's version as well. A comparison of the latter with Sidney's rendering points up the rigorous control that Sidney has brought to bear.

Gave to the Lord ye potentates,
 ye rulers of the world:
 Gave ye all praise, honor and
 strength,
 unto the living Lord

Ascribe unto the lord of light
ye men of Pow'er even by birth-
right,
Ascribe all glory and all might.

Geve glory to his noly name,
and honor him alone:
Worship him in his majestie,
within his holy throne.

Ascribe due glory to his Name,
And in his ever glorious frame
Of sanctuary do the same.

His voice doth rule the waters all,
even as himselfe doth please:
He doth prepare the thunderclaps,
and governs all the Seas.
The voice of God, is of great force,
and wondrous excellent:
It is most mighty in effect,
and much magnificent.

His voice is on the Waters found,
His voice doth threatning thun-
ders sound,
Yea through the Waters doth re-
sound.

The Voice of that lord ruling us
Is strong though he be gracious,
And ever, ever glorious.

At first glance, Sidney's version may seem to be identical to the rhetorical mode discussed above, but in fact there are significant differences. Whereas the rhetorical lyric employed ornate diction and pervasive verbal repetition for the sake of luxuriant sound effects, Sidney's psalm is plain, even plainer than Sternhold's. The three-line tetrameter stanza with its single rhyme sound is shorter and simpler than those of the rhetorical lyric, furthermore, and creates a heavy and distinctive recurring rhythm which exactly corresponds with the periods of the thought. The result is that the ~~measured~~, ceremonial effect of the psalm is successfully re-created in metrical form.

As the preceding examples may serve to suggest, in his profoundly experimental approach to the task of recasting the Psalms into English lyric forms, Sidney made use of a wide variety of techniques and modes to suit the tonal and thematic diversity of his original. The Psalter comprises narrative and didactic lyrics as well as lyrics of praise and thanksgiving. Its tone ranges from a choric or universal rhetorical stance, addressing God with the static, generalized voice of the Chosen People, to the individual and personal rhetorical stance of the historical David, or prophetically, of Christ and the Christian Everyman, addressing his divine interlocutor with the dramatic immediacy of the single speaking voice.

Reformation commentators generally recognized this range. George Witner, whose A Preparation to the Psalter (1619) represents the most comprehensive discussion of contemporary ideas

about the Psalms, observed that "there is . . . greater varietie of expression, then can be found in any one volume of Poesie whether you have respect to the nature of the Poesie, as it is Heroicall, Tragicall, Lyricall, & such like; or, to his manner of setting forth those things he purposeth: which is sometime by way of complaint, sometime petitionarily, sometime in one fashion, and sometime in another."⁷² Sidney was the only one of the sixteenth-century translators, however, who did not tend to level out the tonal and thematic diversity by according all of the Psalms a homogeneous treatment. Refusing to be limited by contemporary conceptions of lyric, and particularly song lyric, conventions, he attempted to respond to and re-create the full range of experience comprehended in the Psalter.

When Sidney died in 1585, 107 of the Psalms remained to be translated, a task which the Countess of Pembroke took up and completed by 1599.⁷³ J. C. A. Ratnmell, who provides an excellent discussion of the Countess' work in the Introduction to his edition of the Psalter, suggests that her psalms are generally superior to Sidney's.⁷⁴ It should be noted, however, that she had more time for revision and more models, including Sidney's original forty-three psalms. In fact, Sidney had accomplished the most important part of the task in establishing the sophisticated and innovative experimental goals of the work. The Countess' role, whether she surpassed him in execution or not, was essentially that of the disciple who comprehends and imitates his master's original creative impulse.

The Countess' discipleship, it must be granted immediately, was of a high order. She recognized the implications of the principle of rhythmic stanzaic unity for lyric expression, and experimented with the development of her own unique forms to suit the tenor of each psalm rather than simply imitating those of Sidney or of Marot and Beza. Only four of her forms are identical to those used by Sidney, and all of these had their origin in the French Psalter.⁷⁵ A total of a mere fourteen of her psalms, by Waldo Selden Pratt's count, can be related to the latter's forms.⁷⁶

The Countess seconded Sidney's attempt to bring all the existing techniques of creating and controlling the rhythmic movement of words into the service of the English lyric. In seven of the psalms (120-127), she tried quantitative measures. The fact that these psalms occur in a small, consecutive group suggest, however, that they represent the experimentation of a brief period which was judged unsuccessful and not repeated. Feminine rhyme was a technique which the Countess used extensively throughout the collection, always preserving the pattern of her initial stanza. She also experimented with trochaic measures, frequently alternating trochaic with iambic lines to create a recurring rhythmic variation, as well as setting whole psalms in trochaic meter, as Sidney had done. In studying the effect of variation in line length and rhyme scheme, she ranged from long and complex heterometric stanzas to short and simple ones. Psalm 133 represents one of the latter; it is pared down to a minimum and has a steady, solemnly measured effect:

How good, and now be seeming well
 It is that wee,
 Who brethren be,
 As brethren, should in concord dwell.

Like that deere oile, that Aron beares,
 Which fleeting down
 To foote from crown
 Embalms his beard, and robe he weares. (sts. 1-2)²⁷

The complex pattern of Psalm 119 D (abbac deede, ^{33413'33414}) represents a less-successful experiment with the opposite extreme. Its failure to create a clearly perceptible rhythm is primarily due to the frequent alteration of line length:

Dead as if I were,
 My soule to dust doth cleave:
 Lord keepe thy word, and doe not leave
 Me here:
 But quicken me anew.
 When I did confesse
 My sinnfull waies to thee,
 As then thy eare thou didst to me
 Addresse:
 Soe teach me now, thy statutes true. (st. 1)

Most of the Countess' iambometric stanzas are neatly defined, however, and produce recurring rhythms appropriate to the occasions of the psalms they set.⁷⁸ The form she invented for Psalm 130, the sixth of the Seven Penitential Psalms, creates a modulation from a slow, heavily accented dimeter quatrain to a faster, tetrameter couplet, with feminine rhyme increasing the impression of rapid movement (ababc c 22224f4f). This recurring rhythm has two different kinds of intensity, in other words, in a rising progression, which is well-suited to the series of brief, passionate declarations of the psalm. As was the case with many of Sidney's psalms, it effectively 'sets' the words, rendering music superfluous.

From depth of grief
Where droun'd I ly,
Lord for relief
To thee I cry:
My earnest, vehement, cryeng, prayeng,
Graunt quick, attentive, hearing, waighing.

O Lord, if thou
Offences mark,
Who shall not bow
To beare the cark?
But with thy justice mercy dwelleth,
Wherby thy worshipp more excelleth. (sts. 1-2)

The Countess also followed Sidney's lead in employing a wide range of different modes for the diverse material of the Psalter. She made use of the ornate style, as well as he, for formal passages of parallelism, such as the following from Psalm 114:

The sea beheld and fledd: Jordan with swift returne
To twinned spring his streames did turne.
The mountaines bounded see, as fedd in fruitfull ground,
The fleazed Rammes doe frisking bound.
The hillocks capreold see, as wanton by their dammes
We capreoll see the lusty lambes.
O sea, why didst thou fly? Jordan, with swift returne
To twinned spring, what made thee turne:
Mountaines, why bounded ye, as, fedd in fruitfull ground,
The fleazed Rammes doe frisking bound?
Hillocks why capreold ye, as wanton by their dammes
We capreoll see the lusty lambes? (ll. 5-16)

She developed, in particular, a solid, majestic mode in long isometric pentameter stanzas, ranging from eight to twelve lines, for the didactic, narrative, and imprecative psalms. As a rule, her forms for these psalms were longer than those of the corresponding French psalms,⁷⁹ and constitute an essentially different, non-lyrical mode. They should probably be related to Rhyme Royal and ottava rima, both forms which were generally used for long narrative and didactic works. The only other English psalms which had been treated in a similar mode were those of the Wedderburns. The Countess' psalms have the same masculine energy that was notable in their versions. As both Ratnall and Freer have observed, she was adept at providing the psalms with a strong argumentative momentum, and at expanding and developing the original's figurative language.⁸⁰

Both abilities are evident in her version of Psalm 78, to take a single example, which is a historical narrative of God's establishment of Israel. In the following stanzas, she recasts the description of God's anger at the Jews' murmurings in the wilderness into a single, extended logical period, and increases the specificity and aptness of the imagery describing the feast of manna, replacing the "doors of heaven" with "the garner of the skies," for example, and adding the image of morning frost.

This heard, but heard with most displeased eare,
That Jacobs race he did so dearly love,
Who in his favoure had no cause to feare,
Should now so wav'ring, so distrustfull prove;
The raking sparkes in flame began appeare,
And stayed choller fresh again to move;
That from his trust their confidence should swerve,
Whose deedes had shown, he could and would preserve.

Yet he unclos'd the garner of the skies,
And bade the cloudes Ambrosian manna rain:
As morning frost on hoary pasture lies,
So strawed lay each where this heav'nly grain
The finest cheat that dearest princes prise,
The bread of heav'n could not in fineness stain:
Which he them gave, and gave them in such store,
Each had so much, he wish't to have no more. (sts. 9-10)

In calling his contemporaries' attention to the excellence of the Sidneian Psalms in Rock Honeycomb, John Ruskin said of this psalm, "It is quite one of the richest, quaintest, most precious pieces of thought and intricate verse-work in the whole series, yet in its art and effect more prosaic." He was clearly perplexed by the Sidneys' use of heterogeneous modes for the Psalms, adding, "It puzzles me greatly by these subtle differences and degradations of style which, if I found characteristic of a separable series of the versions, would be intelligible as showing a different hand, --but they show themselves, more or less, throughout all now, towards the end of the volume."⁸¹

Although metrical psalms were associated with song lyric from the beginning of the English Reformation period, Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke were the only translators in the early years to create free and varied stanzaic forms. Following the lead of Clément Marot and Theodore Beza, and probably responding, as well, in a critical and pragmatic manner to contemporary lyric theory, they achieved the stanzaic unity of rhythm of the popular song tradition, a unity which could be freely evolved to suit each lyric moment, and raised it to a high level of literary sophistication. Their work preceded, rather than depending upon, developments in the Elizabethan and Jacobean song books: as their collection justly claimed on its title page, its "divers & sundry kindes of verse" were "more rare, & excellent, for the method & varietie than ever yet hath bene don in English."⁸²

In the final decades of the sixteenth century, the song books, whose publication was elicited by a growing demand for more sophisticated material for amateur singers, employed the obtrusive forms of the rhetorical lyric that Sidney had perfected in the Arcadia, and ignored, or were ignorant of, his achievement in the psalms. When the transformation from a strophic unity of

sound to a strophic unity of rhythm finally took place at the turn of the century, it was accomplished anew, though in many ways parallel to that Sidney had achieved and in response to some of the same influences. The forms of the Elizabethan and Jacobean song books, however, were never as clearly defined, on the whole, as those of the Sidneian Psalter, nor did they exhibit as high a degree of heterometricity. Their practical connection with song made it unnecessary, since the musical accompaniment helped to define the rhythmic character of the song.

The religious songs scattered throughout the song books, moreover, were particularly conservative in both choice of texts and musical style. The madrigal, according to John Kerman, was never adapted to sacred lyric in England, as it had been in Italy.⁸³ William Byrd, and his followers, John Munday and Michael East, who are sometimes associated with the madrigalists although they more accurately belong to the native polyphonic tradition, provided some devotional songs in their publications. Byrd set lullabies and carols, and a few songs, primarily in sixains, in the rhetorical style. Most numerous were his settings of psalms, the choice of texts for which is sufficiently indicative of his conservatism. He used CM versions in the Sternhold and Hopkins mode for the ten psalms in his first book, Psalmes, Sonets, & songs of sadnes and pietie (1588); for his settings of the Seven Penitential Psalms in Songs of sundrie natures (1589), he employed partial texts, each eight lines of CM. By the 1611 book, his psalms were set to one or two verses from the prose Psalter, a practice which was imitated by Munday and East.

There were more interesting religious lyrics in the air literature, but conservatism was still the rule, as evidenced by the predominance of LM and sixains. The seven lyrics set by Dowland in A Pilgrimes Solace (1612) and the six in Thomas Greave's Songes of sundrie Kindes (1604) were primarily didactic and employed an old-fashioned style characterized by the obtrusive rhetorical and logical patterns that had been popular in the

1580's. Greave's "When I behold my former wandering way," for example, culminates in the following two stanzas:

I saw the way, the way itself did clear it;
 I knew the way, the way itself did show it;
 I marked the way, but fondly did forbear it;
 I left the way because I would not know it.
 But now I cry unto the God of Truth:
 Forgive, O Lord, the errors of my youth.

Jesu, the only Way, most perfect true!
 Jesu, the only Truth of heavenly life!
 Jesu, the only Life that doth renew
 My sin-sick soul half slain by Satan's strife,
 With tears I beg, teach me the way of truth,
 Forgive O Lord, the errors of my youth. (sts. 4-5)⁸⁴

Thomas Campion, the only other composer to publish an appreciable number of sacred airs, produced the finest exemplars of the type in the song books. Campion was one of the central figures in the transformation of the song lyric, not only as a practitioner, but as a spokesman for the concepts behind it. In the prefatory Epistles to A Booke of Ayres (1601) and Two Bookes of Ayres (c. 1613), he suggested that the air was first invented by the Greek and Latin lyric poets, thus associating it with the idealized union of words and music of the ancients, and introduced the concept of the air's similarity to epigram.⁸⁵ His intent, as shown by his practice, was to replace the rhetorical, ornate style with a strophic unity of clearly defined rhythms which would allow for the greater flexibility of tone and freedom of discourse that the epigram possessed.

Campion's fine ear for the harmony and rhythm of both words and music is justly famous. In his sacred, as well as his secular, lyrics, he created varied and graceful stanzaic forms whose texture is truly simple and sensuous. Their structure is always clearly articulated, whether in the long, slow-moving stanza of

Author of light, revive my dying sprite;
 Redeem it from the snares of all-confounding night.
 Lord, light me to thy blessed way,
 For blind with worldly vain desires I wander as a stray.
 Sun and moon, stars and underlights I see,
 But all their glorious beams are mists and darkness being
 compared to thee. (st. 1)

or in the short, simple cadences of

Lo, when back mine eye
Pilgrim-like I cast,
What fearful ways I spy,
Which blinded I securely passed. (st. 1)⁸⁶

Again, however, there is evidence of a conservatism in his religious airs which renders them, in the judgment of his editor, Walter R. Davis, his "least distinguished production." As Davis points out, they contain a high percentage of abstract nouns, a paucity of metaphor, and a basically rhetorical approach to the disposition of words, although in a plain texture, with result that they do not achieve the subtleties of tonal modulation of his secular lyrics.⁸⁷

The same conclusion applies to the few psalms which Campion attempted, the only ones to be found in the air literature. These are generally in a choric and static song mode. Psalm 130 has none of the dramatic immediacy of the Countess of Pembroke's version, for example, set as it is in long, slow-moving lines:

Out of my soul's depth to thee my cries have sounded.
Let thine ears my plaints receive on just fear grounded.
Lord, should'st thou weigh our faults, who's not confounded?

But with grace thou censur'st thine when they have erred;
Therefore shall thy blessed name be loved and feared.
E'en to thy throne my thoughts and eyes are reared.
(sts. 1-2, p. 367)

In addition to a version of Psalm 137, Campion wrote another three songs which do not reproduce specific psalms, but are simplified and generalized treatments of psalm motifs. "Sing a Song of joy" demonstrates the choric quality common to all three:

Sing a song of joy
Praise our God with mirth.
His flock who can destroy?
Is he not Lord of heaven and earth?

Sing we then secure,
Tuning well our strings,
With voice as echo pure
Set us renown the King of kings.

First who taught the day
 From the East to rise;
 Whom doth the sun obey
 When in the seas his glory dies. (sts. 1-3, p. 373)⁸⁸

Campion must have felt that this generalized expression of psalm motifs was better suited to the contemporary song lyric mode, particularly to the strophic air. He was probably right, as we shall see below.

The only other translator during the period of the song books who approached the Sidneys' variety and sophistication of stanzaic form was Francis Davison.⁸⁹ Davison's psalms are the finest examples in a manuscript collection dated 1620 which includes miscellaneous translations by other poets as well. Like the Sidneys, he was a literary artist, choosing the most appropriate rhythms from among the song lyric forms for his poems, rather than a musician, writing or selecting texts for his melodies. He may not have been familiar with the Sidneian Psalter, however, since all of his forms that are similar to those of the Sidneys had equivalents in the Marot-Beza Psalter as well. His treatment, moreover, is wholly in the song lyric mode of the latter, in contradistinction to the Sidneian Psalter.

His version of Psalm 23, for example, is in a form (a a b c c b) more closely related to Marot's stanza for Psalm 38 (a a b c c b) than to Sidney's imitation of Marot (a a b c c b) in the same psalm. It has a graceful, song-lyric lilt, enriched by an expansion of the imagery of the original, as in this second stanza:

He feeds me in fields which been
 Fresh and green,
 Mottled with Spring's flowery painting;
 Through which creep with murmuring crooks
 Crystal brooks,
 To refresh my spirit's fainting. (st. 2)⁹⁰

Davison shows a tendency, as Philip von Rohr-Sauer has noted, to modify the imagery in the direction of Baroque figures.⁹¹ David's complaint in Psalm 6 that "all the night make I my bed to swim; I water my couch with my tears" becomes

But mine eyes my life's fire spending,
 Drown with showers of tears ne'er ending,
 My oft-tumbled nest. (st. 6, p. 247)

and Psalm 30 is embellished with the non-scriptural simile of the speaker's eyes as fountains:

For Jehovah's grace, unbounded,
 Hath my greatness sweetly founded,
 And hath my state as strongly fortified
 On every side
 As rocky mountains;
 But away His face God turned,
 I was troubled then, and mourned,
 Then thus I poured forth prayers and doleful cries:
 With weeping eyes
 Like watery fountains. (st. 4, p. 256)

A comparison of the preceding stanza with Sidney's rendering of the same passage in tetrameter terza rima points up the difference in the two poets' approach to translation.

For proof, while I my race did run
 Full of successes, fond I did say
 That I should never be undone,
 For then my Hill Good God did stay;
 But, ah he strait his face did hide,
 And what was I but wretched clay?
 Then thus to Thee I praying cry'd: (ll. 19-25)

Davison was determined to cast the psalms into the song lyric mode. He is generally successful, as here, but his success depended in part upon an exclusion of psalms which were not so readily adapted to song. The closest he came to a tone of personal urgency similar to Sidney's was in Psalm 73, in which David describes his sinful envy of the prosperity of the ungodly:

Calm thy tempestuous thoughts, my mind,
 Leave mutining, and rest secure,
 That God, being Goodness' self, is kind,
 And kind will still endure
 To them whose hearts are pure.

Without the staff of heavenly grace,
 How prone to fall is feeble man!
 My feet tripped in my heedless race,
 And so to slide began,
 As I could hardly stand;--

When I saw fools advanced so high,
 As dazzling height did make them mad,
 And, grieving, saw, with envious eye,
 That they who were most bad,
 Most happy fortunes had. (sts. 1-3, p. 259)

It is also the only one of Davison's eighteen psalms which was not completed, coming abruptly to a halt after the fifth of the original's twenty-eight verses. It seems likely that Davison recognized the uncongeniality of his song lyric approach to the thought and emotion of the psalm.

All of these sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century translators unconsciously demonstrated that the song mode, whether the simple ballad meters of Sternhold and Hopkins, the more graceful measures of the lutenist air, or the sophisticated rhythms of the literary 'song,' could not accommodate the tonal and thematic diversity of the Psalms. Although they were correct in their assumption that the Psalter was a collection of song lyrics, they did not take into account that the conventions of Hebrew song were much less restrictive, tonally and rhetorically, than their own.

Although the Hebrew poetry of the Psalms was strophic, it did not employ metrically identical stanzas. A single psalm, moreover, might be composed of more than one section, and use a different meter for each.⁹² Hence, the Psalter's prosody remained free to respond to extreme modulations in thought and feeling. Musically, it admitted various modes of performance, including cantillation, or chanting upon two or three tones in a rapid parlando style, responsorial singing, and melodic, hymn rendering, either by a soloist or choir, and either in a syllabic or mellismatic underlay.⁹³ English Protestant song, in comparison, was invariably strophic, and its setting imposed a single, recurring melody upon the psalm in a strictly syllabic underlay. Although the lutenist air and literary song lyric conventions exhibited more musical and poetic sophistication, they were committed to the same conception of melodically and formally identical strophes, which did not allow sufficient variation for changing emphasis in tone and subject matter. None of the contemporary song modes, as

a consequence, could re-create the tonal and rhetorical effects of the most intimately individual psalms, for example, or of the psalms of imprecation or historical narrative. The English Reformation translators' goal of recasting the Psalter into the mode of song, thereby renewing for their age its role as hymnal and song book for private devotions, did not admit of complete success, at least from an aesthetic point of view.

Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke were the only translators who recognized that the song lyric mode, or any of the contemporary lyric modes, used exclusively, could not re-create the tonal and rhetorical diversity of the Psalter. Their work remained in manuscript throughout the period and was never widely known. Those who succeeded them, like their predecessors, continued to accord the Psalms a basically homogeneous treatment, whether it was in the song lyric mode, or in the meditative and devotional modes to be discussed in the following chapter. There is evidence, however, that the Sidneian Psalter was known and appreciated by some of the foremost poets of the period, among them John Donne and Ben Jonson.⁹⁴ For the serious literary artist, best suited to hear and understand, it represented not only "a School of English Versification," as Hallett Smith has pointed out,⁹⁵ but an investigation of the potential of varied lyric forms and conventions for handling the whole range of poetic occasions, from subjective expression of personal thought and feeling to general and choric celebration of universal truths.

¹ A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, rev. ed. (London, 1963), pp. 102-103.

² "The Hebrew Hexameter: A Study in Renaissance Sources and Interpretation," ELH, 2 (1935), 78-79.

³ See Chap. 3, pp. 121-22.

⁴ A Defence of Poetry, ed. J. A. Van Dorsten (London, 1966), p. 22.

⁵ [Matthew Parker], The Whole Psalter translated into English Metre (London, [1567]), sigs. Aii^v, Fiii^v-Fiiii^r, Gii^r; John Donne, The Sermons, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter, V (Berkeley, 1959), 288-89. See also Henry Ainsworth, Annotations upon the Book of Psalmes, 2nd ed. ([Amsterdam], 1617), sig. A2^v; and George Wither, A Preparation to the Psalter (1619), Spenser Society Reprints, No. 37 (Manchester, 1884), p. 84.

⁶ "English Metrical Psalms in the Sixteenth Century and their Literary Significance," Huntington Library Quarterly, 9 (1946), 254-55.

⁷ Frances A. Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century, Studies of the Warburg Institute, Vol. 15 (London, 1947), p. 37.

⁸ Dauids Harpe, in [Worckes] (London, 1564), I, sig. Ddi^v.

⁹ See Chaps. 5 and 6, Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England (Cambridge, 1959).

¹⁰ In addition to Campbell's work, see Louis L. Martz on Robert Southwell, The Poetry of Meditation, rev. ed. (New Haven, 1962), pp. 184-93; and H[arold] R. Swardson, Poetry and the Fountain of Light: Observations on the Conflict between Christian and Classical Traditions in Seventeenth-Century Poetry (London, 1962), passim.

¹¹ Philip Schaff, "German Hymnody," A Dictionary of Hymnology, ed. John Julian, 2nd ed. (London, 1907), p. 414.

¹² Orentin Douen, Clément Marot et le Psautier huguenot, I (Paris, 1878), 709.

¹³ H. Leigh Bennett, "Psalters, French," A Dictionary of Hymnology, pp. 932-34.

¹⁴ Bourgeois composed or adapted about 100 melodies for the Geneva Psalter; the rest were contributed by minor composers. He also composed a complete version of harmonized settings. The Marot-Besa Psalms provided the text upon which many other composers exercised their skill as well (See Paul A. Pisk and Homer Ulrick, A History of Music and Musical Style (London, 1969), pp. 163-65). Both Grévin Douen (Clément Marot et le Psautier huguenot, I, 715 ff.) and Julian Tiersot (Histoire de la chanson populaire en France (Paris, 1889), p. 271) maintain that all of these composers depended to a great extent upon the melodies of the popular songs which had become associated with particular psalms. In a recent study, Pierre Pidoux contests this hypothesis, as far as dependence upon specific tunes is concerned, and suggests that the composers were simply drawing upon the conventions and the arsenal of formulas belonging to the popular song tradition (Le Psautier huguenot du XVI^e siècle, I (Édition Baerenreiter Bâle, 1962), XI-XIII).

¹⁵ H. Leigh Bennett, "Psalters, French," Dictionary of Hymnology, p. 934. For additional information, see Waldo S. Pratt, The Significance of the Old French Psalter Begun by Clément Marot in 1532, Papers of the Hymn Society, ed. Carl F. Price, No. 4 (New York, 1933).

¹⁶ "Rythmique des odes et chansons de Ronsard," Troisième Partie de Ronsard, poète lyrique, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1923), pp. 638-711. The following discussion is indebted to Laumonier, except where other authorities are cited.

¹⁷ Jean Rollin, Les Chansons de Clément Marot, Publication de la Société Française de Musicologie, Ser. 3, 1 (Paris, 1951), p. 107.

¹⁸ Rollin, pp. 82, 88.

¹⁹ Seizième siècle. Etudes littéraires (Paris, 1894), pp. 72-73.

²⁰ Cited by Laumonier, with several other instances, Ronsard, p. 709.

²¹ Abbrégé de l'art poétique françois (1565; rpt. London, 1903), pp. 34-35, 38.

²² Ronsard, p. 674.

- ²³ Art poétique (1555) (Laumonier, p. 710).
- ²⁴ Ronsard made only two experiments with quantitative verse, and then went only as far as French versification allowed. Usually, like Marot, he grafted the rhythms of the ancients onto the native French rhythms (Laumonier, pp. 697, 701-703).
- ²⁵ Ronsard et la musique de son temps (Ladwig, 1903), pp. 23-25. Tiersot concludes, "Ainsi donc, dans l'inexpérience de son enthousiasme musical, Ronsard prenait les savantes polyphonies des Janequin et des Goudimel pour des airs 'passe-partout', sur lesquels on devait pouvoir chanter toute espèce de choses,--comme un faiseur de vaudevilles écrit ses couplets sur des 'airs connus'" (pp. 25-26).
- ²⁶ Die englische Psalmdichtung im sechzehnten Jahrhundert (Münster i. W., 1937), pp. 12-17, 21.
- ²⁷ Riese, pp. 13-14.
- ²⁸ Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes, reprinted in Remains of Miles Coverdale, ed. George Pearson, for the Parker Society (Cambridge, 1846), p. 580.
- ²⁹ A. F. Mitchell, ed., A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs; commonly known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballatis,' by [James, John, and Robert Wedderburn] (Edinburgh, 1897), pp. xiv, xxxiv, xxxix-xi, and liv.
- ³⁰ Riese, pp. 27-28, 33.
- ³¹ A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs, ed. A. F. Mitchell, p. 104. All subsequent citations will be taken from this edition.
- ³² The music was usually set to 8 lines, giving rise to double forms, indicated as DCM, DLM, and DSM.
- ³³ According to J. W. Hendron, a fourth of the known ballads are composed in meters other than LM and CM (A Study in Ballad Rhythm, Princeton Studies in English, No. 14 (Princeton, 1936), p. 99). The song books of Henry VIII's reign and the ballettes of Wyatt, furthermore, exhibit a number of short, heterometric stanza forms which derived from the popular song tradition (Sergio Baldi, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Writers and Their Work, No. 139, gen. ed. Bonamy Dobrée (London, 1961), p. 27). Exemplars from the Wedderburn collection include "Knew se not God Omni-

potent" (ababedcd), p. 209; "Richt sorelie musing in my minde" (aabbab), p. 61; and "Allace that seme sweet face" (ababb), pp. 63-64.

³⁴ Reported by George Wither, A Preparation to the Psalter (1619), Spenser Society Reprints, No. 37 (Manchester, 1884), p. 8. See Anne Lake Prescott, "The Reputation of Clement Marot in Renaissance England," Studies in the Renaissance, 18 (1971), 197-200.

³⁵ All of the long-lined forms are to be found in The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576), which was the most popular of the 16th-century miscellanies, and represented a collection of primarily devotional and moral lyrics dating from before 1566 (ed. Hyder Edward Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), p. xlix). Nine of the ten octameter forms are ~~abbb~~^{abbb}. Gordon Hall Gerould suggested that the ballad measure commonly printed as a 4343 quatrain was essentially a fourteenner (The Ballad of Tradition (Oxford, 1932), p. 125), but J. W. Hendron has convincingly demonstrated, on the basis of the music, that it was structurally a true quatrain, as was the LM form (A Study in Ballad Rhythm, pp. 71-72). According to Hendron's reckoning, CM accounts for one-half of the known ballads, and LM for another fourth, whereas SM was not particularly common (p. 78). That it became one of the three predominant forms for the metrical psalm may be due to the fact that, like the other two, it had connections with a long-lined form (Poulter's Measure) which had literary pretensions, being one of the favorite measures of Surrey and the medium for his translation of Ecclesiastes as well as for 3 psalms.

³⁶ Sternhold did not publish notes with his psalms, but he suggested in the Dedication to Edward VI in his first edition that "as your grace taketh pleasure to heare them song sometimes of me, so ye will also delighte not only to see and reade them your selfe, but also to commande [sic] the to be song to you of others" (Certaine Psalmes (London, 1548)). He must have intended, therefore, that they be sung to well-known popular tunes. The Genevan edition of 1556 was the first to provide the Sternhold and Hopkins psalms with tunes. These were anonymous. Peter Le Huray suggests that they were the work of English musicians, imitating French and German models (Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660 (London, 1967), p. 373). According to Waldo S. Pratt, at least 42 of the 125 French psalm tunes eventually came into use in the Anglo-Genevan and Sternhold and Hopkins Psalters, but all but one (No. 50) were altered to adjust them to CM (The Music of the French Psalter of 1562 (New York, 1939), pp. 72, 74).

³⁷ Croke's psalms were first printed in Early English Poetry,

Ballads, and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages, publications of the Percy Society, Vol. 11 (London, 1844). There is a note on the title page of the MS, in the handwriting of the son of the author, to the effect that the 13 psalms were translated in the time of Henry VIII, which would place them before, or during, 1547, the year of Henry VIII's death.

³⁸ See John Julian, "Old Version," A Dictionary of Hymnology, p. 857, for more detailed publication information.

³⁹ The Psalter of David newly translated into English Metre (London, 1549).

⁴⁰ For a complete bibliography of English Metrical Psalms, see John Julian and William T. Brooke, "Psalms, English," A Dictionary of Hymnology, pp. 926 ff.

⁴¹ Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660 (London, 1967), p. 372.

⁴² See John Julian, "Old Version," A Dictionary of Hymnology, pp. 860-63, for a list of the 12 contributors with biographical notes.

⁴³ Die englische Psalmdichtung im sechzehnten Jahrhundert, p. 45. Riese mistakenly attributes the work to 5 contributors.

⁴⁴ Riese, pp. 47-48.

⁴⁵ The prose comes from the Coverdale translation printed in the Geneva Bible (London, 1577); Norton's metrical version, from The Whole Booke of Psalmes collected into englishe meter by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins and others (London, 1576), which was bound with the Bible cited above. All subsequent references will be to these editions.

⁴⁶ Hallett Smith observes that Sternhold sometimes eliminated the figurative language of the original in order to make the meaning clearer, transforming "the young lions" of Psalm 34, e. g., into "the mighty and the rich." A revisor, probably Whittingham, "brought these images back into the text, presumably because they are in the Hebrew" ("English Metrical Psalms in the Sixteenth Century and their Literary Significance," p. 265).

⁴⁷ Music for a King: George Herbert's Style and the Metrical Psalms (Baltimore, 1972), p. 63. Hallett Smith had observed

that the short lines of Sternhold's CM are weak, but he attributed it to the difficulty of translation, which encouraged compression in the 4-stress line and padding in the 3-stress line ("English Metrical Psalms in the Sixteenth Century," p. 265).

48 "English Metrical Psalms in the Sixteenth Century," pp. 265-66.

49 Smith, p. 251.

50 Smith, p. 267.

51 Other forms, less frequently used, include Rhyme Royal, a dimeter quatrain, and stanzas of 3-6 tetrameter lines followed by 1-2 dimeter lines.

52 The Whole Psalter translated into English Metre (London, [1567?]).

53 The Psalms of Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke (New York, 1963), pp. xxv-xxvi. W. A. Ringler cited Thomas Moffet, a member of the Pembroke household, to the effect that Sidney began work on the psalms after his completion of Astrophil and Stella and concluded that they were a late work, probably undertaken shortly before his departure for the Netherlands in 1585 (The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney (Oxford, 1962), pp. 500-501). Rathmell points out the untrustworthy nature of Moffet's chronology and chooses the pre-Astrophil period on the basis of style, a conclusion with which Neil Rudenstern concurs (Sidney's Poetic Development (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 284-86).

54 Symmetry and Sense: The Poetry of Sir Philip Sidney (Austin, Texas, 1961), p. 26.

55 Montgomery, pp. 20, 22, 24-25. Theodore Spenser's observation was made in "The Poetry of Sir Philip Sidney," ELH, 12 (1945), 254-55.

56 This number includes those which are heterometric by virtue of consistently placed feminine rhymes. I am referring here specifically to the short lyrics of the Arcadia, but the Eclogues are also predominantly isometric.

57 The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, ed., W. A. Ringler (Oxford, 1962). All subsequent quotations of Sidney's psalms will be taken from this edition, where they are reprinted from the Bodleian MS, the one closest to Sidney's original (Ringler,

pp. 547-48). I have placed spaces between stanzas where they are not so set off in the Ringler edition.

58 The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel. Containing the Nativity, Passion, Buriall and Resurrection of Christ: together with certaine Psalmes of David (London, 1591).

59 Ps. 12 has a 3-line pentameter stanza which rhymes abc for the first 3 stanzas, def for the next 3, etc.; Ps. 15 has a single rhyme-sound throughout; Ps. 19 is identical to Parker's CM with internal rhyme; and Pss. 20 and 31 have inter-stanzaic rhyme schemes.

60 The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, pp. 506-507. See also Rathmell, The Psalmes of Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke, pp. xvi-xvii, and Waldo Seldon Pratt, The Music of the French Psalter of 1562 (New York, 1939), pp. 30-31.

61 Ringler lists 8 psalms (1, 3, 19, 34, 39-42) which in his opinion duplicate in whole or in part the rhyme scheme of the corresponding French psalm (p. 508). I would not allow Ps. 19, whose CM with internal rhyme in the 4-stress lines is clearly related to Parker's form rather than to the first half of Marot's Ps. 19 (^{aabccob}₃₃₃₃₃₃). On the other hand, I would add Ps. 38 to the list, since Sidney's form (^{a a b c c b}_{1,4,2,4,4,2,4}) is similar to Marot's (^{a a b c c b}_{1,4f,2f,4,4f,2f,4}), bringing the number back up to 8 (see n. 63 below for explication of signs). Five of Sidney's stanza forms, furthermore, are identical to Marot-Beza stanzas, or half-stanzas, of differing psalms (8 = Marot's 9; 14 = Marot's 114 and 115; 21 = ½ Marot's 91; 43 = ½ Marot's 3; and 37 = ½ Beza's 17 and 63), while another 7 show similarities to Marot-Beza forms of differing psalms, although some of these may be fortuitous (Sidney's Ps. 4 ≠ 132; 5 ≠ 85; 6 ≠ 101; 9 ≠ 14; 16 ≠ 135; 22 ≠ 28; and 32 ≠ ½ 36 and 68). See Waldo Seldon Pratt, The Music of the French Psalter of 1562, pp. 81-200.

62 Les Pseaumes mis en Rime Francoise, La Bible (Paris, 1567). All subsequent references are to this edition.

63 The following signs will be used in describing stanzaic forms schematically: arabic numerals = the number of feet to the line; lower case letters = the rhyme pattern; f = feminine rhyme; and ' = an initial unstressed syllable, when significant, i. e., pattern-forming ('4f, therefore, indicates a trochaic tetrameter line, whereas '4 indicates an iambic line which reverses the initial foot in each stanza).

64 The Psalmes of Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of

Pembroke, p. xiv.

65 Ronsard, p. 658.

66 The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, pp. 507-508.

67 The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry, 1500-1700 (Princeton, 1961), pp. 141-42.

68 The Untuning of the Sky, p. 142. The Sidney quotation is cited by Hollander from Complete Works, ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1912-1926), III, 44.

69 The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. W. A. Ringler, pp. 83-84.

70 The Poetry of Meditation, rev. ed. (New Haven, 1962), pp. 276, 278. The same point is emphasized by Rathmell, p. xix. Both Martz and Rathmell take the idea further, suggesting that the Sidneys attempted to make each psalm an intimate, personal cry of the soul to God. As I shall try to demonstrate in the following discussion, while this is true of some of the psalms, such as Sidney's Ps. 6 or the Countess' Ps. 130, it is not an appropriate description of Sidney's generalized, song lyric treatment of Ps. 42 or his ritual, incantatory rendering of Ps. 29, nor of the Countess' near-epic narrative treatment of Ps. 78.

71 Robert Montgomery has convincingly argued that Sidney uses oratorical effects more frequently than colloquial effects in his psalms (Symmetry and Sense, pp. 22-23). But Montgomery concludes that this "deliberate formality" relates Sidney's psalms to his Arcadia lyrics, whereas I have attempted to show that the rhetorical style of the latter is qualitatively different from that of many of the psalms, subordinating, as it does, the expression of emotion to abstract patterns of rhetoric. In the psalms, on the other hand, the oratorical effects, along with the less frequent colloquial effects, use local variations in rhythm, diction, and rhetoric to coincide with changes in thought and emotion, creating an impression of dramatic intensity lacking in the rhetorical style.

72 A Preparation to the Psalter (1619), Spenser Society Reprints, No. 37 (Manchester, 1884), p. 123. The tables of the occasions or principal kinds of the Psalms that were frequently supplied by Reformation commentators give cognizance to this range as well; see, e. g., those of Theodore Beza (The Psalmes of David, trans. Anthony Gilby (London, 1581), sig.

a7r) and Richard Bernard (Dauids Musick (London, 1616), sigs. B1^v-B2^r).

73 Ringler, p. 501.

74 Rathmell, p. xi.

75 The Countess' 149 = Sidney's 42 = Beza's 42; 99 and 118 = Sidney's 8 = Marot's 9; 119 Y = ½ Sidney's 34 = Beza's 34.

76 The Music of the French Psalter of 1562, pp. 81-200.

77 All citations of the Countess' psalms are taken from the Rathmell edition.

78 Coburn Freer's suggestion that the Countess' "concern with form is somewhat mechanical," and that this causes her psalms to be lyrical in a detached or theoretical way: (Music for a King, pp. 101, 105-106) seems unfair. While she does not use as much metrical irregularity as Sidney, as Freer points out (p. 114), she clearly sought to create flexible and varied rhythms with her diverse stanzaic forms which would suit each individual psalm.

79 To give a few examples, for Ps. 55 the Countess used a 12-line pentameter stanza, as opposed to Beza's 6-line tetrameter form; for Pss. 58, 78, and 80, 8 pentameter lines as opposed to 6 tetrameter lines; for Ps. 85, 10 tetrameter lines as opposed to 8 pentameter lines; and for Ps. 147, 10 pentameter lines as opposed to 8 tetrameter lines.

80 Rathmell, pp. xx-xxi; Freer, p. 105.

81 Rock Honeycomb, in The Works of John Ruskin, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, Vol. 31 (London, 1907), 304.

82 Reprinted by Rathmell, p. xxxiii.

83 The Elizabethan Madrigal (New York, 1962), pp. 6-7.

84 Songes of sundrie kindes (1604), English Madrigal Verse, 1588-1632, ed. E. H. Fellowes, 3rd enlarged ed., Frederick W. Sternfeld and David Greer (Oxford, 1967), p. 530.

85 The Works of Thomas Campion, ed. Walter R. Davis (New York, 1967), pp. 15, 55.

86 Divine and Morall Songs, the first of Two Bookes of Ayres [c. 1613], English Madrigal Verse, pp. 366, 372. All subsequent references are to this edition.

87 The Works of Thomas Campion, p. xxi.

88 The other two are "View me, Lord, a work of thine," p. 368, and the quantitative lyric, "Come, let us sound with melody the praises" printed in A Booke of Ayres (1601), p. 665.

89 Two poets published psalms at the end of the period which were set to contemporary popular tunes, and indicated the secular title of the song in lieu of publishing the notes: Phineas Fletcher's "Certain of the royal Prophets Psalmes metaphrased," printed with The Purple Island (1633), and William Slatyer's Psalmes, or Songs of Sion (1635). Their forms are not as sophisticated as those of the literary song lyric; when they are not sixains or hymn measures, they tend to be long and poorly defined, as in Fletcher's Ps. 137, "See the building" (a a bc c b de e dd).
(2f3f23f3f2-42f2f55).

90 "Divers Selected Psalmes in Verse, of a different composition from those used in Church," printed by William T. Brooke in Christ's Victory and Triumph . . . by Giles Fletcher, and Other Poems of the Seventeenth Century (London, [1888]), p. 250. All subsequent references will be to this edition.

91 English Metrical Psalmes from 1600-1660, Diss. Freiburg 1937 (Freiburg i. Br., 1938), pp. 95, 99.

92 There is still no agreement as to whether the Psalmes are strophically regular. Edward J. Kissane maintains that each strophe of a particular psalm (or section of a psalm) is composed of an equal number of "verses" (The Book of Psalmes, I (Dublin, 1953), xl. See also Sigmund Mowinckel, The Psalmes in Israel's Worship, trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas (Oxford, 1962), II, 171-75). The dissenting opinion is put by Nicolaas H. Ridderbos, "The Psalmes: Style-Figures and Structure," in Studies on Psalmes, by B. Gemser, H. A. Brongers, Nic. H. Ridderbos, et al., Oudtestamentische Studiën, Deel XIII (Leiden, 1963), pp. 49, 74-76. It is generally agreed, however, to use Kissane's terms, that the length of the smallest metrical unit, the "clause," is variable, as is the number of "clauses" to the "verse" (Kissane, I, xxxv-xxxviii; Mowinckel, II, 159-70). Even if the strophes are found to be regular, therefore, they must still be said to exhibit a high degree of metrical variation. To cite a seventeenth-century opinion, George Wither suggests that the Hebrew poets "varied

the Staffe at their pleasure, making it now longer, now shorter, as they listed, or best fitted the matter" (A Preparation to the Psalter, p. 61).

⁹³ Paul A. Pisk and Homer Ulrick, A History of Music and Musical Style (London, 1969), p. 11.

⁹⁴ Rathmell, p. xxvii.

⁹⁵ Hallett Smith, p. 269.

Chapter 2

Reformation Metrical Psalms: The Devotional Lyric

In the period between the execution of the *Sidneian Psalter* and the publication of George Herbert's *The Temple* in 1633, Sternhold and Hopkins was the unofficial hymnal of the English Church, and consequently the metrical version most familiar to Englishmen (a position only relinquished at the end of the seventeenth century). A number of attempts were made to supplant it, all unsuccessful. There were a few radical Protestants who shared the basic prepossessions and attitudes of the Sternhold and Hopkins translators, merely seeking to modify details of execution. But in contradistinction to the situation in the early years of the Reformation, when a score of translators had tried their hand at fitting the prose text word-for-word into simple metrical containers, these translators were now in the minority. Anglican efforts to achieve a more acceptable version for congregational song shared a good deal in common with those of their Puritan counterparts, but they also exhibited characteristics which identified them, as will be shown below, with the newer attitudes toward psalm translation that were becoming predominant.

Most of the translators during this period conceded to Sternhold and Hopkins its position as hymnal of the church and turned their attention to suiting the Psalms for uses without the church, sometimes with a more limited audience in mind than the whole multitude of the faithful. Many reintroduced the consideration of aesthetic value into their fundamental goals. Almost all of them, finally, exhibited a willingness to abandon literal translation in order to achieve a clearer rendering of the sense and to incorporate an explicitly Christian interpretation into the text. Underlying most of these diverse translations was the common desire, upon which attention will be focused in this chapter, to bring out the devotional and meditative potential of the Psalms.

Henry Ainsworth, the leader of the Separatists in Amsterdam, supplied his congregation with a metrical Psalter in 1612 which may claim the distinction of representing the nadir of the container school of versification. One of the foremost Puritan annotators of the Bible and a master of Oriental languages and Jewish antiquities, he sought a literal translation which fulfilled his standards of grammatical accuracy. Except for a few psalms which, as he put it, "fall out better" in pentameter,¹ and were set to French or Dutch tunes, he used CM and the customary settings throughout. Aesthetic considerations were clearly secondary; as he admitted in the Preface, "Yet rather than I would stray from the text, I strein now and then, with the rules of our Englishe poesie in the just ending alike of both verses, & sometime in the quātitie of the syllable" (sig. **2^r).

A comparison of the metrical version with his literal prose translations accompanying it proves the accuracy of his description of procedure: the prose is simply broken up into lines with minimal changes, the dropping of an article or substitution of a synonym, for the sake of the approximation of meter necessary to suit the Psalms for a musical setting. This is the verse-container approach of Sternhold and Hopkins carried to new extremes of literalism and awkwardness.

2. Jehovah our Lord, how wondrous-excellent is thy name in all the earth: which hast given thy glorious-majesty, above the heavens. 3. Out-of the mouth of babes, & sucklings, thou hast founded strength; because of thy distressers: to make cease the enemies, & self-avenger. 4. When I behold thy heavens, the deed of thy fingers: the moon and the stars, which thou hast stably-constituted. 5. What is sory-man that thou remembrest him: and the son of Adam, that thou-visitest him?

O Jah our Lord, how excellent-great is thy name in all the earth: thou which hast given

thy glorious-majestie above the heaven.
 Frō mouth of babes, & sucklings, thou firmnes
 foundedst; because of them that thee distress:

To make the foe, and self-avenger cease:
 When I behold thy heav'ns, thy fingers deede;
 the moon and starres, which thou hast established.
 What is frail-man that him thou remembrest?
 and Adams son, that him thou visitest? (Ps. 8, sts. 1-2)

Henry Dod reported that he undertook his translation of the Psalms at the instigation of a number of Puritan colleague divines who claimed that some, even, of the Sternhold and Hopkins tunes were too difficult for their congregations. Having reduced these to CM, Dod decided to 'reform' the rest,² a task which he completed in 1620. Both he and Ainsworth translated the metaphorical language of the original literally, without developing it or even clarifying the obscurities caused by the direct transfer from one language to another. The result is a weak and garbled figurative language which frequently out-Sternholds Hopkins:

As melting snailles, let eich of them
 away soone passed be:
 And like Abortives from the womb
 that they no sunne may see.

Before your pots can feele the thornes,
 he shall them take away,
 As with a whirlwind, both a live,
 and in his wrathfull day. (Ps. 58, sts. 2-3)

Perhaps all that need be added is that, according to George Wither's report in A Schollers Purgatory, "Dod the sillkemans late ridiculous translation . . . was by authority worthily condemned to the fire."³

The Anglican Bishop Joseph Hall published a translation of the first ten psalms in 1607, hinting in a prefatory letter that with a little encouragement from "Authoritie" he would undertake the rest.⁴ Hall's work shares some of the characteristics of the Sternhold and Hopkins tradition, and in fact, he was suspected of Low Church sympathies by Laud, who had him closely watched.⁵ But although an advocate of plain style, especially for religious matters, he recognized aesthetic and rhetorical demands which the

more dogmatic Puritans ignored. As he pointed out in Holy Observations,

Truth hath a face both honest and comely, and lookes best in her own colours: but above all, Divine Truth is most faire, and most scorneth to borrow beauty of mans wit or tongue . . . she would be plaine, but not base, not sluttish: she would be clad, not garishly, yet not in rags: She likes as little to be set out by a base soile, as to seeme credited with gay colours. It is no small wisdom to know her just guise, but more to follow it; and so to keep the meane, that while we please her, we discontent not the beholders.⁶

The sense of the Psalms, clearly and forcefully expressed, remained the first consideration, one for which he was willing, as were more and more of his contemporaries, to substitute a paraphrase rendering for literal translation. Hall was primarily a satirist and a writer of devotional tracts and short prose meditations which he appropriately termed "aphorisms."⁷ He is at his best in satirical passages, like the following description of the atheist in Psalm 10, but he is also able to compose expository passages which are much more comprehensible and appropriately phrased than those of Dod or Ainsworth.

On God he dares insult: his pride
Scornes to inquire of powers above,
But his stout thoughts have stil deni'd
Ther is a God; His wayes yet prove
Aye prosperous: Thy judgements nye
Doe farre surmount his dimmer sight.
Therefore doth he all foes defie:
His heart saith; I shall stand in spight,

Nor ever move; nor danger 'bide.

(Ps. 10, st. 2-st. 3, l. 1)

Hall's preoccupation with the sense, however, led him to consecutively enjamb line endings, following them with strong medial caesurae, and to completely ignore stanza divisions, as here. In defense of this style, in a letter to Hugh Cholmley, he argues, "Perhaps, some think the verse harsh; whose nice eare regards roundnesse, more than sense: I embrace smoothnesse, but affect it not. This is the least good quality of a verse; that

intends any thing but musicall delight. Others may blame the difficulty of the tunes: whose humour cannot bee pleased without a greater offense. For, to say truth, I never could see good verse written in the wonted measures. I ever thought them most easie, and least Poeticall."⁸ Although he banished CM and Poulter's, he restricted himself to measures such as LM and tetrameter sixains which could be sung to the Proper tunes. Yet his work is ill-suited for singing, which may be the reason he received no encouragement to continue.

George Wither, another Anglican,⁹ made the most open and aggressive attempt to supplant Sternhold and Hopkins, and is the only one of these translators who might be said to have improved upon it. In The Schollers Purgatory (1625), he complained of the Old Version, "I know it to be soe much to blame, that no man of understanding can sing many of those Psalmes, but with trouble to his devotion."¹⁰ Wither set forth his conception of the correct approach to psalm translation in A Preparation to the Psalter (1619), covering questions of metrics and music, as well as of interpretation and devotional and congregational use. Statements made in this book about his own work, to be cited below, seem to indicate that Wither had already substantially completed his translation. He opened his attack upon Sternhold and Hopkins, however, with the Hymns and Songs of the Church (1623);¹¹ The Psalmes of David Translated into Lyrick-Verse was not offered to the public until 1632, perhaps because of the former's lack of success. He obtained patents from James I for both the Hymns and Psalmes, which stated that the first was deemed worthy of being inserted into every English Psalm book in meter, and that the second should be bound up with every copy of the Bible. The Company of Stationers considered the patents infringements of their privileges, and successfully contested them.¹² More revealing, no one seems to have backed Wither's cause, though he published "The Schollers Purgatory," bitterly complaining of their ill-treatment.

Wither, like Bishop Hall, stands midway between the by now old-fashioned dogmatic Puritan literalists and the new generation

of paraphrasers who sought to develop the devotional potential of the Psalms. He was committed to the goal of making his metrical version available to every Christian soul, specifically for use as congregational song, which obliged him, in his own words, "to suit the Capacitie of the Vulgar, [rather] then to observe those Criticisimes which arride the Learned."¹³ In terms of metrics, this consideration forced him to limit himself to the measures of Sternhold and Hopkins, even though he was aware of the necessity for more metrical variety and sophistication. In both A Preparation to the Psalter and the Preface to his Psalms, he points out that according to learned Hebrew scholars, the original exhibits a variety of measures, and that "sometime the Prophet describes the person, sometime the condition; now he prayes, anon he prophecies. . . . Yea, so often varies his subject, as it were absurde to imagine that so many sundry passions, and such different inventions may be expressed so naturallie in one or some few kinds of Verse, as in many."¹⁴ "Yet," he adds of his own work, "respecting th^{se} who cannot attaine to many Tunes, I confined my selfe to such kinds of Verse as I found in the old Psalmebooke; fitting them in such manner, that every Psalm in this Booke, may sung [sic] to some Tune formerly in use."¹⁵

In A Preparation to the Psalter, answering those who would prefer a paraphrase of the Psalms for the sake of a clearer and more graceful rendering of the sense, Wither put forward the classic arguments for literal translation:

True it is, that the paines would be much lesse, and peradventure the Verse would be more pleasing also to some Readers. But I finde no such want of ornament in our Prophets expressions, as that I need borrow them else-where: nor is often his way of delivery so difficult, as that it must require many circumstances to illustrate his meaning . . . [and therefore] (reserving onely the proprieties of our Language) I have chosen rather to confine my selfe wholly to the Text. Yea, in the smallest things I have taken no liberty, but what I finde warrantable both by much and good authority; lest I should seeme to distrust the force of Gods owne words, and teach his holy Spirit how to speake" (p. 16).

On the other hand, pointing out that there are others who "may take offense, because I have not according to the example of a few moderne Interpreters, altogether used the Hebrew phrase," he forwards the argument against strict literal translation: "if they could but understand, how decent and proper it were to use the most knowne dialect of that language, which wee undertake to deliver our minds in: for that is ever best translated, and with most ease understood, which wee expresse in words and phrases sutable to our owne tongue" (p. 17). In the Preface to the Psalms, finally, he describes the kind of changes he allowed himself and concludes, "I have not superstitiously tied my selfe to the Hebrew phrase, nor to any strict Order, or number of words . . . but, using rather brevitie where Circumlocution appeared needles, & affecting the Dialect most proper to our owne Tongue; I labored to deliver the meaning of the Originall Text, as powerfully, as plainly, & as breefly, as I could" (p. 13).

Wither's willingness to stray from literal translation in order to bring out the meaning of the original enabled him to produce clear and logically cohesive verse periods. In Psalm 28, for example, the Psalmist calls upon God to overthrow the wicked and adds, "Blessed be the Lord, because he hath heard the voice of my supplications" (vss. 4-6). Wither casts the last verse in the form of a plea and balances it against the preceding plea, giving rise to a clearer logical progression:

Give them what their ill deeds require;
As they deserve, so them reward.
For their lew'd [sic] works, pay them their hire,
Because, thy works they nought regard.
Yea, seeing they thy works despise,
Destroy them, never to be raised:
But hear my suite, & heed my cries,
And be thou, Lord, for ever praised. (st. 2)

At his best, which is usually in didactic or expository passages, Wither achieves an epigrammatic concision and point.

Lord, cann the grave thy Love expresse?
Thy Faith, cann ruines teach?
Thy wonders, or thy righteousness,
Cann dumb Oblivion preach? (Ps. 88, 2nd version, st. 4)

Wither's Psalmes were destined for oblivion, rather than for acceptance as the new hymnal of the English Church, as he had hoped; but in the process of performing his translation, he provided a rarely explicit and detailed discussion of the problems and alternatives which faced all the translators of the period. Like his Anglican predecessors, Bishop Hall and Archbishop Parker, Wither chose the way of compromise, attempting to achieve as literal as possible a version which, while suited for the congregational hymns of the church, did not wholly sacrifice the aesthetic beauty appropriate to the text and a clear rendering of its meaning.

By the turn of the century, an increasing number of translators had relinquished the desire to suit the Psalms for congregational song in order to concentrate on bringing out their devotional and meditative ~~power~~. It was recognized that the Psalms had been for centuries the basis of the liturgy and the principal resource for private devotion: in sum, "the chief form of Christian prayer."¹⁶ Anthony Gilby, for example, who published a translation of Theodore de Beze's prose Psalter in 1581, described them in his Dedicatory Epistle as "the zealous and fervent prayers, which both the whole Church generallie, and the saints of God particularlie have used from time to time [perpetually]." To explain the historical fact, Gilby expounds a theory of the unique rhetorical intent of the Book of Psalms: "For whereas al other scriptures do teach us what God saith unto us, these prayers of the saints do teach us, what we shal say unto God, and how we must prepare our selves to appeare before his majestie."¹⁷

This theory of the special devotional role of the Psalms had become almost a commonplace of Reformation thought, and was expressed by figures as different as Calvin, Matthew Parker, John Donne, and George Wither.¹⁸ It seems to have derived from

Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria in the fourth century. In his letter to Marullinus, "On the Interpretation of the Psalms," as translated here by Matthew Parker, Athanasius had fully expounded the concept, making the distinction between the Psalter and the rest of the Scriptures which echoes throughout Reformation commentary: "in other bookes . . . onely we heare the preceptes of the law . . . but in the bookes of the Psalmes . . . every one may see and perceive the motions and affections of his owne hart and soule, both to see whereto he is inclined, and where he is streined and pinched, so that he maye have a very good fourme of prayer therefore."¹⁹

Athanasius supported his observation with a description of all the situations in which the Psalms could teach man what to say to God. To give one: "As in example, we bee bidden to repente us, & to do penance, & told further we be, that truly to repent us, is to cease from sinning: but in this booke is there a forme set out unto us, how to do penaunce, and what is meete to be said presently and at hand in that case and state" (sig. Ci^r). Furthermore, he provided a table indicating the occasions for which each psalm was appropriate, a practice which, as mentioned above, was taken up by many Reformation translators.

The characteristic which Athanasius thought made the Psalms particularly suitable for devotional use was their ability to express emotion subjectively and dramatically. He likened them to "a bright glasse and plaine paterne" which "cōsteineth the motions, the mutations, the alterations of every mans hart and conscience described and lively painted to his owne sight" (sig. Biiii^v). This statement combines the allegorical reading of the Psalmist's experience as representative of every Christian's with an implicit recognition of the rhetorical efficacy of the speaking voice. The persona of the Psalms relates his experience rather than describing it, with a verisimilitude and urgency that encourage the reader to accept the words as his own:

For when in other bokes of Scripture beside, we reade
such thinges as the holy fathers either spake in worde
or did leave in writing ([sic] we so reade them as

though we feined but to recite and rehearse them onely, and they which doo heare us when wee reade such matters, straight may they conceive in their imagination that they be other mens wordes and dedes that they heare . . . But whosoever take this booke in his hande, he reputeth & thinketh all the wordes he readeth (except the wordes of prophecy) to be as his very owne wordes spoken in his owne person, yea and whosoever do but here them reade, he is so affected to them, as he were the very man that read them, or first spake them. (sig. C1^v)

The Psalter, moreover, is the work of inspiration, its words permeated and sanctioned by the Holy Spirit. Consequently, God is present as an active participant while David's voice, almost continually directed towards Him, questions, explains, and responds to the implications of His covenant with Israel. As Harold Fisch puts it in Jerusalem and Albion, "the Psalms are typically a song for two voices addressing one another in the intimate drama of the covenant-relation."²⁰

The result is a poetry of dialogue which brings the Christian soul into intimate contact with its creator as all the motives of the religious experience, supplication, repentance, praise, and thanksgiving, are convincingly and dramatically expressed. Here, then, was not only the embodiment of the kind of religious experience sought after by the men of the Reformation, but a model par excellence for the colloquy with God which, according to Louis L. Martz, was "the climax, the aim and end" of the meditative exercise. Consequently St. Francois de Sales and other meditative writers frequently cited the Psalms as example and precedent in their manuals for meditation. As Professor Martz concludes, "In the Psalms lay the prime models for the soul in meditation: here, above all places, lay a precedent for what I have called the poetry of meditation."²¹

Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey had approached the Psalms from the meditative and devotional point of view in the 1540's, although with characteristically Renaissance interests which distinguish their work from that of the Reformation translators under consideration here. Wyatt's translation of the Seven Penitential Psalms, published posthumously in 1549, is em-

bedded in a narrative framework that enabled him to present the seven psalms, widely separated in the original, as a single, complex meditative act. He owed the idea of using narrative links to the prose version of Aretino, and his debt extended to a similar development of ideas.²² Setting the whole in verse, he used terza rima for the psalms proper, with ottava rima links charting the progress of David's meditation from initial repentance for his adultery with Bathsheba to the culminating vision of Christ's redemption of mankind. The result is an imaginative recreation of a specific meditative act, presented as the historical occasion out of which the psalms arose.

Surrey's translation of four psalms, thought to have been executed during a short imprisonment,²³ represents another approach to the meditative aspect of the Psalms. It was to become a tradition to turn to psalm translation in times of personal hardship; our period includes a significant number that owe their genesis to imprisonment or illness.²⁴ These translators, who usually completed only a few miscellaneous psalms felt to be particularly appropriate to their predicament, tended to incorporate personal allusions into the text, so that their psalms take on the character of meditative acts of contemporary Englishmen.

Surrey began by placing his psalms in a narrative frame which establishes the immediate personal context. The first two are preceded by "Proems" in pentameter; that to Psalm 88, for example, leads into the text by lamenting,

When reckless youth in an unquiet breast,
Set on by wrath, revenge, and cruelty,
After long war patience had repress'd;
And justice, wrought by princely equity;
My Denny then mine error deep imprest
Began to work despair of liberty;
Had not David, the perfect warrior taught,
That of my fault thus pardon should be sought.²⁵

His Psalm 55 departs from the original to attack the "Friar! whose harm and tongue' presents the wicked sort," and then concludes, "Such patching care I loath,' as feeds the wealth with lies./ But in the tother Psalm' of David find I ease" (p. 84).

No other psalms follow in the manuscript, but these lines seem to indicate that Surrey intended to continue translating and that he was beginning to incorporate the personal element into the body of the psalm. Thus his translation, though only a cursory attempt, represents the innovative embodiment of the contemporary meditative role of the Psalms.

At the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, a number of translators stepped forward to try to develop the devotional power of the Psalms. Motivated by the religious revival brought about by the Reformation, these men, both Catholics and Protestants, translated the Seven Penitential Psalms and, in addition, wrote original devotional poems, publishing them together in books clearly designed as manuals for private devotion. In contrast to Wyatt and Surrey, they eschewed all individualizing or personalizing detail and sought instead to create an undifferentiated speaking voice which could become the medium of the reader's devotion. These are not the meditations of the historical David, nor of a specific contemporary Englishman, but of each and every Christian soul.

It is no coincidence that the Seven Penitential Psalms were singled out for translation by these writers of devotional poetry. As Philipp von Rohr-Sauer has observed, these psalms "had for centuries been used in the Christian Church as a unified devotional exercise suitable for special penitence. They were looked upon as the repentant lament of David for his adultery with Bathsheba, and because of their personal nature were prescribed for use on Ash Wednesday."²⁶ Furthermore, they are closest in spirit to Christian experience, since they shift the characteristic emphasis of the Psalms on external enemies to a recognition of the internal foe, the speaker's human desires and weaknesses. The English translators were to carry this shift in emphasis even further, evangelizing the seven psalms with the doctrines of original sin and vicarious atonement.

In the Preface to his Psalmes, George Wither complained of "such elegant-seeming Paraphrases, as are composed by those, who selecting easy and Passionate Psalmes, have trimmed them up with Rhetoricall Illustrations (sutable to their fancies, & the changeable garbe of Affected Language) . . . their Versions are fitted rather to be Read, then Sung."²⁷ If he is referring to these translators, he is wrong, at least technically: two provided tunes and a third indicated that his Psalms should be sung, although he was unable to provide the music. But they were primarily interested in developing the non-lyrical qualities of logical argumentation and dramatic speech and in clarifying and interpreting the thought of the Psalms. While they accommodated their translations to the Reformation ideal of singing the Psalms, therefore, the results, as Wither rightly judged, were better suited for reading than for singing.

William Hunnis, a Protestant who conspired against Queen Mary throughout her reign,²⁸ published his Seven Sobs of a Borrowful Soule for Sinne in 1583. He used plain style and CM exclusively, and provided new tunes for several psalms, specifying known Psalm tunes in the margin for the remainder. Hunnis' psalms are extremely long, however, some of them exceeding 100 stanzas, and they generally develop a particular thought or period in the space of four or five stanzas, rather than in the two stanzas to which the tune is fitted (DCM). In order to sing them, therefore, a selection of excerpts would have to be made, and care would have to be taken to find a concluding point that coincided with the cadence of the tune. Clearly, musical performance constituted an experience qualitatively different from a continuous meditative reading.

Hunnis achieves a compromise between the desire to translate the sacred text literally and the desire to explicate and enlarge upon its personal and devotional implications by embedding the literally translated original in an extensive body of verse amplification of his own composing. One form of amplification is the explication of the figurative language of the original, often in emblematic terms. In Psalm 102, for example, David complains that he has forgotten to eat his bread, and that he is like a pelican

in the wilderness (vss. 4, 6). The Geneva Bible glosses, "My sorrowes were so great, that I passed not for mine ordinarie fooode," and "Ever mourning, & solitarie, casting out fearful cries."²⁹ Hunnis, in contrast, reads this section allegorically and sets up emblems. The bread represents the Bible, and is contrasted with the fruit of forbidden knowledge:

I have forgot my bread to eate, (vs. 4)
that thou to me didst give,
 Which is thy holy sacred word
 by which my soule doth live.
 And I have eaten of the fruit
 of the forbidden tree,
 And tasted have of sinne and death,
 and brought thy wrath on me.
 (Ps. 102, pt. 1, sts. 25-26)³⁰

As for the pelican, the well-known emblem is first set forth, and then applied to both the speaker and to Christ (part 1, sts. 30-37).

In general, Hunnis elaborates upon the thought and places it in the context of the New Dispensation, while retaining the dialogue quality of his original. The speaker addresses God continually, stating reasons, results, and conditions; pleading, questioning, answering his own questions, and citing scriptural parallels. "I" and "Thou," "thee" and "me" are linked together throughout the text like a chain binding the two protagonists to one another, as in the following treatment of the opening of Psalm 32:

O God I know by grace through faith,
 the sinner is made just, . . .
 I therefore Lord my faults confesse,
 by helpe of heavenly grace,
 And utterly my sinnes forsake,
 and doe them all deface;
 Beseeching thee me to admit,
 with those that blessed be,
 And to forgive the trespasses,
 which I have done to thee.
For blessed is the man indeed, (vs. 1)
whose wickednesse and sin,
is cleane forgiven and covered,
as they had never bin.

I will not hid my sins from thee,
 nor seeke them to excuse;
 But with my heart will them confesse,
 and doe my selfe accuse. (Ps. 32, sts. 1, 3-6).

As claimed in the subtitle, the psalms are "framed into a form of familiar prayers" which invite the reader to enter into the dialogue, the speaker's words becoming his own and catching him up in the close relationship between God and man.

The next translation was Richard Rowland's Odes in imitation of the Seaven Penitential Psalmes (1601). Rowlands, a Catholic, took up residence in exile in Antwerp, adopted the name of a Dutch grandfather (Verstegan), and became active in sending Catholic literature into England.³¹ Despite his choice of the prestigious term "ode," and his claim appended to the title, "to so many severall tunes of Musick," he is able to provide neither the music nor well-articulated and varied stanzas. His forms are the traditional ones for the most part,³² executed awkwardly and with many unrhymed lines.

Verstegan does not amplify the imagery or thought as much as Hunnis does, as we shall see from his paraphrase of the passage with the pelican simile in Psalm 102, but he does place it in a Christian, and specifically Catholic, context, and even manages here to include an implicit lesson on the bad effects of neglecting devotional exercises.

My dayes and yeares alas with litle gaine
 Like unto smoke how are they past in vaine:
 My forces Lord how are they parch'd and dry,
 Devotions lack yeilda moisture no supply.

The blasted grasse my image now can shew,
 My withered hart confirmes that it is so:
 And I forgotten have unto my grief,
 To eat the bread of my soules best relief. . . .

In desert like as lives the Pelicane,
 Or as the crow that doth day light refraine
 Or chirping sparrow sitting all alone.
 I shrowd, I watche, retir'd, I make my none.

But while O Lord I do endure this lif
 Expecting peace by fleeing wordly [sic] strif

Old freindes I finde become new noisome foes
 O love me Lord, for losse of love of those.
 (Ps. 101 (102), sts. 3-4, 7-8)³³

Again, the quality of familiar dialogue has been achieved in a rhetorical context which invites the reader to join his voice with the speaker's.³⁴

The most literary of these attempts is John Davies of Hereford's The Dolefull Dove (1612). Davies made no mention of music, and his choice of pentameter quatrains and a rhetorical style reinforces the supposition that it was not intended for sung performance. The parenthetical asides which break up the following stanza and are characteristic of the style, for instance, would be extremely awkward to sing:

My friends (in shew, when thou didst favour me)
 like foes (in deed) now me (poor me) withstand:
 Nay, those, in bloud that were my nearest, be
 now furthest off; and lend nor heart nor hand.
 (Ps. 38, st. 7)³⁵

Davies' profession was teaching penmanship, and he had done a beautiful copy of the Sidneian Psalter.³⁶ His own paraphrase reveals considerable literary pretension, but it is essentially a popularization with just enough superficial play of rhetoric and wit to flatter the general audience for which it was intended.

Like the other devotional poets, Davies adds interpretative comment which is meant to guide the reader in the right paths. He does not develop the original metaphors, though sometimes he contributes a simple, familiar image. His paraphrase of Psalm 6.3-4 adds a flower simile, a pun, the idea of saving grace, and an explanation of the Psalmist's statement that God is not remembered in the grave:

O turne thy now averted Face, to mee.
 (to me that fades as flowres for want of Sunne)
 And let my Soule be safe, and sav'd by thee,
 through Grace, that hath to thee most glory wonne:

For Deaths fell torments are so violent,
 that they constraine the Sense to minde but them:

Who then in Hell, through hellish discontent,
 can once but minde thee, in such paines extreame?
 (Ps. 6, sts. 4-5)

Most importantly, Davies too concentrates upon the creation of a speaking voice; the result is a poetry of dialogue with considerable urgency, despite the rhetorical devices. A comparison with Wither's paraphrase of a similar passage, quoted above,³⁷ makes clear the difference in tone between this version prepared for private devotion and one intended for congregational song.

Sir William Leighton published his Teares or Lamentations of a sorrowfull Soule, which was probably written during imprisonment,³⁸ in 1613. He used LM stanzas almost exclusively, and pointed out that they could be sung to the common tunes until he was able to provide music. In the following year he republished the work, which included many original poems to be discussed below as well as the Seven Penitential Psalms, with the promised music, forty-five of the pieces by the foremost contemporary composers. Leighton himself was an amateur musician and composer, and contributed eight tunes to the collection.³⁹ As might be expected, his forms are technically best suited for singing of the translations under consideration.

Still, Leighton's psalm paraphrases do not have a song lyric quality; like the others, he was primarily interested in clearly presenting the thought in a convincingly dramatic speaking voice. He, too, systematically evangelizes the original with references to original sin, redemptive grace, and heaven and hell, although he allows himself less amplification than the others. The most noteworthy changes are made in the figurative language of the original, for which he substitutes more familiar metaphors, sometimes popular emblems. Thus in Psalm 6 he inserts between verses 1 and 2

For Lord to thee still turnes my hope, . . .
 Even as the lowly helectrope,
 unto the lofty sun doth bend (ll. 5, 7-8)

and in Psalm 38 he elaborates upon the flood image and adds another emblem:

My dismall deeds doe plunge me soare,
 like raging billowes of the maine:
 O waite me to thy blissefull shoare,
 and be mine Anchor-hould againe. (ll. 13-16)⁴⁰

Leighton is usually successful, as in the following plea for grace from Psalm 51, in achieving a certain verisimilitude, a convincing sense of an individual speaker addressing God with whom the reader may identify his own voice.

From mine offences turne thy face,
 and Purge me from mine evill deeds:
 Increase in me thy spirit of grace,
 from whence new birth of heart proceeds,
 Let me not from thy presens part,
 take not thy holy spirit from me:
 But be a comfort to my heart,
 still with me, let thy spirit be. (Ps. 51, st. 5)

None of these translators was interested in creating choric or liturgical effects which could express the representative aspect of the persona of the Psalms, his ability to assume the voice of Israel or the Church Universal. Instead, they depended upon the interpretative tradition to carry this side of the persona's range, leaving it unembodied in tone and rhetoric. Thus John Davies of Hereford sets forth the allegorical reading of Psalm 130 as the voice of the church in the argument preceding the text, but creates in his paraphrase the voice of a single Christian:

The people of God, from their bottomlesse misery,
 doe cry unto God, and are heard. They confesse their
 sins, and flye unto Gods mercy.

From depth of Griefe (wherein my Soule doth lie)
 I doe and will (deare Lord) still call on thee:
 Then, let thine eares attend mine inward Cry,
 and, listen to my Prayers, and to me. . . .

My Soule upon the Faith, which thou hast plight,
 hath ever staid; and still doth hope in thee;
 Then from the Morning-watch, till that of Night,
 let Israel still relie on Thee with me.
 (Ps. 130, sts. 1, 3)

Just as they eliminated the individualizing details of the historical David, they also eliminated the universal and choric

aspects of the Psalmist's persona, reducing it to an undifferentiated speaking voice which could be the medium of the reader's approach to God in private devotion.

All of these translators of the Seven Penitential Psalms published them in conjunction with original poems of a devotional nature; the resultant books have the character of manuals for private devotion. Verstegan's original poems, however, belong exclusively to the older tradition of didactic devotional verse; they include pieces on the mysteries of the Rosary, the epithets for Mary, and doctrinal exhortations such as "A Reprehension of the Reprehending of our ladies praise," and "How God in all ages hath bin served with Sacrifice." Another of his poems, "St Peters Comfort," seems to have been intended as a sequel to Southwell's St Peters Complaint. In the space of eighteen sixains, which are primarily narrative and address God only once, Verstegan achieves St. Peter's return to grace and establishment as the rock upon which Christ's church rests.

The poems appended to the Psalters in the Sternhold and Hopkins tradition, though equally didactic, represented, for the most part, unwieldy versifications of Prayer Book materials, such as the Ten Commandments or the Creed, in hymnic style. The remainder are translations of Latin, German, and Scriptural hymns. These translators, like Verstegan, seem to have learned nothing from the Psalms, and rarely create a sense of dialogue and personal urgency.

The manuals of Leighton, Davies, and Hunnis also include some didactic poems, but the largest part of their work shows them turning to the Psalms for a model and re-creating its devotional quality in original verse. As we have seen, they had already taken considerable liberty with the text of the Seven Penitential Psalms in an attempt to bring it closer to Christian

experience. Yet much, even in these Psalms, remained foreign. The logical next step, therefore, was from paraphrase to original poetry imitating the Psalms in tone and conception, but placed wholly in a Christian context.

The English hymn evolved from the Psalms in just this manner approximately a century later, with Isaac Watts as the central figure.⁴¹ But the present poets were prevented from writing congregational hymns, even if they had wanted to, by the hegemony of the Whole Psalter. Even George Wither finally gave up and published a devotional collection called Haleluiah or, Britains Second Remembrancer (1641). Strangely enough, he made the claim, "I confesse I am (for ought I know, or have yet heard) the first that did compose Personall-Hymns in this kind,"⁴² yet his verse does not have the individual immediacy of the earlier devotional poets we are discussing. It is obvious that he learned nothing from the Psalms, his concept of personal verse being that which is appropriate to types and conditions of mankind, as his titles show: "For a Sovereign Prince," "For a Subject," "For Parents hopefull of children." The first few lines of "For a Prisoner" should be enough to demonstrate their lifelessness.

I, whom of late
 No thraldome did molest;
 Of that estate,
 am, wholly, dispossess.
 My feet, once free,
 Are, strictly now confin'd;
 Which, breeds in me,
 A discontented mind. (p. 471)

In contrast, Hunnis, Davies, and Leighton learned from the Psalms how to create a lyric 'I' which speaks for every Christian with the intimacy of his own voice. Particularisation, whether of time and place, or of other identifying and hence limiting factors such as those used by Wither, was strictly avoided. The didacticism which was characteristic of most earlier devotional verse was equally eschewed. Instead of prescribing modes of behavior and points of doctrine, they created a dramatic situation in which the speaking voice, addressing the Creator and relating its spir-

itual experience, catches up the reader in the dialogue between God and man.

In 1587, William Hunnis published a number of short prayers, dialogues, and thanksgivings with the second printing of his Seven Sobs. The resultant devotional manual had considerable popularity, reaching its tenth edition by 1629.⁴³ The most interesting of the original poems is a series of short meditations called The Poore Widowes Mite. It consists, significantly, of seven meditations (in CM), tied together by a refrain (which may have been suggested by the tradition of placing the doxology after each psalm).

The primary theme is lack of merit and justification by faith, that is, those doctrines which could only be read into the Psalms. The title, probably one of the earliest emblematic titles in English literature, represents the speaker's faith as the only thing, poor as it is, which renders him acceptable to God. Neither the Biblical story (Luke 21.1-4) nor the mite itself is ever mentioned in the meditation proper.⁴⁴

There are some obvious echoes of the Psalms in these meditations, especially of the Hebrew imagery.

Most gracious God, do not behold,	
the number of my sinne;	
Ne yet consider with thy selfe,	
how wicked I have bin;	
But rather thinke I am but dust.	(Ps. 90.5-6)
or as the withered hay,	
Which flourisheth to day in field,	
to morrow shorne away.	
My flesh rebels against the spirit,	
my spirit too weake is found,	
By sin conceiv'd in mothers wombe,	(Ps. 51.5)
my soule first cought her wound. ⁴⁵	

More important, Hunnis has sought to capture the Psalmist's speaking voice in dialogue with God. Despite his awkward versification, there is a sustained sense of dialogue, which even achieves dramatic urgency at times. In the last meditation, for example, he sets himself in imagination before the judgement seat:

Like as the guilty prisoner stands,
before the judge so tride,

With quaking breath, & shivering lims,
 his judgement to abide:
 Even so, O God, before thy face
 in fearfull state I stand,
 And guilty crie to thee my Judge,
 and now hold up my hand.
 Nothing have I to pleade for life,
 no goodnes is in me:
 Of sinne, deceit and wickednesse
 guilty, good Lord, guilty. (p. 39)

The final note is never despairing, we should add, despite the emphasis upon man's sinfulness and lack of merit. Each meditation ends with the refrain

So shall my soule rejoyce, rejoyce,
 and still for mercie crie,
Peccavi, Peccavi,
Miserere mei.

As in the Psalms, the speaker moves from despair to renewed hope and trust through dialogue with God.

The poems in John Davies of Hereford's The Muses Sacrifice, Or Divine Meditations (1612) are long and loosely conceived, all manner of material being included under such titles as "A Confession of Sinnes, with petition for grace," and "An acknowledgement of Gods gifts, with desire of union with the giver." Most are in pentameter quatrains or sixains, but rhetorical figures, rather than the stanza, provide any structure the poems possess.

The Muses Sacrifice is partially a revival of the courtly ornate style which had reached its fullest expression several generations earlier in Southwell's St Peters Complaint and Sidney's Arcadia lyrics. The latter were characterized by the accumulation of phrases in apposition and personification. They created a static situation in which the speaker's emotional state is described with formal and obtrusive rhetoric. While Davies shares many of these characteristics, he has definitely learned from the Psalms. He constantly focuses upon the relationship between the speaker and God, and sometimes, at least, manages to achieve the effect of a dramatic dialogue, which defines the speaker's emotional state through interaction rather than through static description.

Yet as mine owne I have (what have I not
 with it, that is not absolutely good?)
 My Christ; but, ah, alas I have forgot
 Thou gav'st him first, & bought'st me with his blood.
 ("The Complaint of a Sinner")⁴⁶

The Psalms were also an important source of imagery and thought, as demonstrated by the first two stanzas of "The Sinner in great sorrow for Sinne, relyeth on God for grace and comfort" (one of the few examples of heterometric stanza form in the collection):

On thy help (Lord) I relye,
 then, poore I
 Perish must, if thou restraine it:
 O then stretch thy helping-hand,
 or command
 That I may with speede obtaine it;

For, as one forgotten quite (Ps. 31.12)

 out of sight,
 I (forlorne) in sorrow languish.
 Help, o help me then with speede:
 for, I feed

(Ps. 102.9)

(As on Bread) on nought but Anguish!
 (pp. 45-46)

Sir William Leighton also used the imagery of the Psalms frequently in the original poetry published in Teares or Lamentations (1613). As with Davies and Hunnis, the image has simply been translated and transferred to the new verse context without much development or alteration. Leighton appropriated David's description of his afflictions in Psalm 38.2-3, for example, for "A prayer in extreme sicknes:"

Thy Arrows sticke most fast in me:
 My heart doth pant, my joints opprest,
 my flesh me paineth wofully. (p. 22)

Leighton's long prayer-like "Lamentations in distresse" in DLM are mosaics of verses from the Psalms, Job, and the New Testament. The Psalms, besides representing the source for the greatest number of passages, provide the model for form, context, and tone. The New Testament, on the other hand, is primarily a source of doctrine, the verses being recast into the impassioned dialogue of the Psalms. The following section from the fourth part of the

fourth Lamentation is based upon Hebrews 12.3 and James 1.5 (which are cited in the margin), but the didactic statement of, for example, the latter--"If any of you lacke wisdom, let him aske of God, which giveth to all liberally, and reproacheth no man, and it shalbe given him"--has been completely absorbed into the dramatic dialogue:

Thou threatnest sorrowes to increase (Heb. 12.3)
 to such as seeke to other Gods:
 Why should not then my torments cease
 that child-like feare, thy awfull rods.
 Sith I in thee my faith reponē, (James 1.5)
 why should I then true wisdom want
 It being sought from thee alone,
 why doest thou then refuse to grant. (p. 67)

Each Lamentation is preceded by an argument, as were the Psalms, and continually addresses God with pleas, ardent reasoning, sorrowful repentances, and admissions of sin. This original poetry of dialogue, moreover, like the Psalms, frequently creates a dramatic movement which leads toward resolution, as can be seen in the argument to the second part of the first Lamentation: "The distressed prayeth to be sanctified, and to enjoy the renewed graces of regenerations: and though his infirmitie causeth him to thinke that the Lord doth not heare his prayers, but deferreth him too long, yet he concludeth that Gods faithfull promises still nourish and feed him with never dying hope of comfortable issue" (p. 52).

As was the case with their translations of the Seven Penitential Psalms, these writers failed to re-create the tonal and rhetorical complexity to be found in the voice of the Psalmist. They accorded the Psalms a homogeneous treatment which brought out the aspect that answered to their interest, the engagement of the divine interlocutor, without intermediaries, in a sustained and intimate dialogue. Their original poetry modelled upon the Psalms exhibits the same preoccupation: again, the particularities of an historical personality and the choric or liturgical voice of nation and church are eliminated for the sake of creating a single, but undifferentiated, speaking voice. The resultant devotional poetry

is frequently awkward and naive, and represents an over-simplified response to the Psalms, but it constitutes an advance over the traditional didactic lyric in its ability to serve as the medium of the reader's approach to a personal God.

Toward the end of the period under consideration, that is, in roughly the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, more translations not completely dominated by the Reformers' desire to simplify and popularize the Psalms began to appear. There had been a few throughout the period: Wyatt and Surrey's early literary translations, the Sidneian Psalter, Abraham Fraunce's hexameter psalms dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke, plus a miscellaneous range of individual psalms.⁴⁷ A growing sense of freedom on the part of translators still primarily motivated by Reformation concerns, moreover, was demonstrated in the practice of paraphrasing and evangelizing the Psalms that superseded literal translation. Now, after the first decade of the seventeenth century, there was an increasing number of translators who were not longer committed to the goal of providing metrical versions suited for the use of the entire Christian laity. Aesthetic considerations, which limited the audience for their work, played a much more important role in their approach to translation.

Two tendencies may perhaps be distinguished. On the one hand, there was the resurgence of attempts, unhindered by a consideration of 'the capacity of the vulgar,' to fit the Psalms with graceful and varied song lyric forms; Campion's air versions (1613) and those of the Davison collection (1620), discussed in the preceding chapter, were the most successful. On the other hand, there was the reappearance, rarely seen since the work of Wyatt and Surrey at the very beginning of the period, of translations unencumbered by the assumption that metrical psalms should be accommodated to sung performance. Some of these experimented

with heroic couplets; they also made use of varied stanza forms, but the latter were related to the developing art lyric which was intended to be read. These translators, in other words, were consciously working in a strictly literary tradition. They were interested in the meditative potential of the Psalms, but with an emphasis different from that of the preceding devotional translators, giving their attention to the philosophical or intellectual content of the Psalms rather than exclusively to the subjective expression of basic religious emotions. Their psalms were meant to be read and meditated upon in the private study, not memorized and sung in the public ways.

George Chapman's Petrarch's Seven Penitentiall Psalms, Paraphrastically Translated (1612) may be mentioned first, although it is not technically a psalm translation. Petrarch's work represented a series of meditations in imitation of the Penitential Psalms, placed in a wholly Christian context.⁴⁸ In his free paraphrase of Petrarch, Chapman, as his editor, Phyllis B. Bartlett, observes, effects "a consolidation between the stoicism of Epictetus and the pure Christianity of Petrarch's Psalms."⁴⁹ The result is a series of rather peculiar and frequently obscure ruminations which, though set in varied stanza forms, are clearly intended to be read.

I look't by, and went secure
In pathes slipperie, and impure;
In my selfe, my sinne still flattering.
I thought youthe flowre still would thrive,
Follow'd as his storme did drive,
With it, all his nemlockes watering;

Said; what thinke I of th'extremes
Ere the Meane hath spent his beames?
Each Age hath his proper object.
God sees this, and laughs to see.
Pardon soone is got; My knee
When I will repent, is subject.

Custome then his slave doth claime,
Layes on hands that touch and maine;
Never cour'd repented never:
Flight is then, as vaine, as late;
Faith too weake to cast out Fate,
Refuge past my reach is ever.

I shall perish then in sinne,
 If thy aide Lord, makes not in,
 Mending what doth thus deprave me;
 Minde thy word then, Lord, and lend
 Thy worke thy hand, crowne my end.
 From the jawes of Sathan save me.
 (Ps. 1, sts. 10-13)⁵⁰

This first 'psalm' should conceivably correspond to Psalm 6, the first of the Penitential Psalms, but the only remaining resemblance is in the quality of familiar dialogue, which Chapman maintains throughout the work.

A manuscript version of Psalms 1 through 50, which is dated 1624 and has been attributed to Sir John Davies, is a true paraphrase of the Psalms. Though never published during the seventeenth century, it was mentioned by Anthony à Wood, and probably had some circulation.⁵¹ All fifty psalms are in heroic couplets, and represent an early attempt at concision in this form.

When Thou art with mee, what should mee dismay?
 Thy crooke, my comfort is; Thy staffe, my stay;
 My table Thou hast spread and furnisht soe,
 As glads my heart, and greives my envious foe.
 (Ps. 23, ll. 9-12)⁵²

This is the work of an epigrammatist, and shows a preoccupation with developing the thought of the Psalms. Davies generally stays close to the text, and where he makes changes, he does so for purposes of clarification, condensing and making explicit the logical connections in the original, as in this passage from Psalm 32:

Happie indeed and truly blest is hee
 Whose sinnes remitted and faults coveredd bee;
 To whom the Lord doth not impute his sinne,
 Whose single heart hath not deceit therein. . . .

I said, I will my sinnes to God confesse,
 And God forthwith forgave my wickednesse.
 If good men seeke Him when Hee may be found
 The world's high waves shall never them surround.
 (Ps. 32, ll. 1-4, 11-14)

The solid achievement of Davies' thoughtful, meditative approach to the Psalms may be judged by comparing a contemporary ornate style translation of fifty psalms called Sacred Hymns (1615) by Sir Edwin Sandys. Its twelve tunes, contributed by Robert Tailour, were arranged in five parts with score for lute

or viol, suggesting that the collection was intended for use in small devotional or musical gatherings. Sandys' translation, however, exhibits none of the skill in stanza construction which had been developed in the Sidneian Psalter or in the lutenist air. He employs easily separable forms, usually with couplet rhyme or a quatrain-couplet pattern, and then makes each individual stanza the length that is most convenient for fitting the matter in, indicating that the performers should repeat the last strains of music, or when the stanza is shortened, break off and return to the beginning.

The distinctive characteristic of Sandys' version is its ornate diction. He affects elaborate rephrasings of the thought, which result in inflation and obscurity. His paraphrase of the opening of Psalm 32, for example, is wholly lacking in the lucid simplicity of Davies' version cited above:

The blessed man; whom spring of boundles grace
With mercies ey a Father-judge dooth vieu;
Whose crimes and guilt with pardon free efface;
Foul stains orehele; so pristin shape renue.
Yea thrice he blest; whom, who Creatour kind
All perfect framed, declind dooth not forsake:
Dooth not his sins impute; and darkned mind,⁵³
Discharged of guile, to justice dooth awake.

Davies' poetic temperament and style are best suited, however, to the Psalms' reflective and meditative aspect; he is less effective in passages which require emotional and imaginative intensity. In the King James Version, for example, the Psalmist uses the following similes to describe the affliction his enemies occasion him: "I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joint: my heart is like wax; it is melted in the midst of my bowels. My strength is dried up like a potsherd; and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws; and thou hast brought me into the dust of death" (Ps. 22.14-15). Davies accords the passage a cursory four lines:

My soule, like water on the earth is spilt,
My joints are loosed, my heart like wax doth melt,
My sinewes shrunk are, like a potsherd drie,
My tongue cleaves to my jawes, dead dust am I.

Ps. 22, ll. 27-30)

The Psalmist's expression of the soul's spiritual agues and ecstasies, and the figurative language in which it was usually conveyed, clearly did not engage Davies' attention, which was focused instead upon general questions of religion and ethics.

The same preoccupation characterized the last of the literary meditative versions of the period, the seven psalms published by Sir Francis Bacon in 1625. Bacon executed his paraphrase during a period of illness, but he did not attempt to incorporate personal allusions into the text, nor did he emphasize the Psalms' quality of familiar dialogue with God. For the most part, in fact, as Phillipp von Rohr-Sauer has observed, he avoided the first person singular of the original, and confined himself to psalms which dealt with universal types and the general condition of mankind.⁵⁴

The investigation and clarification of the significance of the text was Bacon's primary intent, for which he allowed himself considerable freedom in rephrasing and reordering the development of the thought. He tried one psalm each in CM and DLM, but seems to have found pentameter best suited to his purpose, rendering three of the remaining five psalms in sixains, another in an eight-line pentameter stanza, and the fifth in heroic couplets. In the slow and balanced movement of the latter, used to set Psalm 104, he could add a pithy summarization of the original's specific and concrete description of the creatures' dependence upon God: "All life, and Spirit, from thy Breath proceed,/ Thy word doth all things generate and feed."⁵⁵

The desire to elucidate the text led to the practice of developing meanings which are only implied or suggested by the original. Bacon goes so far sometimes that his work no longer represents a simple paraphrase, but rather original poetry which meditates and comments upon the text, holding up a light to read it by, as one of his editors has suggested.⁵⁶ He transforms the King James Version's brief statement of mortality in psalm 90.5--"Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they are

as a sleep: in the morning they are like grass which groweth up--into a plaintive meditation which investigates the implications of the Psalmist's similes:

Thou carriest Man away as with a Tide;
Then downe swim all his Thoughts, that mounted high;
Much like a mocking Dreame, that will not bide,
But flies before the sight of waking eye;
Or as the Grasse, that cannot terme obtaine,
To see the Summer come about aga ne [sic].
(pp. 36-37)

George Wither translated this same passage with his facile congregational tone, which seems to skim over the sense rather than questioning and responding to it as Bacon does:

Thou, like a Floud (as in a dream)
Shalt sweep them suddenly away;
For, like the flowering grasse they seem,
That springs, & fadeth, in a day.
(Ps. 90, st. 2)

Similarly, Bacon's treatment of the opening description of the captive Jews in Psalm 137, accorded one six-line tetrameter stanza by Wither, expands into an imaginative recreation of the scene and of the emotions and motives of the speakers and their tormentors.

When as we sate all sad and desolate,
By Babylon, upon the Rivers side,
Eas'd from the Taskes, which in our captive state,
We were enforc'd daily to abide:
Our harps we had brought with us to the field,
Some solace to our heavy Soules to yeeld.

But soone we found, we fail'd of our account,
For when our Mindes some freedome did obtaine,
Straight-wayes the memory of Sion Mount,
Did cause afresh our wounds to bleed againe;
So that with present griefs, and future feares,
Our Eyes burst forth into a streame of Teares.

As for our Harps, since Sorrow strooke them dumbe,
We hang'd them on the Willow Trees were neare;
Yet did our cruell Masters to us come,
Asking of us some Hebrew Songs to neare;
Taunting us rather in our Misery,
Then much delighting in our Melody. (p. 45)

Bacon dedicated his psalms to George Herbert with the explanation, "it being my manner for Dedications, to choose those that I hold most fit for the Argument, I thought that in respect of Divinitie, and Poesie met (whereof the one is the Matter, the other the Style of this little Writing) I could not make better choice" ("To His Very Good Friend, Mr. George Herbert," p. 32). His work may have been of interest to the younger man, particularly the way in which meditative paraphrase almost achieves the status of original poetry. But Herbert, the more accomplished poet of the two, was already writing original devotional lyrics that responded more fully and complexly to the Psalms than had any Psalm translation since the Sidneian Psalter.

The period of extensive psalm translating activity we have been discussing, extending roughly from the mid-sixteenth century through the first third of the seventeenth century, coincided with the period during which radical changes took place in English lyric practice. There was a general abandonment of the rhetorical ornate style for the plain and middle styles, and a concurrent introduction of a wider range of imagery, in place of rhetorical devices of sound and repetition, as a primary means of defining thought and establishing tone. The development of clearly defined and graceful song lyric forms was achieved, particularly in the song books. At the same time, more complex and irregular rhythmic forms came into use, in literary lyrics which did not require the addition of music and gradually dropped even the pretense of being song.

The desire to enhance the lyric's ability to express subjective emotion and the particularities of individual experience was an important motivating impulse behind the efforts of both of these gradually separating branches of lyric. But it found its predestined medium in the literary lyric, which possessed the metrical and rhythmic flexibility necessary to respond to subtle variations in thought and feeling and could create the illusion

of a dramatic speaking voice. Once the conception of lyric as the poetic expression of subjective emotion began to challenge the formerly exclusive conception of lyric as the sung expression of isolated moments of representative emotion, finally, the possibility of relating lyrics in a collection which represented the larger significance derived from their interrelationship arose, a possibility which English poets had already begun to explore in the sonnet sequence.

In attempting to recast the Psalms into contemporary English lyric forms, the psalm translators were motivated by some of the same attitudes and interests and were naturally influenced by the developments summarized above. There were many more aesthetic failures than successes; hence, their work cannot be said to have played a decisive role in the development of the English lyric. But even by its failures, it raised questions about how the new lyric conventions and techniques could best be employed in the service of the sacred muse.

In questions of style, form, and metrics, the psalm translators received little guidance from their original. They did not understand the principles of Hebrew poetry, and most of them, having no great proficiency in the Hebrew language, had to depend heavily upon the Latin prose version. Consequently, their decisions on these questions were primarily based upon English poetic theory and practice. Almost to a man, particularly in the early years, they chose the native plain style, which was associated with serious ethical and philosophical subjects in the English lyric, for their metrical versions. Their choice, as Hallett Smith has suggested, may have added its weight to the growing preference for plain style,⁵⁷ but their practice was hardly exemplary.

The same is true of their choice of metrical forms. They were among the first to adopt the short, clearly defined and metrically identical stanzas related to the popular song tradition, but they restricted themselves to a small number of simple forms that produced obtrusive rhythms. While they achieved their aim of presenting the Psalms in a form that could be sung, therefore, they

made no significant contribution to the development of English lyric forms. The exception, of course, is the Sidneian Psalter, where the process of refining lyric form took the lead, for a short time, in psalm translation rather than in the secular lyric. But this School of English versification had few disciples, and the writers of the song books reaccomplished the advancement in their own way at the turn of the century, while most of the psalm translators continued to be hindered by inadequate song lyric forms.

The psalm translators also shared the general interest of contemporary lyric poets in the expression of subjective emotion. As we have seen, the Psalmist frequently engages his creator in an intimate dialogue, establishing the personal, unmediated relationship which the Reformers considered the essential basis of Christianity. This potential ability to become the vehicle of the kind of religious experience sought after by the men of the Reformation was primarily responsible for the tremendous psalm translating activity of the period. Almost all of these translations, from Miles Coverdale's early version modelled upon the German hymn, through Sternhold and Hopkins and the Anglican alternatives produced by Parker, Hall, and Wither, to the late, sophisticated song lyric treatment of Francis Davison, emphasize the expression of subjective emotion and the quality of familiar dialogue.

It was particularly at the turn of the century, however, when the majority of translators relinquished the desire to produce a version for the congregational hymns of the church, that complete freedom to work with this aspect of the Psalms was gained. Selecting the most intimate and passionate lyrics of the Psalter, the Seven Penitential Psalms, a number of translators attempted to reproduce the emphatic speaking voice of the Psalmist in English lyric verse which could serve as a medium for the reader's approach to God in his private devotions. The Psalms' quality of familiar dialogue was of paramount interest to these translators; when they took the final step of leaving the canonical Psalms and giving voice to 'original' thoughts and emotions, they often did

so in a form and rhetorical context closely modelled upon the Psalms.

The response of the English translators to two formal aspects of the Psalter which were accessible to imitation may be noted here as revelatory of Reformation prepossessions. The first is parallelism, the characteristic rhetorical technique of the Psalms. The combination of formality and simplicity found in parallelism contributes a tone appropriate to the utterance of universal truths by a group, such as the Chosen People or Church of Christ. Most of the Reformation translators exhibited slight interest in this aspect of the Psalms. Even when a rhetorically ornate style was used, as in the case of Abraham Fraunce or John Davies of Hereford, the popular rhetorical figures of the day, usually those with a less choric or liturgical effect, were substituted for the original's parallelism.

The second formal aspect of the Psalms which could be imitated was the movement toward a resolution at the close; in a typical pattern, the speaker voices his distress and pleads to God for assistance; then, remembering God's former acts, he responds with renewed trust and offers up praise.⁵⁸ This dramatic movement from one position to another was more congenial to Reformation translators, since it facilitated the creation both of a sense of dialogue and of a movement toward a spiritual state of resolution or reconciliation which was the primary goal of devotion. It corresponded, furthermore, with the general tendency in lyric practice toward a dramatic portrayal of the mind in motion. The original devotional poetry modelled upon the Psalms shows evidence of attempts to create the same dramatic movement through dialogue to reconciliation.⁵⁹

The Psalter's wide range of metaphorical language was another accessible feature which coincided with the predilections of contemporary lyric poets, although the translators' response in this case must be judged wholly inadequate. Those, such as the Sidneys, Francis Davison, or Sir Francis Bacon, who reinvested the images of the original with visual concreteness and investigated their significance and emotional implications, represent exceptions to

the rule. The poets in the Sternhold and Hopkins tradition simply translated the imagery word-for-word with little concern for the obscurities which the direct transfer from one language to another occasioned, a practice that was generally shared by the Anglican translators. The effect was sometimes bizarre and startling; more often, simply dull and incoherent. Although the devotional poets moved away from literalism, finally, they subordinated the images to their didactic devotional aims, flattening them out into poetic diction, explicating them with traditional allegorical readings, or substituting more familiar imagery. Nevertheless, the metaphorical language of the Psalms seems to have retained a hold upon their imaginations; when they began to write original verse, they made considerable use of imagery, frequently borrowed directly from the Psalms, to define the thought and emotion of the speaker.

The images of the Psalms must have made an impression on other Elizabethan poets too, even in the awkward or abridged form in which they were usually presented. It may have been a factor, therefore, as J. C. A. Rathmell has suggested, in the Elizabethan and Jacobean increase in the range of imagery and tendency to use more startling and unusual images.⁶⁰ Clearly the metaphorical possibilities it exhibited, far surpassing in range and flexibility the conventional religious imagery reclaimed from the love lyric, could contribute to the increased tonal subtlety necessary for the creation of individuated speaking voices.

It must be noted, finally, that none of the psalm translations, not even those of the Seven Penitential Psalms, produced the sense of intimately personal experience or of a speaking voice with the intensity and dramatic immediacy that characterized the original religious lyrics of their contemporaries, Alabaster and Donne. The reason for this difference cannot simply be attributed to the translators' lesser poetic talent; there was also a significant difference in rhetorical intent. Although the psalm translators wished to express emotion subjectively, they were not primarily concerned with expressing personal or individual emotion. The words

of the Psalmist, as we have seen, were interpreted on the allegorical level as those of each individual Christian soul. In attempting to recapture the devotional power of the Psalms, the translators sought to cast the expression of these universal thoughts and feelings into a subjective speaking voice which each reader could adopt as his own. To their mind, this required a non-individuated, rather than an individuated, speaking voice. Within the context of the contemporary tendency of lyric expression toward individual thought and emotion, therefore, the psalm translations, despite their poetic insufficiencies, raised the question of the place of individual experience in devotional and religious lyrics.

But the question, in the final analysis, was much more complicated than that. The Psalter, as was universally recognized, comprehended the widest possible rhetorical and tonal range, from the subjective expression of individual thought and emotion to the choric and liturgical expression of corporate and universal truth. The interpretative tradition, to be discussed in the following chapter, united all of these diverse voices in the person of the Psalmist, seeing the collection as a complex whole. David spoke literally of himself as an historical individual, but also, through inspiration, prophetically as Christ, as each individual Christian soul, and as the Chosen People or Universal Church of Christ. Taking up now one, now another of his voices, he gave expression, in a collection of lyrics, to the whole history of the triumph of Christianity.

Almost without exception, the psalm translators accorded the Psalms a homogeneous treatment, reducing its rhetorical and tonal diversity to a single, undifferentiated voice. Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke were the only translators who recognized the unsuitability of the song lyric mode, or of any mode, used exclusively, for recapturing the whole range of the Psalmist's voice. They were innovative, not only in approximating in English verse the graceful song lyric forms of the French Psalms for the representative, choric voice of the Psalmist, but

in going beyond song lyric to develop lyric forms and techniques which could encompass the individual speaking voice and the corporate voice of the Church Universal. Although there was a gradual movement away from song lyric in the following decades, in the essentially non-musical treatment of Hunnis and John Davies of Hereford, for example, or in the exclusively literary versions of Sir John Davies and Sir Francis Bacon, this movement constituted no more than the substitution of alternative homogeneous modes which emphasized the aspect of the Psalms that dominated the translator's interest. By their failure to re-create the wide rhetorical and tonal range upon which the contemporary interpretation of the Psalms depended, all of the psalm translations pointed to the need for greater flexibility and variety of lyric conventions and techniques as the medium for the Psalter, or for any collection of religious lyrics which would seek, like the Psalter, to unite all levels of Christian experience within the timeless reality of the Church of Christ.

Finally and inevitably, the work of the English psalm translators also raised the question of the suitability of metrical psalm translations as contemporary devotional lyrics. Their application to Christian experience depended upon the allegorical and typological interpretative tradition, whereas their literal level expressed a form of spirituality and a culture completely foreign to those of seventeenth-century England. The devotional psalm translators, as we have seen, sacrificed the early Reformers' ideal of literal translation for paraphrase in order to incorporate the Christian interpretation into the text. The basic texture of their psalm paraphrases, however, remained foreign. Consequently, a number of men turned to writing original lyrics, modelled upon the Psalms but placed wholly in the contemporary Christian context which could relate immediately and directly to the experience of their contemporaries.

As the following chapters will attempt to show, George Herbert found solutions to the problems which most of the psalm translators dealt with only inadequately. Electing to write

original devotional lyrics, he made use of the whole range of available lyric conventions and techniques, as well as developing new techniques and employing innovative combinations of conflicting techniques, in order to fashion a lyric medium which could encompass the subjective expression of individual experience and the corporate expression of universal truth. He recognised, moreover, that the Psalter's universal applicability was not merely a matter of style and technique, but of the persona, the presiding presence of the Psalmist, David, as it was understood by contemporary exegesis. Creating a persona for The Temple which approximated in complexity and range that of the David of the Psalms, he fused the separate lyrics of his collection into a whole which unites the seventeenth-century Englishman and the contemporary English Church with the Universal Church of Christ. In so doing, he was able to give definitive expression to the spirituality of the Anglican Church he loved and served, but with a tolerance and undogmatic simplicity which was never partisan or exclusive. As a result, The Temple could be read and admired by Catholics and Puritans, as well as by Anglicans, as one of the finest collections of devotional lyrics in English, a reputation it held throughout the seventeenth century.

- ¹ Preface, The Book of Psalms (Amsterdam, 1612), sig.
 **2r. All further citations will be taken from this edition.
- ² "To the Christian Reader," All the Psalmes of David (n. p., 1620), sigs. *4v-*5r. All further citations will be taken from this edition.
- ³ The Schollers Purgatory (1625), Miscellaneous Works of George Wither, Vol. I, Spenser Society Reprints, No. 12 (n. p., 1872), 33.
- ⁴ "Some fewe of Davids Psalmes Metaphrased, for a taste of the rest," Collected Poems of Joseph Hall, ed. A[rnold] Davenport (Liverpool, 1949), p. 128. All subsequent references will be to this edition.
- ⁵ Canon Perry, DNB.
- ⁶ Holy Observations, No. 22, in Works, ed. P. Wynter (Oxford, 1863), VII, 528. Cited by Harold Fisch, Jerusalem and Albion (London, 1964), p. 56.
- ⁷ Helen C. White, English Devotional Literature, 1600-1640, Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 29 (Madison, 1931), p. 160.
- ⁸ Reprinted in Collected Poems, p. 271.
- ⁹ Wither was eventually to become a Puritan, but as late as 1634, according to Edward Farr, he was still a "warm supporter of Monarchy and Church" (Intro. to Hymns and Songs of the Church by George Wither (London, 1895), p. xxxiii).
- ¹⁰ The Schollers Purgatory, p. 37.
- ¹¹ He ingenuously claimed that the Hymns and Songs were "So named, not for that I would have them accounted part of our Liturgie . . . but because they do for the most part, treat of such particulars, as concerne ye whole Church of God" (The Schollers Purgatory, pp. 23-24). Yet he had specified for each hymn an appropriate use in the church service.
- ¹² See Edward Farr, Intro. to Hymns and Songs (London,

1895), pp. xii-xiii; and John Julian and William T. Brooke, "Psalters, English," in A Dictionary of Hymnology, ed. John Julian, 2nd ed. (London, 1907), p. 918.

¹³ "Preface to the Reader," The Psalmes of David Translated into Lyrick-Verse (1632), 2 pts. in 1 vol., Spenser Society Reprints, Nos. 31, 32 (Manchester, 1881), p. 11. All subsequent references will be to this edition.

¹⁴ From A Preparation to the Psalter (1619), Spenser Society Reprints, No. 37 (Manchester, 1884), pp. 16-17. All subsequent references will be to this edition. See also The Psalmes of David, p. 12.

¹⁵ "Preface to the Reader," The Psalmes of David, p. 12. Wither made extensive use of the few exceptional stanzaic forms of Sternhold and Hopkins that were not in the hymn measures (each of these, usually representing a single exemplar, had a Proper tune, or tune to which it alone could be sung); as a result, his version has greater metrical variety than the latter.

¹⁶ Fernand Cabrol, "Breviary," in The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1907-1914), p. 769.

¹⁷ The Psalmes of David (London, 1581), sigs. a3^v-a4^r.

¹⁸ "John Calvin To The godly Readers sendeth greeting," The Psalmes of David and others. With M. John Calvins Commentaries, trans. Arthur Golding (London, 1571), sigs. *vi^v-*vii^r; [Matthew Parker], The Whole Psalter (London, [1567?]), sigs. Aiiii^v-Bi^r (Parker also provides a translation of Athanasius, to be cited below); John Donne, Sermons, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter, VII (Berkeley, 1954), 51; George Wither, A Preparation to the Psalter, pp. 123-25.

¹⁹ "On the Interpretation of the Psalms," trans. [Matthew Parker], The Whole Psalter, sigs. Biiii^v-Ci^r.

²⁰ Jerusalem and Albion: The Hebraic Factor in Seventeenth-Century Literature (London, 1964), p. 59.

²¹ The Poetry of Meditation, pp. 36, 279.

²² Lily B. Campbell, Divine Poetry and Drama in Seventeenth-Century England (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 35-39.

²³ Geo [rge] Fred [erick] Nott, ed., The Works of Henry Ho-

ward, Earl of Surrey (London, 1815), I, 390 n.

²⁴ A possible precursor of Surrey's approach is Sir Thomas Smith, who translated 12 psalms during an imprisonment in 1549. John Holland reprinted a few of these "Certaigne Psalmes or Songues of David" in Psalmists of Britain (London, 1843, I, 160-63). Teutandreas Riese has pointed out that Smith attempted to incorporate his personal experience into the psalms (Die englische Psalmdichtung im sechzehnten Jahrhundert (Münster, 1937), p. 85). Others who belong to this category include Sir Francis Bacon and Sir William Leighton, both to be discussed below. In addition, John Holland's collection prints many attempts at a single psalm or two made by men of non-literary vocation during periods of misfortune.

²⁵ The Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, ed. G. F. Nott, I, 78. All further reference will be to this edition.

²⁶ English Metrical Psalms from 1600 to 1660, Diss. Freiburg 1937 (Freiburg i. Br., 1938), p. 64.

²⁷ The Psalmes of David, p. 12.

²⁸ R. Farquharson, DNB.

²⁹ The Bible (London, 1577).

³⁰ Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne (London, 1615). All subsequent references will be to this edition.

³¹ C. Fell Smith, DNB.

³² Poulter's Measure, CM, LM, xaxa aabb xaxabxcxcx
xaxabb 4244' 5555' 3333333333' and
4444444'

³³ Odes in imitation of the Seaven Penitential Psalmes (Antwerp, 1601).

³⁴ The devotional quality of these 'odes' was recognized by at least one contemporary, Elizabeth Grymston, who included them in Miscelanea. Meditations, Memoratives (London, [1610?]), a book she dedicated to her son as a "portable veni mecum for thy Counsellor, in which thou mayest . . . finde something either to resolve thee in thy doubts, or comfort thee in thy distresse" (sig. A3^v). The psalms printed here have often been listed as

a separate paraphrase, and even compared with Verstegan's as a superior version, so it should be pointed out that they are Verstegan's, reprinted exactly, though in reverse order.

³⁵ The Dolefull Dove: or Davids 7. Penitentiall Psalmes, in Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford, ed. Alexander N. Grosart, II (Edinburgh, 1878). All subsequent references are to this edition.

³⁶ Alexander B. Grosart, ed., Complete Works, I, 10-11.

³⁷ p. 76.

³⁸ A. Hughes-Hughes, DNE.

³⁹ Peter Le Huray, Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660 (London, 1967), pp. 388-89. This study may be consulted for information about the music associated with most of the psalm translations of the period.

⁴⁰ Teares or Lamentations of a sorrowfull Soule (London, 1613). All subsequent references will be to this edition.

⁴¹ Louis F. Benson, The English Hymn (1915; rpt. Richmond, Va., 1962), pp. 45-46.

⁴² Haleluiah or, Britains Second Remembrancer (London, 1641), p. 344. All further citations will be taken from this edition.

⁴³ Lily B. Campbell, Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England (Cambridge, 1959), p. 50.

⁴⁴ The seven meditations are published with a few other poems as a separate book with separate title page, though bound with the Seven Sobs. It is called The Poore Widowes Mite. The possibility exists, therefore, that this appellation is intended solely as the title of the book, and not of the seven meditations. Supporting this alternative is a section in the dedicatory poem to Queen Elizabeth where Hunnis tells the story of a Persian prince who graciously accepted water as a gift because he valued the giver's seal more than the gift itself. Hunnis adds a comparison of himself to the poor but zealous giver:

Even so my seale renowned Queen,
equivalent is with his,
Though I offense commit, to give
so slender gift as this.

I would judge, however, that The Poore Widowes Mite is also the title of the seven meditations for the following reasons: 1) it was common to use the title of the principal poem for the book as well; and 2) there are other poems included in the book, entitled "Verses upon the Lords Prayer" and "The Christian Faith." If The Poore Widowes Mite is not the title of the seven meditations, then they alone have no title. I would suggest, finally, that Hunnis had both situations, the dedication of the book to the Queen, and of the soul to God, in mind.

⁴⁵ "The Fourth Meditation," from The Poore Widowes Mite, bound with Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule, p. 35. All sub-references are to this edition.

⁴⁶ The Muses Sacrifice, in Complete Works, II, 14.

⁴⁷ The latter category, which has not been dealt with in this study, includes pieces such as George Gascoigne's version of Ps. 130, "De Profundis" (1575) and Sir David Murray's "A Paraphrase of the CIV Psalm" (1615).

⁴⁸ See Rohr-Sauer, p. 68.

⁴⁹ Phyllis Brooks Bartlett, ed., The Poems of George Chapman, Modern Language Association of America General Series, No. 12 (New York, 1941), p. 445.

⁵⁰ Petrarchs Seven Penitentiall Psalms, Paraphrastically Translated (1612), in The Poems of George Chapman, pp. 205-206.

⁵¹ Alexander B. Grosart, ed., The Works of Sir John Davies (n. p., 1870), I, 26.

⁵² Metaphrase of Ps. I to L, in The Works of Sir John Davies, I. All further citations will be taken from this edition.

⁵³ Sacred Hymns (London, 1615).

⁵⁴ English Metrical Psalms from 1600 to 1660, pp. 70-71. Mr. Rohr-Sauer's study is perhaps best on Sir John Davies and Bacon, of the translators included in the first half of his period, which is under consideration here. In general, he believes that the psalm translations executed between 1600 and 1660 fall into two main categories, the hymnal tradition and the aesthetic tradition. This division, in my opinion, overlooks the frequently mixed motives and attitudes of a good number of translators; the classification of Sir Edwin Sandys and

Phineas Fletcher under the hymnal tradition as imitators of Sternhold and Hopkins, and of William Hunnis and Sir William Leighton under the aesthetic tradition, in particular, seems not only reductive, but completely unjustified.

⁵⁵ Certaine Psalmes, in The Poems of Francis Bacon, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library, I (n. p., 1870), 43. All subsequent references will be to this edition.

⁵⁶ J. Spedding, cited by Grosart, Intro. to Certaine Psalmes, I, 8.

⁵⁷ Cited above, Chap: 1, pp. 32-33.

⁵⁸ This is the structural progression characteristic of the psalms of lamentation, whether of the individual or of the community; combined, they make up one of the largest categories by which modern exegesis classifies the psalms. The individual and community psalms of thanksgiving, another category, exhibit a similar progression: after a self-exhortation to praise, the speaker recalls the distress he suffered, tells of his appeal for help and God's answer with deliverance, and then lifts up his voice in the promised psalm of praise (see Christoph F. Barth, Introduction to the Psalms, trans. R. A. Wilson (Oxford, 1966), pp. 15-17, 19-20; and Leopold Sabourin, The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning, II (New York, 1969), 1-5, 110-11, 141-43, 189-90.

⁵⁹ Harold Fisch has called attention to the Psalms' dialogue quality and their characteristic movement through dialogue to a state of comfort and assurance. Pointing to the same characteristics in the poetry of Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and Marvell, and implying a direct line of influence, he concludes that "the term 'dialogue' would be better as a means of classifying this type of poetry than 'metaphysical'" (Jerusalem and Albion, pp. 58-62). In a recent book, William H. Halewood has suggested that the Augustinian revival of the 16th and 17th centuries gave rise to a "structure of religious imagination" which found its expression in the devotional works of the Counter Reformation as well as in the devotional theology of Protestantism. Characterized by the experience of conversion and grace, this religious imagination produced, via the continental meditative literature, the English religious poetry of the 17th century, which exhibits a movement through opposition to reconciliation (The Poetry of Grace: Reformation Themes and Structures in English Seventeenth-Century Poetry (New Haven, 1970), pp. 71-79 and passim). Halewood's study provides a valuable contribution to the background of the 17th-century religious lyric.

I would like to suggest, however, that by failing to recognize the movement through dialogue to reconciliation in the Psalms he has underestimated their significance (see pp. 123-24).

⁶⁰ Rathmell, p. xxii.

Chapter 3

The Persona of The Temple

As parson of Bemerton, George Herbert fulfilled, in fact helped to define, an ideal of Anglican religious life and became for many subsequent generations a kind of unofficial saint of Anglicanism. His poetic creation, The Temple, is an equally superlative expression of distinctively, though never exclusively, Anglican religious experience. The key to his achievement lies in The Temple's sustained lyric persona which comprehends within itself and reflects, rather than merely drawing upon, the whole complex of religious attitudes and beliefs characteristic of the Anglican via media in the early seventeenth century.

The persona of the religious lyric is defined to a significant extent, especially in tonal and rhetorical respects, by the kind of relationship with God that he is thought to possess. Central to a consideration of this relationship has always been the question of the extent and nature of the role of the church. And this question is particularly relevant in the attempt to define the Anglican persona because, it may be argued, it is here that the Anglican Church differentiated itself most meaningfully from the other Christian churches and denominations.

A useful perspective for viewing the role of the church in the man-God relationship has been suggested by Charles and Katherine George in their study, The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation, 1570-1640. One of the most historically significant of the ideological tensions in Christianity, they point out, is "that between the force which presses toward the individual's intimate, immediate, and unique contact with deity, and that which presses toward externalizing, regularizing, and institutionalizing such contacts. As faith and as church," they continue, "Christianity has been at odds with itself both logically and historically.

Yet since, except for fleeting patches of time, one can scarcely be said to have existed without the other, both forces would seem essential to their common survival and success. The mutual interdependence of mutual hostilities--no absolutely stable situation can emerge from such a relationship, and so it is that one of the prominent lines of change in Christianity has been the periodical readjustment and recombination of these two ingredients."¹

The transformation of the early Christian church from a personal fellowship of the redeemed into the sacramental-hierarchical institution of the Middle Ages is described by Wilhelm Pauck in "The Idea of the Church in Christian History." **By the third century, Cyprian had formulated the basic medieval church-concept. He rejected** the idea that the spiritual character of the church derived from the participation of individual Christians with Christ, and replaced it with the concept of the church as the 'mother' upon whom every Christian was dependent for his relationship to God. As a result, "The sanctity of the church, which in the beginnings had been manifested in the 'sinlessness' of individual members and which therefore consisted in the Christian-moral character of personal relations, was more and more transferred to the impersonal functions of the ritual, the sacraments and the priestly office"² and "the whole empirical manifestation of the Church came to be regarded as the direct creation of the Spirit, as miraculous, mysterious, [and] heavenly."³

The men of the Reformation attacked this sacramental-hierarchical institution on all fronts. The doctrines and attitudes for which they fought placed a new emphasis, as we have already seen, upon the individual's spiritual state and his direct relationship to God. This new emphasis led to a superior valuation of the invisible over the visible church,⁴ charging the old distinction⁵ with revolutionary implications which culminated in Calvin's assertion that the invisible church was the only true church.⁶ The mediatory role of the church institution was consequently devalued, its essential character being defined as the foregathering of the faithful.⁷

The conflict between these two divergent views on the nature of the church and its role in the man-God relationship, though rarely overtly discussed, lay behind the controversies in the English Church in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Even if we do not go as far as William Haller does in considering English Puritans a separate group associated by a characteristic presentation of Calvinism,⁸ we will still find that on every issue there is at least a tendency for the so-called 'Puritans' to take the most emphatic positions challenging the mediatory role of the church institution. It was these men who were most vehement on the fallibility of the visible church, and most preoccupied with drawing out, with Calvin, the consequences of the central Protestant idea of the superiority of the invisible church to its logical conclusion; they were also the ones most inclined to emphasize the God-given separateness of the Protestant saint; and they were the primary attackers of episcopacy and of specific ceremonies of the English Church.⁹

We are on firmer ground when we turn to the defenders of the church on each of these issues, the conservative Anglicans who constituted, in the opinion of Charles and Katherine George, the most distinct and cohesive group during this period.¹⁰ The Anglican via media is usually described as a pragmatic policy of uniformity in practice and latitudinarianism in belief dictated by the unique English political and geographical factors.¹¹ But in the thinking of these conservative Anglicans on the nature of the church, there is a possible doctrinal background for this policy, one which avoids the two extremes summarized above. Richard Hooker, of course, is its foremost spokesman.

Hooker recognizes a distinction between the invisible (or as he calls it, mystical) church and the visible church. He disapproves of the Catholic attempt to make the visible church more perfect and spiritually efficacious than it is, and maintains, contrary to their doctrine and with the Reformers, that the church's sacraments are only effectual with man's co-operation,¹² the doctrine which implies that the Christian's salvation depends

ultimately upon his predestined spiritual relationship to God. But on the other hand, Hooker disapproves of the belief of Cranmer and the continental Reformers that the invisible church is the only true church. His position, shared by his Anglican contemporaries, Covell, Field, and Philpot,¹³ is that the invisible church represents the inspiring and quickening force operating within the visible church, interpenetrating it throughout. As William Covell concisely summarizes the idea in his Just and Temperate Defense of the Five Books of Ecclesiastical polity, "Now visible and invisible maketh, not two churches; but the diverse estate and condition of the same Church."¹⁴

The church, in other words, is visible and one, and the necessary mediator of man's salvation, even though that salvation ultimately depends upon his personal spiritual state. It is not merely an association or personal fellowship of the redeemed, nor does its holiness derive solely from the spiritual holiness of its individual members. As H. F. Woodhouse observes in The Doctrine of the Church in Anglican Theology, 1547-1603, "The post-Reformation Anglican fathers maintained that the Church was a community of those who professed belief in Jesus Christ, and was built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, but it was also a divine creation and a divine gift, and the repository of divine grace."¹⁵

It should be emphasized that we have been speaking about tendencies and directions rather than about absolute positions. As Charles and Katherine George warned in their exposition of the two forces inherent in Christianity cited at the beginning of this chapter, both forces have been present in all denominations at all times. Their conclusion, corroborating what we have found in Anglican church theory, is that in the Anglicanism of the early seventeenth century "The opposition of those forces always at work in Christianity--the force of the church with its drive for unity and uniformity and the force of the individual believer eternally seeking his own unique intimacy of contact with the source of his salvation--had been brought to a degree of balance as seemingly stable as any ever achieved in the history of Christianity."¹⁶

We are not concerned here with the extent to which these ideas were reflected in actual church institutions; geographical, political, and social factors all intervened between the conception and the fact. Our interest lies instead in the way the ideas affected their adherents' conception of definitive Christian experience, that is, of the nature of man's relationship to God. If we are willing to risk over-simplification for the sake of a clear distinction between the two extremes, we might say that the reformed Christian's membership in the church ultimately depended upon his relationship to God, whereas the Roman Catholic's relationship to God depended upon his membership in the church. The former, consequently, tended to place emphasis upon an unique moment of conversion or rebirth in which the individual soul accepts God's election;¹⁷ the latter emphasized a continuous and universal pattern of experience within the church.

To transpose the distinction into the most revealing terms for our purpose, the extreme Protestant tended to conceive of definitive Christian experience as an individual experience concerning the state of his soul in relation to God's will,¹⁸ while the Roman Catholic conceived of it as a participation in an universal and corporate society. The Anglican middle way seems to have achieved, though not necessarily as a matter of conscious policy, a union of the two by qualifying the extreme implications of each on the nature of the church while attempting to retain their experiential richness, the one in a beautiful and meaningful corporate communion, the other in an immediate personal relationship to God. This achieved union was to have important implications for the kind of lyric persona best suited for its full expression.

The Protestant shift in emphasis from a corporate, liturgical, and mediated relationship with God to a direct and individual one was immediately reflected in their metrical translations of the Psalms, as we saw in the preceding chapters. The Anglican poet

would feel a similar pressure to create a poetic 'I' with empirical individuality as the locus for the experience portrayed. But, on the other hand, this experience could only be complete and authentic for the Anglican insofar as it participated in the life of the church, both in its visible manifestation as a corporate institution and in its invisible manifestation as the mystical body of Christ. The persona which fully expressed Anglican religious experience could not be limited to the speaking voice in dialogue with God for which most of the Protestant devotional poets settled. It would have to be a composite 'I' which combined the thinking, feeling, individual that was the necessary locus of experience with the universal and corporate entity capable of rendering that experience meaningful.¹⁹

In her study of the new phenomenon of literary self-consciousness in seventeenth century prose, Joan Webber has distinguished two dominant "styles of selfhood," the "conservative Anglican" and the "radical Puritan," which are remarkably similar to the poetic personae tentatively described above. The latter, she points out, "is active, timebound, as simple and visible as possible, desirous of being taken literally and seriously as a man living in a hostile world. Instead of beginning with Man, he begins with concrete details. . . . His spiritual self-exploration is always temporal: How have I progressed (or regressed) from day to day? rather than, What am I like as a human being?" The conservative Anglican tends to generate a "cosmic personality": "Time for him is an aspect of eternity; there is nothing new under the sun; every man is like Adam, who contained all. The typically Anglican metaphor of man as a little world is predominant in the conservative's self-analysis. Overcoming space and time, this symbol can unify the shared experience of the race."²⁰

One of the conclusions reached in the preceding chapter was that English Protestants discovered in the Psalms a medium and a model for the expression of their religious consciousness and that particularly through the persona of the Psalms they found an embodiment of their new emphasis upon the individual's relation to God. It was also suggested, however, that their response to the complex

persona of the Psalms was limited by their preoccupation; and so without contradiction it may be suggested that the Psalms also could have provided a model for the Anglican persona, and that, in fact, the persona of David, as it was interpreted during this period, represented an example par excellence of the composite 'I'.

Turning for a moment to contemporary interpretation of the Bible, we must take into consideration the fact that during the Reformation, according to Robert M. Grant in A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, the literal-historical method of the Antioch School became the dominant exegetical method of the Protestants. In his attack on the authoritative exegesis and allegorization which had safeguarded the theological systems and institutions of the church, Luther came to insist upon a literal reading of the text aided by an historical understanding of the author and his times.²¹ The impact of this method upon the contemporary understanding of the Psalms was to direct more attention to David, who was universally acknowledged to be the author of most of the psalms,²² as an historical individual.

But the universal applicability accorded the Psalms by the traditional exegesis remained undiminished. This was possible because there was a considerable element of subjectivity in the literal-historical method of Luther and the Reformers, arising from their postulate that history in the Bible was invariably the history of Christ and His church. Thus the typological reading of the Old Testament, and even allegorical interpretations, crept back into their exegesis.²³ The Reformation Christian continued to see in the Psalms, in George Withers's words, "prophecies of such things as pertaine to Christ, & his Mysticall body."²⁴ Calvin, while stressing the historical authenticity of the occasion from which Psalm 109 arose, for instance, immediately accorded it the same wide application: "And although there be no doubt but David complained of the wrongs done unto him: yet notwithstanding forasmuche as he bare upon him another person: what soever is saide, the same doth properly agree to Christ the head of the Church: and too eche one of the faithfull, inasmuche as they are his members."²⁵ The mechanics of this kind of interpretation were

succinctly outlined by John Donne in a sermon preached at Lincoln's Inn on Psalm 38.4: "First then, all these things are literally spoken of David; By application, of us; and by figure, of Christ. Historically, David; morally, we; Typically, Christ is the subject of this text."²⁶

The threefold interpretation was not intended, of course, to be applied indiscriminately to the whole of the Psalms. David was conceived, rather, as taking up now one, now another, of his possible roles or "persons." Consequently, there was considerable discussion and disagreement among exegetes as to the applicability of specific passages. Calvin, with a characteristic brusque assurance, simply dismissed the debate in the argument to Psalm 130: "Whither the Prophet pray privately in his own name, or whither he sustaine the persone of the whole church: being overwhelmed with aduersities [sic] nee requireth deliverance with earnest vehemennesse." Looking at the question from an aesthetic point of view, Sir Philip Sidney called attention to David's "often and free changing of persons" as one proof that his "handling of his prophecy" was "merely poetical."²⁷

Sidney and his contemporaries explained the Psalmist's ability to assume these "persons" more in terms of inspiration than of art or the symbolic imagination. Nevertheless, they could recognize in David's continuous adoption of different rhetorical standpoints evidences of divine 'art.' It is probable, therefore, that they also recognized that the dimensions of the Psalmist's voice depended at least in part upon this very ability to change persons freely. If he attempted to sustain all of his roles continuously, he would of necessity speak with a generalized, undifferentiated voice. Instead, the Psalmist (and here, again, we must emphasize that we are speaking of the Renaissance conception) constantly modulated among his possible roles, sometimes speaking as nation or church, sometimes as Christ, sometimes as David, son of Jesse, uniting them through inspiration in his presence.²⁸

As we have seen in Chapter 1, Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke experimented with modulations of style and tone in their translation of the Psalms in an attempt to preserve the full range of the Psalmist's voice. Their work represented more than a handbook of poetic forms and meters; it demonstrated how this technique could contribute to the creation of a composite 'I' in English verse. Herbert, probably profiting from their example as well as from that of their original, produced the first independent composite 'I' in the English religious lyric with a range and depth similar to that exhibited by the persona of the Psalms.²⁹ The speaker of The Temple combines an empirical entity, a seventeenth-century English poet and parson, with his typological and allegorical extensions into eternity as the Christian Everyman, a sub-fulfillment of Christ and a member of His mystical body, whose voice finally becomes identified with the voice of the Church Universal, the New Jerusalem.

In describing the methods of establishing this persona, we shall start with the empirical individual aspect of the 'I,' which is so convincing that it has been a critical commonplace to assert that The Temple is essentially the spiritual autobiography of George Herbert.³⁰ It may even be argued, to meet possible objections head-on, that since all the personal allusions in The Temple coincide with what is known of the historical George Herbert, there is no need to speak of a persona, especially since the lyric had become a medium for expressing subjective emotion. The use of the term, "persona," does not imply a denial of the identification of the speaker with George Herbert, however, but points to the conscious control that has been exercised in relating the self-expression of individual lyrics in order to give rise to a larger 'personality' or presence which performs an artistic function in presiding over the whole collection. Through the use of his own experience and identity, his 'person,' presented in its union with the mystical body of Christ and the visible Church as a com-

posite 'I,' Herbert is able, as shall be shown, to portray with authority and authenticity the relationship of man and God and, finally, to create a structure where they may meet through his art.

The empirical individual of The Temple is the cornerstone of this artistic structure, for it is through his individual presence and personal relationship with God that the generic, universal man-God relation is portrayed. The outlines of this individual are sketched in for us by the personal allusions scattered throughout the work. These are concentrated in relatively few poems, but numerous other half-veiled allusions are made intelligible through reference to them. We know that he has been among the privileged in birth, education, and culture from such statements as "all my wealth and family might combine/ To set thy honour up, as our design" ("The Crosse," ll. 5-6).³¹ That an active life among the circles to which he rightly belonged by birth and merit appealed strongly to him is made clear in such poems as "Employment" (II), "Frailtie," and "Affliction" (I). We know too that there is a conflicting desire to serve God through the church ("The Priesthood," "Employment" (I)) which eventually prevails ("Affliction" (I), "The Crosse," "Aaron," and "The Invitation"). We are also made aware that he is aging, his health is poor, and that he has frequent doubts of his ability to serve God (idem. and "The Flower," "The Forerunners").

This outline is filled out with the personality of the speaker, established through recurring conflicts, moods, and habits of mind. Among these are such traits as his gentleness and sense of humor, manifested, for example, in his frequent punning, which he justifies in "The Sonne," or in his emphasis upon faith and love, rather than upon the espousal of rigidly defined dogma ("The H. Communion," "The Jews"). Another personal characteristic is his tendency to sermonize, although he never assumes an attitude of superiority. The recurring conflicts are equally important in establishing the sense of a single personality governing the whole. The question of vocation is one of these. Another is his attempt to comprehend and reconcile himself to the uses of affliction. The most difficult and most important struggle, as Rosemond Tuve has perceptively

demonstrated, is to renounce not only his ambition for himself but his ambition for God, his desire to serve God, and to resign himself simply and wholly to God's will, even if that means resigning himself to inadequacy and failure.³² This conflict, in terms of which Herbert himself allegedly described The Temple,³³ subsumes all others and contributes to the thematic unity of the whole.

There is one more aspect of the persona's identity which must not be overlooked: he is the poet. A mere three or four generations earlier, the lyric voice was exclusively the singer or poet. He merely assumed the conventional roles of lover, mourner, or celebrator of beauty for purposes of song, and his singing was an expression of the generalized emotions of mankind. Consequently, even though he addressed his fellow man under the guise of the singer or poet, he was never identified with his actual historical creator: he was always anonymous.³⁴ With the development of lyric personae with a whole range of character traits, with a non-conventional vocation other than song, the lyric voice could speak under some other guise than that of singer. The option then arose of identifying the speaker additionally as singer or poet. Hence it became possible to identify the lyric voice with the poet as an empirical individual rather than as an anonymous singer, thereby postulating a union of artistic and expressive intent which made an implicit claim to authenticity and sincerity.

The character of this individual is what we have called the empirical aspect of the persona of The Temple. It achieves adequate definition through the poems themselves, it must be emphasized, although our response may be enriched by reference to the life of the historical George Herbert in the same way that our response to the Psalms or to Astrophil and Stella is enriched by reference to the lives of David and Sir Philip Sidney. What is necessary, of course, is that the persona created in the work not deny its creator by exhibiting characteristics clearly at odds with the poet's life and personality. In this way the poet's historical existence may provide an additional authentication of

nis words without being necessary to their communication.

The range of the voice of the seventeenth-century poet-priest of The Temple is expanded by the use of typological and allegorical constructs, the same symbolic modes which enabled the Psalmist to speak for Christ and His church. To take up the most important of these first, typology, we should point out that there must be a difference in the way it operates in the Psalms and in The Temple by virtue of their opposite placement in relation to Christ's redemption of mankind. The universal province of the Psalms is founded upon its inspired prophecy and prefiguration of the experience of Christ and the church. It set forth the types which were to be fulfilled; in their fulfillment, because the fulfilling events were eschatological, they became universal types. The Temple, belonging in time to the New Dispensation when all has been accomplished, need only demonstrate its own relationship to these types as antitype or fulfillment (more accurately, sub-fulfillment, as will be explained below) to demonstrate its universal applicability.

"The Bunch of Grapes" shows us the Old Testament types being used in this manner and comments explicitly upon their significance. Having described the onset of unhappiness after a period of joy in terms of the wandering of the Jews in the wilderness ("I did towards Canaan draw; but now I am/ Brought back to the Red sea, the sea of shame," ll. 6-7), the speaker glosses

For as the Jews of old by Gods command
Travell'd, and saw no town;
So now each Christian hath his journeys spann'd:
Their storie pennes and sets us down.
A single deed is small renown.
Gods works are wide, and let in future times;
His ancient justice overflows our crimes. (ll. 8-14)

This is a summary, as Joseph Summers has explained, of the Pauline teaching that "every event during the wandering of the

Children of Israel from Egypt to the Promised Land was a type of the Christian's experiences in his journey between the world of sin and heaven."³⁵ Through this explication of his typological metaphor, the speaker places what was initially stated as a personal problem ("Joy, I did lock thee up: but some bad man/ Hath let thee out again," ll. 1-2) within the context of the universal experience of the church.

It is only within this context, which includes the reader as the switch from the 'I' and 'my' of the first stanza to 'we' and 'our' in the second indicates, that the individual's suffering takes on meaning. For if the inward congruity of the church of the New Dispensation with its type, Israel, the Chosen People, shows him that 'we,' the church, justly suffer affliction for the sinfulness of mankind's debased nature, which can never be justified under the Law, it also reminds him that as a member of this church, he has a pledge of hope like their bunch of grapes, the Christ whom it prefigures.

We have our sanas and serpents, tents and shrowds;
 Alas! our murmurings come not last.
 But where's the cluster? where's the taste
 Of mine inneritance? Lord, if I must borrow,
 Let me as well take up their joy, as sorrow.

But can he want the grape, who hath the wine?
 I have their fruit and more. (ll. 17-23)

And as the fulfillment perfects what its type only imperfectly shadowed forth, Christ, through his triumphant suffering, freed His church from the Law and gained for it the promise that its suffering will end in triumph. He sealed that promise with His church in the sacrament of the bread and wine. Hence the speaker, although returning to the first person form of address and to concern with his personal spiritual and emotional state, finds his joyous consolation in the church sacrament which unites him with the mystical body of Christ, the church of the New Dispensation:

Blessed be God, who prosper'd Noahs vine,
 And made it bring forth grapes good store.
 But much more him I must adore,
 Who of the Laws sowe juice sweet wine did make,
 Ev'n God himself being pressed for my sake. (ll. 24-28)

As Rosemond Tuve concludes, "The Bunch of Grapes" "cannot be confined within the category of spiritual autobiography," for "there is another dimension to the subject of this poem, beyond the mere conveyance of a particular individual's emotion at a given time, that thin subject with which modern readers have come to be content but which Herbert throws to one side with his 'A single deed is small renown'. Herbert is seriously interested in the idea that his case too is covered, taken count of, in an eternally true series of events that preceded him in time."³⁶ Looked at from the point of view of the development of the persona, we might add that it presents an assertion of the unity of the speaker's experience with that of the Church Universal and an implicit claim that it is only within this context that his individual experience takes on meaning.

We are particularly indebted to Rosemond Tuve's A Reading of George Herbert for its explication of the **figural** metaphors in these poems, especially of those deriving from the traditional typological interpretation of the Old Testament. On the basis of her study, Professor Tuve concludes that "Herbert is almost as preoccupied with the relation between the Old Dispensation and the New as are the typological materials and the allegorical glosses which he so often echoes . . . This is a book about Ecclesia, and her great Type, Synagogue, is as ever-present here as she had been in presentations of Ecclesia in other forms of symbolic Christian art."³⁷

Upon first consideration, this might seem to the modern reader to have been a dead issue in Herbert's time, some sixteen hundred years after Christ's establishment of the New Covenant, but it has at least two implications, about which we will have more to say below, which make it a perennially central concern for the Christian. The typological metaphors provide a conceptual bridge between the two dispensations, as Tuve has pointed out, revealing "the sublime unity of a twofold revelation." At the same time, they contain the implicit comparison of the letter with the spirit which carries with it a moral imperative for the present, again in Tuve's words, "constant vitality of individual spiritual life."³⁸

We shall turn our attention now to The Temple's even more pervasive use of the figural tradition of interpretation of the New Testament. The language of the imitatio Christi, of the soul's 'dying' and 'rising' in Christ, is apprehended more easily than the language of Old Testament typology and may seem to require little explanation. It has been generally recognized that one of the central metaphors of The Temple is that of the individual soul as the church of the New Dispensation, the temple of the Holy Ghost. It remains to be emphasized, however, that this idea, related to the whole complex of ideas centered in the concept of the imitation of Christ, is a figural or typological construct, that it presents the speaker's experience as antitype or sub-fulfillment of the experience of Christ and His church. As such, it also presents an implicit claim that on the basis of this underlying unity of experience, his voice may expand its range to include the 'person' of the church, in a kind of New Dispensation counterpart to the representative voice of the Psalms.

The basis of Christological typology, as A. C. Charity has explained in Events and their Afterlife, is the mystery of the Incarnation. Christ as the Son of Man fulfilled the prophetic types of the Old Testament. At the same time, as the Son of God, he fulfilled God's revealing, judging, and redeeming activity, that is, He embodied the whole manward action of God in establishing the New Covenant. This action was eschatological: Christ established the Kingdom of God through his life, death, and resurrection, and in so doing, He lived the life of the future.³⁹

These ideas are behind the New Testament conception of the imitatio Christi, the Christian life as a 'dying' and 'rising' in Christ. The deliberate reapplication of the language describing the passion and resurrection to the present life of the Christian

(and to the events of the Last Judgment) is recognizable, according to Charity, "as a conception basic to Pauline theology: his belief that both the existence which the Christian possesses in the present, and all that is still outstanding, still to be attained (cf. Phil. 3.10), are related organically and dialectically to the creative 'past' of God's action in Christ."⁴⁰ Christ's life, therefore, became a formalised and exemplary construct, the pattern which all Christians must 'fulfill.' The New Testament authors, and particularly Paul, consequently, interpreted the moral imperative of the New Covenant of grace which Christ established as the necessity to imitate Him, both in spiritual conformity and in the taking up of His cross. The more accurate term for this imitation is 'sub-fulfillment,' since Christ has accomplished all. The church's recapitulation of His life achieves nothing for itself, but inasmuch as He lives and acts through the church, the power and promise of His life may be attributed by grace to it.

Once we recognize that the concepts of the individual Christian as the temple of the Holy Ghost and sub-fulfillment of Christ are inextricably linked with the idea of membership in the mystical body of Christ, we become aware that many of the poems of The Temple, even those whose tone and mode of address seem at first sight exclusively personal, speak for, and would have been recognized by Herbert's contemporaries as speaking for, the church of the New Dispensation. The "Affliction" poems are a case in point. They have generally been regarded as among the most personal lyrics in the collection, but in fact the New Testament Christological typology expands the range of the composite 'I' to universal dimensions.

In "Affliction" (II), the speaker cries out in his agony

Kill me not ev'ry day,
Thou Lord of life; since thy one death for me
Is more than all my deaths can be,
Though I in broken pay
Die over each hour of Methusalems stay. (ll. 1-5)

His choice of the word "kill" and the epithet "Lord of life" em-

phasizes a paradox which for the moment is left undeveloped as the speaker goes on to expostulate that even if he suffered throughout a life as long as Methuselah's he could never gain for himself the salvation that Christ's death on the cross achieved for him vicariously. In the next stanza, he adds that the sufferings of all mankind are equally ineffectual and insignificant in comparison with Christ's:

If all mens tears were let
Into one common sewer, sea, and brine;
What were they all, compar'd to thine?
Wherein if they were set,
They would discolour thy most bloody sweat. (ll. 6-10)

His contemplation of the incomparable magnitude of Christ's suffering and the inimitable achievement through His death of atonement for mankind leads him to exclaim

Thou are my grief alone,
Thou Lord conceal it not: and as thou art
All my delight, so all my smart. (ll. 11-13)

This new paradox that Christ's suffering for mankind is his sole cause of grief (as well as his sole cause of joy) seems at first to be at odds with his opening plea, "Kill me not ev'ry day," since there Christ is credited with an active role in his suffering. The last two lines, however, reveal their underlying unity: "Thy crosse took up in one,/ By way of imprest, all my future mone" (ll. 14-15).

An imprest, as Herbert's editor, F. E. Hutchinson, has pointed out, was a payment in advance, an earnest. At the same time, it also signified a loan, and therefore a debt to be repaid.⁴¹ Both senses are operative here. As the speaker's earlier emphasis upon the insufficiency of man's suffering has made clear, he is not controverting the doctrine of vicarious atonement. Christ has paid in advance for the redemption that mankind could never achieve for itself. But His redemptive suffering must be 'repaid,' in the sense of re-enacted, imitated, since the members of His mystical body must be united with Him in His death in order to share in His life and resurrection (I Peter 4.12-13: "Beloved, think it not

strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you . . . But rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings; that, when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy").

This dying of the mystical body in Christ is interpreted as the death of the Old Adam, the dying of the self to the sinful flesh and perverted will. It is Christ, therefore, who subjects His church to this death, "For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth" (Hebrews 12.6). Herbert develops this idea in the allegorical narrative, "Love Unknown." And in "Affliction" (III), a poem which begins

My heart did heave, and there came forth, O God!
By that I knew that thou wast in the grief,
To guide and govern it to my relief, (ll. 1-3)

he adumbrates the implications of this statement in the concluding stanza:

Thy life on earth was grief, and thou art still
Constant unto it, making it to be
A point of honour, now to grieve in me,
And in thy members suffer ill.
They who lament one cross,
Thou dying daily, praise thee to thy losse. (ll. 13-18)

The speaker's suffering, then, is a sign of hope (assuming the presence of faith), a promise that as he shares in the afflictions Christ places upon His mystical body, he will also share in the rebirth to a new life, and ultimately to the New Jerusalem, which Christ gained for His church through His life and passion. Implicit in both of these poems is the claim that he speaks as a member of Christ's mystical body, voicing its agony and its hope.

The same complex of ideas lies behind the companion poems, "The Thanksgiving" and "The Reprisall." The first takes up the question of how the speaker should respond to Christ's redemptive act:

Oh King of grief! (a title strange, yet true,
To thee of all kings onely due)
Oh King of wounds! now shall I grieve for thee,
Who in all grief preventest me?

Shall I weep bloud? why, thou hast wept such store
 That all thy body was one doore.
 Shall I be scourged, flouted, boxed, sold?
 'Tis but to tell the tale is told.
My God, my God, why dost thou part from me?
 Was such a grief as cannot be.
 Shall I then sing, skipping thy dolefull storie,
 And side with thy triumphant glorie?
 Shall thy strokes be my stroking? thorns, my flower?
 Thy rod, my posie? crosse, my bower?
 But now then shall I imitate thee, and
 Copie thy fair, though bloudie hand?
 Surely I will revenge me on thy love,
 And try who shall victorious prove. (ll. 1-18)

The metaphor of revenge aptly expresses the speaker's wrong-headed conception of the imperative of the imitatio Christi as a paying back of Christ, a retaliation in kind for Christ's acts of love, its tonal impropriety serving all the while as an implicit criticism. And indeed, the speaker has trouble with this interpretation from the beginning, for he recognizes the insignificance of his grief and suffering in comparison with Christ's and the ineffectuality of his taking up Christ's cross. He turns to what seem to him easier retaliations, the return to Christ of temporal benefits and response to His love for man as recorded in His life (the concept of imitating Christ through spiritual conformity comes in here), but when brought up against the fact of Christ's redemptive death on the cross, he again realizes that he has no adequate reprisal. The poem ends on a note of irresolution: "Then for thy passion--I will do for that--/ Alas, my God, I know not what" (ll. 49-50).

In "The Reprisall," the speaker takes up the theme of the preceding poem, admitting now that he has no reprisal for the passion.

I have consider'd it, and finde
 There is no dealing with thy mighty passion:
 For though I die for thee, I am behinde;
 My sinnes deserve the condemnation.

O make me innocent, that I
 May give a disentangled state and free;
 And yet thy wounds still my attempts defie,
 For by thy death I die for thee. (ll. 1-8)

He cannot take up Christ's cross, die for Christ, because he stands

condemned himself by his sinful nature. Even if Christ makes him innocent, he still can die for Christ only through Christ's death, which is the means of his acceptability. Yet by confession (of faith, not sin) he asserts at the conclusion, he will join with Christ in His conquest over grief and death:

Yet by confession will I come
Into thy conquest: though I can do nought
Against thee, in thee I will overcome
The man, who once against thee fought. (ll. 13-16)

The speaker is specifically referring here to his membership in the church of the New Dispensation. United with Christ in His mystical body through faith, his life becomes an imitation of Christ in the correct sense, not a reprisal, but a reprise, not a dying for Christ, but a dying in Christ to the perverted will of the old Adam which sought to pay its own way to salvation.

"Good Friday" also deals with the question of man's proper response to the passion and comes to the same conclusion. In the first stanzas the speaker attempts to comprehend its significance in external measures--

O my chief good,
How shall I measure out thy blood? . . .

shall each leaf,
Which falls in Autumne, score a grief? (ll. 1-2, 9-10)

--but with the recognition that "fruit" is the sign of the true vine, Christ, he realizes that the meaning of the passion must be internalized, apprehended in his own life. He begs of Christ, therefore,

Then let each houre
Of my whole life one grief devoure;
That thy distresse through all may runne,
And be my sunne. (ll. 13-16)

The second part of the poem develops the implications of this plea in consistently typological language:

Since blood is fittest, Lord, to write
Thy sorrows in, and bloodie fight;
My heart hath store, write there, where in
One box doth lie both ink and sinne:

That when sinne spies so many foes,
 Thy whips, thy nails, thy wounds, thy woes,
 All come to lodge there, sinne may say,
No room for me, and flie away.

Sinne being gone, on fill the place,
 And keep possession with thy grace;
 Lest sinne take courage and return,
 And all the writings blot or burn. (ll. 21-32)

The request that Christ write His "sorrows" and "bloudie fight" in the speaker's heart represents a plea to become, or to be maintained as, a member of the church of the New Dispensation, described by the author of Hebrews as the new tabernacle not made with hands in which Christ as High Priest writes the Law in the hearts and minds of believers rather than in tables of stone (Heb. 8.10, 9.11). Christ Himself, God's Word incarnate, is the antitype of the Law according to the traditional reading which Herbert takes up in "Sepulchre," a poem based upon an implicit comparison of the church of the Old Dispensation, the Chosen People, with that of the New. Like the Jews, the members of the church of the New Covenant, whose hearts should be the tables of the indwelling word, reject and crucify Him (cf. "Self-Condensation"). The speaker laments, therefore,

And as of old the Law by heav'nly art
 Was writ in stone; so thou, which also art
 The letter of the word, find'st no fit heart
 To hold thee. (ll. 17-20)

The point of this typological motif of Christ as the new Law written in the heart is that Christ 'personalized' the Toran, making the graphic Law biographic.⁴² It represents, therefore, the imperative of constant individual spiritual vitality, focusing it specifically in the imitation of Christ which lies behind the concept of the church as Christ's mystical body. In other words, as A. C. Charity has explained, "Like the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, . . . ethnics are so conditioned here [in the New Testament] as to be themselves a recital of history and a manifestation of the Lord's life and death 'till he come'."⁴³

The propriety of the speaker's use of this typological motif in both "Nature" and "The Sinner," then, seems clear: he is re-

questing that Christ reform him, and simultaneously, that He re-form him into His mystical body.

O smooth my rugged heart, and there
 Engrave thy rev'rend Law and fear;
 Or make a new one, since the old
 is saplesse grown,
 And a much fitter stone
 To hide my dust, then thee to hold. ("Nature," ll. 13-18)

To return to "Good Friday," it also seems clear that the speaker is asking Christ to make his life a sub-fulfillment of His own, so that as he dies in Christ, routing with his (His) afflictions the sins which got them, he may rise with Christ to the life of the church of the New Covenant (described in the words, "Sinne being gone, on fill the place,/ And keep possession with thy grace").

These ideas are not fully developed in the poem, of course; rather, they form the groundwork upon which Herbert's typological language rests. He was using a kind of short hand, here which, though it may seem more like a secret code to us, was as readily deciphered by his contemporaries as the Old Testament types Rosemond Tuve shows to have been commonplaces.⁴⁴ It would have been almost intuitively obvious to them, I would like to suggest, that Herbert was writing of the individual's experience, in these and many other poems of The Temple, as antitype or sub-fulfillment of the experience of Christ and His church.⁴⁵

A word of clarification may be in order here as to why the speaker's often individually expressed treatment of his personal membership in the mystical body of Christ constitutes an expansion of the range of his voice to include the church, the creation, as has been suggested, of a composite 'I.' The answer lies in the nature of the typological symbol and can best be explained by a comparison of the modes of operation of allegory and typology. Patrick L. Fairbairn has suggested the following distinction in The Typology of Scripture. The allegorical narrative describes

events for the purpose of communicating "higher truths or principles than the narrative, in its literal aspect, whether real or fictitious, could possibly have taught. The ostensible representation, therefore, if not invented, is at least used, simply as a cover for the higher sense, which may refer to things ever so remote from those immediately described, if only the corresponding relations are preserved." Typical interpretations, on the other hand, "indispensably require the reality of the facts or circumstances stated in the original narrative," and in addition, they require "that the same truth or principle be embodied alike in the type and the antitype. The typical is not properly a different or higher sense, but a different or higher application of the same sense."⁴⁶

The speaker's empirical individuality, then, far from diminishing the representative dimension of his persona, is in fact essential to it, lending it the reality or authenticity which its typological sub-structure demands in its claim to historical as well as metaphorical truth. It also, we might add, enables the persona to fulfill the typological imperative of individual spiritual vitality. At the same time, by figuring forth this seventeenth-century poet-priest's experience as antitype or sub-fulfillment of the experience of Christ and His church, the typological construct asserts the universal range of his voice: as he speaks 'in' the mystical body, he speaks 'for' it, for underlying the corporate mystery and its individual manifestation is the same truth.⁴⁷

The first five stanzas of "The Crosse," to take another example, are devoted to a detailed complaint about the obstacles God puts in the way of the speaker's attempts to serve Him, and include a personal allusion to his family's position of wealth and influence. His jeremiad is punctuated by one cryptic comment, "I am in all a weak disabled thing,/ Save in the sight thereof, where strength doth sting" (ll. 17-18), which is to become the basis of the resolution he achieves in the sixth and final stanza

An my deare Father, ease my smart!
These contrarieties crush me: these crosse actions
Do wind a rope about, and cut my heart:

And yet since these tny contradictions
 Are properly a crosse felt by the Sonne,
 With but foure words, my words, Thy will be done. (ll. 31-36)

As F. E. Hutchinson has pointed out in his notes to the poem, the contemplation of the cross is the sight "where strengtn doth sting." That sight serves as a reminder that Christ also suffered "crosse actions" and "contrarieties," and suffers them still in His church. The speaker's sense of inadequacy as God's servant, then, as Mary Ellen Rickey suggests, may prove to be "his closest approximation to the agony of Christ on the cross."⁴⁸ In the sudden illumination of the last three lines, the speaker realizes that since as a member of the mystical body, his sufferings, properly understood, not only imitate, but are Christ's, Christ's words of resignation to His Father's choice of the cup of afflictions He was to taste become his. United with Christ in His church, the speaker is no longer "a weak disabled thing," for he will also share through Christ in the victory the words represent.

The poem demonstrates that the voice of the speaker, with all its querulous individuality, can unite through his sub-fulfillment with the voice of Christ and His church (in the prayer He gave it in the Sermon on the Mount). Looking back upon the speaker's complaint, we recognize that that unity has been implicitly present throughout in the verbal echoes of the Fifth Penitential Psalm (102),⁴⁹ which was traditionally interpreted as a prophetic expression of the Christian church. Joining across the ages, these two strongly individual voices express, the one as prefiguration, the other as sub-fulfillment, the universal experience of Christ's church. Hence the title of Herbert's poem refers to that one, single cross which subsumes all other borne by the mystical body, just as its victory is subsumed in Christ's.

The voice of the Psalmist echoes throughout The Temple, as has generally been recognized, but it alone is not responsible for the representative range of the persona's voice.⁵⁰ Herbert creates his own typological sub-structure, which unites the voices of David (or Job, or Paul)⁵¹ and the poet-parson in the voice of Christ and His church. This typological construct provides the

conceptual foundation for the peculiar combination of intensely private thought and emotion with the universal and exemplary which is the distinctive feature of The Temple.⁵² Presenting the divine unity of the experience of the church in Christ, this typological construct enables the reader to recognize the universal in the individual expressions of the poet-parson and demands that he not only understand, but participate (as God is) in the spiritual agues and ecstasies there portrayed.

In "Clasping of hands," the speaker echoes Christ's prayer to the Father for the disciples who have believed in Him and for His mystical body: "I pray not for the world, but for them which thou has given me; for they are thine. And all mine are thine, and thine are mine . . . Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us" (John 17.9-10, 20-21).⁵³ Herbert's poem follows the same line of development, moving through the terms of the relationship between "mine" and "thine" (in this case, of course, concerning Christ and the speaker) to the concluding plea that they be made one:

Lord, I am thine, and thou art mine:
 So mine thou art, that something more
 I may presume thee mine, then thine.
 For thou didst suffer to restore
 Not thee, but me, and to be mine,
 And with advantage mine the more,
 Since thou in death wast none of thine,
 Yet then as mine didst me restore.
 O be mine still! still make me thine!
 Or rather make no Thine and Mine! (ll. 11-20)

A pair of clasped hands was a traditional emblem of faith.⁵⁴ The title, therefore, contributes a conceptual element to the poem as well as an *imagistic* objectification of its interlocking expressions. By his act of faith, his assent to the terms of the relation between man and Christ, the speaker thrusts his heart into Christ's words (as may any Christian who will join with him in his act of faith, a wish he expresses in "Obedience") in order that he may share in the union of the mystical body.

Tuве has given a fine reading of "Josephs coat," elucidating the perplexing title by pointing out that it was traditionally allegorized as the humanity of Christ and suggesting that the conception "'he in us and we in him'" is necessary to the poem.⁵⁵ The speaker is describing the relation of joy and grief not only in his response to Christ's life and death but also in his own imitatio Christi, in his dying and rising in Christ. Once again, he is speaking specifically as a member of the mystical body. The Christological typology permeates the entire Temple, giving resonance to the language of rising and dying in many other poems such as "Easter-wings," "Coloss. iii.3. Our life is hid with Christ in God," "Trinitie Sunday," and "The Dawning."

The aim of this discussion, it should be clear, is not to show that the persona always speaks with the voice of the church, even in these poems, but that they set up a conceptual framework which establishes the ability of his voice to modulate into the voice of the church and return to the individual level. The persona's priesthood is centrally important to The Temple in this respect, endowing his ability to represent the church with the authority of the priest's mediatory role.

Herbert presented his conception of the duty and authority of the pastor in Chapter 1 of A Priest to the Temple. He opens with his own definition: "A Pastor is the Deputy of Christ for the reducing of Man to the Obedience of God." As confirmation, he cites Paul, who in his Epistle to the Colossians "plainly avoucheth, that he fills up that which is behinde of the afflictions of Christ in his flesh, for his Bodie's sake, which is the Church [1 Coloss. 1.24]. Wherein," he adds, "is contained the complete definition of a Minister. Out of this Charter of the Priesthood may be plainly gathered both the Dignity thereof, and the Duty: The Dignity, in that a Priest may do that which Christ did, and by his auctority, and as his Vicegerent. The Duty, in

that a Priest is to do that which Christ did, and after his manner, both for Doctrine and Life" (p. 225).

Here again we have the concept of the imitatio Christi. The priest's life is presented as a sub-fulfillment of Christ's, and hence as the living and acting of Christ in him. The emphasis upon the God-given authority of the priesthood differentiates Herbert's position (and the Anglican position in general) from Lutheran and Reformed thought,⁵⁰ but the conception of the priest's mediatory role as operating through his entire life rather than essentially and sufficiently through his sacerdotal office is decidedly Protestant. The priest takes up an inspirational, guiding, and assisting role by setting forth in his own life the life of the New Dispensation which the Church must live. The priest's imitation, in other words, is not different in kind from that of the lay believer: he lives the life of the church, but with greater authority and with greater responsibility.

In The Temple, the speaker's aspiration to and achievement of priesthood is set forth explicitly or in personal allusions in "The Priesthood," "Affliction" (I), "The Crosse," and "Aaron," among other poems. Two are particularly important in the present context, since they deal with the idea of the priest as sub-fulfillment of Christ. "The Windows" addresses God with the question of how fallen and debased man can serve as Christ's deputy. It is posed in impersonal terms, but in view of the speaker's allusions elsewhere to his desire to serve God as priest, the self-reference is implicitly present.

Lord, how can man preach thy eternall word?
 He is a brittle crazie glasse:
 Yet in thy temple thou dost him afford
 This glorious and transcendent place,
 To be a window, through thy grace. (ll. 1-5)

The metaphor of man as a "brittle crazie glasse" is more just than it might seem at first glance if we remember that 'glass' in the early seventeenth century was commonly used to designate 'mirror.' The metaphor refers, then, to the idea that man was made in God's image, though that image has been impaired through the fall. If

the preacher shares with the rest of mankind in being only an impaired and faulty image of God, however, God's grace, the speaker goes on to assert, makes him a window in His church through which the congregation can see Christ.

But when thou dost anneal in glasse thy storie,
 Making thy life to shine within
 The holy Preachers; then the light and glorie
 More rev'rend grows, & more doth win:
 Which else shows watrish, bleak, & thin. (ll. 6-10)

Through the imitation of Christ, the preacher's entire life becomes a sub-fulfillment of Christ's, a living in Christ of the life of the New Dispensation which provides the church with a live example rather than dead precepts for the life it must lead.

Doctrine and life, colours and light, in one
 When they combine and mingle, bring
 A strong regard and aw: but speech alone
 Doth vanish like a flaring thing,
 And in the eare, not conscience ring. (ll. 11-15)

The poem, "Aaron," serves within the poetic world of The Temple as the rite, we might almost say, of the speaker's ordination as priest. The poem's ritual-like movement and emblematic form has received considerable attention from critics,⁵⁷ and here we may limit our discussion to its treatment of the ideas under discussion. Taking Aaron as the type of the priest in all ages, the speaker allegorizes (in what was a traditional reading)⁵⁸ Aaron's clothing described in Exodus 28 to represent the spiritual qualities of the true priest.

Holiness on the head,
 Light and perfections on the breast,
 Harmonious bells below, raising the dead
 To lead them unto life and rest:
 Thus are true Aarons drest. (ll. 1-5)

He then describes his own inadequacy in relation to this ideal:

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

In the following stanzas, however, he adds the qualification that his inadequacy is repaired by Christ ("Only another head/ I have . . . Christ is my only head . . .," ll. 11,16). Therefore he can conclude

So holy in my head,
Perfect and light in my dear breast,
My doctrine tuned by Christ (who is not dead,
But lives in me while I do rest):
Come people; Aaron's drest. (ll. 21-25)

An implicit comparison of the two dispensations is the basis of the transformation which occurs in the speaker. The order of Aaron, the tribe of Levi which filled the office of priesthood under the Old Dispensation, administered the Law. Christ was instituted a priest after the order of Melchisedec, the mysterious Prince of Salem who was the only priest under the Old Dispensation not of the tribe of Levi, in order to demonstrate the inadequacy of the Law and to establish the spiritual priesthood of the New Covenant: for Christ was made priest "not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life" (Hebrews 7.16 and passim). In "Aaron," then, the spiritual qualities which were only pre-figured in the outward garments of Aaron ("Holiness on the head") are internalized in the priest of the New Dispensation ("So holy in my head") as Christ, the "high priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec" (Hebrews 6.20) lives in him.⁵⁹

This setting forth of the speaker's priesthood as a sub-fulfillment or imitation of Christ does not differentiate his life from that of the church, we must emphasize again, but raises it to a higher power. All aspects of his priestly mediation between God and man are subsumed under the responsibility to live in Christ the life of the New Dispensation, to interpret it for the church into the terms of everyday existence. The speaker's priesthood in The Temple, therefore, makes his representation of the life of the church more authoritative and authenticates the power of his voice to sustain through Christ the person of the church.

In the liturgy the priest officially adopts this power in the exercise of his mediatory role, praying both in his own person and

in the person of the church. As Herbert observed in A Priest to the Temple, the officiating priest must speak with devotion and reverence, "as being truly touched and amazed with the Majesty of God, before whom he then presents himself; yet not as himself alone, but as presenting with himself the whole Congregation, whose sins he then beares, and brings with his own to the heavenly altar to be bathed, and washed in the sacred Laver of Christs blood." (p. 231). The priest of this Temple not only speaks of his priesthood, but takes up, too, the tone and office of the priest as he prays, sermonizes, and officiates in the Eucharist. His identity is not limited to a soul in search of its private relationship to God, as is the speaker of Donne's religious verse.

In "The Invitation," he calls the church to the feast of the Eucharist, echoing the words that Isaiah, prophesying the coming of the Messiah, used to call the people of Israel to the New Covenant (Isa. 55.1-2):

Come ye hither All, whose taste
 Is your waste;
 Save your cost, and mend your fare.
 God is here prepar'd and drest,
 And the feast,
 God, in whom all dainties are. (ll. 1-6)

At the conclusion he addresses Christ, reporting that he has fulfilled his charge as Christ's deputy ("Lord, I have invited all") and adding (now on behalf of the church) "And I shall/ Still invite, still call to thee " (ll. 31-33). The speaker has assumed the priest's full role as mediator between God and man.

"Whitsunday" opens with a personal plea to the Holy Ghost for the gift of the spirit granted to the apostles at Pentecost:

Listen sweet Dove unto my song,
 And spread thy golden wings in me;
 Hatching my tender heart so long,
 Till it get wing, and flie away with thee. (ll. 1-4)

The wings of the dove, Rosemond Tuve explains, was a traditional image for the preacher. She suggests that the poem, which is "specifically about the spreading of the gospel through preachers of the word," gains significantly in meaning if we recognize that

Herbert was consciously speaking here in his character as priest and preacher.⁶⁰ The poem is also about the spiritual laxity of the church of the New Dispensation, with which the speaker identifies himself in the use of the collective 'we.' The voice of the preacher, pleading for the gift of the spirit to enliven his witness to the church fittingly modulates, therefore, into the voice of the church calling for God's rejuvenating grace:

Lord, though we change, thou art the same;
The same sweet God of love and light;
Restore this day, for thy great name,
Unto his ancient and miraculous right. (ll. 25-28)

In by far the greatest number of these poems, the speaker moves among the modes of sermon, prayer, and hymn, the 'I' of the individual preacher becoming interchangeable with the 'we' of the church. An analogue of this movement is to be found in the church service, where these diverse modes are similarly woven into a single inter-related texture, presided over by the priest who speaks to, for, and with the congregation (as well as to, for, and with God). "Miserie," for example, is a long diatribe on the veniality of man, which renders him unfit to praise or serve God. The tone and rhetorical technique of this and many other poems approximates, as L. C. Knights has suggested, that of the popular sermon.⁶¹ Here the animated colloquial speech is addressed to God, but aimed at (who else?) the reader as Christian layman.

Man cannot serve thee; let him go
And serve the swine: there, there is his delight;
He doth not like this vertue, no;
Give him his dirt to wallow in all night:
These Preachers make
His head to shoot and ake. (ll. 43-48)

In the conclusion of the poem, however, which compares fallen man with the portrait of Adam in paradise drawn in the penultimate stanza, there is a sudden dramatic shift to self-accusation, including the preacher himself in mankind's inadequacy:

But sinne hath fool'd him. Now he is
A lump of flesh, without a foot or wing
To raise him to a glimpse of blisse:
A sick toss'd vessel, dashing on each thing;
Nay, his own shelf:
My God, I mean my self. (ll. 73-78)

Herbert may have found models for this innovative two-part movement from didactic address to hymn, or from prayer to hymn, it should be noted, in the Psalter as well as in the church service. Sigmund Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, points out that "the texts of the psalms known to us are not always what we mean by a 'psalm'--a separate, complete cultic poem, expressing one particular feeling and state of mind--but may be larger compositions composed of several independent parts, expressing different emotions and acts within the cultic situation That is, we have a liturgical composition, forming (part of) the text for an organically connected series of cultic acts." Other psalms combine elements which belong to different species or types of psalms, much as Herbert's two-part poems combine different modes: "Thus for instance . . . a hymn or thanksgiving psalm not infrequently ends in a prayer or with a reason for hearing the prayer (84; 103; 104; 125); or a psalm of supplication and lament may start with a hymnal motive so elaborate as to make the introduction a complete hymn (90; 139) or a thanksgiving psalm for previously received benefits (27; 40)."⁶³

In most of the lyrics of The Temple, however, the modulations among modes is not formalized in separate movements, but occurs, as it was thought to occur throughout the Psalter by Herbert's contemporaries, in subtle transitions or in complex combinations of modes which enable the speaker to take up the varied 'persons' his identity encompasses. As in the Psalms, moreover, the changing rhetorical stances are rendered comprehensible and valid by virtue of the persona's identity as established in the collection as a whole. Thus in the last poems discussed above, for example, the speaker's identity is not explicitly set within the conceptual framework of Christological typology, nor is there any reference to his priesthood, yet he clearly assumes both the authority to sustain the 'person' of the church and the authority to speak as the deputy of Christ to the church, his reader-congregation. Because his identity permeates The Temple, the assumption of one or another of his roles can often be indicated simply by modulations in style and tone. A close analysis of these modulations will be

undertaken in the following chapter.

Perhaps the place of the allegorical poems in "The Church" is best understood in the light of the persona's priesthood. A few are didactic exempla ("The World," "Humilitie"); most are allegorical narratives which place the speaker in a symbolic context representing a generalization about the relationship between God and man. They are formalizations, in a sense, of the persona's presentation of the life of the church of the New Dispensation, which corresponded, as we have seen, to the Psalter's allegorical application to Christian experience (although in the latter case, it remains a matter of interpretation). Herbert's allegories usually depend upon the traditional conceptual scheme of Christian experience as established by Biblical narrative--hence typological symbols are a consistent feature--but he also invents new allegorical vehicles; in both cases, the 'I' takes up the voice of the Christian Everyman in response to the universal implications of its setting.

Allegory, we have pointed out, does not require the historical reality of the narrative or its narrator. In The Temple, however, the persona retains a convincing individuality. As Robert L. Montgomery, Jr. has demonstrated in "The Province of Allegory in George Herbert's Verse," Herbert's allegorical narratives usually avoid becoming static generalizations. He achieves a balance between expository and dramatic modes of presentation, the foreground of the poem being given to the immediacy of individual experience, and therefore "what the speaker learns and how he learns it are at the bottom of his presentation of Christian truth."⁶⁴

Not just the allegories, however, but also the personal lyrics in this collection are part of the persona's fulfillment of the priest's duty to present the life of the New Dispensation in his own. Herbert was too wise to try to make that presentation a portrait of spiritual perfection. If the priest is the deputy of Christ, he is also the heir of Adam. Like all men, therefore, his heart is both altar engraven with the Word and sepulchre of Christ, his life, the summary and essence of the history of God's dealing with mankind and man's erratic and inadequate response. But the

priest's life could possess the exemplary force of a constant spiritual effort to become what God's grace has made him, a temple of the indwelling spirit and a member of Christ. The life of the priest of The Temple, the seventeenth-century poet-parson, has this moral efficacy.

Our attention has been focused upon the persona's relationship to the invisible church, the mystical body of Christ, but his priesthood reminds us that his role cannot be understood without reference to the visible church as well. If the speaker's priesthood is the heightened expression, on the one hand, of the universal priesthood of believers, on the other it is a distinct order, deriving its authority from Christ and performing its mediatory role through the institutional structure of the church. There is no suggestion here of the Puritan tendency to set off the invisible church as the only true church; rather, in line with the Anglican position, invisible and visible are treated as the diverse estate and condition of the same church.

The division of The Temple into "The Church-Porch" and "The Church" builds this conviction into the very structure of the work. The architectural metaphor is based upon an implicit use of the traditional comparison of the Christian church with its type, the Hebrew temple. In the three architectural divisions of the latter, the people went only as far as the porch, the priests entered the holy place, and the high priest alone passed through the veil and into the holy of holies. In the Christian antitype or fulfillment, described in Hebrews as the "greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands" which is Zion or the New Jerusalem (9.11, 12.22-24), Christ entered once for all into the holy of holies. Drawing the conclusion, the author of Hebrews exhorts, "Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, By a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, his flesh; And

having an high priest over the house of God; Let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water" (Hebrews 10.19-22).

So in The Temple, the moral precepts of "The Church-Porch" are presented as an analogue to the Law, which under the New Dispensation is not the whole of religion, but merely a spiritual preparation, a sprinkling of the Heart against bad conscience which is a figure for Christian baptism. Hence its didactic lessons are preceded by the sub-title "Perirrhanterium," which denotes an instrument for sprinkling holy water,⁶⁵ and followed by the quatrain

Thou, whom the former precepts have
Sprinkled and taught, now to behave
Thy self in church; approach, and taste
The churches mysticall repast.

The speaker, adopting the authoritative tone of his role as priest and preacher, leads the reader through the figurative baptism into the visible church institution where, through the veil of Christ's flesh, the Eucharist, union with the mystical body and hence participation in the New Jerusalem, may be achieved. In his two-part division of The Temple, then, Herbert presents the conviction that in the church of the New Dispensation, visible and invisible church are not separated by the veil as were their types, the holy place and the holy of holies, but united through the antitype of the veil, Christ, as different manifestations of the one church.⁶⁶

Once within "The Church," therefore, the visible church is a continually felt presence as the speaker responds to its liturgy, its organization of the Christian year in commemorative feasts and fasts, its actual church-building, and most importantly, to its sacraments and the priestly order which administers them.⁶⁷ Through the continuation of the physical metaphor, the allegorizing of church windows, altar, floor, music, and priestly vestments as symbols for spiritual characteristics of the temple in the heart, the divine unity of Christ's church remains central to the experience of The Temple.⁶⁸

This unity is most profoundly experienced in the sacrament of Holy Communion. The administration of the Eucharist, belonging to the visible church institution, is the means whereby the Christian gains assurance of his membership in the invisible church and a "taste/ Of [his] inheritance" ("The Bunch of Grapes," ll. 19-20), the New Jerusalem.⁶⁹ In the communal feast, the visible church experiences a moment of mysterious transcendence, apprehending the spiritual reality of its union, as mystical body, with Christ in the Kingdom of God. In the second part of "The H. Communion," the speaker of "The Church" celebrates this moment of transcendence:

Give me my captive soul, or take
My bodie also thither.
Another lift like this will make
Them both to be together.

Before that sinne turn'd flesh to stone,
And all our lump to leaven;
A fervent sigh might well have blown
Our innocent earth to heaven.

For sure when Adam did not know
To sinne, or sinne to smother;
He might to heav'n from Paradise go,
As from one room t'another.

Thou hast restor'd us to this ease
By this thy heav'nly bloud;
Which I can go to, when I please,
And leave th'earth to their food. (ll. 25-40)

The second Adam, Christ, regained for man the paradise which the first Adam lost; the new garden is the church, where "the inclosure is thine [God's] ARM," as the speaker states in "Paradise" (l. 6), another poem about his experience as member of the church of the New Dispensation (cf. "The Flower").⁷⁰ In the paradise of Christ's church, therefore, the Christian is restored to Adam's ease, gaining a foretaste, in his incorporation into the mystical body, of the Kingdom where his "life is hid with Christ in God" (Coloss. iii.3). The same idea lies behind the final poem of The Temple, "Love" (III), a narrative which uses as its allegorical vehicle the sacramental ritual that is the prefiguration of the final union of the New Jerusalem (Luke 12-37: "Blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall

gird himself, and make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them"). In this poem, then, the 'I,' the Christian Everyman, again experiences in the sacrament of the visible church a foretaste of "the soul's reception into heaven."⁷¹

The many levels of meaning of the collection's presiding metaphor, the temple, have been recognized. All these manifestations are related to the persona of The Temple. He is the locus where they unite, thematically and rhetorically, in the poetic world of "The Church," just as in the Anglican conception of the church they unite in the presence of the priest, Christ's deputy, as he administers the body and blood of Christ in the visible church sacrament. The priesthood of the persona, therefore, is both his achieved vocation and a metaphor for the mediatory role he performs in The Temple.

After leading the reader into the visible church with the authoritative voice of the preacher, the persona takes up and ultimately comprehends all the voices in the eternal dialogue between Christ and His church. The voice of a seventeenth-century poet-parson is here, presenting his individual spiritual experience in intimate detail. At the same time, the typological metaphors which underlie the description of his experience present the implicit claim that it is to be understood as a sub-fulfillment of the life of Christ and therefore as an expression of the life of the mystical body. Christ lives and speaks in him, joining his voice to the voice of the church.

As he takes up the voice of the priest, therefore, preaching and officiating in the liturgy, the persona fulfills the whole duty of Christ's vicegerent, presenting Christ in doctrine and in life. His achievement of priestly vocation is the final ratification of his authority to speak for the church, modulating between 'I' and 'we' as he mediates between God and man. The voice of Christ, the voice of the Church Universal, and the voice of the

individual temple of the Holy Ghost (including the reader's, if he will only "thrust his heart" into the lines--"Obedience," ll. 42-43) are united in his presence as he translates the life of the church of the New Dispensation into a poetic work of art.

That life is not conceived as a state of spiritual perfection and beatitude which the persona gradually achieves in a progressive or narrative unfolding.⁷² "The Church-Porch" provides a sense of beginning as it leads into "The Church" and the five final poems on the Last Things create a sense of conclusion, but there is no direct line of spiritual development from one to the other. Uncertainty and incipient rebellion are present at the end of The Temple as well as in the middle and at the beginning. As Joseph Summers has remarked, it presents a picture of "violently alternating spiritual change" in which resolution, joy, and peace are only momentary and must be constantly renewed.⁷³

For Herbert and his Anglican contemporaries, man is not freed from his sinful nature in the new paradise of the church, but only from the damnation it calls down upon him. Hence despair, spiritual dryness, and affliction must be constant aspects of the experience of the church as well as joy and peace; they may even be considered special marks of election, as Christ subjects His church to His death. This conception of the nature of the experience of Christ's church is embodied, as we have seen, in the identity of the persona. Built up of many lyric moments, this identity acts in turn upon the individual lyrics, providing the context within which they are to be read. The speaker exhibits an un-Calvinistic lack of certainty about his election in moments of despair or rebellion, but the reader is expected to recognize that these moments are presented as part of the experience of the church, rather than as a sign that the speaker has not yet achieved full entrance into the church.

The full identity of the composite 'I' presides over the entire work. Although the persona's achievement of priesthood is not recorded until well towards the end of the collection, in "Aaron," he takes up the voice of preacher and priest throughout. His presiding identity is the primary structural element of The Temple, providing the underpinning for both the local sequences of inter-

related lyrics and the widely dispersed thematic sequences of lyrics.⁷⁴ The Temple can be read, therefore, in the same way that the Psalms were read in a devotional context, without losing sight of the significance of the whole. The reader, once familiar with the work, turns to poems which answer his immediate spiritual need, and is then either led into the next by a sense of its applicability or reminded of a pertinent poem in another part of The Temple. As in "The H. Scriptures" (II),

This verse marks that, and both do make a motion
 Unto a third, that ten leaves off doth lie:
 Then as dispersed herbs do watch a potion,
 These three make up some Christians destinie. (ll. 5-8)

¹ The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation, 1570-1640 (Princeton, 1961), p. 307.

² "The Idea of the Church in Christian History," Church History, 21 (1952), 196-97.

³ John Oman, "Church," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh, 1908-1927), III, 622.

⁴ George, p. 317.

⁵ It can be traced back to the Pauline concept of the mystical body of Christ and represents an important element in Augustinian ecclesiology (Pauck, pp. 199-201).

⁶ Pauck, p. 211.

⁷ George, p. 313; H. F. Woodhouse, The Doctrine of the Church in Anglican Theology, 1547-1603 (London, 1954), p. 55.

⁸ The Rise of Puritanism (1938; rpt. New York, 1957), pp. 6, 19, 83-93. Charles and Katherine George disagree with Haller's classification of the Puritans (pp. 6-7) and suggest that there can be no adequate definition of such a diverse and disunified group (p. 405).

⁹ George, pp. 318, 317, 108, 368-69, and 401, respectively.

¹⁰ George, p. 407.

¹¹ For an excellent summary of these, see Roland H. Bainton's chapter on "Comprehension and the Middle Way of Anglicanism" in The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (Boston, 1956), pp. 183-210.

¹² John S. Marshall, Hooker and the Anglican Tradition (London, 1963), p. 159. The following observations are indebted to Marshall, especially pp. 155-60.

¹³ H. F. Woodhouse, The Doctrine of the Church in Anglican Theology, p. 50.

¹⁴ Just and Temperate Defense of the Five Books of Ecclesiastical Polity (London, 1603), p. 70. Cited by Marshall, Hooker and the Anglican Tradition, p. 156.

¹⁵ Woodhouse, p. 59.

¹⁶ George, p. 418.

¹⁷ Helen C. White, English Devotional Literature, 1600-1640, Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 29 (Madison, 1931), pp. 204-205.

¹⁸ In their discussion of the Protestant saint, Charles and Katherine George observe that "Insofar as its social tone or tendency is concerned, the primary emphasis in this Protestant doctrine of the saint is isolating rather than integrating. The Protestant saint is primarily conceived as an individual plucked by the grace of God from the great mass of damned humanity and set straight and infallibly on the road to salvation" (p. 101).

¹⁹ My thinking on this question has been influenced by Leo Spitzer's remarks on the poetic 'I' in Dante's Commedia. Spitzer suggests that Dante made his persona representative of "the human soul as such with all its capacity to attain to the Beyond and to reach out of space toward its Creator" so that the medieval public could accept as genuine his description of the supramundane world. He points out that at the same time, however, an empirical personality is convincingly portrayed, and concludes, "For the story that Dante had to tell, both aspects of his composite 'I' were necessary: on the one hand, he must transcend the limitations of individuality in order to gain an experience of universal experience; on the other, an individual eye is necessary to perceive and fix the matter of experience" ("Notes on the Poetic and Empirical 'I' in Medieval Authors," Traditio, 4 (1946), 416.

²⁰ The Eloquent 'I': Style and Self in Seventeenth-Century Prose (Madison, Wis., 1968), pp. 7-8.

²¹ A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, rev. ed. (London, 1963), p. 104. The above represents a close paraphrase of material Grant provides here.

²² Charles Augustus and Emilie Grace Briggs, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms (Edinburgh, 1906), I, lvi-lvii.

²³ Grant, p. 103; Jaroslav Pelikan, Luther the Expositor: Introduction to the Reformer's Exegetical Writings (Saint Louis, 1959), pp. 89-90, 107-108.

²⁴ The Psalmes of David (1632), 2 pts. in 1 vol., Spenser Society Reprints, Nos. 31, 32 (Manchester, 1881), p. 7.

²⁵ The Psalmes of David and others. With M. John Calvins Commentaries, trans. Arthur Golding (London, 1571), argument to Ps. 109.

²⁶ The Sermons, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter, Vol. II (Berkeley, 1955), 97.

²⁷ A Defence of Poetry, ed. J. A. Van Dorsten (London, 1966), p. 22.

²⁸ Joan Webber has suggested that Thomas Traherne's Centuries of Meditations achieves "the most explicit representation of the cosmic personality" in 17th-century prose through its persona's extensive and complex shifting of roles ("Thomas Traherne: The Fountain of Love," Chap. 8 of The Eloquent 'I,' p. 223 and passim). The paramount importance of the Psalms in Traherne's development and self-discovery, as recorded in The Third Century, and the identification of the speaker's voice with David's are surely not fortuitous in this connection.

²⁹ Critics have tended to see the influence of both the Psalms and the Sidneian translation on Herbert in terms of a model for the subjective religious lyric. Harold Fisch suggests that "The Psalter provided Herbert with just that type of spiritual poetry, simple, passionate, and meditative, which he needed to bring his delicate yet masculine genius to full expression As a literary document, they provide the prototype for that special kind of subjective poetry in which the soul addresses itself to a personal God" (Jerusalem and Albion (London, 1964), p. 58). Louis L. Martz, giving his opinion that Herbert was familiar with the Sidneian Psalter, comments, "the important thing is what is represented in Sidney's Psalms: the attempt to bring the art of Elizabethan lyric into the service of psalmody, and to perform this in a way that makes the psalm an intimate, personal cry of the soul to God" (The Poetry of Meditation, rev. ed. (New Haven, 1962), p. 278). Cf. Joseph Summers, George Herbert: His Religion and Art (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 146-48.

³⁰ Joan Bennet, e. g., asserts that "With the exception of a few didactic poems interpreting the doctrine or ritual of the Church, all his poetry is spiritual autobiography" ("George Herbert," in Five Metaphysical Poets (Cambridge, 1964), p. 56). See

also F. E. Hutchinson, ed., The Works of George Herbert (Oxford), p. xxxvii; and Margaret Bottrall, George Herbert (London, 1954), p. 147.

³¹ All citations are taken from F. E. Hutchinson's edition of The Works of George Herbert (Oxford, 1941).

³² "George Herbert and Caritas," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, 22 (1959), 321-23.

³³ According to Isaac Walton, Herbert on his deathbed sent a copy of The Temple to Nicolas Ferrar, describing it as "a picture of the many spiritual Conflicts that have past betwixt God and my Soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master, in whose service I have now found perfect freedom" (cited by Hutchinson, p. xxxvii).

³⁴ George T. Wright discusses this question in The Poet in the Poem: The Personae of Eliot, Yeats, and Pound (Berkeley, 1960), pp. 30-31.

³⁵ George Herbert: His Religion and Art (London, 1954), pp. 127, 224 n.

³⁶ A Reading of George Herbert (London, 1952), pp. 122-23, 117.

³⁷ Tuve, p. 123.

³⁸ Tuve, pp. 156, 125.

³⁹ "Jesus-Yahweh," Chap. 10 of Events and their Afterlife: The Dialectics of Christian Typology in the Bible and Dante (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 136-40, 146-47, and passim.

⁴⁰ Charity, p. 87.

⁴¹ OED, Compact ed. (Oxford, 1971), par. B. 1. b. All subsequent references will be to this edition.

⁴² Charity, pp. 138-39.

⁴³ Charity, p. 93.

⁴⁴ According to Robert M. Grant, Luther not only emphasized

the Pauline Epistles in his Biblical exegesis, but "returned to a considerable degree to the Christocentric interpretation found in the New Testament." His historical and grammatical method of interpretation was not an end in itself, but a means of understanding Christ, who, he believed, was taught in all the books of the Bible (A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, pp. 104-105). See also Charity, p. 154.

⁴⁵ Joseph Summers has observed that George Ryley, the author of a MS entitled "Mr Herbert's Temple & Church Militant Explained and Improved" (1714-1715) "read The Temple as the typical record of the Christian life" (p. 89), as did John Reynolds, who in his poem "To the Memory of the divine Mr George Herbert, Author of the Temple" (A View of Death (London, 1725), pp. 111-12) exclaims, "Strange! how each fellow-saint's surpris'd/ To see himself anatomiz'd!" (p. 17). This is the reading Summers also adopts (p. 86).

⁴⁶ The Typology of Scripture, 5th ed. (Michigan, [1952]), pp. 2-3. Fairbairn's definition is geared to describe the New Testament's typical interpretation of the Old Testament, but it might be applied as well to the New Testament's Christological typology. Just as the typical events, the sub-fulfillments of the Old Testament, share with their fulfillment in historical reality, so too, asserts Christological typology, does the experience of the members of Christ's mystical body, the sub-fulfillment of the New Dispensation.

⁴⁷ This concept of the unity of Christian experience in Christ is inextricably linked with the concept of the mystical body in the language of the New Testament (cf. I Cor. 6.15-17, 10.17; Romans 12.5; Eph. 4.4).

⁴⁸ Utmost Art: Complexity in the Verse of George Herbert ([Lexington], 1966), p. 95.

⁴⁹ The speaker's reference to his groans recalls "the voice of my groaning" (vs. 5); his description of himself as a weed in Paradise, the Psalmist's lament, "I am withered like grass" (vs. 11); and like David, he complains that God "turnest th'edge of all things on me still,/ Taking me up to throw me down" ("Because of thine indignation and thy wrath: for thou hast lifted me up, and cast me down"--vs. 10).

⁵⁰ Heather Asals ("The Voice of George Herbert's 'The Church,'" ELH, 36, No. 3 (1969), 511-28) has suggested that the Christian commentaries on the Psalms exerted a strong influence upon The Temple (p. 511) and that through the identification with the Psalmist's voice, the speakers in Herbert's collection expand

the dimension of their voices (p. 513). Her conclusion is that "The development of 'The Church' dramatizes the gradual acknowledgement by the speakers in 'The Church' of the fact that the real speaker in all the poems is the voice of 'The Church'" (p. 519). We share a good deal of common ground, but I differ in finding a single, independently created persona which governs the whole of The Temple. In especial, I disagree with the idea that the speaker is not aware of his relationship to the church in many poems and gains this awareness solely through reference to David.

⁵¹ In both "The Odour. 2. Cor. 2.15" and "Coloss. iii.3. Our life is hid with Christ in God," the speaker responds to and joins his own voice with that of Paul. The central situations of "The Crosse" and "Affliction" (I) closely resemble that in Job: the speaker argues with God, blaming Him for his afflictions, but is reduced in the end to unquestioning submission (cf. Job's complaint, Chap. 30, esp. vs. 26-31, with Ps. 102 and "The Crosse"). "Artillerie," "Affliction" (IV), and "Grace" should also be read with Job in mind. See also Paul M. Levitt and Kenneth E. Johnston, "Herbert's 'The Collar' and the Story of Job," Papers on Language and Literature, 4 (1968), 329-30.

⁵² Rosemond Tuve and Joseph Summers are probably most responsible for modern readers' recognition of this distinctive combination of the private and the exemplary in The Temple. I have referred to Tuve throughout, and would here like to call attention to Summers' "The Conception of Form," Chap. 4 of George Herbert, in this connection. He has succinctly described The Temple as "the symbolic record, written by a poet, of a 'typical' Christian life within the Church" (p. 86).

⁵³ That this prayer was interpreted as referring to the mystical body is indicated by the King James Version's glossing of Romans 12.5 and Galatians 3.28.

⁵⁴ The emblem seems to have been used most frequently in a secular sense, as representing faithfulness in friendship and love. See Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1964), p. 107; and Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. u. XVII. Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart, 1967), cols. 1016-19 for exemplars from the emblem books of Octavius van Veen and Gabriel Rollenhagen. The plates of the latter's book (by members of the van de Passe family) were used by George Wither for his A Collection of Emblems (1635) (ed. John Horden, English Emblem Books, No. 12 (n. p., 1968); see pp. 75, 99, 166). At least one of the Rollenhagen emblems has a religious significance, however, which concerns the union of Christ's mystical body that underlies Herbert's poem: entitled "Gemeinschaft der Christen," the plate represents two

hands bound together over a cross and the lesson reads "Was immer Christi Gemeinde mit vereinten Gebeten und vereinten Herzen erbittet, wird sie im Himmel erlangen" (Henkel and Schöne, col. 1017). Wither uses the plate for a secular lesson concerning the proof of true friendship through shared afflictions (p. 75). Kester Svendsen, Milton and Science (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), discusses the use of the clasped-hands motif in Paradise Lost (pp. 111-12).

55 A Reading, pp. 179-80.

56 Anglicans held that the ministry is Christ's gift to His church and derives its authority directly from Him (including the power of the keys--"Blest Order, which in power dost so excell,/ That with th'one hand thou liftest to the sky,/ And with the other throwest down to hell"--"The Priesthood"). In contrast, Lutheran and Reformed thought conceived of the priesthood as an administrative function, an exercising of the authority of the universal priesthood of believers, the church. See H. F. Woodhouse, The Doctrine of the Church in Anglican Theology, pp. 78, 159, 173.

57 See, e. g., Joseph Summers, p. 137; Arnold Stein, George Herbert's Lyrics (Baltimore, 1968), pp. 147-48.

58 Tuve, A Reading, pp. 154-56.

59 Summers, p. 138.

60 A Reading, p. 157.

61 "George Herbert," in Explorations (London, 1946), p. 115. In a recent article, "George Herbert's Affinities with the Homelical Mode" (Humanities Association Bulletin, 21, No. 3 (1970), 38-48), Saad El-Gabalawy discusses the tonal similarities in detail (pp. 40-46). He also suggests that a three-fold structure of proposition, demonstration, and conclusion, which was adapted from the classical oration by the Christian homelists, is characteristic of many of Herbert's poems (pp. 39-40).

62 George Herbert, pp. 168-69.

63 The Psalms in Israel's Worship, trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas (Oxford, 1962), II, 74-75. The observable changes in tone and rhetoric would have enabled Herbert to recognize these features.

64 "The Province of Allegory in George Herbert's Verse," Texas Studies in Literature and Language, 1 (1960), 467 and passim.

⁶⁵ Hutchinson, p. 477.

⁶⁶ My discussion draws upon the work of John David Walker ("The Architectonics of George Herbert's The Temple," ELH, 29 (1962), 289-305) and Annabel M. Endicott ("The Structure of George Herbert's Temple: A Reconsideration," University of Toronto Quarterly, 34 (1965), 226-37). Miss Endicott summarizes the various interpretations of the three divisions of the Hebrew temple presented by English divines in the 17th century (pp. 227-30). Rebutting Walker's thesis that this three-fold structure is reflected in "The Church-Porch," "The Church," and "The Church Militant," she suggests that the latter is not an integral part of The Temple and that Herbert is using a two-part division, like that described by John Donne in his sermons, the holy place and the holy of holies being fused in "The Church" (p. 236). Lee Ann Johnson presents the case again for regarding "The Church Militant" as a separate work unrelated to The Temple ("The Relationship of 'The Church Militant' to The Temple," SP, 68, No. 2 (1971), 200-206).

⁶⁷ Again, an analogue exists in the Psalms, which frequently refer to the temple building and its furnishings and to liturgical rituals, such as the sacrifice (Mowinkel, II, 89).

⁶⁸ Rosemond Tuve has remarked that this allegorical treatment of the physical church was a tradition of long-standing to be found in many medieval Speculum ecclesiae (A Reading, p. 152). Based as it was upon the conviction that the visible church was a true corporal manifestation of the invisible church, it was one of the Catholic traditions which was congenial to Anglican thought.

⁶⁹ In the liturgy of the Anglican Church, the priest thanks God for the Eucharist, calling it the assurance "that we be verye membres incorporate in thy mystical body, which is the blessed companie of all faithfull people, and be also heirs, through hope, of thy everlasting kingdom" (The Booke of Common Prayer (London, 1552), reprinted in The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI (London, 1910), p. 390).

⁷⁰ Stanley Stewart has described the motif of paradise, the enclosed garden, as a type of the virgin and the church, and discusses the image's implications in "Paradise," "Sunday," and "The Flower" (The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and the Image in Seventeenth-Century Poetry (Madison, Wis., 1966), pp. 49-50, 53-57, 147-48).

⁷¹ Joseph Summers, p. 89. Summers pointed out the eschatological significance of the poem, but he would limit the poem to

this level, not seeing it, as I do, as an experience placed within the context of the visible church sacrament. The King James Version refers to Luke 22.27 and John 13.4 in a gloss to the verse cited above, both descriptions of Christ serving the disciples during the Last Supper.

⁷² Theories of a developmental progression in The Temple have been forwarded by Louis L. Martz, The Poetry of Meditation, pp. 289-319; Elisabeth Stambler, "The Unity of George Herbert's 'Temple,'" Cross Currents, 10 (1960), 251-66; John David Walker, "The Architectonics of George Herbert's The Temple," passim.; Sara W. Hanley, "Temples in The Temple: George Herbert's Study of the Church," SEL, 8 (1968), 121-35; Valerie Carnes, "The Unity of George Herbert's The Temple: A Reconsideration," ELH, 35 (1968), 505-26.

⁷³ George Herbert, pp. 86-87, 93-94.

⁷⁴ Summers has suggested that the principle of organization of The Temple is based upon these local sequences, which relate adjacent lyrics to each other thematically and, at the same time, provide in their fluctuations between sorrow and joy, doubt and assurance, a psychologically realistic portrait of Christian spiritual experience (pp. 86-87).

Chapter 4

The Voice of the Composite 'I'

As a literary term, "persona" should be used to designate a more complex presiding presence than a mere speaker, or speaking voice. The interaction of biographic, thematic, and symbolic materials in a collection of lyrics may give rise to such a presence, possessing a complex, many-sided personality and a specific and controlled relationship to humanity. Nevertheless, on the fundamental level this persona is still the speaker of the poems, and therefore his voice must be realized in individual lyric moments. As recognized by Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke, though by few of their contemporaries or successors, the composite 'I' of the Psalms demanded a style which could modulate among and combine the voices of an historical individual, the representative Christian, and the church. Their endeavor to create a suitable medium by utilizing all the current lyric modes represents an important precedent for the eclectic combination of disparate and often conflicting techniques whereby Herbert endowed his persona's voice with the full range of a composite 'I.'

It must not be forgotten, however, that in the period between the Sidneys' translation of the Psalms and Herbert's composition of the lyrics of The Temple, important changes had taken place not only in the range and sophistication of techniques available to the English lyric poet but in the conception of the rhetorical and thematic conventions appropriate to lyric poems. It is during this period that the subjective lyric mode, concerned with individual expression and intended to be read, distinguished itself from the song lyric. This mode was later to dominate literary lyric composition, but during the early seventeenth century it existed side-by-side with sophisticated song lyrics, whose techniques for achieving a high literary as well as musical quality were concur-

rently crystallizing in the Elizabethan song books.¹ The presence for the first time in English poetry of these two incipiently rival conceptions of lyric (their inherent tendencies leading eventually to disparate and almost mutually exclusive techniques and conventions) makes the distinction between what may be called, in simplest terms, modes of 'song' and 'speech' in the lyric one of the most useful for examining early seventeenth-century practice, and particularly that of Herbert.²

The centrality of this distinction to the style of The Temple is evident in the rough correspondence of these two lyric modes of 'song' and 'speech,' taken as abstractions at their most distinctive, to the two outermost extremes in the range of modulation of the persona's voice, the empirical individual and the choric, universal church. In actual practice during this period, however, elements of the two modes were frequently used in conjunction; furthermore, there were many different kinds of 'song' and 'speech' in the lyric from which to choose techniques and conventions. Herbert made use of most of them, attempting many more new combinations than any of his contemporaries, and consequently the majority of The Temple lyrics are neither wholly individual nor wholly choric and universal, but instead achieve complex and varied accommodations between the two extremes. Before attempting to analyze the effects of these complex combinations, it is advisable to look at the characteristics of the two general lyric modes, paying particular attention to the rhetorical and tonal effects of their respective techniques.

Jerome Mazzaro's study, Transformations in the Renaissance English Lyric, makes it clear that the question of the rhetorical effects, in the widest sense, of the lyric mode became particularly pertinent in the Renaissance. Medieval lyric was considered a branch of music, and as such partook of the latter's character as an "art of right proportion," and "a mirror of the universal

order." Hence, Mazzaro observes, "neither the poet nor the musician proposed that the music accompanying the words should have a capacity or a duty to express the feelings aroused by the words. Both words and music took their designations from their religious and social roles and often independently followed complementary but separate conventions. Insofar as they did relate, their combined function was to transform the useless into the useful, the disharmonious into the harmonious, and the meaningless into the meaningful."³

The medieval lyric poet, consequently, felt no need to establish a persona. The voice of his lyrics was the disembodied voice of the singer or bard; it was not associated with himself as an individual, for to do so, Mazzaro points out, "would have been to contaminate the purity of his own instrumentality. The poet's only business was song. Whatever he celebrated, he celebrated in his role as singer; for brooks and blossoms unsung were different from brooks and blossoms sung. The singing of them . . . was an assertion of their value, a transportation of them into a dimension peculiar to song where they became part of a harmonious whole."⁴

The general awakening in the Renaissance of a concern with the self as an individual, with which the Reformation's interiorization of religion coincided, led to the transformation of lyric theory and practice that is the primary concern of Mazzaro's study. The search for vehicles for the investigation and expression of the new self-consciousness brought about a reinterpretation of music's effects along rhetorical lines. Marsilio Ficino, a central figure in the philosophical definition of self-consciousness, introduced a change in the traditional conception of lyric by distinguishing the effects of text and score and associating the former with logic, the latter with rhetoric, so that the poetry was seen as acting upon man's rational faculty while the music acted upon his passions. The distinction encouraged a modification in the conception of music which emphasized its potentiality as an imitative art in a more specific sense than simply as a reflection of universal order. The change can be seen in practice in

the musica reservata of the mid-sixteenth-century Netherlands composers, whose new goal, in Mazzaro's word, was to "present an event in such a way that the listener sees it before his very eyes, as in a dramatic performance."⁵

While the distinction focused attention upon the relationship of words and music, it also furthered their final separation, since, by establishing their separate identity, it made way for the specific and often mutually exclusive techniques which were being developed for each medium by increasingly professional practicing poets and composers. Music's association with rhetoric established confidence in the ability of musical forms to communicate and elicit feeling without the support of words, giving rise to instrumental music. Coevally, the lyric text's new association with logic enabled it to share with the dramatic and epic genres the ability to imitate life and create a fictional world, moving it finally and decisively out of music theory and into the realm of poetry.⁶

While lyric poetry and music were becoming independent arts with conventions and techniques derived from their own resources, the conception of the magical affective power associated with their union gained in importance in Renaissance thought. Behind this conception lay a purely speculative understanding of ancient lyric practice, the fabulous effects of which were read from the myths of Arion, Amphion, and Orpheus. According to John Hollander, there existed an unbroken literary tradition from classical times on, independent of medieval schemes of universal order and proportion, which associated these mythical poet-musicians with abstract eloquence. Hollander traces the amplifications of this theme in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, showing that in conjunction with a conceptual shift from music as an imitative art to music as an expressive art, Orpheus emerges as "the sublime shaper of human feeling, rather than merely of universal activity, as the raw material of the myth provides."⁷

The French Académie de Poésie et de Musique and the Italian Camerata provided the most extreme and explicit presentation of the changed conception of music in their theoretical pronounce-

ments upon the affective power of ancient lyric and in their espousal, as raison d'être, of the aim of recreating its fabulous effects. In practice, their theories led to the new musico-poetic forms, musique mesurée and recitativo.⁸ Although the academies considered their work a departure from earlier Renaissance musical practices and deplored in particular the latter's use of polyphony, however, their basic prepossessions, as Maz-zaro's study shows, grew out of and were basically in accordance with the more general and widespread modification in the conception of music that their predecessors had effected.⁹

Both were motivated, in contradistinction to medieval music, by an essentially rhetorical goal: the imitation of experience, placing it before the hearer in such a way that it created an illusion of reality which would directly engage his mind and emotion. Both, in line with the limitation of the mode of the text's operation to logic, affecting man's rational faculties, and that of the score to rhetoric, affecting his passions, were concerned with the question of the musical representation of the text. A point of actual dissimilarity, however, particularly with reference to the Camerata, existed concerning the appropriate musical treatment of emotion. Hollander suggests that the difference can be best understood as one "between representation or 'imitation' and expression, between the notion of a musical setting as an appropriate and sympathetic background for a text, and the idea of music as a vehicle for a piercing of the hearer with that which will agitate the passions within him and cause him to 'imitate' or 'represent' within himself the desired feeling."¹⁰

The techniques of musical representation of the text associated with the former were predominantly intellectual and pictorial, and made use of emblematic visual or conceptual conventions (such as the use of black notes to symbolize darkness, or the setting of the word "sun" to the note G, which is the solmization syllable "sol") and allegorical tonal figures (such as the identification of heaven with high notes, hell with low notes).¹¹ The Camerata, as Bukofzer notes, rejected these techniques as pedantic, insisting

that the music should respond to the sense of the entire passage rather than to single words. Its primary technical means of establishing an affective style involved a movement into tonality, a new freedom in dissonance treatment and chromaticism, and in general, the definition of the expressive significances of the various keys.¹² In the monodic recitative, moreover, whose musical rhythm and placing of the cadences were governed by the words, the performance involved, according to Bukofzer, "a hitherto unknown realistic pathos and . . . an affective violence in which the singer resorted to grimaces, acting, and the imitation of the inflections of natural speech, like crying and gasping."¹³

It must be kept in mind that, in most cases, the use of these techniques overlapped during much of the period; the association of the first class with Renaissance music and the second with early Baroque is a matter of characteristic tendency, in general accordance with the gradual shift in the conception of music from an art of imitation to an art of expression.

The English song books of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods presented the public with sophisticated art songs which differed from the contemporary popular songs in their self-conscious concern with the relation of words and music. Wilfrid Mellers has shown with examples in "Words and Music in Elizabethan England" that both illustrative and expressive techniques of relating music to the text were used in these collections; he notes a gradual tendency in the later books, however, corresponding to the general change in the conception of musical treatment of emotion mentioned above, to prefer the dramatic effects of the latter.¹⁴ The composers of airs, the solo songs for lute accompaniment which became the most popular song form after 1600, made the most advanced experiments towards a theatrical style, according to Mellers, but they were more conservative than their Italian counterparts in the

employment of expressive techniques, and consequently failed, as Mazzaro contends, to develop the operatic style that would have enabled their work to become a vehicle of self-consciousness.¹⁵

As John Hollander points out, the French academicians were equally conservative, in comparison with the Italians, on the question of the dramatic musical expression of affections.¹⁶ In Manfred Bukofzer's opinion, moreover, the immediate practical model to which the English air was primarily indebted was the French air de cour, which in turn had been influenced by the French Academy's experimentation in the latter half of the sixteenth century with musique mesurée à l'antique.¹⁷ Frances Yates has shown that the French Academy had close ties with the foremost contemporary French poets, formed around Ronsard in the Pléiade.¹⁸ In England, too, although there are no clear-cut lines based upon official affiliations, the work of the foremost contemporary poets in the field of the song lyric were associated with the air.¹⁹

The English poets and composers did some experimenting, though comparatively little, with the forms which the French called vers and musique mesurée.²⁰ These experiments may have contributed to the poets' ability to achieve rhythm and balance in the structure of the line, as Catherine Ing suggests;²¹ the lasting effects resulted, in England as in France, when they made use of this new skill to refashion the forms of strophic popular song into indigenous approximations of ancient lyric. Most important, strophism remained one of the fundamental attributes of the current song mode most meaningfully connected with serious literary endeavors, and, as in France several decades earlier, a strophic unity of rhythm replaced the rhetorical lyric's strophic unity of sound.

In the air literature, therefore, we find the development of a large variety of short and clearly defined stanzaic forms. The substitution of free forms for the fixed forms of the rhetorical lyric allowed composers and poets much more freedom in suiting the rhetorical and conceptual modality of each individual lyric.²² At the same time, the strophic rhythm provided the

structural underpinning, allowing for a freer and more subtle development of thought and emotion. Campion, in particular, who was an accomplished poet as well as composer, led the movement to endow the air with the flexibility, concision, and point of epigram, increasing the range of tonal modulation.²³

The degree of tonal modulation possible, however, was in the end limited by the strophism of the air. Once the first stanza was created, the poet was obliged to repeat its form exactly in all the succeeding stanzas. The sophisticated techniques of musical illustration and expression of the text, and particularly the new technique of musical coloration, enforced a more rigid emotional correspondence among stanzas than had been necessary in the song lyric of the Tudor court. This, in turn, emphasized the already inherent tendency of strophic song to depend upon a static repetition and amplification of thought and emotion in conjunction with the stanza divisions, limiting it to the simplest narrative and logical transitions. The combination of a recurring pattern of thought and emotion set to the recurring melody created a measured, seemingly predetermined movement appropriate to the expression of general, representative truth. It could not do justice to the unpredictability and particularity of individual responses. Hence the poetic text of the Elizabethan air, as Mazzaro concludes, could not become the vehicle of a persona with empirical individuality, nor could it become "a fully-fleshed expression of consciousness."²⁴

During the same period, however, other lyric poets were developing the potential of their medium for the subjective expression of individual thought and emotion. As we have seen, the association of the lyric text with logic enabled it to move out of its musical provenance and wholly into the realm of poetry. Particularly important, according to Jerome Mazzaro, was its new access to the logical instruments considered proper to the poet's art of fiction or invention, the Aristotelian example (inductive syllogism)

and enthymeme (deductive syllogism), which permitted it to build up its structure of significance not only with the scholastic 'predicables,' but with the more individualistic scholastic 'predicaments' as well. "The placement of the lyric among these techniques," Mazzaro concludes, "permitted the poet to take man out of his definition as a 'living creature endowed with reason, having aptness by nature to speak,' and to put the stress upon man's accidents or categories, and with the change, alter the very form of lyric toward a false discipline relying upon its own system of probabilities for its validity."²⁵ It became possible, in other words, to emulate in lyric verse the capacity of epic and dramatic poetry to create a fictional world, to become an imitation of life, of actions, or of men.

In Astrophil and Stella, Sir Philip Sidney took full advantage of the lyric's new potential for creating a fictional world. The use of predicaments, as Mazzaro points out, places Astrophil clearly before the reader as he speaks, revealing the time and place, even, sometimes, what he is wearing, as well as his position in society, his level of birth and education, and his relationship to others. The rudimentary narrative framework binds the individual lyric moments thus sharply delineated into a sequence which can comprehend the full ranges of character and of action.²⁶

The voice of the sequence's presiding presence, furthermore, possesses an expressive range and force rarely before achieved in English lyric. In the well-known passage from A Defense of Poetry, Sidney complains of the contemporary love lyric's lack of verisimilitude and suggests that the cause is stylistic, an absence of "forcibleness or energia (as the Greeks call it)."²⁷ Astrophil makes the same criticism in the sonnet sequence, and claims that his style does not betray a similar "want of inward tuch" (15, l. 10). The reader believes him, not because he wholly eschews the ornate Petrarchan mode of his contemporaries, but because his voice continually responds to and reflects his mental processes.

As Robert L. Montgomery, Jr., cautions, the ornate Petrarchan style is a consistent feature of the verse of Astrophil

and Stella. He points out, however, that "it exists in tension with a more incisive expression . . . and this tension is anything but the expression of a confused poetic aim. It reveals instead two divergent and conflicting points of view which extend to the dramatic structure of the whole of the sequence: Astrophil is torn between the ceremonial worship of his mistress and the melancholy, sceptical explorations of his own mind. And if styles reveal attitudes, these attitudes in their turn spring from familiar literary and ethical conventions deliberately used."²⁸ Through the tension between two different stylistic modes, therefore, Sidney 'authenticates' the contentio in Astrophil's mind between the Petrarchan idealization of love and his own immediate and personal response to Stella, giving rise in the process, as Mazzaro has observed, to the first native English persona.²⁹

What distinguishes the style of Astrophil and Stella from Sidney's earlier verse, in Montgomery's opinion, is "a broad shift in his conception of the appearance of style, a change influenced, as his critical remarks suggest, by a corresponding evolution in his view of the relative importance of style and content."³⁰ In fact, as we have seen, the beginnings of this shift are perceptible in the psalm translations. In Astrophil and Stella, as in the latter, the rhetorical figures of repetition and antithesis associated with the ornate style, though still present, are made to respond to the character of the thought rather than being allowed to indiscriminately embellish and shape content into the conventional mode. At the same time, in the more incisive expression that Sidney uses to record Astrophil's personal response to Stella and to the Petrarchan love conventions, the shift in attitude toward the relation of style and content gives rise to the new speech mode.

Sidney's speech mode was 'new,' of course, only in the way it applied traditional ideas about the relationship of style and content associated with the plain style and the Aristotelian rhetorical conception of energia to lyric practice. The purpose of the plain style, the humblest of the three traditional kinds of

literary style, was to teach; consequently, it subordinated words to matter in the interest of clarity and modelled its style upon the spoken language. The acknowledged end, as Arnold Stein points out, was the discovery of truth rather than persuasion, which was the end of the high style's greater verbal artifice.³¹ But Aristotle had shown in his Rhetoric that there was a persuasive efficacy in the subordination of words to matter. His concept of energia, as Mazzaro explains, was based upon the observation that when a speaker chooses language suitable to the matter and properly charged with the emotion appropriate to his statement, he achieves a forcibleness or greater sense of life that convinces the hearer of its truth.³²

Sidney's speech mode, drawing upon these attitudes and concepts, seeks to create the illusion of freedom from artistic conventions, of direct response to the immediacy of individual experience. It makes use of flexible rhythms and homely diction to approximate the spontaneous quality of natural speech. Above all, it cultivates tonal subtlety and flexibility, the capacity of the style to respond to the particularities of individual thought, properly charging ideas with emotion. This speech mode no longer names objects and experience, transporting them into a dimension peculiar to itself, but rather, in Mazzaro's words, "as a speaking picture (ut pictura poesis) verifies their truth."³³

The speech mode was transposed into the varied lyric forms associated with the Elizabethan air by John Donne. Unlike the sonnets of a sequence, the lyrics collected under the title, Songs and Sonnets, are separate, occasional pieces. There is no evidence that they were intended to relate to each other in order to give rise to a persona, a single, complex character who presides over the whole. The sense of a larger personality that is produced by their aggregate effect, therefore, is not properly described as the expression of a conscious artistic intention; it represents, rather, the deepening sense of the artist's personality that one gains from familiarity with a wider selection of his work.

Each of Donne's Songs and Sonnets, then remains an isolated lyric moment whose compass is too narrow to develop the full ranges of a personality. But Donne's mastery of the energetic style enables him to achieve a verisimilitude which endows his speakers with convincing empirical individuality. In the first place, each lyric, despite its brevity, possesses its own fictional world defined through logic. Predicaments are used to present specificities of the speaker's person and situation, while inductive and deductive syllogisms provide a development of thought, rather than a static elaboration, which represents, in a sense, the narrative element of the 'fiction.' In addition, the use of unusual images and unfamiliar diction, as Catherine Ing notes, serves to further differentiate the lyric occasion and individualize its speaker, rather than relating them, as did the conventional images and diction of earlier lyric, to a whole class of similar speakers and occasions.³⁴ Finally, all the elements of style are marshalled to define the peculiar quality of the thought as it occurs in the mind of the speaker, to give a dramatic portrayal of his changing states of thought and feeling.

Helen Gardner points out in the Introduction to her edition of the Songs and Sonnets that Donne adapted and combined techniques from song lyric, epigram, and dramatic blank verse.³⁵ Song lyric provided the free and varied stanza forms, whose use, as Pierre Legouis suggests, enabled Donne to allow thought and feeling to shape their metrical mould in the opening stanza.³⁶ Although he followed the song lyric practice of making the rest of the stanzas metrically identical, however, Donne usually avoided setting up a clearly defined recurring rhythm which would tend to subordinate thought and feeling to its static pattern of repetition.

Most of Donne's stanzas are made up of groups of couplets and triplets and lack internal concatenation or rhyme linking.³⁷ They are generally long, in addition, more than two-thirds of them consisting of between seven and fourteen lines. They do not create a clearly defined pattern perceptible to the ear as

a rhythmic whole. The loosely conceived rhythmic mould is further broken up by metrical irregularity: Donne was particularly adept at using the techniques of dramatic blank verse, such as variable caesura, inversion and substitution of stress, and enjambment, to create local metrical variations that respond to and help define changing emphasis in thought and feeling.

In addition, the logic of Donne's lyrics, to use a musical analogy, is through-composed. Particularly in the lyrics which Gardner places after 1600, as exhibiting a more complex conception of lyric form and style,³⁸ the stanzas have the effect of verse paragraphs, marking off divisions in the development of the thought, rather than signaling the recurrence of equivalent logical and emotional units. Within this freely developing context, Donne incorporates the unexpected shifts in thought and tone, the surprise and wit of epigram. The structural unity of most of Donne's lyrics, therefore, is not based upon a recurring strophic rhythm, but rather, as Legouis recognized, upon the insistent unfolding of the logic as it is marshalled and animated by style and rhetoric into the portrayal of a mind in motion.³⁹

Donne's energetic style, then, as Frank Kermode has suggested, represents the immediate play of mind, becoming the instantaneous expression of thinking.⁴⁰ It enabled Donne to transform the lyric into an ideal medium for the investigation and expression of self-consciousness, at the same time effecting the final separation of the speech lyric from song. From a musical point of view, John Hollander notes in a recent article, its continual process of dialectic between lyric modes mixed conflicting tonalities that the seventeenth-century art song had to differentiate and treat separately.⁴¹ It was eminently suited, consequently, to express the ambiguity and particularity of individual states of mind. It was no longer suited, on the other hand, to represent the expression of the community. It had forfeited the choric and representative stops in order to sound the thin reed of the individual speaking voice.

The divergence of lyric practice into what has been characterized, in their most distinct forms, as modes of 'song' and 'speech,' had taken place, then, by the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, when Herbert composed the lyrics of The Temple. Neither of these two modes, used exclusively, would have allowed Herbert the rhetorical and tonal range necessary for the voice of his composite 'I;' but conversely, the possibility of using both modes, separately and in varied combinations, permitted a wider tonal and rhetorical range than had been available to the English lyric poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Like the Sidneian Psalms, consequently, Herbert's lyrics make use of all the conventions of 'song' and 'speech' available in contemporary lyric practice. Herbert employs these conventions in relatively pure form in some, though a minority, of The Temple poems; these are necessary to establish the full range of his composite 'I.' As suggested in the preceding chapter, all the persons of the lyric persona's identity cannot be sustained simultaneously in a continuous manner if he is to become a composite 'I.' The kinds of poetic expression requisite for the voices of these persons are essentially at odds in terms of the rhetorical and tonal effects they seek to create. Hence, any attempt to combine them in a single, characteristic voice eliminates the outer reaches of the persona's identity, giving rise to an undifferentiated speaking voice, as in the devotional psalm paraphrases, or to an indistinctly congregational voice continually tending to rhetorical and tonal impropriety, as in the literal psalm translations of the Sternhold and Hopkins school. If the persona modulates among his possible roles, on the other hand, his voice may express the whole range of Christian experience, from that of the empirical individual to that of the universal church, while uniting them in his presence.

In such poems as "Affliction" (I), "The Crosse," "Love" (I) and (II), and "Jordan" (I) and (II), the persona of The Temple speaks with the accents of Sidney's Astrophil or the Donne of the Songs and Sonnets, using the new mode of 'speech' to set forth the significant outlines of the seventeenth-century poet-priest and to express the intimate relationship of this empirical individual with his God. As preacher, he may also make exclusive use of the techniques of 'speech' for didactic address, sometimes taking up the aphoristic native plain style ("Charms and Knots," "Business") or the more sophisticated plain style of Jonson ("The Church-porch") as well as the witty and dramatic strong

sense of a song consisting of diversified or uncongruous parts,⁴³ thus receives a literal imitation in terms of style. The remainder of the poem continues in the expository vein, taking up metaphorically other meanings of the word "medley" and relating them to the dual nature of man as physical creature and spiritual being. The point of the speaker's exposition is that although man is subject to both physical and spiritual death, seen rightly this is an affirmation of his capacity for rebirth. Returning to the musical (or expressive) sense of "medley," therefore, he is able to conclude,

Happie is he, whose heart
 Hath found the art
 To turn his double pains to double praise. (ll. 34-36)

In some of The Temple lyrics a modulation similar to that of the first stanza of "Mans medley" seems to recur throughout all the stanzas of the poem. This regular modulation allows Herbert to combine song's 'ceremonious,' representative quality with the speech lyric's investigation and particularization of emotion. At the same time, it provides an important means of controlling the tone of the poem, which, as the Christian address to God infused with the individual responses of the speaker, offers up its "double praise" to God.

"Dooms-day" was probably intended as an Advent poem. The words of the initial refrain, "Come away," occur in George Wither's Advent hymn, published in Hymns and Songs (1623). In his introductory comments to the hymn, Wither explains that Advent "commorate[s] the several comings of Christ . . . All which comings are comprehended in these three; his coming to men, into men, and against men; to men, by his Incarnation; into men, by Grace; against men, to Judgment." The hymn is didactic and commences with a summary:

When Jesus Christ incarnate was,
 To be our brother then came he:
 When into us he comes by grace,
 Then his beloved spouse are we:
 When he from Heaven descends again,
 To be our judge returns he then. ⁴⁴

It then proceeds to treat each coming separately, so that the plea voiced in the concluding stanza, "Oh come, Lord Jesu, come away," is limited in its application to the Last Judgment.

Herbert's poem is much more condensed, telescoping the several comings of Christ into one so that the repetition of "Come away" takes on complex emotional and thematic significance.

Come away,
Make no delay.
Summon all the dust to rise,
Till it stirre, and rubbe the eyes;
While this member jogs the other,
Each one whispring, Live you brother?

Come away,
Make this the day.
Dust, alas, no musick feels,
But thy trumpet: then it kneels,
As peculiar notes and strains
Cure Tarantula raging pains.

Come away,
O make no stay!
Let the graves make their confession,
Lest at length they plead possession:
Fleashes stubbornnesse may have
Read that lesson to the grave.

Come away,
Thy flock doth stray.
Some to windes their bodie lend,
And in them may drown a friend:
Some in noisome vapours grow
To a plague and publick wo.

Come away,
Help our decay.
Man is out of order hurl'd,
Parcel'd out to all the world.
Lord, thy broken consort raise,
And the musick shall be praise.

The initial two lines of each stanza, set off from the remainder by syntax, rhyme, and line length, are clearly related to the short and simple lines of song lyric. "Come away," in fact, was a common initial refrain in contemporary love songs, and was generally associated with the invitation to partake of the pleasures of love. Herbert obviously intended the comparison in his invi-

tation to Christ to come away from the tomb and raise His "broken consort" or spouse, the church, with Him.

The following four tetrameter lines of each stanza modulate into the aphoristic plain style, with a raciness not unlike the street ballad's. The diction is homely, imagery unfamiliar, and there is an affectation of hard directness in the tone, combined with didactic insistence upon making moral generalizations. It is these lines which develop the thought of the poem, gradually building up the structure of significance upon which the static, repetitive opening lines rest. On the literal level, they describe the condition of the dead in the tomb, awaiting the final Judgment when they will be reunited with the multitude of the faithful in the New Jerusalem. By implication, Christ's resurrection from the tomb, the end of his Incarnation, is linked with the resurrection and glorification of the church which is to be effected by the Second Coming.

That Christ will come then as judge of mankind provides the key to the second, spiritual level of meaning operating throughout the poem. The quatrains' down-to-earth language and tone of hard directness have been used to describe not only the dead, but the spiritual decadence of man's sinful nature. This level operates in the implied similitude of the state of "dust" to "Tarantulas raging pains," the former to be brought to its knees (not awakened, as would be said of the dead) only by Christ's trumpet; in the statement that flesh may teach the grave to "plead possession;" and in the description of this unruly dust growing to be "a plague and publick wo." The final stanza's full meaning, therefore, includes the concept that, in the words of C. Hilberry, "Man, like a planet hurled from its orbit, knows no center of gravitation. His energies and allegiances are 'Parcel'd out to all the world.'" ⁴⁵

Consequently, "Come away" comprehends both the plea for the apocalyptic Judgment Day which will accomplish the final union of the mystical body, the church, with God, and a plea to come into man by grace, preparing him for that judgment by severing his sinful attachment to the world. The combination of the two diverse stylistic modes is therefore an integral part of the total poetic

experience, for it reflects tonally (and literally) the condition of the church, "thy broken consort" which makes both pleas necessary. The poem cannot be wholly and simply a love song of the church, celebrating with ecstatic rapture its mystical union with Christ; but neither is it merely a severe assessment of mankind's corruption and a call for God to set things right. It achieves its own unique synthesis in tone, style, and thought, as the individual voice of the speaker merges with the voice of the church in the pleading refrain to Christ.

A similar synthesis is achieved in "Ephes. iv. 30. Grieve not the Holy Spirit, &c."

And art thou grieved, sweet and sacred Dove,
 When I am sowre,
 And crosse thy love:
 Grieved for me? the God of strength and power
 Griev'd for a worm, which when I tread,
 I passe away and leave it dead?

Then weep mine eyes, the God of love doth grieve:
 Weep foolish heart,
 And weeping live:
 For death is drie as dust. Yet if ye part,
 End as the night, whose sable hue
 Your sinnes expresse; melt into dew.

When sawcie mirth shall knock or call at doore,
 Cry out, Get hence,
 Or cry no more.
 Almighty God doth grieve, he puts on sense:
 I sinne not to my grief alone,
 But to my Gods too; he doth grone.

O take thy lute, and tune it to a strain,
 Which may with thee
 All day complain.
 There can no discord but in ceasing be.
 Marbles can weep; and surely strings
 More bowels have, then such hard things.

Lord, I adjudge my self to tears and grief,
 Ev'n endlesse tears
 Without relief.
 If a cleare spring for me no time forbears,
 But runnes, although I be not drie;
 I am no Crustall, what shall I?

Yet if I wail not still, since still to wail
 Nature denies;
 And flesh would fail,

If my deserts were masters of mine eyes:
 Lord, pardon, for thy Sonne makes good
 My want of tears with store of bloud.

The first rhyme-close comes at the end of the third line, the arrangement of this sequence into three lines instead of two slowing the movement, while the b-rhyme does not close until the end of the long fourth line. The only consistent, and therefore pattern-forming, syntactic break falls between lines 3 and 4, however, so that although line 4 looks back to the first part of the stanza in rhyme, it belongs with the last two lines syntactically. There is a cross-tension, then, between a 4-2 movement and a 3-3 movement which comes to a head at line 4, contributing to the slow, halting rhythm. With the concluding tetrameter couplet, the rhythm is smoothed out by the identical line-length and lack of hesitation in the closing of the rhyme.

Corresponding to the syntactic movement is a change in the texture of the poem. The first three lines have much in common with song lyric. The diction is simple and traditional, and recalls the Petrarchan lover's complaint. It uses rhetorical figures of speech rather than of thought. The last three lines, on the other hand, move into particularity of thought, unfamiliar and often homely imagery, and much tougher logical relationships. In other words, it is almost as if song lyric were regularly modulating into speech lyric, though this is admittedly a crude way of describing so subtle a transformation.

It may be justified, however, by the help it gives in understanding the poem's effect. On one level, it is an intimately phrased lament for the grief the speaker has caused his God. The impetus which sets the poem in motion is not a specific and immediate sin on the speaker's part, however, but the Biblical verse cited as title, Paul's charge to the Ephesians to "grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption" (Ephes. 4.30). That the poem arises directly out of the speaker's response to this verse is indicated by the first word of the poem, the conjunction "And," which directs attention back to the title with its implication that something

precedes it. The application of this verse to the speaker depends upon its applicability to all Christians; in responding to it, rather than to an immediate event, therefore, he is identifying himself in a sense as the Christian soul.

The conventions borrowed from song lyric, which dominate the first half of each stanza, contribute to the creation of a suitable poetic language for the Christian address to a personal God. The slow, halting rhythm, different epithets for God, repetitions or words of sorrow, and the simple, traditional diction are all important in establishing the representative tone, as is the song-like movement which circles around a static position or state or mind, heightening the emotional overtones through repetition. They also impose their characteristic limitations: their unity of emotional effect and simplicity and naturalness of feeling are gained at the expense of the particularities of individual experience and the examination of motives and sources underlying the attitudes adopted.

Herbert redresses this in the second half of his stanzas where specific imagery and a tighter logical texture enable him to set forth the complex relationship between his grief and God's (st. 3) or make indirect conclusions about his responsibility to grieve as compared with his ability to do so (st. 5). In fact, the couplets of four out of the first five stanzas deal directly or indirectly with man's nature, constituting a kind of inobtrusive investigation which underlies the realization of stanza 6: "Yet if I wail not still, since still to wail/ Nature denies;/ And flesh would fail" Yet they are not ordered in a continuous logical exposition of the kind Donne generally used, or even into an introspective pattern of thought. They remain isolated insights in the song-like movement, which has dramatic continuity but moves forward by a series of formal, seemingly predetermined steps to arrive at the conclusion summarized in the second half of the Biblical verse.⁴⁶

In this way, Herbert interposes individual particularities of thought and emotion into the Christian lament, while the regularly recurring modulation endows the whole with a static

'ceremonious' quality. At the same time, he controls the tone, since the couplet's tightening up of the movement in each stanza, combined with the shift in emphasis from emotion to thought, prevents the poem from becoming a static lament, an indulging in sorrow for its own sake as the courtly love songs often are. The speaker grieves (and rightly, since he is a source of grief to God), but his grief has a purpose ("Weep foolish heart,/ And weeping live:/ For death is drie as dust"), which is spiritual life or vitality and the end of all grief in union with God.

In the poems examined above, the divergent modes are joined in tandem and modify each other by a subtle recurring modulation. In a considerable number of The Temple lyrics, Herbert achieves a more complex union of modes, holding them in suspension through his mastery over the rhythm of phrase, line, and stanza.

The short, heterometric stanza provides the fundamental basis for this combination. Only 19 of Herbert's 127 stanzaic poems are isometric,⁴⁷ and the majority have a length of 6 lines or less. The development of short, clearly defined stanza forms had been accomplished for English lyric in the song books. These poets, however, as has been suggested, did not demand, on the whole, the degree of articulation and balance that the Sidneian Psalter's stanzaic forms exhibited, since the musical accompaniment contributed to the definition and maintenance of the rhythmic movement. Herbert's practice belongs to the latter's literary use of the song lyric mode, where a heightening of the verbal rhythmic structure compensates for the absence of a practical association with music. His stanzas, like those of the Sidneys or Francis Davison, exhibit a higher degree of heterometricity than the lyrics of the song books. Their forms, moreover, are more clearly defined, with a stricter balancing of short lines against long lines and a more frequent use of integral rhyme schemes.

At the same time that he tightened up and accentuated the rhythmic definition of the stanza, however, he allowed himself a greater degree of local metrical irregularity than the practical song lyric could accommodate. Sidney had experimented with similar effects in some of his psalms, and Donne had carried their use to its logical extreme in his Songs and Sonnets. In the latter, as pointed out above, the local metrical irregularities generally break down the rhythmic structure of the long stanzas preferred by Donne. Herbert's practice was closer to Sidney's, the recurring rhythm of his short, heterometric forms remaining as a clearly perceptible underpinning for the local metrical variations which satisfy the demands of changing emphasis in mood and subject matter. Consequently, he was able to combine the divergent rhetorical and tonal tendencies of the two different modes of 'song' and 'speech,' incorporating the dramatic and immediate responses of the individual speaking voice into the predetermined and unspontaneous movement of song.⁴⁸

"The Search" represented a modality which combines the surface characteristics of song with a more dramatic portrayal of the speaker's mind and a more closely argued logical development than is common in the contemporary song mode. Its opening, and particularly line 3, as F. E. Hutchinson notes, recalls Psalm 42.1-3: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. . . . My tears have been my meat day and night, while they continually say unto me Where is thy God?"

Whither, O, whither art thou fled,
 My Lord, my Love?
 My searches are my daily bread;
 Yet never prove. (ll. 1-4)

Herbert's poem may represent a conscious attempt to approximate the peculiar modality of the Psalm, to which it bears a close resemblance in thought. The Psalmist expresses his desire for God's presence and describes with dramatic immediacy his spiritual despair and the taunting of his enemies when God withdraws. Yet in the midst of his despair he asserts his faith in the continuance of God's favor and assistance: "Why art thou cast down,

O my soul? and why art thou disquited in me? hope thou in God: for I shall yet praise him for the help of his countenance" (vs. 5). This assertion is repeated at the conclusion of the Psalm and takes on the quality of a refrain, bringing the Psalm's character as song into the forefront of the experience of the poem.

"The Search" deals with the same spiritual experience within a contemporary Christian context. Herbert eliminates the external enemies, and substitutes the figurative language of Petrarchanism for the hart image, which is related to the mystical love language of the Song of Solomon.

My knees pierce th'earth, mine eyes the skie;
 And yet the sphere
 And centre both to me denie
 That thou art there.

Yet can I mark how herbs below
 Grow green and gay,
 As if to meet thee they did know,
 While I decay.

Yet can I mark how starres above
 Simper and shine,
 As having keyes unto thy love,
 While poore I pine.

I sent a sign to seek thee out,
 Deep drawn in pain,
 Wing'd like an arrow: but my scout
 Return in vain.

I tun'd another (having store)
 Into a grone;
 Because the search was dumbe before:
 But all was one. (ll. 5-24)

The form is simple, and creates a clearly defined recurring rhythm. The stanzas are the units of logic, furthermore, as in song lyric; their parallel rhetorical and syntactical patterns seem to circle about a static position in repetitive description. Yet there is an undercurrent of hard rationality which belies this impression and reveals a mind in motion rather than assuming a representative attitude. The individuality of

the speaker is emphasized by the frequent incidence of the pronoun 'I.' Dramatic immediacy is achieved by metrical irregularity in the first lines of stanzas 1 and 2, while the concision and point of the speaker's account of his search for God gives more the impression of purposeful effort than of lamenting description. Stanzas 3 and 4 represent a process of deduction: although the center and the sphere seem to deny to him God's presence, he can perceive in the beauty of the natural world at both extremes the evidence of God's creating and supporting love. With this context established in the present, he turns in stanzas 5 and 6 to a description in the past tense of his unavailing search.

This lament for the past is of brief duration. The restless mind of the speaker immediately returns to his search, abruptly addressing God with questions and arguments:

Lord, dost thou some new fabrick mould,
Which favour winnes,
And keeps thee present, leaving th'old
Unto their sinnes?

Where is my God? what hidden place
Conceals thee still?
What covert dare eclipse thy face?
Is it thy will?

O let not that of any thing;
Let rather brasse,
Or steel, or mountains be thy ring,
And I will passe. (ll. 25-36)

The crux of the poem is reached at this point, with the speaker's realization that God's will is the ultimate deciding factor. There follows an extended argument, which relates the extremity of the speaker's despair at God's absence to the almightiness of His will, but finds in the same the power which can transcend all distances, spiritual as well as physical, and achieve an intimate union with its creature, "Making two one," as did Christ through the mystery of the incarnation.

Thy will such an intrenching is,
As passeth thought;
To it all strength, all subtilties
Are things of nought.

Thy will such a strange distance is,
 As that to it
 East and West touch, the poles do kisse,
 And parallels meet. "

Since then my grief must be as large,
 As is thy space,
 Thy distance from me; see my charge,
 Lord, see my case.

O take these barres, these lengths away;
 Turn, and restore me:
 Be not Almighty, let me say,
 Against, but for me.

When thou dost turn, and wilt be neare;
 What edge so keen,
 What point so piercing can appeare
 To come between?

For as thy absence doth excell
 All distance known:
 So doth thy nearnesse bear the bell,
 Making two one. (ll. 37-60)

The sense of quiet resolution achieved in the concluding stanza makes clear the poem's essentially dramatic character: the speaker goes through an experience, recounting it as he proceeds, rather than describing the set mood or attitude characteristic of song. Yet the experience is conveyed in what is basically a song texture, which tones down its dramatic immediacy and imposes upon it the measured progress of recurring strophes. The resultant modality achieves a range close to that of the Psalm echoed in the opening lines, the individual speaker's address to God becoming a song to which each individual Christian can join his voice.

The large number of unique forms in The Temple suggests that Herbert, like Donne, often composed the initial stanza freely to suit the particular rhetorical and meditative modality with which the poem opens. The initial stanza of "Nature" has a seeming inevitability of form which suggests that it was freely composed. The first three tetrameter lines describe the speaker's rebellious nature, opening with an abrupt modifying clause which catches the essence of this state rhythmically as well as verbally:

Full of rebellión,/I would die,
 Or fight,/or travell,/or denie
 That thou hast ought to do with me. (ll. 1-3)

This metrically irregular rhythmic phrase, created by initial inversion and feminine caesura splitting the third foot, recurs with variation throughout stanzas 1 and 2, which are primarily devoted to the speaker's human nature, whereas it is wholly absent from the final stanza with its concluding plea to be reformed. Metrical irregularity suggesting agitation is present in the breaking up of the foot by feminine caesura in the second line as well, with probable dropping or lightening of the following stressed accent, speeding up the rhythm. The couplet rhyme emphasizes the words "die" and "denie," while enjambment on the latter leads into the uninterrupted movement of line 3, bringing this section to a close.

The third line is as yet unrhymed, however, holding the stanza open and creating expectation. The following lines voice a plea to God, the change in tone and rhetorical direction being emphasized by short lines and the new rhyme of the couplet.

O tame my heart;
 It is thy highest art
 To captivate strong holds to thee. (ll. 4-6)

The rhythm is slowed in the dimeter and trimeter lines while the rhyme brings out the key words, "art" and "heart." The first line of the plea is metrically regular, for a brief reflection of the thought, but irregularity immediately follows in the spreading of the accent over the first three words in line 5 and especially in the variation upon the initial rhythmic phrase in the final line. This line expands to match the tetrameter opening lines, and concludes the stanza on "to thee," which relates back to "with me" of line 3, these two phrases summarizing the divergent directions of the two sections while holding them in relationship to each other.

The perfect union of content and form achieved in this stanza could not be sustained in the following stanzas, where new matter has to be handled in the now-fixed form. The development

of the thought of the poem follows from this opening in a clear logical sequence which has a greater argumentative tension than is characteristic of song, yet it moves in exact accordance with the recurring strophic rhythm. In addition, it is essentially a repetition of the rhetorical pattern of the first stanza on a larger scale, stanza 2 corresponding to the first section's description of the speaker's sinfulness, stanza 3 to the second section's plea for reformation.

If thou shalt let this venom lurk,
And in suggestions fume and work,
My soul will turn to bubbles straight,
And thence by kinde
Vanish into a winde,
Making thy workmanship deceit.

O smooth my rugged heart, and there
Engrave thy rev'rend Law and fear;
Or make a new one, since the old
Is saplesse grown,
And a much fitter stone
To hide my dust, then thee to hold. (ll. 7-18)

The sense of agitation is maintained in stanza 2 by metrical irregularity, including the repetition of the characteristic rhythmic motif in the initial and final lines, as the speaker describes the effect of his rebelliousness. With the final stanza's plea to God to "smooth my rugged heart," the meter becomes more regular, and a perfect coincidence of stress with the important words in four of the six lines establishes the stanza's overall rhythmic character of steadiness, suggesting resolution in connection with the thought, although there is some variation for emphasis, for example, the spondee on "new one."

The recurring rhythmic pattern (aabbccbb) remains clearly perceptible beneath the local variations of each stanza; in conjunction with the formalized rhetorical development, it creates a prearranged, predictable, and hence representative, quality which is central to the poem's total significance. As the title, "Nature," indicates, the speaker's rebelliousness is not a sin peculiar to himself, but an evil inherent in human nature. His plea, as shown in the preceding chapter, represents the desire, shared by all

Christians, to become a sub-fulfillment of Christ and a member of His mystical body, which will form the regenerate congregation of the New Jerusalem. As the poem unfolds, the recurring rhythm and formalized rhetorical development join with the local variations reflecting changing emphasis in mood and subject matter to create the peculiar modality of the poem, which portrays representative Christian experience, infusing it with individual intensity while inviting the reader to make that intensely felt experience his own.

In some of The Temple lyrics, the formalization of rhetoric and rhythm is more obtrusive, pushing itself into the forefront of one's experience of the poem and creating an effect best characterized as 'liturgical.' The Psalter, as has been noted, was the chief source of liturgical prayer, both for the Proper of the Mass and for the public Hour services. Parallelism is one of its most distinctive and pervasive techniques, a comprehensible one, moreover, unlike its prosodic features, which could be carried over into the Latin and English translations used in the liturgy. Sections of the liturgy which had been modelled upon the Psalms, such as the Te Deum and the Litany,⁴⁹ furthermore, exhibit a pronounced use of parallelism, suggesting that it had become identified very early in the history of the church as a basic convention of the liturgical mode, one of the primary means of creating the simplicity and formality of tone appropriate to the ritual utterance of universal, corporate truth.

Sir Philip Sidney, as we have seen, experimented with the approximation of this mode in English lyric forms in some of his psalm translations. Herbert, too, employs the formalization of rhetoric and rhythm to produce a tonal effect similar to that of liturgical prayer; it represents, in a sense, the realization in tone and rhetoric, that is, in terms of the speaker's voice, of

the pervasive thematic and imagerial allusions to the liturgy which were noted in the preceding chapter. Again, Herbert rarely limits himself to the exclusive use of this mode: he creates his own unique modality by combining disparate techniques, in this case offsetting ritual formality with the lyric quality of song or with the individual immediacy and particularity of speech.

The beautiful poem, "Complaining," provides an example of a complex synthesis of all three modes.

Do not beguile my heart,
 Because thou art
 My power and wisdom. Put me not to shame,
 Because I am
 Thy clay that weeps, thy dust that calls.

Thou art the Lord of glorie;
 The deed and storie
 Are both thy due: but I a silly flie,
 That live or die
 According as the weather falls.

Art thou all justice, Lord?
 Shows not thy word
 More attributes? Am I all throat or eye,
 To weep or crie?
 Have I no parts but those of grief?

Let not thy wrathfull power
 Afflict my houre,
 My inch of life: or let thy gracious power
 Contract my houre,
 That I may climbe and finde relief.

This is one of the poems Alicia Ostriker discusses in terms of song. She points out that the stanza is non-isometric and counter-pointed and concludes that it is one of Herbert's "most poetically effective patterns: the echoing asymmetry of the paired rhymes, the suspension of a final rhyme from stanza to stanza, and above all the languid rising and ebbing of the cadences, all suit the poem's mournfulness."⁵⁰

The asymmetry of the stanza, however, is offset by a nearly symmetrical rhetorical movement which is suggestive of liturgical patterns. The stanza breaks throughout the poem in the middle of the third line, creating a 322324 movement within the 32524

form. The first half is devoted to God, the second half to the speaker, and the two halves are syntactically and rhetorically parallel, with "Thou art" and "I am" or "Art thou," "am I" recurring throughout the first three stanzas. The speaker moves through these rhetorically parallel patterns, returning with ritual-like repetition to the definition of the natures of God and man in relationship to each other. Each stanza is related to the next as a separate and complete whole, as is characteristic of song lyric or hymn; there are no transitions to set up an expository or linear development of logic.

Submerged beneath this movement, nevertheless, an argument is being made. The first lines are complexly and ambiguously meaningful, yet the ritualistic treatment does not pause to investigate and elaborate upon the thought, subordinating it instead to the present modality of invocation and supplication. The sense, roughly paraphrased, seems to be "Do not delude my heart and put me to shame because thou art able to, being my power and wisdom while I am only weak clay." The verb, "beguile," does most of the work in focusing the complex attitude of the speaker, concisely combining the idea of God's "beguiling" or winning the speaker's heart to Him with that of God's "beguiling" or disappointing and deluding him of the hopes and expectations thus engendered in his heart, while simultaneously bringing in undertones of the Petrarchan lover's helplessness before the wiles of his mistress.⁵¹ At the same time, its peculiarity in this context, in conjunction with the dramatic abruptness of the opening, infuse the liturgical formality of the poem with a convincingly individual immediacy.

The second stanza restates the weakness and insignificance of the speaker in relation to God, implying, in terms of the argument, that in any just evaluation of what is appropriate to their respective natures, shame and disappointment would be his fitting portion. But in the third stanza, he queries, "Art thou all justice, Lord?/ Shows not thy word/ More attributes?," reminding God that the reign of justice belonged to the Old Dispensation, whereas under the New Dispensation established by His Word, Christ, justice is supplanted by grace. The speaker, furthermore, has

other "parts" besides grief, as he implies by his second query, again phrased in homely, specific language, but representing an implicit reminder of the promise that as the members of Christ's mystical body share in His suffering and death, they will also share in His resurrection. In the final stanza, therefore, he can plead with God not to afflict him any longer, or, transforming the same terms from the negative to the positive (the difference between "wrathfull power" and "gracious power" being that between the Old Dispensation and the New) to make his afflictions a means of grace, bringing him to the final, promised union in heaven.

Herbert has created, out of a synthesis of techniques derived from song lyric, speech lyric, and liturgical conventions, a poem whose tonal range approaches the complex modality of some of the psalms, where the individual voice of David becomes the voice of the Church Universal. On one level, it is an individual "complaint," the dramatic and intimate, indeed sometimes querulous, arguing and pleading of the speaker with his God. At the same time, by disposing the dialogue in the logically separate and seemingly predetermined recurring strophes of song and imposing upon these recurring units a parallel rhetorical and syntactic structure, Herbert transposes individual complaint into ritually formalized incantation, to which, like the congregational prayers of the liturgy, every Christian can join his voice.

Other poems in The Temple that combine liturgical formality with conventions of 'song' and 'speech' include "Discipline," "Praise" (I), "Trinitie Sunday," "Aaron," "Sepulchre," and "Sighs and Groans." Each creates its own unique synthesis, Herbert seemingly disdaining to imitate past successes. "Sighs and Groans," for example, combines ritualistic repetition with impassioned speech rhythms recalling Donne; the resultant modality is considerably different from that of "Complaining."

O do not use me
After my sinnes! look not on my desert,
But on thy glorie! then thou wilt reform
And not refuse me: for thou onely art
The mightie God, but I a sillie worm;
O do not bruise me!

O do not urge me!
 For what account can thy ill steward make?
 I have abus'd thy stock, destroy'd thy woods,
 Suckt all thy magazens: my head did ake,
 Till it found out how to consume thy goods:
 O do not scourge me!

O do not blinde me!
 I have deserv'd that an Egyptian night
 Should thicken all my powers; because my lust
 Hath still sow'd fig-leaves to exclude thy light:
 But I am frailtie, and already dust;
 O do not grinde me!

O do not fill me
 With the turn'd viall of thy bitter wrath!
 For thou hast other vessels full of bloud,
 A part whereof my Saviour empti'd hath,
 Ev'n unto death: since he di'd for my good,
 O do not kill me!

But O reprieve me!
 For thou hast life and death at thy command;
 Thou art both Judge and Saviour, feast and rod,
Cordiall and Corrosive: put not thy hand
 Into the bitter box; but O my God,
 My God, relieve me!

The primary movement is established by the two short dimeter lines framing an isometric pentameter quatrain. Up to the final stanza, the former follow the set form, "O do not . . . me," with the feminine double rhyme echoing between the first and last lines, binding the stanza together as the speaker pleads with God in each to withhold His afflictions. He depends less exclusively upon ritual supplication in this poem than in "Complaining," nowever, moving instead in each quatrain into explicit arguments, excuses, and reasons. Within each stanza, there is a recurrent loosening of the form as the speaker progresses from the initial supplication into an elaboration of thought in the pentameter quatrain. There are no rhyme closes until the fourth line, while variable caesura and enjambment contribute to the illusion of a speaking voice as the persona conveys particularities of his individual thought and emotion. Beginning with the first rhyme close in line 4, the movement gradually tightens up again, picking up the other rhymes and culminating in the strongly repetitive pattern of the

final dimeter line (abcbca).
255552).

The stanza's general rhythmic outline, then, is so strong that it remains a clearly perceptible recurring unit despite the breaking up of the pentameter lines by caesura and enjambment. It is also the unit of logic; hence, instead of the through-composition of the speech lyric, there is a song-like repetitive treatment of the thought, which proceeds by independent but logically parallel stanzaic wholes. These rhythmical and logical movements, framed by the parallel supplications in the dimeter lines, subsume the irregular speech rhythms, imposing upon the whole a sense of prearrangement and ritual formality that is characteristic of the representative, definitive expression of the liturgy.

In addition, the speaker's statements about the relationship to God, though individualistically expressed, are couched in the terms of fundamental Christian figures. After the opening plea, which defines the tonal and thematic range of the poem, the speaker describes himself in stanza 2 as an "ill-steward" who has misused and plundered his master's goods. Behind this description lies the parable of the ill-steward, told by Christ to his disciples in order to emphasize the responsibility of His deputies to order his household, the church, and to warn them of the punishment that awaits their failure upon His return (Luke 12.42-46). The speaker, then is referring to his role as minister and deputy of Christ, voicing his self-accusation in terms of the traditional Biblical figure for the inadequate and faulty priest.

This figure, moreover, combines with that of the bad servant of Christ's immediately preceding parable (Luke 12. 35-42), which applies to every Christian, the duty being the same in each case, although the degree of responsibility varies. The speaker, therefore, is in no way set off from the representative Christian by the reference to his priesthood, as is made clear in the following stanza, where his self-accusation is expressed in terms of the original sin of Adam, the inheritance of all mankind. His plea for mercy in the penultimate stanza, finally, is based upon the second

Adam's vicarious atonement for all. Hence the tonal implications of the liturgical conventions can combine with the typical and universal foundation underlying the speaker's thought and emotion, enabling the poem to become, like the Psalms, an universal Christian invocation to God which retains individual immediacy.

The approximation of a 'liturgical' mode is only one of Herbert's methods of using the recurring rhythms of his stanzas to bring the representative, general, or universal into the reader's experience of the poem. Here the form, with its obtrusive formality of rhetoric and rhythm, is imposed, in a sense, upon the thought and emotion of the poem; it shapes their utterance for the sake of choric performance, that is, to serve the end of ritual invocation and supplication of God. In many of The Temple lyrics, on the other hand, the recurring rhythm seems to grow out of the immediate thought and emotion of the poem, becoming representative of the experience the poem portrays.

The observations of two critics are relevant here. Joan Bennett has suggested that Herbert "recreates regular patterns of feeling."⁵² To this observation should be joined Rosemary Freeman's comment that "emotion in Herbert's poetry is usually conveyed indirectly: it is implied in the rhythm rather than expressed in the language."⁵³ As we have seen, Herbert shares Donne's ability to reflect changing emphasis in mood and subject by subtle local variations of meter, one of the primary techniques for creating the illusion of speech in the lyric. He also tends to reflect thought and emotion in the rhythm of larger units of structure, usually in the neatly defined and clearly perceptible stanzas which, unlike Donne's, subsume local metrical irregularities. In addition, Herbert frequently uses the stanza as the unit of logic, disposing the matter in the emotionally and logically parallel recurring strophes of song rather than developing the logic straight through the poem, like Donne. Hence Herbert's

stanzaic form is not only expressive of the thought of the first stanza, but as it recurs in conjunction with the recurring patterns of thought and emotion, it seems to become representative, like the melody of strophic song, of the essence of the poetic experience. If Donne, then, as Professor Mario Praz has suggested, imitates the rhythm of thought in its peculiar convolutions,⁵⁴ Herbert goes a step further, abstracting from this rhythm of individual thought a representative rhythm which is valid for all Christians.

"The Glance," one of Herbert's most deceptively simple lyrics, exhibits this kind of representative or emblematic rhythm.

When first thy sweet and gracious eye
 Vouchsaf'd ev'n in the midst of youth and night
 To look upon me, who before did lie
 Weltring in sinne;
 I felt a sugred strange delight,
 Passing all cordials made by any art,
 Bedew, embalme, and overrunne my heart,
 And take it in.

Since that time many a bitter storm
 My soul hath felt, ev'n able to destroy,
 Had the malicious and ill-meaning harm
 His swing and sway;
 But still thy sweet originall joy,
 Sprung from thine eye, did work within my soul,
 And surging griefs, when they grew bold, controll,
 And got the day.

If thy first glance so powerfull be,
 A mirth but open'd and seal'd up again;
 What wonders shall we feel, when we shall see
 Thy full-ey'd love!
 When thou shalt look us out of pain,
 And one aspect of thine spend in delight
 More then a thousand sunnes disburse in light,
 In heav'n above.

The unifying image of the poem, it should first be noted, is complexly allusive, although its wit, characteristically, is inobtrusive rather than startling. It is basically an extended metaphorical variation upon a traditional metaphor of the Psalmist: the turning of God's countenance upon man as an expression of his granting of grace, favor, and guidance. One instance of

the Psalms' use of the metaphor was translated by Sidney into language remarkably similar to that of Herbert's, the words "hope thou in God: for I shall yet praise him for the help of his countenance" of Psalm 42.5 becoming

Wait on God, for yet his glory
In my song shall be display'd.
When but with one look of his
He shall me restore to blisse,
Ah my soul it self appaleth,
In such longing thoughts it falleth. (*italics added*)
(Ps. 42, ll. 19-24)

Starting from the same point, Herbert develops an extended image which is clearly indebted to the Petrarchan conceit of the power of the mistress' eye and, at the same time, as Mary Ellen Rickey has shown, involves a constant play upon astrological terms.⁵⁵ Hence God's initial acceptance of the speaker in the sacrament of baptism is likened simultaneously to a glance from a "sweet and gracious eye" and to a flash of light from a planet in one of its minor phases, while the ultimate union with God in heaven is imagined as both a look of "Full-ey'd love" and the full "aspect" of the planet, in which position it "disburses" or scatters out rays of light more luminously than "a thousand sunnes."

To turn to the poem's form, it seems likely that the initial stanza was freely composed to suit the peculiar rhetorical and meditative modality with which the poem opens. Its distinctive rhythm (^{abacbddc}₄₅₅₂₄₅₅₂) balances two nearly identical movements against each other. In the expanding-contracting rhythm of the first half, the speaker sets within a series of subordinate clauses referring to God's first glance upon him in baptism a description of his previous state of original sin. It culminates in the abrupt contraction of line 4, "Weltring in sinne," which represents a summary definition of this state. At the same time, a new rhyme is introduced, which in combination with the subordinate grammatical construction keeps the section rhythmically and syntactically open or unresolved. The second section describes the joy and pleasure which this first glance occasioned, the first rhyme on "delight" harking back to an contrasting with "night" of the preceding section. The rhythm expands to the couplet and then contracts and

closes the rhyme of the first section, repeating its movement while resolving the whole stanza.

The second stanza recapitulates the same general pattern, the first section describing the speaker's periods of spiritual distress and the second affirming the unfailing relief provided by God through his early baptism. Again, the first section's movement remains unresolved until repeated by the second section, whose first rhyme on "joy" contrasts with "destroy" of the former, and whose final rhyme in the contracted line closes the stanza. This perfect coincidence of the recurring pattern of thought, logic, and syntax with the recurring movement of the stanza has the effect of rendering the clearly defined rhythm of the latter representative of the fundamental Christian experience which underlies the specific experiences of the individual speaker. Its balancing of the two movements against each other becomes emblematic, in a sense, of the alternating periods of spiritual dryness and spiritual joy and peace experienced by every Christian as the evil tendencies of his nature, caused by original sin, are counteracted by God's rejuvenating grace.

The abstraction of this basic rhythm of Christian experience from the local metrical variations and the specificities of individual thought and emotion prepares the reader for the final stanza's modulation into the plural "we" as the speaker imagines the final union of the mystical body with God. The poem's opening expression of the speaker's personal relationship to God has been transformed into a general statement of the relationship of all Christians to God, in which his own case is included, as the speaker moves in thought from the past of his individual baptism to the future of the communion of saints in the New Jerusalem which the sacrament prefigures.

A number of Herbert's poems create similarly representative rhythmic patterns. In a few cases, such as "Hope" and "The Collar," these rhythms are non-stanzaic, but the majority arise from the recurring stanzaic forms as they are related to recurring patterns of thought and emotion.⁵⁶ The stanza form of "The Pilgrimage," to take another example, is almost kinetically expressive of a

long and difficult journey.

I travell'd on, seeing the hill, where lay
My expectation.
A long it was and weary way.
The gloomy cave of Desperation
I left on th'one, and on the other side
The rock of Pride.

And so I came to Fancies meadow strow'd
With many a flower:
Fain would I here have made abode,
But I was quicken'd by my houre.
So to Cares cops I came, and there got through
With much ado.

That led me to the wilde of Passion, which
Some call the wold;
A wasted place, but sometimes rich.
Here I was robb'd of all my gold,
Save one good Angell, which a friend had ti'd
Close to my side.

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

With that abash'd and struck with many a sting
Of swarming fears,
I fell, and cry'd, Alas my King!
Can both the way and end be tears?
Yet taking heart I rose, and then perceiv'd
I was deceiv'd:

My hill was further: so I flung away,
Yet heard a cry
Just as I went, None goes the way
And lives: If that be all, said I,
After so foul a journey death is fair,
And but a chair.

In the heterometric stanza, the short lines tend to demand a time period more nearly equivalent to the long lines of the stanza than their actual number of syllables warrants, causing a slowing of the movement. In Herbert's stanza, therefore, the rhythm slows radically in the dimeter line following the initial pentameter line, regains momentum in the next three lines, and again undergoes a distinct retardation in the final dimeter line, creating a

temporal pattern which Herbert skillfully associates with the progress of the speaker's journey. In stanza 2, for example, the slowing of line 2 reflects the speaker's hesitation at "Fancies meadow," where he would like to stay. But he reminds himself of the demands of his journey and hurries on, the acceleration of the rhythm corresponding to the resumption of his pace. At "Cares cops," however, the going is difficult, and the verse decelerates in the final line as he reports that he got through only "With much ado."

The poem is an allegorical narrative, moreover, and the difficult journey shadows forth the Christian soul's sojourn upon earth, with its fluctuations of hope and despair, success and failure in its attempt to conform to the spiritual path established by God. Hence the movement of the verse form becomes representative of these spiritual fluctuations, as well as of the physical progress of the journey. The abrupt slowing and contraction of the final line of stanza 2, for example, reflects the speaker's dismay and disappointment, as he stands at the top of the "gladsome hill" he had climbed with such confidence and alacrity, at finding nothing but a "lake of brackish waters." Each of the stanzas of the poem, in fact, is a miracle of rhythmic and tonal mastery which associates the recurring rhythm so closely with the physical and spiritual progress of the narrative that it becomes representative of the experience described, abstracting from its specific events a rhythmic pattern which becomes endowed with the same universal applicability that the allegorical 'I' of the speaker possesses.

We might add that the complex of emotional and conceptual associations which the rhythm has gathered to itself in the course of the poem is partially responsible for the quiet power of the final stanza. The speaker, after all the hardships of his journey, is faced with the final and climactic barrier: "None goes that way/ And lives." His response represents the realization, finally, that he must place his trust completely in God. The consequent disappearance of uncertainty and fear enables him to transform the disappointment and despair associated with the final line's con-

traction into quiet resolution: "If that be all, said I,/ After so foul a journey death is fair,/ And but a chair." By his assertion of faith that God will bring him through death to the promised resurrection, he achieves a point of emotional stasis, which does not eliminate the fluctuations of the spiritual life, but reconciles him to them, at least for the moment, incorporating them into a stronger, positive emotional attitude which robs them of their power over him.

This use of rhythmic patterns to become expressive of representative Christian emotional and spiritual states is essentially emblematic: their significance, like that of the emblematic image, is not absolute, but is more or less arbitrarily established through a process of association.⁵⁷ A parallel set of techniques with similar effects which Herbert used extensively may be classed under the general heading of emblematic form. In this case, the formal elements of the verse, such as the rhyme scheme or the pattern of line lengths, are associated with and finally become representative of the central conception of the poem.

The significative potentiality of emblematic form had hardly been exploited in any meaningful sense in English Renaissance lyric. Examples of the acrostic were to be found in the Scriptures, where it had a mystical significance as well as a mnemonic function; Herbert's predecessors and contemporaries generally used it as a pretty device for dedicatory and commendatory verses, the first letters of each line spelling out a name.⁵⁸ Pattern poems, for which models existed in the Greek Anthology, were attempted by a considerable number of sixteenth-century poets. Here again, however, these forms were generally viewed as "recreations," or esoteric (and pedantic) means of displaying wit.⁵⁹ The most serious of the writers of visible poetry, in Catherine Ing's opinion, was George Puttenham, who discussed its possibilities with examples in his Arte of English Poesie (1589). Professor Ing suggests

that Puttenham may have had in mind the Neoplatonist elevation of sight as the archetype of the senses, as well as the general symbolic world view which saw correspondences on all levels of creation.⁶⁰ Yet by way of theoretical background for visual forms, even Puttenham limits himself to the trivial: "your last proportion is that of figure, so called for that it yelds an ocular representation, your meeters being by good symmetric reduced into certaine Geometricall figures, whereby the maker is restrained to keepe him within his bounds, and sheweth not onely more art, but serveth also much better for briefenesse and subtiltie of device."⁶¹

The failure to develop the potentiality of emblematic form for anything more than recreation and the display of wit was probably due to the overall poetic trend of the period toward a dramatic plain style. Its extensive use in The Temple, therefore, is not only exceptional, but represents a conservatism the implications of which will be taken up below.

Herbert not only used the shaped poem ("Easter-wings," "The Altar") and the acrostic ("Coloss. iii.3."), but he adapted other techniques from a wide range of poetic models to serve the ends of emblematic form. He could, for example, arrange the title of his anagram of the Virgin Mary in such a way that it presented a visual representation of its complex implications ("Ana-^{MARY}_{ARMY}gram").⁶² He borrowed from the fixed forms based upon rhetoric and rhyme schemes of the ornate rhetorical lyric ("Sinnes round," "A Wreath"), by then old-fashioned, and even developed his own imitative rhetorical structure in at least one poem ("Clasping of hands"), as Sidney had done in the Arcadia lyrics four or five decades earlier. In an analogous manner, which seems to have been largely of his own devising, Herbert arranged the metrical and rhyme patterns of his stanzas in such a way that they imitate the central conception of the poem ("Deniall," "Church-monuments," "Man"). And finally, not only was he one of the first poets to provide titles for his lyrics,⁶³ but he frequently chose titles which present a single concrete image (or conceptual complex) that is explained by the poem and in turn becomes representative of its basic meaning or

experience, thereby creating a structural interaction between the title and the poetic text which he may have adapted from the analogous interaction between the engraving and the verse explanatio in the contemporary emblem literature.⁶⁴

The extent of Herbert's experimentation with techniques of creating emblematic form, in conjunction with the obvious seriousness of poetic intent in The Temple as a whole, suggests that his motivation was not limited to a desire for recreation and display. Robert Ellrodt, remarking upon the metaphysical significance granted the 'ideogram' by modern French poets, suggests that although Herbert lacked such a theoretical framework, his use of these 'artifices' "traduisent non seulement un désir d'expression entière et simultanée, mais encore un besoin de vérité totale."⁶⁵ More recent studies have shown that contemporary theories which could provide a metaphysical justification for emblematic form were not, in fact, lacking. The Neoplatonic concept of the superiority of intuitive knowledge over discursive reason emphasized the value of complete and simultaneous apprehension and led to a superior valuation of visual perception which was particularly applicable in literature to the emblem mode.⁶⁶ The step from the visual perception of the emblem per se to the instant of conceptual apprehension afforded by emblematic form in all its aspects, non-visual as well as visual, was natural, especially to a Christian poet for whom the concept of the Logos was a living reality.⁶⁷

These ideas of the superiority of intuitive knowledge and visual perception could easily merge, as E. H. Gombrich points out in "Icones Symbolicae; The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought," with the Neo-Platonic view of the universe, most clearly expounded by Pico della Mirandola, as "one vast symphony of correspondence in which each level of existence points to another level." Gombrich continues, "It is by virtue of this interrelated harmony that one object can signify another and that by contemplating a visible thing we can gain insight into the invisible world [of ultimate truth]."⁶⁸ The underlying assumption is that symbols exist 'by nature,' not by convention, the whole theory paralleling the Platonic doctrine that music reflects

heavenly harmony and derives its power from cosmic laws. The whole conceptual complex, moreover, is closely related to the doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos which informs the Christian vision of universal order and harmony.⁶⁹ These ideas have been investigated as a possible theoretical background for understanding Herbert's poetic practice, the act of poetic creation becoming an imitation of the Logos' creation of sanctified order.⁷⁰ The question is too complex to be taken up here, but we should note that according to Rosalie L. Colie, in "Logos in The Temple," the fitting of form to matter in what we have called emblematic form may represent the highest form of imitation of the Logos.⁷¹

At present, our primary concern is with the rhetorical effects, in the widest sense, of emblematic form, a question which has not as yet been investigated. It should be emphasized that emblematic form, like the other techniques that have been discussed above, enabled Herbert to unite the individually expressed experience of the speaker of his poems with universal Christian experience, and that this result represents an essential aspect of the fulfillment of the desire for complete and simultaneous expression and for total verity.

To begin immediately with an example, the thematic connection of the speaker's desire for union with Christ with the mystical body's experience of that union in "Clasping of hands," as well as the significance of the title as a traditional emblem of faith, was pointed out in the preceding chapter. The structural underpinning of the poem, it should be added, is based upon a combination of rhetorical and rhyme patterns which emphasizes the interrelationship of "thine" and "mine," the interlocking expressions imitating emblematically both the thought and the governing image.

Lord, thou art mine, and I am thine,
 If mine I am: and thine much more,
 Then I or ought, or can be mine.
 Yet to be thine, doth me restore;
 So that again I now am mine,
 And with advantage mine the more,
 Since this being mine, brings with it thine,
 And thou with me dost thee restore.

If I without thee would be mine,
I neither should be mine nor thine. (ll. 1-10)

Hence Herbert creates a structure which, while arising from the immediate personal statement of an individual, objectifies the import of that statement in terms of formal relationships which, in conjunction with the title, represent a universal Christian truth: the union of those who believe in Him with Christ in the mystical body. In recognizing these formal relationships, therefore, the Christian reader is brought to the awareness that the speaker's act of faith is that of all Christians, including himself, insofar as he is a member of the church of Christ.⁷²

The form and title of "Paradise" become simultaneously an outward and visible actualization of the speaker's individual thought and emotion and an objectification of universal Christian truth.

I bless thee, Lord, because I GROW
Among thy trees, which in a ROW
To thee both fruit and order OW.

What open force, or hidden CHARM
Can blast my fruit, or bring me HARM,
While the inclosure is thine ARM?

Inclose me still for fear I START.
Be to me rather sharp and TART,
Then let me want thy hand & ART.

When thou dost greater judgements SPARE,
And with thy knife but prune and PARE,
Ev'n fruitfull trees more fruitfull ARE.

Such sharpness shows the sweetest FRIEND:
Such cuttings rather heal then REND:
And such beginnings touch their END.

The garden enclosed by God's arm was a traditional allegorical figure for the church, based, as Mary Ellen Rickey has noted, on an image from the Song of Solomon: "A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse" (4.12).⁷³ Herbert joins to it the New Testament figure of the good Christian as a fruitful tree or branch. In John 15.1-2, Christ asserts that whereas these are purged or pruned to make them more fruitful, the unfruitful branches are

cut away: "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away: and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit." Using the same language, the speaker of the poem thanks God that he is placed within the enclosed garden of the church and accepts affliction as a means of grace, a pruning to make him more fruitful and pleasing to God. This pruning, seen as evidence of God's "art" with man (l. 9), is reflected in the poet's art in the consecutive lopping of a letter from the rhyme word in each stanza, as Hutchinson has noted.

The title of the poem further widens the range of allusion, relating the idea of the church as enclosed garden to the original garden of Eden, or Paradise, as a fulfillment of that which the latter only foreshadowed or prefigured. This concept is fully developed in "Affliction" (V), though in different language: there the speaker explains that in the church, Christ's "floting Ark," the Christian soul is more secure, more certain of being brought through God's art of affliction into the number of the saved in the Paradise of the New Jerusalem than were Adam and Eve in their paradisiacal garden. The church, or mystical body of Christ, is in fact the earthly sub-fulfillment of the true paradise of the final union with God in the New Jerusalem. Hence the speaker can assert in the final stanza of "Paradise" that "such beginnings," the afflictions of the mystical body in the enclosed garden of the church, "touch their END" through God's art, just as the last rhyme word in each stanza 'touches' the first as a result of the poet's pruning.

Both the form and the title of the poem, then, have emblematic force, although the way they operate differs greatly from the traditional emblem mode. If this were an emblem of the kind popular in the contemporary emblem books, there would be a picture of a garden containing orderly rows of fruit trees and a hand reaching down from a cloud with a pruning knife. The verse would explain why the garden is an emblem of the new Paradise, the church of Christ, which is the type or sub-fulfillment of the

New Jerusalem. Herbert, instead, uses this conceptual complex as the background for a personal meditation. But through the expression of the speaker's individual truth, his words come to embody an universal Christian truth which is objectified in the rhyme and possibly in the visual impression of the whole poem, with its neat rows of short isometric stanzas headed by the word "Paradise." At the moment when the reader perceives the relationship of the speaker's thought to the emblematic form and title of the poem, he is granted an immediate apprehension of that total verity that subsumes the speaker's, his own, and all Christians' experience in the church.

In a number of poems, such as "Deniall," "Discipline," "Church-monuments," and "Easter-wings," Herbert combined emblematic form and emblematic rhythm, allowing their effects to complement each other. These techniques function in the same way, however, as they did separately in the examples discussed above. It should suffice, therefore, to look at one instance only, "Easter-wings," in order to emphasize once again the previously ignored rhetorical effects of these techniques.

Lord, who createdst man in wealth and store,
 Though foolishly he lost the same,
 Decaying more and more,
 Till he became
 Most poore:
 With thee
 O let me rise
 As larks, harmoniously,
 And sing this day thy victories:
 Then shall the fall further the flight in me.

My tender age in sorrow did beginne:
 And still with sicknesses and shame
 Thou didst so punish sinne,
 That I became
 Most thinne.
 With thee
 Let me combine
 And feel this day thy victories:
 For, if I imp my wing on thine,
 Affliction shall advance the flight in me.

In the first stanza, the speaker describes the effects of original sin, the legacy of Adam leading to damnation, and coun-

ters it with a request that he be allowed to share in the resurrection won for mankind by the second Adam's vicarious atonement. It incorporates within its terms the concept of the felix culpa, as Joseph Summers has pointed out:⁷⁴ as the fall was the occasion for the greater grace afforded by Christ's redemptive act, the speaker's enjoyment of the latter will represent a concrete instance of the general truth: "Then shall the fall further the flight in me." In the second stanza, the speaker describes the personal afflictions to which he has been subjected as punishment for his sins, and counters it again with the request for resurrection in Christ. In this case, the central concept is the imitatio Christi, the mystical body's dying in Christ to the old Adam through affliction so that it may rise in Christ to the life of the New Jerusalem. If the speaker is granted membership in the mystical body of Christ through grace, then his affliction may be seen as part of its imitative paradigm of salvation in Christ: "Affliction shall advance the flight in me." In the two stanzas, then, the speaker's individual condition is identified with the two poles of universal human potentiality as heir of Adam and as member of the second Adam's mystical body, the church.

As so often in The Temple, the poem exhibits the song lyric's correspondence of the recurring rhythmic and formal pattern of the stanza with parallel units of thought and emotion. In the first stanza, the movement gradually contracts, slowing the rhythm, as the speaker describes man's spiritual impoverishment through the fall, to the summarizing one-foot line, "Most poore;" then, beginning at the lowest point with the words "With thee," expands again with accelerating rhythm as he asks to rise with Christ "As larks, harmoniously," to culminate in the words "in me." In the second stanza, the same formal and rhythmic movement is associated with a parallel pattern of thought and emotion which contracts to the lowest point on "Most thinne," and again encloses the corresponding expanding movement of the request for resurrection with the words "With thee . . . in me."

Through this recurring association, the movement of the stanza becomes representative of a basic pattern of Christian

experience, the spiritual fluctuation arising from the dicotomies of human existence, which are implied throughout the poem as Summers has pointed out: "sickness and health, decay and growth, poverty and wealth, foolishness and wisdom, punishment and reward, defeat and victory, the fall and rise of song and wings and spirit, sin and righteousness, burial and resurrection, death and life."⁷⁵ It's movement affirms on this level, furthermore, what the speaker expresses personally in his faith that he may rise with Christ, the initial contraction being transformed into expansion, just as the negative terms of the dicotomies are transformed through Christ into the positive as He brings forth good from evil.

When the poem is turned on its side (as it was printed in all early editions), this affirmation of the stanzaic movement is presented in a concrete visual image, the fluctuation from contraction to expansion, or from impoverishment to wealth, making up the shape of the soaring "Easter-wings" of the title and central image. Arising from the immediate occasion of the speaker's personal response to the resurrection, it becomes at once the outward and visible expression of his inward spiritual meaning and the objectification of universal Christian truth.⁷⁶

The way in which emblematic rhythm and emblematic form are related to content in Herbert's lyrics is not just a case of congruent pattern, of parallel but independent reflections of truth with separate effects like those of text and score in medieval lyric.⁷⁷ Rather, like Renaissance and Baroque lyric's handling of its bi-dimensionally conceived medium, they are made to interact in an attempt to increase the expressive power of the whole. An examination of the analogy between the relationship of text and score in song lyric and the relationship of form and content in Herbert's poetry, it would seem, provides the best background for understand-

ing the rhetorical effects of Herbert's stylistic techniques.

Jerome Mazzaro has pointed out that the theoretical foundation for medieval lyric derived from music theory rather than from literary theory; when the lyric text distinguished itself from song and moved into poetry in the sixteenth century, it was left for a time without a systematic theoretical framework, the contemporary literary discussions being limited to questions of style and special conceits. The continuing high regard for lyric, and the numerous references to its magical powers, however, lead Mazzaro to believe that the old systematic framework derived from music theory still obtained during this period.⁷⁸

Catherine Ing provides corroboration in her more detailed study of Elizabethan critical texts, finding that all of their authors "interpret 'lyric' etymologically, and think of it as 'song.'" She concludes that "Some expect the music to be there in its strict sense, in the form of a melodic line for the words to follow, some perhaps feel that the 'well enchanting skill' may be sufficiently demonstrated in the sounds of the words themselves; but all demand that lyric poetry shall be submitted to the judgment of the ear, which such poetry must please, whatever other qualities it may have or lack. We may therefore expect their lyric poetry to reveal great care in the choice of speech sounds for euphony."⁷⁹

Catherine Ing sees the main effect of the continued identification of lyric with song in terms of directing the poet's attention to the musical qualities of speech sounds. There is a good possibility, however, that the identification also had an effect upon the poet's conception of the relationship between content and style or form. One of the results of the early Renaissance association of the lyric text with logic and the lyric score with rhetoric, according to Mazzaro, was "an increasing sense that music's embellishment of words could be approximated with rhetorical analogues."⁸⁰ For Renaissance composers and poets, furthermore, musical embellishment generally implied the representation of the text by the music. The techniques which were developed, as shown

above, can be roughly distinguished in two categories, pictorial and imitative techniques and expressive techniques, the first category being generally emphasized in the early Renaissance, the second, in the late Renaissance and Baroque periods, although they overlap during much of the time.

In this light, the obtrusive rhetorical patterning of the short lyrics of Sidney's Arcadia, to take one example of early literary lyrics with no practical association with music, becomes not merely an exercise in ornate embellishment for the sake of improving the vernacular, nor simply a predilection for rounded, obtrusive lyric form, but an early experiment in 'setting' the lyrics with a verbal rhetoric analogous to the rhetorical expression of the text by music in song. Robert Montgomery's statement that Sidney's "rhetoric of amplification" in the Arcadia lyrics "attempts to announce the shape and overstate the force of the ideas"⁸¹ describes a technique which seems to bear a resemblance, in particular, to the illustrative and pictorial techniques of early Renaissance music.

Anticipating, in a sense, the development of English song, but with the model of Marot's practical songs, and probably Ronsard's literary lyrics, before him, Sidney made the changeover in some of his psalms from a strophic unity of sound to a strophic unity of rhythm which allowed for the use of dramatically expressive techniques, tonal modulation replacing descriptive amplification. He was led by the desire for a freer use of these expressive techniques, furthermore, to tentatively go beyond the limits that a recurring melodic accompaniment imposes upon the strophic song lyric.

This new dramatic mode, which becomes one of the major modes of Astrophil and Stella, represents, it has been suggested, an increasing commitment to the plain style conception of the relationship of style and content. It is associated with the Aristotelian rhetorical concept of energia to which Sidney alludes in A Defence of Poetry. As Mazzaro points out, in connection with both Sidney and Donne, in the conception of rhetoric involved, style no longer performs the role of descriptive embellishment or imitative

amplification, but instead, becoming subservient to the thought, provides the emotive complement through its appropriateness to the speaker's state of mind. In other words, it expresses implicitly and dramatically the emotion which accompanies the thought in the speaker's mind, creating a greater sense of life which convinces the reader of its truth.⁸² The difference between this rhetorical conception of style and the earlier ornate rhetorical conception corresponds strikingly with the difference between sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theories of the musical treatment of emotion, which Hollander has defined as a difference between representation or imitation and expression.⁸³

We have arrived at a distinction which does not correspond exactly with the song-speech distinction we have been using, but intersects it at the point of rhetorical intent. In the most general terms, it might be stated as a distinction between objective and subjective means of realizing the 'content' of lyric moments in style. In the first, the elements of style are marshalled to imitate and amplify abstract thought and conventional 'affections,' to help define their contours as conceptual paradigms. It corresponds to the imitative and representational techniques of Renaissance music. In the second, corresponding to expressive musical techniques, the emphasis is upon using style to express the character of thought and emotion as it exists in the mind, to help define states of thought and feeling.

It would be a mistake to postulate, on the basis of the general correspondence in the use of objective and subjective techniques, a direct influence of music theory and practice upon stylistic developments in the literary lyric. Each art was responding in terms of its own medium to the changing climate of Renaissance thought and attitudes. But the continued identification of lyrics primarily intended to be read with song could have intensified the poet's attentiveness to questions concerning the relation of style and content. Sidney's Arcadia lyrics seem to be a case in point: whereas the ornate style, in the hands of many of his contemporaries, merely provided an appropriate and

sympathetic background through embellishment, in Sidney's, it became a means of imitating and defining the shape of conceptions and affections.

Herbert's preoccupation with the relation of form and content in The Temple seems to represent another instance. His lyrics exhibit, often in combination, the widest extremes of subjective and objective means of realizing and refining the lyric moment in style. The expressive techniques of the speech lyric pervade the collection; poems using this mode exclusively, such as "Vanitie" (I) or "The Collar," demonstrate that Herbert was as much a master of this mode as Donne. Yet Herbert chose to temper the extreme tendencies of the expressive techniques, and developed a varied range of imitative and representational techniques which had rarely been used before in any meaningful sense in English Renaissance poetry.

The techniques associated with what has been called emblematic rhythm seem to represent conscious approximations of the effects of strophic song, with its recurring melody which, suited to the repetitive patterns of thought and emotion, becomes expressive of the general emotional experience of the song. The techniques of emblematic form, though primarily derived from literary models, may represent a similar desire to approximate the effects of song. Herbert's intent in extending the significative potentiality of emblematic form and developing new techniques seems to have shared little with the prime motive of his contemporaries for display and recreation. Neoplatonic and Christian conceptions of universal order and the human mind's mode of apprehending it, as we have seen, provide a theoretical framework within which Herbert's intention may be understood. The speculative background of contemporary music theory was closely related to these conceptions, and it provided the most systematic application to questions of artistic form, particularly to the question of its rhetorical effects.

The union of poetic text and music in the song lyric represented for the Renaissance an aesthetic ideal, an essentially rhetorical ideal, moreover, which was connected with magical powers of expression. In practice, both expressive musical tech-

niques and pictorial and imitative techniques were generated by a concern with music's rhetorical effects, though they had divergent tendencies, as we have seen, the latter reflecting the significance of the text objectively, the former, subjectively. Herbert's use of both expressive and imitative (or emblematic) poetic techniques of relating form to content, in varying combinations, enabled him to unite the whole range of subjective and objective expression in the voice of the persona of The Temple. The composite 'I' comprehends the empirical reality of individual experience within the abstract truths of universal Christian experience, achieving a total verity which is Herbert's own unique approximation of the neo-classical ideal of the expressive power of the lyric.

¹ See John Erskine, The Elizabethan Lyric (New York, 1903), pp. 1-9; Catherine Ing, Elizabethan Lyrics (London, 1968), pp. 15-17.

² Herbert's use of techniques and conventions of 'song' and 'speech' has been discussed by Joseph Summers (Chaps. 7 and 8 of George Herbert (London, 1954)) and following his lead, by Alicia Ostriker in her excellent article on "Song and Speech in the Metrics of George Herbert" (PMLA, 80 (1965), 62-68). Their emphasis is upon identifying and isolating the disparate techniques and conventions associated with these modes in early 17th-century practice, and have not dealt to any great extent with the ways in which they are combined in The Temple lyrics, nor with the rhetorical and tonal implications of their combination (see, however, Summers, p. 169, and Ostriker, p. 68). These are the questions which will be investigated here. I am profoundly indebted to both for the groundwork they have done.

³ Transformations in the Renaissance English Lyric (Ithaca, 1970), pp. 11, 13-14. The following discussion is extensively indebted to Mazzaro.

⁴ Mazzaro, p. 17. Mazzaro is paraphrasing George T. Wright, The Poet in the Poem (Berkeley, 1960), p. 31.

⁵ Mazzaro, pp. 92, 83-92.

⁶ Mazzaro, pp. 20, 29-30, 97-98; Wilfrid Mellers, "Words and Music in Elizabethan England," in The Age of Shakespeare, Vol. 2 of A Guide to English Literature, ed. Boris Ford (London, 1955), pp. 389-90.

⁷ The Untuning of the Sky (Princeton, 1961), p. 167. See also pp. 163-73.

⁸ On the French Academy, see Frances Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century (London, 1947); on the Camerata, Manfred F. Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era (New York, 1947), pp. 5-9.

⁹ Mazzaro, pp. 90-97; Bukofzer, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰ The Untuning of the Sky, p. 201. See also pp. 180-82.

- 11 Mellers, "Words and Music," p. 392; Mazzaro, pp. 112-13.
- 12 Bukofzer, pp. 5, 10-12; Mazzaro, p. 113.
- 13 Bukofzer, p. 6.
- 14 Mellers, pp. 393, 408. Pp. 395-400, 404-14 are devoted to the discussion of musical examples.
- 15 Mellers, pp. 401-402; Mazzaro, pp. 134-35.
- 16 The Untuning of the Sky, pp. 190-94.
- 17 Bukofzer, p. 71. For the influence of musique mesurée on the air de cour, see Denis Stevens, "The Renaissance," in A History of Song, ed. Denis Stevens (London, 1960), p. 114; and D. P. Walker, "The Influence of Musique Mesurée à L'Antique, particularly on the Airs de cour of the Early Seventeenth Century," Musica Disciplina, 2 (1948), 147.
- 18 The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century, p. 14.
- 19 Jonn Kerman, The Elizabethan Madrigal (New York, 1962), points out that the English madrigal was imported by musicians and never had any meaningful association with the concurrent literary Italianization (pp. 33-34). The reason, he suggests, is that even in the 1580's the literary class considered the madrigal an inappropriate vehicle for their poetry: "the severe musical ideal of the Pleiade . . . seems to have been more attractive than the madrigal aesthetic, which now even in Italy was coming under heavy fire from exactly the academic literary class that had nurtured it. Not without reason, poets preferred the simpler monody of the lute-air to the elaborate madrigal, which, professing to follow a text, actually smothered it with sophisticated musical devices" (pp. 10-11).
- 20 Catherine Ing lists them in Elizabethan Lyrics, p. 96.
- 21 Ing, pp. 56-57, 62.
- 22 Catherine Ing, commenting on the desire of the Elizabethan critics for variety in English lyric verse forms, concludes that "They desired this variety, not only for its own sake, but also because, as several of them demonstrate, they have some understanding of the differing effects which differing rhythms have on mind and emotions. They are trying to make of English versifi-

cation an instrument flexible enough for the expression of the whole range of subjects and impulses of a poet" (Elizabethan Lyrics, p. 63; see also pp. 78-79).

²³ Walter R. Davis, The Works of Thomas Campion (New York, 1967), pp. xxi-xxiii.

²⁴ Mazzaro, p. 130. The preceding paragraph also draws on pp. 128-30.

²⁵ Mazzaro, pp. 97-98. See also p. 20.

²⁶ Mazzaro, pp. 101, 104.

²⁷ A Defence of Poetry, ed. J. A. Van Dorsten (London, 1966), pp. 69-70.

²⁸ Symmetry and Sense (Austin, Texas, 1961), p. 7.

²⁹ Mazzaro, p. 101.

³⁰ Montgomery, p. 73.

³¹ George Herbert's Lyrics (Baltimore, 1968), p. xiv. Stein provides a detailed discussion of plain style traditions in his Introduction, pp. xiii-xliv.

³² Mazzaro, pp. 152-53.

³³ Mazzaro, p. 136.

³⁴ Ing, p. 10.

³⁵ John Donne: 'The Elegies' and 'The Songs and Sonnets' (Oxford, 1965), pp. xxvi, lvi-lvii, lxii.

³⁶ Donne the Craftsman: An Essay upon the Structure of the 'Songs and Sonnets' (1928; rpt. New York, 1962), pp. 29-30.

³⁷ Legouis, pp. 20-22.

³⁸ John Donne: 'The Elegies' and 'The Songs and Sonnets,' pp. lvi-lvii.

³⁹ Legouis, pp. 37, 46-47.

⁴⁰ John Donne, Writers and Their Work, gen. ed. Bonamy Dobrée, No. 86 (London, 1957), p. 9.

⁴¹ "Donne and the Limits of Lyric," in John Donne: Essays in Celebration, ed. A. J. Smith (London, 1972), pp. 271-72.

⁴² Louis L. Martz believes that Herbert's poetic development can be seen as a movement away from the style of Donne toward the simplicity of Sidney and song (The Poetry of Meditation, rev. ed. (New Haven, 1962), p. 273 and Chap. 7, Part 2, passim). Alicia Ostriker has suggested a similar development from the style of Donne to that of Jonson in "Song and Speech in the Metrics of George Herbert," p. 66. It is my opinion that Herbert made use of the whole range of styles, throughout his career, in order to achieve diversified rhetorical and tonal effects. In this respect, it is significant that some of his most Donnian poems, "The Answer," "The Crosse," and "Vanie" (I), are not found in the Williams MS, which suggests that they were composed during the Bemerton period at the close of his life.

⁴³ OED, par. A. 6.

⁴⁴ Hymns and Songs of the Church (1623), intro. by Edward Farr (London, 1895), pp. 174-76. Jeremy Taylor, an imitator of Herbert, included a "Second Hymn for Advent" in Festival Hymns (rpt. The Poems and verse-translations of the Right Reverend Jeremy Taylor, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library, Vol. 1 (n. p., 1870), p. 19) which begins "Lord come away,/ Why dost thou stay?" suggesting that he associated Herbert's poem with Advent.

⁴⁵ "Herbert's 'Dooms-day,'" Explicator, 16 (1958), 24.

⁴⁶ I cannot agree with Prof. Martz that this poem demonstrates the "argumentative evolution" of the formal meditation (The Poetry of Meditation, p. 61). Other poems with a similar modulation, though with different effects, include "Home" and "Dialogue."

⁴⁷ A. McH. Hayes, "Counterpoint in Herbert," SP, 35 (1938), 43.

⁴⁸ Alicia Ostriker has suggested that "Perhaps a third of the poems in The Temple are . . . dominated by internal irregularities which suggest speech, but contained within a stanza form which suggests song. An equivalent number have the reverse emphasis, with conspicuous stanza-patterns dominating . . . Finally, there is a sizeable group which seem to balance equally between

song and speech, combining the strictness of stanza form with the freedom of internal variation so that neither element predominates" ("Song and Speech," p. 68).

⁴⁹ Francis Marshman, "Litany," and Fernand Cabrol, "Breviary," in The Catholic Encyclopedia, ed. Charles G. Herbermann, et al., 15 vols. (New York, 1907-1914).

⁵⁰ Ostriker, p. 64.

⁵¹ OED, pars. 4 and 3 respectively. John Wesley substituted the verb "reject" in his adaptation of the poem for congregational singing. Note that his simplification of the form has an equally simplifying effect upon tone:

Thou, Lord, my power and wisdom art;

O do not then reject my heart!

Thy clay that weeps, Thy dust I am

That calls; O put me not to shame!

(cited by Elsie A. Leach, "John Wesley's Use of George Herbert," Huntington Library Quarterly, 16 (1953), 187).

⁵² "George Herbert," in Five Metaphysical Poets (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 61-62.

⁵³ English Emblem Books (1948; rpt. New York, 1966), p. 157.

⁵⁴ Cited by [John] Frank Kermode, John Donne, p. 9.

⁵⁵ Utmost Art: Complexity in the Verse of George Herbert ([Lexington], 1966), p. 155. I am indebted to Rickey for the explication of the astrological terms in the following passage.

⁵⁶ See William Empson, Seven Types of Ambiguity, 3rd ed. (New York, [1953]), p. 118, on "Hope;" and Joseph Summers, George Herbert, pp. 90-92, on "The Collar." Stanzaic examples include "Employment" (I), "Longing," "Submission," "Love" (III), "Peace," "The Pilgrimage," "Easter-wings," "Deniall," "Church-monuments," and "Aaron."

⁵⁷ Rosemary Freeman suggests that the significant factor in defining the emblematic mode and distinguishing it from the symbolic mode is the method of relating the concrete image and the abstract idea for which it stands: the emblematiser equates them, leaving the relationship artificial, whereas the symbolist identifies the two (English Emblem Books, pp. 23-27). See also T. O. Beechcroft, "Quarles and the Emblem Habit," Dublin Review, 188 (Jan. 1931), 85.

58 The scriptural acrostics are alphabetic; see e. g. Lamentations 1-4, Proverbs 31.10-31, Psalms 34, 37, 111, and 119. The most ambitious contemporary acrostics were the 24 Hymns of Astraea by Sir John Davies, each of which was an initial acrostic on "Elizabetha Regina."

59 Margaret Church, "The First English Pattern Poems," PMLA, 61 (1946), 636-50; Joseph Summers, p. 140.

60 Catherine Ing, Elizabethan Lyrics, pp. 89, 50-51.

61 Cited by Ing, p. 48.

62 Louis H. Leiter, "George Herbert's Anagram," College English, 26 (1965), 543-44, has presented a convincing description of the complex implications of the visual arrangement.

63 Helen Gardner provides background on the development of the practice of entitling lyric poems in "The Titles of Donne's Poems," Friendship's Garland: Essays Presented to Mario Praz on His seventieth Birthday, ed. Vittorio Gabriele (Rome, 1966), I, 190-91, and suggests that Herbert was the first poet to fully accept the challenge.

64 The practice of providing a verse explicatio of an emblem without the engraving (termed "naked emblems" by Francis Thynne, who published a number of them in Emblemes and Epigrames (1600) (rpt. by the Early English Text Society, ed. F. J. Furnivall (London, 1876), p. 2) may have been even more suggestive to Herbert, although he was still innovative in substituting the title to fill the role of the missing engraving and in transforming the explication into a dramatic poetic event.

65 L'Inspiration personnelle et l'esprit du temps chez les poètes métaphysiques anglais, I (Paris, 1959), i, 309-310.

66 George Boas describes the Neoplatonic theory of the three-fold nature of knowledge in the Intro. to his translation of Horapollo's Hieroglyphica (1505) (Bollinger Series, No. 23 (New York, 1950), pp. 21-23).

67 In an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Mark Taylor has observed that "Herbert's hieroglyphs do not always manifest themselves to the eye. Nevertheless, a tension exists between the words we hear and a more fundamental substance embodied within these words. So we may say that we 'see' this substance, finally, in the same way that sight is always invoked, literally or

figuratively, as a kind of verbal equivalent for the grasping of truth" ("George Herbert's Poetry: The Soul in Paraphrase," Diss. The City University of New York 1969, p. 146). The traditional concept of the incarnation of the Logos, or Creative Word, in Christ, based upon the Johannine writings, clearly involved the provision of a clearer apprehension of God's Word rather than of a strictly visual perception.

68 "Icones Symbolicae; The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought," JWCI, 11 (1948), 167-68, 171.

69 Gombrich, pp. 177, 180, 182.

70 "Logos in The Temple: George Herbert and the Shape of Content," in Paradoxia Epidemica: The Renaissance Tradition of Paradox (Princeton, 1966); Richard E. Hughes, "George Herbert and the Incarnation," Cithara (St. Bonaventure), 4, 1 (1964), 22-32.

71 "Logos in The Temple," pp. 194, 209, 214, and passim.

72 Some of Mark Taylor's observations, in "George Herbert's Poetry: The Soul in Paraphrase," are relevant here. Taylor points out that Herbert's hieroglyphic poems "operate by counterpointing an aural stimulus with a visual [or conceptual] one, and depend for their success on the reader's imaginatively uniting the two," and suggests that this counterpointing effect incorporates into the poems' structure the Augustinian distinction between time and eternity which frequently lies behind their meaning (pp. 145, 95-100, and Chap. 2 passim).

73 Utmost Art, p. 172.

74 George Herbert, p. 144.

75 Summers, p. 144.

76 B. W. Whitlock cites Heinrich Wölfflin's dictum that unity in Baroque art is achieved by form rather than in form, and suggests that this is a characteristic of Herbert's form. He concludes, "Where form is such a clearly unifying force, it must link meaning as well. It is at this point that Herbert's sacramental sense comes to the fore. His poems are 'outward and visible signs of and inward and spiritual' meaning" ("The Baroque Characteristics of the Poetry of George Herbert," Cithara, 7, ii (1968), 30, 33). Robert Hastings claims that "Easter-wings" may serve as a model of Herbert's emblematic mode of expression because it achieves

an "emblematic vision of the type as representative of the discrete experience" thematically, while formally it extends this vision to "the farthest limits of sense experience," i.e., to visual reproduction ("Easter Wings" as a Model of George Herbert's Method," Thoth (Syracuse Univ.), 4 (Winter, 1963), 21-22).

77 In his Chap. 8, "Music," Joseph Summers has concluded that "Since the music and the poetry of the early seventeenth century developed together, each influenced the other in many ways. If the poet was concerned with musical values, 'neatness' became a necessity: the pattern of sound in the stanza and in the entire poem should be 'expressive' of the meaning within fairly wide limits of congruent patterning" (George Herbert, p. 165).

78 Transformations, p. 114.

79 Elizabethan Lyrics, p. 79.

80 Mazzaro, p. 91.

81 Symmetry and Sense, pp. 33, 30-36.

82 Mazzaro, pp. 150-54. See also pp. 104-105 on Sidney.

83 The Untuning of the Sky, p. 201.

Conclusion

The lyric's origins in song endowed it with its own distinct "radical of presentation"¹ which differentiated it from the epic and dramatic genres. Brief and self-contained, as a consequence of its original identification with a specific melody or musical form, the lyric represented an isolated moment, a single instant of significant human emotion or experience. A limitation of mimetic capacity was one result, to overcome which poets altered and transformed basic techniques and conventions as lyric moved wholly into the province of poetry. But this radical of presentation was also responsible for ~~one of the~~ lyric's peculiar advantages: arising from and resolving a single stimulus,² it possessed a concentration and an integrity which set off its instant of experience from the continuous modifying process of life, bestowing upon it a special meaning by virtue of its separateness. Hence, Renaissance poets sought to develop methods of relating lyrics which would preserve the integrity of the lyric moment while allowing for the creation of a fictional world that could encompass a wide range of character and action.

The first English collections of interrelated lyrics were the sonnet sequences in imitation of Petrarch's Rime, from which the would-be English Petrarchs learned to create a persona who could subsume the isolated lyric moments in the presiding presence of his personality. The persona's characteristic attitudes and states of mind and feeling are shaped and defined by his relationship to his mistress, and hence unfold in accordance with the rudimentary narrative that governs the course of that relationship, giving rise to a linear development of meaning. Sidney's sophisticated handling of the contentio within Astrophil's mind, playing off rapid alterations in mood and point of view against each other, fills in the conventional narrative plot with what Mont-

gomery describes as "an introspective pattern unfolded semidramatically,"³ but the development of meaning remains essentially sequential and linear.

In the religious lyric, there was relatively little experimentation in interrelating lyrics before the composition of The Temple. Series of spiritual sonnets were produced by Henry Constable, Barnabe Barnes, and Henry Locke, but none of these writers succeeded in creating a persona or in finding a structural principle corresponding to the narrative plot of the Petrarchan sequence. Their series are merely collections, consequently, usually divided up on a simple numerical basis into "centuries" of 100 sonnets each. In the work of Alabaster and Donne, however, we find the structural principles of the meditation relating groups of sonnets to give rise to a larger significance. Alabaster's eleven sonnets on the death of Christ represent the speaker's preparation for the ordeal of martyrdom by meditation upon the events of the passion, which follows the narrative from the betrayal to the crucifixion while unfolding the implications of the imitatio Christi.⁴ Donne's Holy Sonnets, as Helen Gardner has shown, fall into short, related sequences which follow traditional meditative patterns of thought, as for example the meditation upon the Last Things of the first six sonnets printed in 1633.⁵ The earlier La Corona represents a more complexly related sequence of lyrics, the speaker's meditation upon the Mysteries of Faith, based upon the principal events of the Incarnation from the Annunciation to the Ascension, being framed by his offering of the crown of prayer and praise which his meditation literally and figuratively represents.

Both Donne and Alabaster drew upon the traditional allegorical and typological concepts and images, as well as upon the liturgy and iconography of the church. The representative and universal levels of Christian experience these materials express, however, are not incorporated into the persona's identity and reflected in his voice, as they are in The Temple. Donne and Alabaster were the first poets since the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to import the energetic style into the religious lyric; they did so in order to focus upon the individ-

ual's apprehension of his personal relationship to the traditional paradigms of Christian experience. The personae are less clearly outlined than those of the love sequences, their personalities being limited to the point of their meditation, which belongs to the conventional categories of petition and praise. But these religious sequences share the essential feature of the secular sonnet sequence: arising from the persona's meditative progress, which corresponds to the Petrarchan persona's progress (tactical and moral) in the relationship with his mistress, the development of meaning is linear and sequential.

Although The Temple exhibits points of similarity with the religious and secular sonnet sequences, particularly in the stylistic and logical methods of establishing the empirical individuality of the persona, Herbert's collection of varied lyric forms is more closely related to the Psalter than to any of these. The Temple, like the Psalms, does not demand a sequential reading, for its principal of unity is an abiding significance focused in the many-leveled identity of the persona rather than a linear development of meaning.

The persona of The Temple, as we have seen, is identified with an individual, the historical seventeenth-century poet-priest whose personality and characteristic attitudes and beliefs pervade the work. The specificity and inclusiveness of the portrayal of the poet-priest, rivaling Sidney's portrayal of Astrophil, represents a new element in the religious lyric. Herbert addresses God in a wide variety of moods and contexts rather than limiting himself to those established by convention (a technique he could have learned from the new love poets, particularly Donne, although the latter did not apply it in his own religious lyrics). For the poet-priest of The Temple, consequently, prayer seems to be a natural activity, one which may take place during the course of daily life, rather than being reserved for set occasions, and may include playfulness, cajolery, complaint, and open rebellion as well as petition and praise. By thus descending to the particulars of the persona's relationship with God, as he advised the preacher to do in A Priest to the Temple (pp. 230, 257, 278), Herbert "dupli-

cates in poems," as William Halewood has pointed out, "the essential features of personal history repeated in non-conformist sermons and spiritual autobiographies."⁶

The seventeenth-century poet-priest is the cornerstone of The Temple's structure of significance, for it is through, rather than despite, his empirical identity that the generic man-God relationship is portrayed. The pervasive typological concepts and symbolism create a conceptual substructure which sets forth this individual as an historical manifestation, like the David of the Psalms, of the universal Christian paradigm. Their experience reflects and participates in that of Christ, the one as prophetic type, the other as sub-fulfillment, and consequently is at one with the experience of the universal church, the mystical body of Christ. The representation of the life of the church by the persona of The Temple is authorized and raised to a higher power by his priesthood (which corresponds in New Dispensation terms to David's kingship, the basis of his authority to speak for the Chosen People). Like the composite 'I' of the Psalms, therefore, he takes up and finally comprehends all the voices in the eternal dialogue between Christ and His church.

We have only made a beginning here in investigating some of the ways in which Herbert combines and modifies contemporary lyric modes in order to enable the composite 'I' to modulate among the 'persons' of his identity. He drew upon the techniques and conventions of a wide range of sources, including the native and classical plain styles, the street ballad, the lutenist air, the hymn and the liturgy, the energetic style, the popular sermon, the ornate rhetorical style, and emblem literature. The distinction between song and speech, corresponding to the major line of divergence in the contemporary transformations occurring in the lyric, is one of the most useful for considering the rhetorical effects of Herbert's complex combinations of modes. Another is the distinction between subjective and objective techniques of refining content through form, and there are others that may be found useful in considering certain groups of poems in The Temple.⁷

The only generalization that can be made is that Herbert employs this wide range of techniques and conventions for their tonal and rhetorical effects: whether used singly or in complex combinations, they contribute to the creation of the range of modulation of the persona's voice.

The Sidneian Psalter may have provided Herbert with the conceptual stimulus for the employment of the whole range of contemporary lyric modes. There are good reasons for believing that Herbert was familiar with the work, particularly, as Martz has pointed out, his friendship with Donne, who knew it, and his relationship with the Pembroke family.⁸ But it is not necessary to postulate a direct influence upon Herbert. The other Reformation translations, by their patent failure to re-create the modulations of the Psalmist's voice upon which the contemporary interpretation of the Psalms was grounded, pointed to the insufficiency of the song lyric, or of any homogeneous mode, as the medium of a composite 'I.'

The Psalter itself, finally, may have represented Herbert's prime model for the combination of heterogeneous modes. Although the range accorded the Psalmist's voice was ascribed primarily to divine inspiration, its stylistic range was recognized as a contributory factor. The very conception of David's 'changing of persons' was based upon observable modulations in tone and rhetoric. Herbert's contemporaries were also aware that, to cite Witmer once again, the Psalms are in "Verse of sundry kinds: wherein there is also greater varietie of expression, then can be found in any one volume of Poesie whether you have respect to the nature of the Poesie, as it is Heroicall, Tragicall, Lyricall, & such like; or, to the manner of setting forth those things he purposeth: which is sometime by way of complaint, sometime petitionarily, sometime in one fashion, and sometime in another."⁹

The Temple, it should be noted, however, probably surpasses the Psalms in variety of modes and techniques. In a sense, its range is more nearly equivalent to that of all five poetic books of the Bible, transposed into seventeenth-century poetic and religious terms. The substantial didactic element in The Temple,

which frequently draws upon the contemporary popular sermon, corresponds to Ecclesiastes, "otherwise called the Preacher," as the subtitle of a translation by Henry Locke declares.¹⁰ The proverb represents an important feature of Herbert's style throughout the collection, and is particularly prominent in the native plain style poems ("Business," "Charms and Knots," "The Discharge"). He also makes extensive use of the language and conventions of contemporary love poetry, corresponding to the Song of Solomon, traditionally interpreted as the love song of the spouse of Christ. The portrayal of Job's struggle to achieve reconciliation with God, finally, finds its equivalent in the delineation of the poet-priest's recurring conflicts in seeking to achieve his priestly vocation, to reconcile himself to the uses of affliction, and to resign himself simply and wholly to God's will. In terms of genre, structure, persona, and thematic range, however, The Temple is most closely related to the Psalter. It recasts all the motives and modes it includes (like the original devotional poetry of Hunnis, Leighton, and John Davies of Hereford, though on a more sophisticated level of imitation) into a poetic context closely approximating that of the Psalms in order to create a devotional medium which mediates between God and man.

The persona's priesthood, it has been suggested, represents not only his achieved vocation but a metaphor for the mediatory role he performs in The Temple. On this level, furthermore, it subsumes and brings into union the two other aspects of the persona's vocation, those of preacher and poet. David, as Donne explains in a sermon on Psalm 32, combined these roles in the Psalter: "the sweet singer of Israel" was "excellent in both these ways of Teaching; Poet and Preacher, proceed in these ways in both, Rule, and Example, the body and soule of Instruction."¹¹ The persona of The Temple, as well, combines these functions as both poet and preacher, presenting the life of the New Dispensation in doctrine and life. Their combination represents the union of artistic and religious intent which, as mentioned in the Introduction, was considered the prerequisite of the highest poetry and

the basis of the Psalms' artistic preeminence. At the same time, they represent the two rhetorical directions in the persona's mediation between God and man. The preacher's presentation of the life of the church in doctrine and life is directed toward man, seeking to provide the reader-congregation with a pattern for the life he should lead. The poet's presentation is directed toward God, attempting to create out of the life of the church, including his own and the reader's, an offering of prayer and praise.

In terms of the metaphor of poetic and spiritual self-reference which runs throughout the work, the poet of The Temple seeks to achieve in his lyrics the condition of song. The recurring conflicts involving his priestly vocation and his personal relationship with God are inseparably joined with this artistic struggle, as the poet-priest searches for a "place, where I might sing,/ And serve thee" ("The Crosse," ll. 3-4). In "Praise" (II), he pledges to God, "with my utmost art/ I will sing thee" (ll. 9-10), but the 'music' of fallen man, as he laments in "Sion," "The Crosse," and "Gratefulness," is most often the unharmonious noise of sighs and groans. In the poetic world of The Temple, metrical irregularity, in particular, is literally and figuratively associated with man's rebellious and perverted will and the suffering of afflictions it calls down upon him ("The Collar," l. 4; "Deniall," ll. 1-2; "Grief," ll. 16-17).

For the persona of The Temple, the artistic and spiritual solution to this problem is not the denial of these aspects of Christian experience and the exclusion of disharmony from his verse. In spiritual terms, the sinfulness and sorrow of man's existence is never eliminated, but it may be transformed through divine grace into part of the structure of salvation. The restless motions of the rebellious will, discovering the emotional and spiritual dead-ends in their path of flight, lead back to Christ ("The Collar," "Affliction" (I)), while the afflictions man's sinfulness occasions become part of the imitative paradigm of redemption, the dying in Christ to the perverted will of the Old Adam in order to rise in Christ to the life of the New Jeru-

salem.

Christ's 'music,' too, was sighs and groans as He suffered upon the cross for mankind. As the speaker of "Easter" bids first his heart and then his lute to sing praises for Christ's redemptive act, therefore, he charges them to imitate that music:

Rise heart; thy Lord is risen. Sing his praise
Without delays . . .

Awake, my lute, and struggle for thy part
With all thy art
The crosse taught all wood to resound his name,
Who bore the same.
His stretched sinews taught all strings, what key
Is best to celebrate this most high day. (ll. 1-2, 7-12)

And in a recurring metaphor of The Temple, the afflictions to which Christ subjects His church are seen as a tuning of the instrument of the soul in preparation for harmonious song:

Yet take thy way; for sure thy way is best:
Stretch or contract me, thy poore debter:
This is but tuning of my breast,
To make the musick better.
("The Temper" (1), ll. 21-24; cf. "Providence,"
ll. 37-39; "Deniall," ll. 21-30)

Thus, in the union of the mystical body, Christ's participation in the sighs and groans of his members may transform them into song:

Consort both heart and lute, and twist a song
Pleasant and long:
Or, since all musick is but three parts vied
And multiplied,
O let thy blessed Spirit bear a part,
And make up our defects with his sweet art.
("Easter," ll. 13-18)

Although through grace the soul may achieve moments of resolution during which it can give voice to a harmonious song of praise, its condition on earth is never free of disharmony. But if sincere, if it truly reflects the church's 'groaning' to be "noly, pure, and cleare" ("Superliminare," ll. 6-7), it is more acceptable to God than harmonious song which does not respond to the spiritual realities of Christian experience ("Sion," "Gratefulness"), and "may take part/ Among the best in art" ("A true

Hymne," ll. 7-8). So in The Temple, the separate lyric moments portray, and reflect in their poetic medium, the rebelliousness and sinfulness of man, as well as his moments of peace and reconciliation, on all levels of the experience of the church. Each moment is accorded its full existential reality within the life of the church of the New Dispensation; the achieved resolution of the one does not cancel the other's grief or rebellion. Within the structure of significance of the whole, however, the latter are seen in perspective as a part of the eternal dialogue between Christ and His church which will end in the triumphant chorus of the New Jerusalem; hence, they may become part of The Temple's edifice of praise.

The analogue, again, is found in the Psalms, where David's repentant lament for this adultery with Bathsheba (the Penitential Psalms) or the historical narrative of Israel's repeated failures to respond to God's will (Ps. 78) are incorporated into what was, in terms of its structure of significance, the triumphant songs of the church, the Sepher Tehillim or Book of Praise. Herbert could not have aspired to match the canonical book of prayer and praise, in terms of art, inspiration, or spiritual efficacy. But he may have hoped that his struggle to sing a new song of the church would be blessed with God's acceptance and inspired by His grace, becoming a place where God and man might meet through his (His) art.

¹ The term is Northrop Frye's, Anatomy of Criticism (1957; rpt. New York, 1965), p. 247. My definition of the lyric's radical of presentation, which follows, differs from Frye's definition, "the concealment of the poet's [reader-]audience from the poet" (p. 249).

² John Erskine, The Elizabethan Lyric (New York, 1903), pp. 10-17.

³ Symmetry and Sense (Austin, Texas, 1961), p. 119.

⁴ The Sonnets of William Alabaster, ed. G. M. Story and Helen Gardner (London, 1959), pp. 1-6.

⁵ John Donne: The Divine Poems (Oxford, 1952), pp. xl-xli.

⁶ The Poetry of Grace (New Haven, 1970), pp. 102-103.

⁷ The many didactic poems, in especial, require more discussion. The distinction most useful in this case seems to be that between the rhetorical stances of self-reference ('I') and of other-directed assertion ('you'). It, too, intersects the other distinctions we have used at the point of rhetorical intent, the preacher's shifting of his rhetorical stance between 'I' and 'you' serving to combine them in the 'we' of the church.

⁸ The Poetry of Meditation, rev. ed. (New Haven, 1954), p. 278.

⁹ A Preparation to the Psalter (1619), Spenser Society Reprints, No. 37 (Manchester, 1884), p. 127. The tables printed with the Psalms classified them under such headings as doctrine, prophecy, praise, imprecation, and victories or triumphs, and generally pointed out that the "divers kindes" (in Richard Bernard's words) are "either simple or mixt" (David's Musick (London, 1616), sig. Bl^v). In an unpublished dissertation entitled "The Patterning of George Herbert's The Temple (1633): Critics and Manuscripts," Ben Eric Drake has observed the similarity between the variety of modes and manners in the Psalms and in The Temple. The only structural principle he finds in the Psalms, however, is that of thematic interrelationship between consecutive or dispersed groups of psalms. He concludes, therefore, that The Temple's

analogous structure does not create a unified whole in the sense demanded by modern critical principles ((Diss. Univ. of Illinois 1966), pp. 275-327).

¹⁰ Ecclesiastes, otherwise called the Preacher (London, 1597).

¹¹ The Sermons of Jonn Donne, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter, IX (Berkeley, 1958), 274.

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