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"Corpus hominis, Organum Dei":
George Herbert and the Protestant
Meditative Experience

Submitted to the Faculty of Arts in
the University of Glasgow for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D)

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Contents

Acknowledgments	iii
Summary	v
Structure and Sources	x
I. "The slow proficiency of grace"	
1. "When the words become works": Meditation and the Protestant Vocation	1
2. "A bending of the mind": The "Jordan" Sequence	21
II. "The scope of the whole world"	
3. The view from abroad: Continental Catholicism and Protestant Practice	99
4. "These crosse actions": Temper, Tension, Tuning	131
III. "And in heaven there is invariably music"	
5. "A gray-haired custome of most times and places": Music and the Established Church in the Post-Reformation Era	209
6. "The way to heavens doore": A Meditation upon "Church-musick"	256
Notes	280
Bibliography	310

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Summary

Throughout the seventeenth century, Protestant clergy and laity dedicated themselves to building and maintaining a distinctively Protestant literature. This canon, for it is as a canon, an authoritative collection of works that in this case proceeds from the canon of Scripture, that the Protestant literature of this period is best understood, was designed to meet the liturgical, devotional, and aesthetic needs of English Protestants. Their traditional forms of worship, and the literature used to sustain and illuminate these forms, had been rejected or altered with the acceptance of Calvinist theology. Richard Baxter, a generous mid-century contributor to the Protestant canon, expressed the primary motivation of many writers to create Protestant literature when he declared in the Preface to his Christian Directory, "I would not have us under a necessity, of going to the Romanists for our ordinary supplies."¹

The most important single work to enter the canon was the Authorised Version of the Bible, which became,

in the view of a modern critic, "surely the most important single book in the development of our taste for what is right and good, not only in language but also in life."² The publication of the Authorised Version completed a process begun in 1525, when William Tyndale published his edition of the New Testament.³ This process of translation was vital to the development both of Protestantism and of Protestant literature in England. Fuelled by the Word, Protestant writers took on other kinds of literature. One of these genres that developed a distinctively Protestant voice was meditative literature. Its leading advocate in England, Bishop Joseph Hall, declared in his Arte of Divine Meditation (1606) that "it is not more impossible to live without a heart than to be devout without meditation,"⁴ and throughout the seventeenth century many Protestant writers contributed to the development of the genre with the publication of their own meditations.

Other writers were influenced by Protestant meditative literature and by the scripturally based meditation that this literature expounded and championed. Their writings reflect a commitment to meditation and to the application of meditation upon the Word -- a characteristically Protestant aspect of meditative practice -- to their lives and their own writings. The development and articulation of

Protestant meditative practice occurred at a time when numerous publications of the Counter Reformation presses, including devotional manuals and emblem books, were available in England. While the presence of these works posed a threat to the integrity of Protestant meditation in the eyes of some, many Protestants were challenged by the example of the Catholic works to produce comparable writings of their own, imitating if not the content, then the scope of these works and the ingenuity of their emblematics.

Perhaps the writer whose work is most informed by his knowledge and practice of Protestant meditation is George Herbert. Herbert's poetry has been called "the poetry of meditation,"⁵ but it is more accurate to consider The Temple as a work suffused with the qualities of the Protestant meditative experience. By this is meant the bipartite approach to meditation -- through the Word and to the self -- advanced by Hall and other writers as this acts upon the practitioner and his work. It is this commitment on the part of George Herbert to the Protestant meditative experience, and to the ways in which this commitment is demonstrated in The Temple, that is the subject of this study.

Two corollary issues are also examined, both of which are of concern to English Protestants during the seventeenth century, yet which are given especial attention in The Temple. The first of these is the

Protestant understanding of vocation, and the means whereby the writer's vocation is illuminated, maintained, and strengthened through meditation. The second issue, music, is a contentious subject for Protestants throughout the century. For Herbert, it is an essential component of his poetic and priestly vocations and of his understanding of the meditative experience, being a channel of God's grace akin to that which enables him to praise God through his work, and thus enact the primary function of the devotional poet.

Among the many critical works that have been of use in the composition of this study, three in particular should be cited: Barbara Kiefer Lewalski's Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth Century Religious Lyric, Richard Strier's Love Known: Theology and Experience in George Herbert's Poetry, and Chana Bloch's Spelling the Word: George Herbert and the Bible. I have extended Lewalski's discussion of Protestant meditation with respect to Herbert with the help of Bloch's comprehensive research into his sources. Strier's sensitive analysis of Herbert's poetry has largely guided my own reading; however, I argue the Protestant soul depicted in The Temple is able, through meditation, to be more active on behalf of his spiritual and poetic development than Strier allows. Like these critics, my study of Herbert proceeds from a perception of his themes, sources, and theology as Protestant and of his work as "Protestant

poetics," and with hope contributes to the analysis of
seventeenth century literature from this critical
perspective.⁶

Structure and Sources

This study comprises three parts, which are identified and to some extent shaped by quotations from the meditative writings of Joseph Hall. Each part contains two chapters, the first of which surveys some general aspects of the themes of meditation, vocation, and music and the interrelationship of these issues in the events and the literature of the seventeenth century, drawing upon the works of many Protestant writers along with some Catholic writings of the Counter Reformation that were read by, or otherwise affected, Protestants in England. The second chapter in each part is specifically a detailed examination of Herbert's poetry as it is illuminated by the themes discussed in the preceding chapter and in the work as a whole.

Thus, Chapter One, "Meditation and the Protestant Vocation," is followed by an examination of Herbert's application of the meditative experience to his own vocation as a writer as this is demonstrated in a sequence of seven poems in "The Church," in Chapter Two.

Chapter Three looks at Catholic meditative literature, the Protestant reaction to it, and the eventual influence of the developing Protestant meditative tradition upon Protestant and Catholic writing, while Chapter Four traces Herbert's application and transformation of specific emblematic images found in patristic and contemporary Catholic literature within a number of poems. Chapter Five examines the history of the debate over music in the Established Church from the mid-sixteenth century to 1700, concentrating upon the events of and immediately preceding Herbert's lifetime, and Chapter Six concludes the study by concentrating upon a single poem, "Church-musick," which illustrates its author's understanding of and commitment to each of the themes discussed throughout this work and throughout The Temple itself.

Throughout this study, "the speaker" of any one of the poems in The Temple is understood to mean the "I" of that poem alone (or sometimes of a closely related poem as well), and not necessarily "Herbert," who is the writer of each poem, but whose intentions may be misconstrued if, by naming him as the only speaker in The Temple, the reader imagines that his tone, motivations, and degree of experience are constant from poem to poem. By considering Herbert the writer and the speakers that he creates as interdependent but not identical beings, and therefore recognising that

rarely do the individual, occasional perspectives of the speakers equal that of George Herbert's complete experience, we avoid the problem of mistaken identity that Donne observes with respect to his own devotions:

In sudden and unpremeditate prayer, I am not
alwayes I, and when I am not my self, my prayer
is not my prayer. Passions and affections
sometimes, sometimes bodily infirmities, and
sometimes a vain desire of being eloquent in
prayer, aliens me, withdraws me from my self,
and then that prayer is not my prayer¹

The word "occasional" is used throughout this study to describe the experience of Protestant meditation through the action, and often the vocation, of the individual. I have appropriated this term from Joseph Hall, whose "occasional meditations"² arise out of unplanned or unforeseen encounters with life. Upon these occasions, the Protestant interprets his present experience based upon his practice of scriptural meditation, responds to it, and learns from it. The word "occasionality" is used at times to denote this kind of experience and its sudden and transitory nature.

All Herbert quotations refer to F. E. Hutchinson's edition of the Works (1945). All biblical quotations refer to the Authorised Version.

-I-

"The slow proficiency of grace"

(Joseph Hall, Susurrium cum Deo, 58)

Chapter One

"When the words become works":

Meditation and the Protestant Vocation

In a Lenten sermon preached at Whitehall a few years after his ordination, John Donne addressed the subject of vocation from a distinctively Protestant perspective, underscoring the relationship between Word-centred meditation and its enactment by the individual through his unique vocation:

as S. Basil says, Corpus hominis, Organum Dei, when the person acts that which the song says; when the words become works, this is a song to an instrument¹

Of his own priestly vocation, for example, Donne explains that:

God for his own glory promises here, that his Prophet, his Minister, shall be Tuba, a Trumpet, to awaken with terror. But then, he shall become Carmen musicum, a musical and harmonious charmer, to settle and com-

pose the soul again in a reposed confidence,
and in a delight in God: he shall be musicum
carmen, musick and harmony in his manner²

Donne traces the interrelationship of the Word of God
and those who are called to preach, to meditate, and to
write upon and be guided by it from the time of Moses
and the prophets to the present:

...when God had given all the Law, he provided,
as he himself sayes (Deut. 31:19-22), a safer way,
which was to give them a heavenly Song of their
owne making: for that Song, he sayes there, he was
sure they would remember. So the Holy Ghost hath
spoken in those Instruments, whom he chose for the
penning of the Scriptures... And then also, are
we Musicum carmen, when, according to the example
of men inspired by the Holy Ghost, we deliver
messages of God with such diligence, and such
preparation, as appertains to the dignity of that
employment³

This sermon presents all of the essential aspects
of Protestant meditation as they were developed,
refined and applied during this period. These charac-
teristics, namely, a starting place in the Word, the
application of the Word to the self and to the parti-
cular activities of the self, the responsibility of
man to practice and maintain that vocation, that
"heavenly Song," which comes from and is ultimately
returned to God but which is "sung" by man, and the
specific identification of the "Holy Ghost," or Holy
Spirit, as the provider of the grace that enables men,
the "Musicum carmen," to hear and be heard by God as
they learn and experience their unique vocations,
naturally relate to the vocation of the preacher as

they do to the specific work of every Protestant practitioner.⁴ As Barbara Lewalski observes with respect to the Protestant understanding of the process whereby the words become works, "experience is viewed as the proving ground of the Word, a second scripture which reveals God's will and provides a basis for determining our spiritual state."⁵

Indeed, as Donne points out, the first Scripture, that written by Moses and the prophets and upon which we meditate, itself represents the experience and the vocation of its writers: God "put in them a care of delivering (His) messages, with consideration, with meditation, with preparation; and not barbarously, not suddenly, not occasionally, not extemporarily, which might derogate from the dignity of so great a service."⁶ As their words become the subject of meditation, so they themselves become types, the objects of our emulation.

These concerns are "everywhere evident" in the developing indigenous tradition of Protestant meditative literature of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England.⁷ Bishop Joseph Hall, perhaps the greatest and most influential architect of this tradition, emphasises in his Arte of Divine Meditation (1606) the total interdependence of Word and work, of meditation and vocation, when he ridicules the rituals of Catholic contemplatives whom

he observed during his Continental journey of 1605:⁸

(They) spend themselves wholly upon their beads and crucifix, pretending no other work but meditation, (they) have cold hearts to God, and to the world show nothing but a dull shadow of devotion⁹

This sense of devotion made manifest and tested by experience, of the lessons of meditation proved and applied through one's unique vocation, inform a work composed in the generation after Hall and others laid the foundations of Protestant meditative practice, namely, George Herbert's The Temple (1633). As Lewalski notes, although the work is not specifically a meditative tract intended for public instruction and consumption:

...in a special sense, all the poems of 'The Church' (section of The Temple) are records of and meditations upon experience -- the speaker's varied experiences in living the Christian life within the Church, and in building the spiritual temple within himself¹⁰

In this study, we will examine Herbert's meditations upon his poetic vocation as fuelled by grace and guided by the Word, his construction and manipulation of emblematic images that are distinctively Protestant in execution, and his recreation of a meditative experience in the form of an address to the source of grace, the Holy Spirit, as it is manifested in music, itself an integral part of this poet's enactment of his vocation. Before we examine the ways in which Herbert "is vitally concerned with certain exercises

and activities closely related to meditation in the Protestant view,"¹¹ we would do well to examine the differences between Protestant practice and those Catholic practices, both established and newly developed, which were enjoying popularity both on the Continent and in Catholic circles within England but which were essentially rejected by Protestant practitioners. In this chapter, we will focus upon the themes of motivation and meditative technique as they apply to both Catholic and Protestant meditation, while a discussion of Catholic meditative subject matter and the articulation of a Protestant response to it in meditative literature and in poetry is reserved for Chapters Three and Four of this study.

Saint Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus and the author of the Spiritual Exercises, one of the two most influential meditative works of the Counter Reformation, shares with most if not all practitioners of meditation, Catholic or Protestant, the motivation for such practice, namely, "seeking and finding the will of God."¹² In its original version, the method of discerning His will through meditation as expounded by Ignatius is clearly indebted to the traditional Catholic understanding of the contemplative life, in which there is "no other work but meditation." The sequence of exercises, divided as they are into weeks and demanding the total

commitment of the practitioner to the method itself as well as to the individual exercise, necessarily exist in a space apart from daily life.¹³ Moreover, the necessity of having a director oversee one's completion of the exercises paradoxically reinforces the practitioner's isolation, as he is not presumed to be able to take responsibility for his own actions or even to determine what these actions should be, as he would normally do in the course of everyday life. The Annotations to the Spiritual Exercises emphasise the degree of control that both the method and the director, or "giver," exert upon the practitioner:

the giver of the Exercises should carefully warn the (practitioner) that as he has to devote one hour to each of the five exercises or meditations to be made each day, he should always thoroughly satisfy himself that he has spent a full hour at (each) Exercise, and in fact more rather than less; because the enemy is often wont to try and curtail the hour for this contemplation, meditation, or prayer¹⁴

The association of worldly activity with Satan, "the enemy of human nature,"¹⁵ again reflects traditional contemplative thought. Although the Jesuits were never a contemplative order, and indeed in their activist and militant temperament were the antithesis of such, their founder viewed as requisite to spiritual growth "all methods of preparing and disposing the soul to remove from herself all disorderly attachments,"¹⁶ a view which when put into practice separated the act of meditation from those same "disorderly" worldly activities that meditation had the potential to inform

and direct.

If the Ignatian method was to make any headway among the Catholic laity, therefore, it had to be modified to accommodate the constraints of time and circumstance experienced by this population. In the first decades of the seventeenth century -- several generations after the first appearance of the Spiritual Exercises on the Continent¹⁷ -- the English Catholic press at Rouen began to publish leaflet versions of the weekly exercises, directed at the recusant laity in England and themselves based upon similar Latin leaflets for lay practitioners on the Continent.¹⁸ In 1618, an English Jesuit published, in translation from a Spanish work, A Manuall of Devout Meditations and Exercises...Drawne for the most part; out of the Spirituall Exercises of B(lessed) F(ather) Ignatius, which offers both "Religious, & other secular Persons ...some briefe Treatise, whereby they might with profit spend their time in prayer."¹⁹ The appearance of these works, along with such Jesuit emblem books as reached England in their original Latin, Spanish, or French editions or in English translations, indicates both a secular appetite for meditative practice and a certain willingness on the part of the Jesuits to tailor, if not their methodology, then its explication and its requirements to suit the needs of the lay audience, particularly when the indigenous Protestant practice

of meditation was developing and taking hold in England.²⁰

The other Catholic method of meditation to gain wide recognition both on the Continent and among English Catholics is set forth by Saint Francis de Sales in his Introduction to the Devout Life, and is directed specifically to those who "by their conditions are obliged to a publique life."²¹ The very popularity of this work, (reprinted continuously by various Catholic presses for the English market throughout the seventeenth century and issued in six editions between 1613 and 1617 alone,) attests to its compatibility with the lives of the laity. For them, finding and maintaining even a small space in their lives for the regular practice of meditation was a challenge in and of itself.²² This factor, combined with the tempering of the more explicitly Catholic elements of meditative practice as are found in the Ignatian scheme -- among them the contemplation of the traditional "Mysteries of the Life of Christ" and the overt use of specific aspects and rituals of the Catholic Church as outlined in the section of the Spiritual Exercises entitled "Rules for Thinking with the Church"²³ -- apparently led to the greater admissibility of some aspects of the Salesian method into the devotional lives of those English Protestants who read Francis de Sales's work. Thus, the Protestant opposition to "Catholic" or "Papish" meditation tended

to be directed at the more radical Ignatian method. (These specific topics of translation, transmission, and response are examined in detail in Chapter Three of this study.)

One aspect of Protestant meditation corresponds the sense of isolation that we find in even the most well-integrated Catholic meditative systems, such as that outlined in the Devout Life. As Catholic meditation takes as its subject, its "text," the Passion of Christ and the experiences of saints and martyrs, so Protestant meditation relies upon the literal text of the Bible for guidance in the conduct of life and vocation. This reading of Scripture necessarily takes place apart from the activities of the practitioner's daily life; thus, Hall recommends that "Solitariness of place is fittest for meditation" upon the Word.²⁴

Yet even this meditative act, if it is to be of value, must nourish and sustain daily life. Thus, William Tyndale, who stands at the beginning of the English Protestant tradition of scriptural meditation, advises the practitioner, "As thou readest therefore thinke that every sillabe pertayneth to thine own selfe, and sucke out the pithe of the scripture."²⁵ Donne sustains this perception of Scripture by reminding his audience that the memory, which absorbs

and digests that which is read, is the "Stomachus animae":

The memory, sayes St. Bernard, is the stomach of the soul, it receives and digests, and turns into good blood, all the benefits formerly exhibited to us in particular, and exhibited to the whole Church of God ... we may be bold to call (memory) The Gallery of the soul, hang'd with so many, and so lively pictures of the goodness and mercies of thy God to thee, as that every one of them shall be a catechism to thee, to instruct thee in all thy duties to him for those mercies ... if these be too large pictures for thy gallery, for thy memory, yet every man hath a pocket picture about him, a manuall, a bosome book, and if he will turn over but one leaf, and remember what God hath done for him even since yesterday, he shall find even by that little branch a navigable river, to sail into that great and endless Sea of Gods mercies towards him, from the beginning of his being²⁶

The scriptural, or "deliberate" meditations as Hall names them, are complemented by "occasional" meditations, which are based upon those aspects of life that Ignatius dismissed as "disorderly attachments," in that they arise from the occasional, unplanned, and therefore unsystematic experiences of the Christian soul; Herbert succinctly describes some sources of occasional meditations when he observes that "my friend is an occasion, my Table is an occasion, my apparell is an occasion."²⁷ Lewalski notes:

Essentially, the Protestant concern in both categories of meditation... is to trace the interrelationship between the biblical text and the Christian's own experience, so that the one is seen to be the reflection or manifestation of the other²⁸

That the Protestant practitioner is given the freedom

to apply and interpret the Word within the context of his own experience, while continually meditating upon his experience in order to enhance his appreciation of the Word -- which itself catalogues the deeds of God and man -- points to another important distinction between this kind of meditation and contemporaneous Catholic, particularly Jesuit, practice. As A. G. Dickens concludes with respect to the Spiritual Exercises, "Through athletic personal effort (the Jesuits) bent the powers of their will, their senses, their imaginations into what seemed to them an absolute conformity with the divine will."²⁹ So formulaic is the Jesuit method, so precise in its delineation of the images that it directs the practitioner to evoke and contemplate, that the complete subjugation of the individual, fallible will is necessary if the promised progressive spiritual growth is to take place within each practitioner as he passes through the sequence of each week's exercises. By contrast, Protestant meditation works together with the will of the practitioner; the Protestant chooses and interprets passages of Scripture in order to make his deliberate meditations, and continually makes use of his unique experience, which proceeds from his will, through occasional meditation.

Moreover, the vocation of the individual, which might be thought of as a series of related occasional

meditations once it is recognised and undertaken, necessarily is subject first to the will of God Who provided it, but then to the will of the individual who lives, maintains, and occasionally attempts to reject it. Thus, the speaker of one of Herbert's poems recognises that the "four words" of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy will be done" (Matt.6:10) are "my words" ("The Crosse," l.36), for in at last acknowledging his own vocation, he effectively aligns his will -- his own will, for which he is responsible -- with that of God, at least for the duration of this occasion.

We may now look more closely at the concept of vocation, both as it is understood within the context of Protestant meditation and as it informs the reading and interpretation, not to mention the writing, of George Herbert's poetry. If we examine virtually any genre of specifically Protestant literature written during the post-Reformation period, we find the concept of vocation identified with the practical implementation of Calvinist theology. This theology teaches that "each individual has his own kind of living assigned to him by the Lord as a sort of sentry post so that he may not heedlessly wander about through-out life," and indeed Calvin names vocation, "the Lord's calling," as "a basis of our way of life."³⁰ In addition to the advice of Donne and Hall concerning vocation, we may add that of the influential and prolific Puritan writer Richard Baxter, who urges

the readers of his Christian Directory (1673) to "work hard in your calling,"³¹ as sloth and idleness are the "destroyers of grace."³² The pamphleteer Joseph Brookbank upbraids critics of church music in a work entitled The Well-tuned Organ (1660), declaring that to "hide a talent which God hath given" man for music, or any distinct talent, is to deny the vocation that He has given, and thus to cut oneself off from a source of grace while denying Him praise in the form -- here, music -- in which He wishes to receive it from the one whose talent it is.³³ This understanding, this sanctification of one's work as a vocation given to the Christian by God, is in distinct and deliberate contrast to the Catholic perception of worldly affairs as "disorderly attachments."

Rather, for the seventeenth century Protestant "the process of sanctifying life could thus almost take on the character of a business enterprise."³⁴ While the particular vocations of a Protestant such as George Herbert, namely as poet and priest, are not carried out in the public domain of "the Exchange, or busie Hall" ("The Quidditie," l.10), many of his poems present or suggest some aspect of a businesslike relationship between God and man.³⁵ In the sequence of poems that follows "Jordan (I)," which comprises a sustained meditation upon the poetic vocation, Herbert examines the terms of his "Employment," the materials

that he draws upon to fulfill it ("The H. Scriptures [I] and [II],") the source of his inspiration, the Holy Spirit ("Whitsunday," "Grace") and the reason for this and any other vocation, namely, the "Praise" of God as the individual is best able to enact and render it. (This sequence is discussed in detail in Chapter Two of this study.)

A passage from Baxter's Christian Directory illuminates the especial concern of Herbert and his speakers in connection with the enactment of the poetic vocation:

It is for action that God maintaineth us and our activities; work is the moral as well as the natural end of power...It is action that God is most served and honoured by³⁶

When a speaker in The Temple exhibits fear, anxiety, or despair, he generally does so with respect to that "action that God is most served and honoured by," his vocation and what might be thought of as its salvation, rather than directing those emotions more generally towards the subject of the salvation of his soul.³⁷ Aware of his vocation, and aware of the joy that it can bring him as well as fulfilling his need to praise God, he nevertheless is conscious of the burden such a vocation imposes and is haunted by fears of barrenness and creative sterility. In "The Forerunners," for example, "the harbingers" of old age and death have made "their mark" upon the head of the speaker,

and he fears that they may "have my brain" as well,
enfeebling his mind as they do his body:

The harbingers are come. See, see their mark;
White is their colour, and behold my head.
But must they have my brain? must they dispart
Those sparkling notions, which therein were bred?
Must dulnesse turn me to a clod?
Yet they have left me, Thou art still my God
(11.1-6)

The speaker's anxiety turns on the issue of his trust in God, that the God Who granted him this vocation and Whose grace makes possible "those sparkling notions" that lead ultimately to poetry will not cut off his supply of this grace and so subject him to death while still within life, making him as inert as "a clod" of the earth in which he will soon lie. That this fragile trust is maintained is indicated by the speaker's invoking of Psalm 31:14, in which the Psalmist, the type of the Christian poet, finding "fear on every side" (31:13), affirms:

But I trusted in thee, O Lord,
I said, Thou art my God

With the addition of the word "still" to those of David, the speaker effects an occasional meditation through the application of the biblical text to his own experience. This meditation operates on several levels simultaneously; the poet/speaker identifies himself with the Psalmist, and so affirms that as "Thou art my God," so "Thou art still my God" now, while the poet/speaker who is also a practitioner of deliberate, Word-

centred meditation recalls this meditation and applies it to his present circumstances, in so doing updating and personalising it with the word "still." The speaker does not remark upon his alteration of the biblical text, for the practice of deliberate meditation is deeply ingrained within him, and the application of deliberate meditations to his present circumstances, an act in which the meditation may be personalised so long as its meaning is not obscured, is essential to his particular vocation. The transition to the act of application that characterises occasional meditation is noticed only by the reader, who exists outside of the meditative and vocational relationships between God and His chosen poet.

These are highly sophisticated poetics, which reveal an equally sophisticated understanding of meditation and vocation on the part of Herbert. As Lewalski observes, the very freedom that is granted the Protestant practitioners of meditation to apply and interpret the Word is reflected in their poetry, as it is to this poetry that the meditations are applied:

Protestant meditation...engage(s) the mind in an effort to penetrate deeply into the motives and motions of the psyche, and also to understand the self as the very embodiment of the subject meditated upon. The Word was still to be made flesh, though now in the self of the meditator...This emphasis contributed to the creation of poetry with a new depth and sophistication of psychological insight, and a new focus upon the symbolic significance of the

With the awareness of his vocation and his responsibility to persevere in this vocation despite fears of creative sterility and despite "the paradox of his responsibility to create poems of praise, yet his inability to do so unless God will enable him and participate with him in those praises"³⁹ through the intercession of the Holy Spirit, Herbert through his speakers permits himself, or is driven, to exhibit boldness and even audacity before a God who is at once so generous and so demanding. Because meditation upon the Word, and a vocation that is based in the Word and made of words are so intimately linked, Herbert's speakers are acutely aware of what they lack when, having completed their meditations and preparing to work with words of their own, grace seems not to be forthcoming. They do not shirk from making their complaints and unhappiness known to God, as we will observe in our study of the "Jordan" sequence and other individual poems. Yet for all the frustration that attends the enactment of the poetic vocation, there is joy, and a kind of tempered pride as well, when man recognises the innate worth of his own work:

With God's help it is man who stirs, who grows,
who 'aims at thee' ('Longing'). Herbert's sense
of the value and significance of human
experience makes The Temple, finally, a human
expression of faith⁴⁰

Finally, there is wonder in the regenerative power of faith as it continually enables man to grow and to flourish once he recognises its centrality with respect to his work and to his happiness. Thus, the speaker of "The Flower" marvels, "Who would have thought my shrivel'd heart/Could have recover'd greenness?" (ll.8-9) and, in apparent counterpoint to the speaker of "The Forerunners," finds "in age" a renewal of his vocation:

And now in age I bud again,
After so many deaths I live and write;
I once more smell the dew and rain,
And relish versing: O my onely light,
It cannot be
That I am he
On whom thy tempests fell all night
(ll.36-42)

While George Herbert did not live to see the mark of the harbingers in his own life, it is clear from a poem such as "The Flower" that he recognised that the lifelong enactment of his vocation would involve "many deaths" and many subsequent resurrections of faith and trust. Thus, the final verse of "The Flower," which affirms mortality and the humility of man on earth as he waits for his opportunity to blossom in Heaven, may also be read by the light of vocation, particularly as it complements the second stanza of "The Crosse," which immediately precedes this poem:

These are thy wonders, Lord of love,

To make us see we are but flowers that glide:
Which when we once can finde and prove,
Thou hast a garden for us, where to bide.
Who would be more,
Swelling through store,
Forfeit their Paradise by their pride
("The Flower," 11.43-49)

Until they recognise and accept the unique vocations that God has given to each of them, men are "but flowers that glide" along the surface of meaningful work, rootless and therefore perishable. Confusing their work with that of Christ, they experience "much delay,/Much wrastling, many a combate" ("The Crosse", 11.7-8), and their "power to serve thee" (1.10) is for a time "take(n) away" (1.9) and their "designes confound(ed)" (1.11). But once the vocation is undertaken, "when we once can finde and prove" through meditation and its application that "Thou hast a garden for us, where to bide," then men can take root, be nurtured, grow, and blossom in the practice of their vocation and in "their Paradise" on earth. Only those who deny their vocations, "Who would be more" on a transient earthly scale of value -- such as those poets who would "do their dutie/ Not to a true, but painted chair," whom we shall meet in "Jordan (I)" -- "Swelling through store" of pride and "False glozing pleasures" ("Dotage," 1.1), "Forfeit their Paradise" and are barred from the garden through their own folly. As Weber observes of Milton's Adam, even in Paradise the Protestant inhabitant perceives and accepts "his life in the world as his task,"⁴¹

and this inhabitant inevitably, if only occasionally,
is given the opportunity to understand that in the
fulfillment of his vocation lies not only God's
pleasure but his own happiness as well.

Chapter Two

"A bending of the mind":

The "Jordan" Sequence

The title of this chapter is drawn from Hall's Arte of Divine Meditation (1606). As Hall outlines his argument in favour of "our" meditation as opposed to what he perceived to be the stifling, methodological approach of the Jesuits and others influenced by Ignatian writings on the subject, he concludes:

...our divine meditation is nothing else but a bending of the mind upon some spiritual subject, through divers forms of discourse, until ones thoughts come to an issue....¹

Frank L. Huntley observes with respect to the Arte that:

In contrast to the Spiritual Exercises... in Joseph Hall there is no single method...The methods are those only of 'sweet conversation' or or 'self-conferences' or 'heavenly soliloquies' or ...'arguments with one's own soul' -- all terms which Hall freely uses for what is technically called meditation...Though suspicious of too rigid a method, Hall, nevertheless, insists that there

is an 'art' of meditation which can be acquired by a mature person willing to practice²

Hall's "terms," as he calls his approaches to meditative experience, as well as his description of this experience as "a bending of the mind" rather than a forcing of it into a preconceived method, find ready parallels in the poetry and prose of George Herbert. That Herbert knew of Hall's career and writings is more than probable. Hall, though a lifelong royalist and a firm supporter of the Established Church, belonged to the first generation of Puritan divines at the newly-established Emmanuel College; while at university he, like Herbert, distinguished himself as a rhetorician.³ After his ordination in 1600, Hall became chaplain to Sir Robert Drury, and among his near-continuous publications are the introductory verses to Donne's Anniversaries.⁴ The Donne-Hall relationship may have provided young George Herbert with further opportunities to become acquainted with Hall and his works, given Donne's close friendship with Magdalen Herbert and her family. Finally, Herbert had ample opportunity to hear Joseph Hall preach, first at court in the 1620's -- for as an ardent defender of divine right he admired and was favoured by James I -- then, after 1627, as the Bishop of Exeter.⁵

The very success of Joseph Hall in the management of the public aspects of the clergyman's life,

coupled with the equally successful management of his spiritual development as may be adjudged by the sincerity, grace, and sheer persistence of effort on behalf of the cause of Protestant meditation that are evident in both the Arte and in the later Occasional Meditations -- the latter was written and compiled, as Huntley notes, over an active career of more than fifty years⁶ -- demonstrate if nothing else that, particularly for a Protestant, an active "public" life and equally active, well-developed, and enriching "private" devotional life are not mutually exclusive, but are complementary. The private practice of deliberate, Word-based meditation nourishes and enhances both the practitioner's more publicly enacted vocation and his appreciation of this vocation in terms of the possibilities for occasional meditation that it provides. Conversely, when meditation is not practiced, or when for some reason the private meditative relationship between God and man breaks down, the vocation is adversely affected, and man experiences frustration and sterility in his work as the result of being cut off from that which nurtures and sustains it.⁷

It is in these terms that we may view, albeit on a smaller scale in terms of purely worldly milestones, the public and private lives and concerns of George Herbert. For Herbert the poet and practitioner of meditation, who gladly consecrates his art to the service and praise of God in "Easter" ("Awake, my lute,

and struggle for thy part/With all thy art" [11.7-8]), happily and necessarily co-exists with Herbert the responsible "Country Parson," who records his own "Prayer before Sermon" as much for the guidance of others as for himself:

Blessed be the God of Heaven and Earth! who
only doth wond'rous things. Awake, therefore,
my Lute, and my Viol! awake all my powers to
glorify thee!⁸

Just as Hall succinctly explains the interdependence of "public" prayer and "private" meditation according to a simple and balanced equation -- "Prayer maketh way for meditation; meditation giveth matter, strength, and life to our prayers"⁹ -- so in both The Temple and The Country Parson the reader is presented with Herbert's complementary selves. The poet is the priest "in" the former, and the priest remains a poet in the latter, as he associates "my Lute, and my Viol," namely, his poetic, devotional and seemingly private self, with "all (his) powers" that he brings each week to the pulpit. Although it is accomplished in different ways, through the application of different talents, the goal of poetry and of preaching is one and the same; "to glorify thee."¹⁰

In The Temple, we find many poems that may justly be termed occasional meditations. For while they are not formal meditations, in that they were not composed for the purpose of instructing the reader in suitable

meditative subjects and techniques, nevertheless they represent the meditations of their author upon a wide variety of devotional and artistic themes, and are more often than not approached in a manner that suggests a familiarity with Hall's work.¹¹ "The Church" is filled with "sweet conversations," with "self-conferences," with "heavenly soliloquies," with "arguments with one's own soul." In this chapter, we will examine these aspects of the Protestant meditative experience as they appear in the sequence of poems that begins with "Jordan (I)" and concludes with "Praise (I)." These seven poems, which appear in this order in the Williams Manuscript and remain so in the revised versions published in The Temple, will be referred to hereafter as the "Jordan" sequence.

This sequence is "tempered" by its proximity in "The Church" to the two "Temper" poems, the first of which is discussed in detail in Chapter Four of this study. To "temper" a musical instrument means to tune it to a correct, pleasing, and in the case of sacred music, suitably "high" pitch.¹² This metaphor is at the heart of the "Temper" poems and of the first poem in particular. Herbert's manipulation of the metaphor through emblematic images prepare poet and reader for the coming meditations upon the interaction of the grace of the Holy Spirit within the

creative and devotional functions (and functioning) of the Christian poet. The tuning of the soul through meditation that takes place in the "Temper" poems, regardless of whether or not it is perceived to be sustained by the speaker (see "The Temper [II]"), acts upon these poems and to some degree governs the sequence that begins with "Jordan (I)." Music, or the association of music with this tuning of the soul, is less obviously a part of the imagery and language of this sequence than of other poems in "The Church," yet it is ever apparent below its surface.¹³ Indeed, the explicitly musical aspect of tempering and its association with the poetic vocation can only be fully comprehended outside of the "Temper" poems. This is so because the cumulative effect of the tempering process, the "heat" and violent expansion of "The Temper (I)," the "chill" and subsequent contraction of "The Temper (II)", is in accordance with the literal meaning of temperare: "to mingle in due proportion; to moderate." Thus, the effect of the tempering action is not and cannot be perceived by the speaker of either "The Temper (I)" or "The Temper (II)," for each is able to take part in only one of the two extremes of the process. The rewards of the process, namely, the moderation and sense of proportion that more often than not sustain the poems in the "Jordan" sequence and their speakers, can only be perceived and put to use once the process has been completed; half-tempered steel, like a partly tuned lute, is of no use at all.

Within this sequence we observe the application of musical terminology and imagery, as well as distinctive stanzaic patterns both derived from, and later drawn upon for, musical compositions. This continuous presence of background music is characteristic of George Herbert as poet, as musician and lover of music, and as we have seen from the Country Parson, as preacher (and teacher) as well. Yet the music of the "Jordan" sequence is of an especial resonance, for its "sweet conversations" and "heavenly soliloquies" explicitly involve the speakers with the grace of the Holy Spirit. As we will see in our examination of "Church-musick," the Spirit is inextricably linked to poetry, to music, and to Herbert's own understanding of the creative process as devotional act, an understanding derived from the Protestant appreciation of vocation as the implementation of meditative practice.

That the atmosphere of the "Jordan" sequence is tempered, and therefore rather more temperate than that of the poems which precede it should not lead the reader to expect a series of placid speakers with similarly matched verses. On the contrary, the relative harmony wrought by the conclusion of both tempering actions affords Herbert and his speakers the opportunity of exploring the role, concerns, fears,

and responsibilities of the Christian artist at length and in detail. The first poem in the sequence, "Jordan (I)," presents the confident, somewhat arrogant credo of its poet/speaker, while the next poem, "Employment (I)," offers a contrapuntal perspective in its poet/speaker's humility and fear of leading, contrary to both his will and his knowledge of his creative and devotional potential, "A life as barren to thy praise,/As is the dust" (ll.14-15). The two poems that follow concern the Christian poet's primary source, "The H(oly) Scriptures." Yet even when their subject is nominally the same, the speaker (and reader) of each poem is apt, like the speaker of the "Temper" poems, to perceive only certain aspects of his subject and draw conclusions based upon these perceptions. It is already clear not only that doubts and shifting perceptions do not cease after "Temper"-ing, but also, that such readiness to examine the subject and even the tools of meditative practice and devotional writing from a variety of perspectives is wholly in accordance with the emergent Protestant understanding and practice of meditation and the writing of literature which reflects this practice. As Joseph Hall, cautioning himself and his readers against the "familiarity" of a circumscribed and inflexible meditative methodology, writes in the Arte:

Our nature is too ready to abuse familiarity
in any kind; and it is with meditations as
with medicines, which, with over-ordinary use
lose their sovereignty and fill instead of

The fifth poem in this sequence, "Whitsunday," stands outside of the explicit pairings into which the other poems fall. Yet in its subject -- Pentecost -- and its thematic and metaphoric links to poems outside of the sequence, most importantly, to "Church-musick," it is intensely concerned with the nature of and anxieties attendant upon the relationship between the devotional poet and the Holy Spirit. Moreover, its scriptural references and its concentration upon grace as the gift of the Holy Spirit implicitly link it to the poems that precede and follow it. Finally, "Grace" and "Praise (I)" provide another exercise in counterpoint. Both are spoken -- one might say "chanted" or "sung", such is their rhythm -- by a poet wholly aware of the need to maintain a nurturing relationship between himself and God, Who as the Holy Spirit is both his benefactor and the focus and object of his work of praise. Rounding out the sequence, the fearful insistence of the speaker of "Grace," compressed into the four-syllable plea at the end of each stanza, "Drop from above!", is mitigated by the equally insistent, yet calmer, more adroit, and thus more flexible utterances, also tetrasyllabic, of the speaker of "Praise (I)."

Chana Bloch, reflecting upon Herbert's reading

of the Bible, observes that the "explicitly biblical poems" in The Temple, poems such as "The H. Scriptures" and "Jordan (I)," "are built in the space between the believer and the Bible,"¹⁵ in that the Protestant reader is given both the freedom and the responsibility of "spelling the Word,"¹⁶ of interpreting the Bible guided by the Bible and by faith. I suggest that the "Jordan" sequence is built into a distinctive space of its own within The Temple. The sequence literally occupies the space between the height and heat not only of the "Temper" poems, but of "Love (I)" and "Love (II)," "Prayer (I)," "Affliction (I)," and the dramatic pendular swings of the sequence leading to "Easter" on the one side, and the apparently well-grounded and more tangible sequence of identifiable "monuments," or touchstones, in "The Church": "Church-monuments," "Church-musick," "Church-lock and key," "The Church-floore," and "The Windows" on the other.¹⁷ By arranging the sequence in this way with respect to these other poems written at various stages in his life, it is as if Herbert is making space for an occasional meditation upon his vocation, contemplating not only his approach to "spelling the Word," but to spelling, shaping, and singing his words as well.

In 'Jordan (I)', the title invokes the typological relationship of the Israelites' crossing Jordan into the Promised Land to Christian baptism, to announce the baptism of the speaker's verse to the service of God;

the poem proclaims his renunciation of 'old' poetic styles for a new, plain, devotional and biblical mode¹⁸

Thus Barbara Lewalski summarises the first and, to a typologically attuned Protestant reader, the most recognisable, "spellable" Word in "Jordan (I)," aside from the very last words of the poem, which are assumed directly from Psalm 145. Yet there are other "words" in this poem, words from all "'Three Books of God'"¹⁹ as they were "read" and understood by Protestants of the post-Reformation period; namely, the Books of Nature and of the Self as well as the Bible. As Hall observes in the Arte:

God hath not straited us for matter, having
given us the scope of the whole world, so that
there is no creature, event, action, speech,
which may not afford us new matter of
meditation. And that which we are wont to say
of fine wits we may as truly affirm of the
Christian heart, that it can make use of
anything²⁰

Herein lies the key to the interpretation of "Jordan (I)" within the context of its sequence, although that "matter" of which Herbert's speaker makes use -- namely, contemporary secular and/or highly ornamented poetry -- might well have seemed a surprising choice to Hall. Yet Herbert needs to know, to meditate upon and understand fully those poetic "fictions...and false hair" (l.1) before rejecting them and deliberately crossing over to a plainer, purer way. Such considered rejection of mainstream modes, be they stylistic, or expanded to include all aspects of a "successful"

worldly life, is the theme of at least one other of Herbert's explicitly biblical poems. In "The Pearl," which refers to a verse in Matthew 13, the speaker begins each stanza with the words "I know," and describes in magisterial detail that which he knows of "the wayes" of learning, honour, and pleasure. The final stanza is particularly important with respect to our reading of "Jordan (I)":

I know all these, and have them in my hand:
Therefore not sealed, but with open eyes
I flie to thee, and fully understand
Both the main sale, and the commodities;
And at what rate and price I have thy love;
With all the circumstances that may move:
Yet through the labyrinths, not my groveling wit,
But thy silk twist let down from heav'n to me,
Did both conduct and teach me, how by it
To climbe to thee
(11.31-40)

In much the same spirit, the speaker of "Jordan (I)" demonstrates, even flaunts, his knowledge of contemporary poetic fashions, placing invisible inverted commas around those phrases he derides:

Is it no verse, except enchanted groves
And sudden arbours shadow course-spunne lines?
Must purling streams refresh a lovers loves?
(11.6-8)

"With open eyes," he rejects them, choosing instead to stand by the side and the style of the Psalmist, and making David's words, "Who plainly say, My God, My King" (1.15), his own. These words, like the "silk twist" that "Did both conduct and teach" the speaker of "The Pearl," are for the "Jordan" speaker not only

an artistic credo, but a refuge and a touchstone as well. However, the humility that the "Pearl" speaker has acquired, or wishes to imply that he has acquired, through experience and the repudiation of his "groveling wit" has yet to be learned by the fledgling Christian poet of "Jordan (I)," and there is a touch of brashness about the latter's much-vaunted plainness.

Yet in "Jordan (I)," Herbert establishes his speaker's artistic integrity and sense of responsibility towards his vocation as a poet. Thus, the question posed in the second line, "Is there in truth no beautie?", is quite sincere, as are the speaker's concerns for "good structure" and worthwhile subject matter. The "true" chair (l.5) is the "chair of grace," the Christian poet's locus, which is identified in "The Temper (II)," immediately preceding "Jordan (I)":

O fix thy chair of grace, that all my powers
May also fix their reverence:
For when thou dost depart from hence,
They grow unruly, and sit in thy bowers
(11.9-12)

When "thy chair of grace," occupied by the Holy Spirit, the muse and guardian of the Christian poet, threatens or appears to be removed, the poet loses, among other things, the rigour and focus essential to his vocation. Left alone, his "powers," which include his poetic talent and his general temperament, do not diminish,

but "grow unruly" and diffuse without the guidance of the Spirit to check them. We may deduce that the "bowers" to which the discouraged Christian poet is relegated are one and the same as the seemingly "enchanted groves" of and in which the secular poet writes. In short, the Christian poet can do "dutie/ Not to a true, but painted chair" (ll.4-5), but given the choice, he will assuredly favour the plainest version of the genuine article over uselessly embellished artifice.

The next poem in this sequence, "Employment (I)," is worthy of particularly close reading with respect not only to its antithetical relationship with "Jordan (I)" in terms of the posture of their poet/speakers -- erect, confident, even arrogant in the first poem, suppliant and reflective in the second -- but to its own intricate weaving of argument and image as well. In brief, the poem presents, with patience, tact, and persistence, an application to God for the continued "employment" of the poet/speaker, his remuneration being the necessary grace that feeds his creative imagination. The speaker's perception of the need to be politic in his handling of the application is apparent from the very outset of the poem:

If as a flowre doth spread and die,
Thou wouldst extend me to some good,
Before I were by frosts extremitie
Nipt in the bud;
(ll.1-4)

The use of such conditionals as "if" and "wouldst" suggest both respect on the part of the speaker, and, more critically, the investment he has placed in his "employment" and therefore in the outcome of his application.²¹ As Lewalski notes, the image of the "flowre" is related to Herbert's images of husbandry that stem from the representation of God as "the husbandman," Christ as "the true vine," and his disciples (and by extension, all Christians) as "the branches" that "go and bring forth fruit" in John (15:1,8,16), and which find visual parallels in many contemporary emblem books.²² Yet this "flowre" is particularly significant in that its death is anticipated even as its growth is forecast. This suggests the speaker's awareness of unalterable cycles of creative and devotional fertility and "death" -- or barrenness -- which exist in his own life as certainly as they do in the life-cycle of even the hardiest and most luxuriant flower or fruit-bearing tree. A similar awareness of cycles of growth and death, though in this case as they relate to human passion, is demonstrated in Donne's "Love's Growth." However, in that poem Donne deliberately transcends the evidence of "the grass," which grows in the spring but must die in the winter, as he promises his mistress that insofar as their passion is concerned, "No winter shall abate the spring's increase" (l.28). The speaker of "Employment" can spare no thought for such conceits,

such manipulation of what he has clearly observed to be true with regard to his creative fecundity. Rather, he simply requests that before he himself dies with his creative and therefore his devotional potential unfulfilled, "Nipt in the bud" (11.3-4), that God, "the husbandman" of the Gospel, might "extend me to some good." Another perception of God, as the sustaining Son (Sun) Who is particularly associated with the Holy Spirit, may be apparent to this speaker as well. As "Jesus can be the sender of the Spirit only because he is first the receiver and bearer of the Spirit,"²³ an appeal that includes Christ may prove to be both appropriate and effective.

The syntax of the speaker's request in the second line is intriguing. On first glance, it appears that he is making a polite if slightly garbled plea for sustenance, for "extend to me some good" would surely be clearer and more correct. Yet, mindful of the fact that we are reading a "well-tempered" sequence, we may construe in this request a willingness to be extended, stretched, tested, tuned. If this is so, however, one of "Jordan"'s indictments of profane poets, whose elaborate wordplay forces the reader to catch "the sense at two removes" (1.10), has already been countermanded by Herbert, reminding his reader that the perceptions of his speakers are, in the best Protestant sense of the word, "occasional," subjective, and reflective of the experience of the individual.

This subjectivity is necessarily a part, even a risk, of a nonmethodological meditative practice, but so long as meditation continues to be based in and sustained by the Word, neither it nor the individual vocation that it informs can be harmed. That each practitioner must take responsibility for his own meditative conduct, and therefore must not intrude upon or wholly appropriate the meditations of another, is emphasised by Hall, who published his own meditations for the guidance and instruction of others, but was nevertheless "'careful to avoid cloying my reader with other men's thoughts.'"²⁴ Within this sequence, experience has begun its tempering action, reminding us that any extremes of meditative or creative practice, including that suggested by the all-or-nothing declaration of the "Jordan" speaker, are counter-productive to the enactment of one's unique vocation.

The second stanza reviews the speaker's understanding of the "employment" relationship between himself and God as it has existed in the past and as it may continue to develop:

The sweetnesse and the praise were thine;
But the extension and the room,
Which in thy garland I should fill, were mine
At thy great doom
(11.5-8)

There is a clear need on the part of the speaker to assign both rewards and responsibilities within the

working relationship as he perceives them. Thus, the stanza resembles a contract, or perhaps a covenant.

"The sweetnesse and the praise" -- the poems that I write because of, and for, You -- "were thine," but in return a share of "the crown of righteousness" (2 Tim. 4:8) "were mine/ At thy great doom," in addition to the continuing gift of grace needed to continue the work of praise. For his part, the speaker acknowledges that the implementation of God's grace, which he offers back to God as "sweetnesse and praise," is his responsibility, and that he is not unique in having such a responsibility; he is but one "flowre," and will fill one place, one "room," in Christ's "garland" of praise. The striking use of the word "extension" to refer to the speaker's responsibility both maintains the implicit tuning metaphor of the first stanza -- for a responsible and productive poet is willing to be extended and well-tuned -- and suggests a dynamism within the speaker's creative and devotional functions. Just as he is determined to "fill" his "room" in the "garland" (and in Heaven, with a possible reference to John 14:2-3: "In my Father's house are many mansions ... I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again...that where I am, there ye may be also"), so he is determined to exercise control over the way in which he fills his room. Unlike Paul, he has not yet "finished the race" (2Tim 4:7), but he intends to do so to the best of his ability, and with God's help. The speaker is not

purely God's amanuensis, but, by "extension," His responsible and loyal servant.

The third stanza expands upon the contractual element of the second, emphasising the causal and mutually beneficial aspects of the working relationship between the speaker and God:

For as thou dost impart thy grace,
The greater shall our glory be.
The measure of our joyes is in this place,
The stuffe with thee
(11.9-12)

The effect of "thy grace" upon the speaker is quite rightly perceived by him to be a boon to God as well. "Our glory" encompasses both the poet's joy as he maintains a productive devotional -- which is to say, creative -- life, and his divine employer's satisfaction as He receives "the sweetnesse and the praise" that are the products of this life. It is worth noting that the speaker, while remaining respectful and politic, has grown bolder as he now argues the case in favour of his employment, placing himself, if not quite in partnership with God, then in a relationship in which the needs of both have been identified and may be met.

The final two lines of this stanza, while bearing out the elements of the case presented thus far in the poem, serve also to add weight to the speaker's

argument. "The measure of our joyes" not only gives the impression of a tangible product -- a manuscript of poems, for example -- the very existence of which enables the speaker to "measure" the continuing imparting of grace into his work "in this place", i.e. on earth, but suggests that the allegations of unjust standards of measurement being applied to man that were made by the speaker of "The Temper (I)" (ll.15-16) have been resolved. Clearly, the well-tuned Christian is able to recognise and set his own standards. This line offers a further image of music as well, in that the "measure" of music mirrors the orderly rhythm of a well-tempered creative and devotional life. The word "stufte" is deliberately substantial, and its two meanings both contribute to the speaker's line of rhetoric. On one level, "stufte" is paired with "measure," both syntactically and by natural association; "stufte" is a kind of woven cloth, something that is real and is measurable. On a second level, "stufte" means matter, the elements of creation, and thus we have the speaker's acknowledgement that while his, or indeed, any Christian artist's, earthly "joyes" of creative and fulfilling work have their own weight and "measure," the origin of this "stufte" is with God, so far from "this place" that the homely, substantial words that we would use to convey an impression of its overwhelming effect upon our lives and work cannot begin to measure or define its essence.

Just as the speaker of "Easter" politely yet assertively asks with respect to his creative and devotional activities, "let thy blessed Spirit bear a part" (l.17), thus demonstrating an awareness of his needs, and the determination to make them known to God, in the fourth stanza of "Employment (I)" the speaker concludes his argument with an outright plea:

Let me not languish then, and spend
A life as barren to thy praise,
As is the dust, to which that life doth tend,
But with delaies
(ll.13-16)

What is particularly striking about this plea is the speaker's assertion that without the grace that kindles his creativity, enabling him to offer praise in the form of poetry, he is wholly unable to praise God. This is not, it should be stressed, out of unwillingness or anger, but out of his conviction that poetry is his most suitable form of "employment," his metier, and is his surest and most clearly recognisable "way to heavens doore" (see "Church-musick," l.12; also ll.5-8, above). Having grown in confidence stemming not only from the satisfaction of producing tangible, creative work to be presented to God, but also from the conviction that his ability to produce this work represents the promise of salvation, he quite simply cannot conceive of an alternate form of "employment" that would enable him to enjoy the same sort of relationship towards his work and towards his God.

A life in which he cannot offer praise as he best knows how to do so is, for this speaker as for the speaker of "The Forerunners," a living death, for it is "as barren...As is the dust" (11.14-15), that dust of which the flesh of man is composed (Gen.2:7), and "to which that life doth tend,/But with delaies" (11.15-16). The speaker's favourite "delay" is of course the creative endeavours by which the "soul repairs to her devotion," for it is through the enactment of his vocation that the poet staves off fears of purposelessness and a wasted and selfish existence. However, if he is deprived of the ability to praise his Creator he has nothing whatsoever to give Him, or indeed anyone.

From the depths of his depression and fears of creative sterility, the speaker, revealing the self-absorption that is the inevitable by-product of such a prolonged defence of one's distinctive role with respect to God, believes that:

All things are busie; onely I
Neither bring hony with the bees,
Not flowres to make that, nor the husbandrie
To water these
(11.17-20)

Of course, such negative self-aggrandisement is not an affliction peculiar to devotional poets. The grieving lover of Donne's "S. Lucy's Day," for example, projects an image of himself not only as useless and dead,

but as the "epitaph" (l.9) of all the world's dead. However, while Donne commands us to "Study me then" (l.10), Herbert's speaker studies the effect of his predicament upon not only himself, but upon God and his fellow men as well. The lover is concerned with living according to, and even relishing, the all-or-nothing attitude that he has assumed; the devotional poet is concerned more with action than with attitude, and thus he is firm in his insistence that a good and profitable relationship has existed between himself and God, but that the decision to renew his contract of "employment" rests squarely with God. Without God's grace, he can neither sustain his own work and his own prayers, which are the "hony" that sweetens his life and his praise along with those of other "bees," nor has he the "husbandrie" to "water" and encourage the "flowres" of others' devotion.

These final two lines of the stanza may allude not only to the public role of the speaker, but to that of the speaker's creator, Herbert himself. Much of the Country Parson is devoted to the priest's role as an example to his congregation, particularly with respect to instilling and encouraging appropriate attitudes and practices of prayer. A selection from the chapter entitled "The Parson Praying" exemplifies the sort of devotional didacticism Herbert believed to be of use to priest and parishioners alike:

The Country Parson, when he is to read divine services, composeth himself to all possible reverence; lifting up his heart and hands, and eyes, and using all other gestures which may express a hearty and unfeigned devotion²⁵

If the speaker of "Employment" is both a poet and a priest, he would thus be doubly distressed if he perceived that his private anxiety and creative barrenness with respect to his poetic vocation, in the enactment of which he is responsible only to God, might render him unable to fulfill other, more public responsibilities.

By the final stanza of the poem, the speaker of "Employment (I)" is able to suggest a remedy for his condition:

I am no link of thy great chain,
But all my companie is a weed.
Lord, place me in thy consort; give one strain
To my poore reed
(11.21-24)

As Richard Strier rightly observes, the speaker's assertion that he is "no link of thy great chain" indicates that his perception of his working relationship with God -- a role that encompasses his functions as poet, priest, and "mere Christian" -- does not admit "the contemplation of a static hierarchy."²⁶ As we have seen in the preceding stanzas, this speaker, for all his acquired and quite genuine humility, is forthright in stating his needs even as he meets the "needs" of his God-given vocation in terms of faith

and praise. His observation that "all my companie is a weed" conveys his perception of the poor quality of his creative and devotional "stock" at the present time, a metaphor of husbandry which anticipates "Grace" later in the sequence.

Having recognised the speaker's essential dynamism, it is strange that Strier should then assert that "what (the speaker) is ultimately interested in is...the possibility of being the object of a decisive action,"²⁷ an assertion for which he cites as evidence the speaker's plea: "Lord, place me in thy consort" (l.23). For it is clear from the form and nature of the plea that what the speaker is "ultimately interested in" is the resumption of his active role as a member of God's "consort," as one of those whose especial vocation as well as the ordinary impulses of faith direct them towards the explicit praise of God. The "consort" configuration recalls (and eschatologically prefigures) the "garland" that will be worn by Christ at the "great doom" (ll.7-8 above) and is linked to the "wreathed garland of deserved praise" given by the speaker of "A Wreath," suggesting that the poet's praise helps to replace Christ's crown of thorns with a triumphal crown. The word "consort" as a musical term denotes the speaker's roles as poet and musician, and reinforces the closeness of the relationship that has existed between himself and God through its additional connotation of marriage. (See

"Easter," l.13, for a related use of the same word.) Just as in "Doomsday," where the speaker combines a similar plea with a promise of reliable performance in the future ("Lord, thy broken consort raise,/And the musick shall be praise," [ll.29-30]), so in "Employment (I)" the speaker is requesting only that God, through grace, be the patron and guardian of his creativity and support the enactment of his unique devotional mode, thus reassuring him of the contin-
ous action of grace within the world and upon his life and work. This continuous action is stressed as opposed to any single, "decisive" action which would imply on the one hand the helplessness of the speaker, and on the other the disagreeable notion that he is asking not for "employment," but for a miracle. "One strain" is all that is needed.

Both "strain" and "reed" (ll.29-30) contribute to the husbandry metaphors of the poem as a whole, and as in "Easter-wings" effectively conclude it with an image of grafting -- here, in the horticultural sense of the word, as the speaker asks that "one strain" of God's grace be grafted onto his "poore reed" to strengthen it -- and the anticipation of future health and fertility. Additionally, the proximity of these words to "consort" connects this final stanza to a major motif of The Temple, namely, vocal and instrumental music as forms of devotion and devotional poetry.

God, the principal member of the "consort," supplies the devotional equivalent of the "A" note, the "one strain" of grace that will enable the speaker and other players to tune their own instruments -- their vocations -- maintain these at a proper devotional pitch, and "play" them accordingly, allowing the work of praise to continue. In this context, the word "reed" alludes both to those instruments which contain and are called "reeds," such as the clarinet and the oboe, and to the "wind," or breath of their players, and thus to the human voice itself; the adjective "reedy," for example, is most often used to describe the sound not of an instrument, but of a voice. Thus, in a necessary departure from his predominant musical image of the lute, Herbert interpolates the image of another type of instrument, which is linked to the voice itself. The creative trinity of "Easter," comprised of "heart," "lute," and "Spirit," is revealed in new guise. Here, the players are the "Lord," the "reed" as a musical and poetic instrument, and the "reed" as the speaker himself, performing in a renewed and harmonious "consort" offering fruitful and vigorous "employment" to all members.

We recall from our examination of the characteristics of Protestant meditation as it developed during the post-Reformation period that foremost among these is the centrality of the Word as subject and as guide within the meditative experience. This sensibility

in turn informs virtually every aspect of Protestant devotional writing. Joseph Hall, for example, while advocating and practicing meditation derived from all "Three Books of God," unreservedly recommends the "Book of Scripture" as the finest source of and guide to the art of meditation.²⁸ The translators and editors of the Bible, for their part, aided by an ever-growing awareness of and interest in Hebraic prosody, in particular of the so-called "metrical Psalms," among writers, musicians, and others in the Church of England, provided distinct support for the Protestant style of meditation in general, and for a correlation between Word-based meditation and poetry in particular:

In the King James version of the Bible, the term 'meditation' occurs more often in the Psalms than in all the other books of the Bible put together, and in the biblical mind of the Protestant the act of meditation is linked more closely to poetry and fervent ejaculatory address than to mental discipline²⁹

"Mental discipline" is of course the hallmark of the Ignatian method of meditation, a discipline necessarily imposed by the Spiritual Exercises and subsequent devotional writings in part to counterbalance the fact that within the Roman Catholic Church, the "Book of Scripture" was for most purposes, including meditation, closed to the lay reader. Hall, in the Arte, sets out what might be termed the intellectual objection (as opposed to the theological or aesthetic) of Protest-

ants to the Ignatian method "rejected by us":

...the mind, if it go loose and without rule,
roves to no purpose, so, if it be too much
fettered with the gyres of strict regularity,
moveth nothing at all³⁰

We are thus able to understand the enthusiasm,
and even affection, with which the speaker of the next
poem in the "Jordan" sequence, "The H. Scriptures
(I)," plunges into the description of his subject:

Oh Book! infinite sweetnesse! let my heart
Suck ev'ry letter, and a hony gain,
(11.1-2)

Even in these first two lines, the holy huckster who
is Herbert's chosen voice for "his panegyric on the
Bible"³¹ introduces several themes and references that
give this poem a distinctively Protestant flavour.
The "hony" of the second line points directly to the
Psalms; Psalm 119:103 reads:

How sweet are thy words unto my taste!
yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth!

The reference to this particular verse serves as well
to evoke David, the poet and meditator upon Scripture,
who assures his God in the same Psalm:

I have more understanding than all my teachers:
for thy testimonies are my meditation
(Ps.119:99)

The "my" of the speaker is thus deliberately linked to
the "my" of the Psalmist, for their text, their duties,

their pleasures, and perhaps their vocations (though we do not know if this particular speaker is a poet, or merely a reader of Scripture) are identical.

The vivid and sensuous description of scriptural meditation as an act in which "my heart" is permitted to "Suck ev'ry letter" points as well to an emphatically Protestant understanding of meditation as the feeding of the soul. As Frank Huntley observes with respect to the works of Joseph Hall and his contemporaries, "The most common metaphor for the 'three books' in seventeenth century Protestant meditation is that of 'digestion.'"³² The metaphor finds analogues in The Temple among Herbert's many images of "sweetnesse" and the identification of these with the presence and working of grace within the life of man. In "The Glance," for example, the reaction of the speaker to the "sweet and gracious" eye of God being turned upon him is expressed in corresponding terms of "sweetnesse":

I felt a sugred strange delight,
Passing all cordials made by any art,
Bedew, embalme, and overrunne my heart,
And take it in
(11.5-8)

It is interesting that the "infinite sweetnesse" of the "Book" itself is approached, if not matched, by the superlative assigned to church music, the "Sweetest of sweets" ("Church-musick," 1.1.) This similarity of

station may well reflect not only Herbert's personal perception of music as an essential component of devotional life, but also his awareness of the music within Scripture, be it the literal music of the Psalms of David the poet and musician, or the music of the "instrumental" Psalms (149, 150, and others) as emblematised by Augustine in his Expositions and as incorporated into Herbert's own lute emblem as he uses it in a number of poems in "The Church." This awareness is a heightened and personalised expression of the general Protestant interest in Psalmic metrics and translations, an interest that might better be termed an impetus. For just as the English and Continental humanists of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries composed Latin and Greek epigrams as a way of demonstrating and even flaunting their rediscovery and mastery of classical learning, and demonstrating as well their worthiness as the heirs and disciples of Plato, whose works had recently been rediscovered, so the Protestants of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries produced translations of the metrical Psalms not simply as an aesthetic exercise, but as a way of claiming Scripture for Protestant readers, scholars, poets, and musicians, as well as for the hymnals of the churchgoing public. Sternhold and Hopkins, Lancelot Andrewes (the editor of the Hebrew Scriptures in the Authorised Version), the Sidneys, and even George Herbert, who includes his version of "The 23rd Psalme" in The Temple, in their

determination to supply the needs of Protestants for a vernacular, Word-centred liturgy and complementary meditative material, attempt to find and establish their place as the heirs of David and the disciples of Christ.³³

A final observation concerning these introductory lines of "The H. Scriptures (I)" involves the identification of Scripture with "sweetnesse" as it was literally put into practise in the Jewish faith in the medieval period. In a ceremony introducing the young child to the study of the Torah, the letters of the Hebrew alphabet were written on a slate and covered with honey, and "these the child licked so that the words of the Scriptures might be as 'sweet as honey'" to him.³⁴ This practice is most likely derived from the identification of honey with wisdom in the Book of Proverbs:

My son, eat thou honey, because it is good;
and the honeycomb, which is sweet to thy
taste:
So shall the knowledge of wisdom be unto thy
soul: when thou has found it, then there shall
be a reward, and thy expectation shall not be
cut off

(Prov. 24:13-14)

It would therefore seem possible that some awareness of this medieval tradition was current among English Protestants in view of the specificity of the image in this poem, and that Herbert incorporated it into his representation of his speaker's meditative

self, namely, "my heart" (see "Easter," 1.1, for one of many other instances of this identification of the heart) as it asks to "Suck ev'ry letter, and a hony gain."

The "hony" quickly metamorphosizes into "a miraculous cure-all,"³⁵ and the speaker steps up his pitch: "Ladies, look here; this is the thankful glasse glasse,/That mends the lookers eyes:" (11.8-9). As this salesman is preaching to the converted, we must strive to uncover the truth and the purpose of this sonnet, beneath the pitch. Chana Bloch finds sincerity underlying the promises and the banter, and the expression of "a primary truth about Herbert's attitude to Scripture,"³⁶ namely that he, along with the majority of his presumed readership, truly believes that the "hony" -- the experience of meditation upon Scripture -- is "Precious" (1.3), that it can "mollifie all pain" (1.4), that it is at once "all health" (1.5), nourishing and sustaining, and "a masse of strange delights" (11.6-7), exotic and tempting, yet a wholesome and beneficial treat. Furthermore, the Scriptures, and our meditations upon them, work for us by "Working against the states of death and hell" (1.12), another seemingly extravagant claim that turns out to be true, for the Christian who turns towards the Bible for the purpose of meditation is reading by the light of faith, and thus defying, if only for the

length of the meditation itself, the darkness, "grief," and "pain" of despair and fears of damnation. Like Christian's "roll" in The Pilgrim's Progress, the tangible promise of salvation that acts as well as the key which frees him from Doubting Castle and Giant Despair, Herbert's speaker recognises that the Book is "joyes handsell" (l.13), being at once, by its very existence, a promise -- one meaning of "handsell" being "a first instalment of payment,"³⁷ with the payment to be made in full with the speaker's entry into "heav'ns Lidger" (l.11) -- and at the same time a practical gift (the other meaning of "handsell"³⁸) with application to the speaker's present life, acting as a "way to heavens doore," through meditation.

This is, of course, only half of the story. Herbert's placement of "The H. Scriptures (II)" immediately after the first poem, and his giving them, as with first two "Love" poems, a collective title, indicate that he intends the two to be read as companion pieces. Whereas the two "Temper" poems present shifts of mood and confidence so dramatic that we may call them contrapuntal poems, the relationship between the "H. Scriptures" poems is at once more obvious in terms of form (both are sonnets) and less dramatic in terms of the speaker's presentation of himself. There is a marked shift from the brisk, salesmanlike tone of the speaker in the first poem, to a quieter, more thoughtful, more subjective tone in the second. There is

also a new note of apprehension on the part of the speaker, with respect to his own ability to use -- and not to misuse -- "joyes handsell":

Oh that I knew how all thy lights combine,
And the configurations of their glorie!
Seeing not onely how each verse doth shine,
But all the constellations of the storie
(11.1-4)

As Bloch observes, this poem "is concerned not so much with the Bible's magic as with the mind of the reader, which perceives and mediates its remarkable effects."³⁹ "The reader" is at once the speaker, Herbert, and his readers, all of whom have the right, the pleasure, and -- as this poem takes pains to make clear -- the responsibility of scriptual exegesis and meditation. In the "priesthood of believers," even as it exists within "the mean" of "The British Church" (1.26), the obverse of the freedom of each Christian to interpret the Bible guided by the Bible and the Holy Spirit is the understandable anxiety of the believer who may not feel that he can cope with the responsibility of exercising such freedom.

It is possible that the speaker of this poem is, like Herbert, a poet and a priest as well as a "diligent student"⁴⁰ of Scripture, for we recall from our study of the earlier poems in this sequence that the public and private roles of Herbert appear to be grafted onto these speakers to an extent notable even

within "The Church." If indeed we consider the possibility that this speaker possesses these particular vocations, we must then acknowledge additional areas of responsibility extending beyond the already considerable and demanding area of private meditation. The devotional poet, who necessarily regards the Bible as his foremost primary source, and who finds in the Psalmist both a generous vocational antecessor and a rather daunting paradigm, has the added task of "Seeing not onely how each verse doth shine,/But all the constellations of the storie" as these "constellations" must then apply to, be filtered through, and rendered back to God in the composition of his own verse. The priest, while recognising the right of each member of his congregation to read and interpret the Bible as he sees fit and in accordance with the precepts of the Established Church, is nevertheless responsible for the guidance of those unable or unwilling to meet the demands of independent scriptural study and meditation, and, as with prayer, for setting a continual and reassuring standard for his flock to follow.⁴¹ When these overlapping areas of "private" and "public" responses to and responsibilities towards Scripture are construed to be relevant to the speaker of this poem, his sigh of "Oh that I knew" becomes even more poignant, while his discovery that "Thy words do finde me out, and parallels bring,/And in another make me understood" (ll.11-12) may be seen to have particular application to those roles of poet and priest in which

the pursuit of self-knowledge through scriptural meditation must of necessity be taken a step further.

The extent to which the speaker identifies with and learns from the writers of Scripture -- and most particularly, we may deduce, with and from the Psalmist -- is apparent in the second quatrain:

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:
(11.5-8)

We have already observed within the "Temper"--"Jordan" sequence that Herbert has noted well the art of scattering "dispersed herbs" of theme, metaphor, and emblem throughout his own "Book." We may infer that in so adapting scriptural technique to his own work, Herbert is doing more than playing a literary game, just as his contemporaries were satisfying more than a need for an erudite hobby in their translations of the metrical Psalms. For as Herbert, through his speaker, assuages his doubts over his capacity to recognise and comprehend "all the constellations of the storie" by the very act of tracking down the "herbs," the references and allusions that when brewed together within the mind of the reader produce the "potion" that gives guidance and comfort, so he practices the same technique of strewing scattered and elusive yet linked images and themes in his Temple. This he does for

the satisfaction of spelling out "some Christians destinie," namely his own, and perhaps for the benefit of "some dejected poor soul"⁴² who might in the future use The Temple as a way into the "book of starres" (1.14).

One final observation concerning the "H. Scriptures" as poems and the Scriptures as part of the Protestant meditative experience concerns the dependence of the Word upon man. The third quatrain of the second sonnet describes this dependence, or rather interaction:

Such are thy secrets, which my life makes good,
And comments on thee: for in ev'ry thing
Thy words do finde me out, & parallels bring,
And in another make me understood

(11.9-12)

Just as man needs the Word to "make me understood," so the Word needs man, for its "secrets" are useless if they remain secret and are not deciphered through life, prayer, and work. Thus, the Protestant, having the freedom and the responsibility to make scriptural meditation a part of his life, becomes a "living commentary"⁴³ upon Scripture, making "good" the secrets which might otherwise be forgotten, or else made to seem remote and sterile when man is denied direct access to them. Every man has the right to comment upon Scripture, and, Herbert suggests, every man is a comment upon Scripture, pursued by an irresistible Word that claims him as its own (1.11)

just as it has claimed "another" (1.12). This other is Christ, whose life and death were carried out in fulfillment of the Scriptures, and whose adherence to and explication of their teachings through his own life and work makes him the ultimate "type" for all who call themselves Christians, and who are thus called to be Christ-like as well as followers of Christ.

Such a perception of the interrelationship of the Word, the Word made Flesh, and the Christian who is compelled to look to both for the purposes of meditation, guidance, and awareness of his role(s) and responsibilities is expressed vividly in another of Herbert's explicitly biblical poems, "Coloss.3.3." In this poem, the speaker's practice of scriptural meditation is applied to such a degree that he is able not only to base the poem upon the verse in question, but literally to incorporate the verse into his verse, at once playing upon the concept of "hiding" -- and, implicitly, upon the ability of Scripture to reverse hiding, to "finde me out" -- and making the Word his own by integrating it with "his" words. Both the speaker's choice of Scripture -- "Our life is hid with Christ in God" -- and his description of his own life, which "winds towards Him, whose happie birth/
Taught me to live here so, That still one eye/Should aim and shoot at that which Is on high" (ll.6-8),

recall the attitudes of the speaker of "The H. Scriptures (II)," for both speakers are aware that the book that is Christ's life reveals, teaches, and makes them "understood" to themselves as much, if not more than, as the Book in which the life of Christ -- and of David, and of Aaron -- is recorded. Additionally, Chana Bloch observes with respect to the alterations that Herbert makes, first to the Pauline original ("your life is hid"), then to the text he affixes motto-like above the poem ("Our life is hid"), to arrive at the revealed Word within his words ("My Life Is Hid"):

This is the most obvious expression of a process by which the believer makes the biblical text his own...By pronouncing "My," by altering the biblical text in this deliberate fashion, he is responding directly to Paul's preaching, assenting, saying 'Amen.'...(There is nothing) remotely prideful about such an action: It is, indeed a model for man's proper response to Scripture⁴⁴

This exercising of the freedom of the Word in "Coloss.3.3" still lies ahead for the searching and reflective speaker of "The H. Scriptures (II)," who can recognise the tools of his meditative practice and his vocation as he leafs through "This book of starres," yet who understands that the skillful use of these tools -- or perhaps the making up of new "potions," as in "Coloss.3.3" -- depends upon further practice and confidence in the efficacy of this practice. What is common to both speakers, practiced and

practicing alike, is a sense of the Word as life itself, embracing as it does the surety of the Word as the key to salvation and "eternall blisse" (l.14), and the joyful confidence obtained in the everyday process of "spelling the Word"⁴⁵ through meditation and the enactment of the poet's vocation.

"Whitsunday" might be called the governing poem of this sequence in view of the pervasiveness of its subject, the Holy Spirit, throughout the sequence and in its numerous references to poems immediately preceding or closely following it. Among the poems outside of this sequence that contain a direct reference to the Spirit are "Easter," "Prayer (I)" ("Gods breath in man" [l.2] refers to the Greek word pneuma, and therefore to the Spirit as it was imparted to the Apostles [Jn 20:22]) and "Church-musick." These poems serve to assert the influence of the Holy Spirit elsewhere in "The Church," particularly where its influences may be veiled or oblique without the assistance of the key provided by "Whitsunday." The first stanza of the poem sets forth the traditional Christian iconography of the Holy Spirit as a dove:

Listen sweet Dove unto my song,
And spread thy golden wings in me
(ll.1-2)

While the Dove is the most common visual, and probably the most common literary, representation of the Holy Spirit, it is important to bear in mind the fact that

in the Gospels the primary identification of the Dove is not with the Spirit alone, but with the Spirit as it is associated with Christ, and with the event of his baptism, when he is proclaimed by God as His Son:

And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightaway out of the water: and lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him:
And, lo, a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased
(Mt 3:16-17)

This conjunction is exploited by the writers of Jesuit heart-books, for the iconography of the Dove enabled them to graft an additional emblematic Person of the Trinity onto their representations of the actions of "Divine Love," or the Christ Child, upon the Heart and Soul ("Anima") of man.⁴⁶ It is also exploited by Herbert; indeed, it is part of one of his most important and widely-applied images, that of the "wings" of God. In the "Easter" sequence at the beginning of "The Church," these wings are explicitly identified with Christ and with the Resurrection, as the speaker of "Easter-wings" makes clear in his appeal to God:

With Thee
Let me combine,
And feel this day thy victorie:
For, if I imp my wing on thine,
Affliction shall advance the the flight in me
(11.16-20).

As in "Whitsunday", and in the Jesuit emblems, the

act of "combining" with the Dove in some way is perceived to be essential to the soul's regeneration and eventual "flight." Even the speaker of "Whitsunday," who is so confident of the merits of "my song" that he calls upon the Dove to "Listen," appends to this a request for a combining identical to that depicted in Benedictus van Haeften's emblem entitled Cordis Inhabitatio.⁴⁷ This speaker then describes the anticipated result of such an inhabitation by the Dove:

Hatching my tender heart so long,
Till it get wing, and flie away with thee
(11.3-4)

This result is strikingly different from that hoped for by the speaker of "Easter-wings," for in this case the speaker's inhabitation by the Dove is expected to lead not to an "imping," but to the nurturing of "my tender heart," representing the speaker's devotional self, until it has wings of its own, and is able to "flie away with thee," still dependent upon the Dove, but eager to test its own strength.

The development of the "Dove" image in the first stanza and the deliberate inclusion of the speaker within the metaphor throughout the establishment of a parent-child relationship between the Dove and himself, who is first a nestling and then a fledgling, links "Whitsunday" to "The Temper (I)," in which a similar

relationship is delineated by the speaker in the final three stanzas of that poem. In "The Temper (I)," the speaker is first a frightened and willfully regressive nestling, who pleads with God to allow him to hide, "roost and nestle," (l.18) without "hope and fear" (l.20), rather than forcing him out of the nest and into a well-tempered spiritual life, a life in which he will be tested and may be broken. By the end of the poem, the speaker is on the edge of the nest, a resigned but reasonably confident fledgling, who acknowledges that "for sure thy way is best" (l.21), and recognises that the love and protection of his parent and nurturer are not withdrawn at the time of his independence but will remain constant always and "ev'ry where" (ll.25-28). The speaker of "Whitsunday" is therefore literally -- by virtue of his position in the "Jordan" sequence, which as we have noted develops out of the two "Temper" poems -- and developmentally ahead of the "Temper" speaker, for he more clearly perceives the process by which the soul is nurtured, then given its freedom, and thus he willingly calls upon the "Dove" to initiate the process within his own soul, so that he may "flie," and continue to sing.⁴⁸

In its description of the Spirit as a "sweet Dove," and in its speaker's request to the Spirit to "Listen...unto my song," "Whitsunday" displays a

further important metaphorical and thematic link with another poem. In "Church-musick," which is part of the next major sequence following the "Jordan" group in "The Church," the object of the speaker's address is called "Sweetest of sweets" (l.1). It has "wings" (l.6) with which the speaker rises and falls, and it is cast in the role of guardian by the end of the address, as the speaker expresses his wish to "travell in your companie" (l.11). As we will discuss in Chapter Six of this study, "Church-musick" is about the Holy Spirit, and expresses Herbert's own perception of the necessary interrelationship of poetry and music with the Holy Spirit, Who is the poet's "Comfort," protector, and muse. "Whitsunday" prepares speaker and reader for the upcoming panegyric to church music, and to the power of the Spirit as It works through music, by means of this deliberate identification; not only is the Spirit associated with the "Dove," but also with sweetness, representing the action of grace, and with "song." Thus, we learn from this opening stanza that this speaker is specifically the poet of the "Jordan" sequence, and that he is sufficiently confident and well-tuned to recognise the Spirit as his especial muse, at once his inspiration and his audience.⁴⁹

Once this speaker has demonstrated his awareness of these associations of the Spirit with Christ and

with music, and has recognised it as the impetus for his creative and spiritual growth, he suddenly strips away the facade of harmonious cooperation, praise, and development erected in the first stanza. Opening his Bible at the Acts of the Apostles, he reads the account of the Pentecost:

And suddenly there came a sound from heaven,
a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the
house where they were sitting.
And there appeared unto them cloven tongues,
like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them.
And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost,
and began to speak with other tongues, as the
Spirit gave them utterance

(Acts 2:2-4)

The speaker then apparently rejects the validity of the conjunctions that he had recognised, and the comfort and promise which they offered him, and calls the Spirit to task:

Where is that fire which once descended
On thy Apostles? thou didst then
Keep open house, richly attended,
Feasting all comers by twelve chosen men
(11.5-8)

In his abrupt insistence that the literal event of the Pentecost be re-enacted, the speaker reveals himself to be rather less confident of his own perceptions of the working of the Spirit than we might have deduced from a reading of the first stanza. Doubting not the Spirit, but himself, he imagines that the only sure comfort would be to experience the coming of the Spirit in precisely the same way as did the "twelve chosen men." In making this demand, however, the speaker appears

not only foolish and presumptuous -- for we know, and he must know, that he is not one of the Apostles -- but he temporarily sacrifices his own freedom and responsibility with respect to the interpretation of Scripture, a freedom and a responsibility which he previously enjoyed and to which he devoted a great deal of care, as the "H. Scriptures" poems demonstrate. In place of these, his apprehension, or his impatience, drives him to deny his responsibility by shifting the burden of it onto God. Rather than interpreting the account of the Pentecost by integrating it into his experience and understanding of the actions of the Spirit, he asks for "that fire" that is an identifiable part of someone else's experience. In doing this, the speaker exhibits distressing signs of the "Thanksgiving" affliction, for like the speaker of that poem, he can at this point accept no other proof of God's action of grace within him than that which he imagines he will find by interpolating his own, immediate experience into the complete, distinct experience of Christ and his Apostles as recorded in Scripture. This combination of anxiety and arrogance can only be detrimental to the speaker's spiritual and creative development, for this posture necessitates his denial of the freedom of the Word, and thus cuts him off from fruitful meditation, interpretation, and application of Scripture with respect to his work and his life.

The speaker's sudden demand for a literal re-enactment of the Pentecost event, and his deliberate misconstruction of Protestant meditative practice, is detrimental as well to his understanding of the Holy Spirit. In the past -- as recently as the first stanza of "Whitsunday," in fact -- he had exercised the freedom of the Word, and by so doing demonstrated his awareness of how variously and richly the Spirit can be apprehended within the meditative context. He demonstrated, too, his confidence in the effects of these interpretations upon his vocation as a poet. By insisting upon a reappearance of "that fire," the speaker must reject the understanding of the Spirit represented by the "sweet Dove," as it is not the manifestation of the Spirit as described in Acts. As the "Dove" is lost, so the metaphor of the "wings" is lost, and the connection of both to such themes as music, rapture, and the affectionate and intimate actions of "sweet" grace upon the creative process are sacrificed as well.⁵⁰ The song of the Dove is stifled, and its fledgling is crippled and unable to fly through fear and intransigence.

Having cut himself off from meditation upon his own experience of the workings of the Spirit, the speaker falls back upon an account of the glory days of the Apostles, hardly a new story to the object of his address. The next two stanzas of "Whitsunday" are thus quite correct, formal, and remote from the

passion of direct experience. They might, with their references to "Such glorious gifts," and the "starres" and "sunne"'s envy of these gifts bestowed upon the Apostles at the Pentecost, have been written by anyone, which is precisely Herbert's point. Once the speaker has denied his own spark of divine fire, and rejects, or refuses to trust, the validity of his own "Whit-sunday," he becomes straitened in his perceptions and in his creativity. Moreover, this posturing leads him, perhaps unwittingly, to second-guess the workings of the Spirit in a deliberately dramatic and rather petty way, for he implies that although "thou didst bestow" gifts once, the Spirit is not proving to be so generous at the moment.

The fifth and sixth stanzas bring the poem back into the present, with time being telescoped from the martyrdom of "those pipes of gold," namely, the Apostles who witnessed the Pentecost event (11.17-20), ostensibly to encompass all that has occurred in the history of Christianity up to and including the lifetime of the speaker. The establishment of this chronology is signalled by the words "But since" at the beginning of the fifth stanza, and the continued attitude of complaint on the part of the speaker over what has not apparently occurred since the Apostles' deaths, namely, a repetition of the literal Pentecost. Instead of making itself and its action within men

visible, the Spirit, according to the speaker, has deliberately concealed itself:

Thou shutt'st the doore, and keep'st within;
Scarce a good joy creeps through the chink:
And if the braves of conqu'ring sinne
Did not excite thee, we should wholly sink
(11.21-24)

The idea that God may conceal Himself from man is not unique to this speaker or to Herbert, but is part of the experience of believers as recorded in Scripture: "Verily, thou art a God that hidest thyself" (Isa.45:15). Richard Rogers's influential Seven Treatises (1603) reflects the incorporation of this idea into post-Reformation theology:

God doth, as it were, hide himselfe sometime for a season...That (Christians) may with more earnest desire mourne for Gods wonted grace; and that when they have obtained it againe, they may with more joyfulnesse of heart praise him⁵¹

Thus, we may observe in the speaker's complaint not only a somewhat petulant reproach to God, but also an awareness that God's behaviour, painful as its effects are, is not directed at him alone, and indeed is an established part of His modus operandi. This awareness does not make the speaker's grief any less real, but while Rogers is content to "mourne" for grace, the speaker of "Whitsunday" is incited to go after it, angered and frustrated by its absence, as he perceives it, from his life. In his anger -- in his furious scrabbling at "the doore" and his impatience with what

little grace "creeps through the chink" -- the speaker begins to reassert his autonomy over the poem, and by extension over what he, in the practice of meditation and of the poetic vocation to which meditation is essentially linked, does with grace as it is imparted to him. He has the confidence to readmit the Spirit, as It works in conjunction with Christ, into his life, paradoxically through his protest that this Spirit is not admitting him. For "the doore" is one of the Christ's own names for himself (Jn 10:9), and its inclusion in the stanza represents a departure from both the literal text of the Pentecost and from the speaker's insistence upon God's adherence to that text.

"The doore" readmits as well this poem's earlier foreshadowing of "Church-musick," whose speaker, with "more joyfulness of heart" after a period of anxiety stemming from his fear that the Spirit that imparts grace to him through music should "hide himselfe," eventually affirms that "if I travell in your companie,/You know the way to heavens doore" (ll.11-12). Moreover, the last lines of the sixth stanza of "Whitsunday" reflect both the rebuilding of the speaker's confidence, and his recognition that the Spirit is moved to work for man against "the braves of conqu'ring sinne" (l.23), whether or not this action is effected so dramatically as during the Pentecost event.⁵² Taken together, these traits of

awareness, confidence, and even tenacity on the part of the speaker reveal the depth of his commitment to and reliance upon the Spirit, and provide the basis for the revelation of the "new", which is to say the continual, Pentecost as it is acknowledged and experienced in work and in prayer:

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
(11.25-28)

Like the speaker of "The Temper (I)," who at last discovers a haven in the recognition of God's omnipresence (11.25-28), the speaker of "Whitsunday" has come to recognise God's immutability, and to derive assurance from the very fact that he cannot force His hand over the issue of Pentecost or anything else. As this recognition only comes about after the speaker has begun to work towards an understanding of the Spirit as it works upon him, its presence in the final stanza is not contrived, nor is it "pat" or "dutiful," charges which Richard Strier levels against the corresponding conclusion of "The Temper (I)."⁵³ With the reconciliation of the speaker to the unseen yet inexorable action of the grace of the Holy Spirit upon his life comes evidence of the healing of his creative self through his work. Whereas in "Deniall," another poem dealing with an aspect of the "hidden"

God as described by Rogers, the breakdown, and then the mending of "my ryme" corresponds to the emotional and creative breakdown and eventual healing of the speaker, in "Whitsunday" the damage inflicted upon the speaker's creative perception, and the reconstitution of that perception to include a broader understanding and acceptance of the workings of the Spirit, are much more subtly depicted. As we have observed with respect to the penultimate stanza, the principal indicator of the speaker's emergent awareness and self-confidence -- even as these are expressed through anger -- is his renewed acceptance of the Spirit as It is associated with Christ, and not specifically with the event of the Pentecost. This acceptance, and the ability to use imagery that reflects this broader understanding of the Spirit, is signalled by his reference to "the doore." This image, which necessarily contributes to the speaker's perception of and relationship with the Spirit as described in the first stanza, is present to an even greater extent in the final stanza. The God who is "the same" despite the whims and skewed perceptions of man is also the "same sweet God of love and light."

In these few words, the healing of the breach between the speaker's perceptions of the "sweet" Spirit and of Christ, whose names include "love" and "light" (Jn 1:9) is completed. The speaker acknowledges this himself, when he asks God to "Restore

this day," to continue the work of the Spirit within him, "Unto his...right," being the "right" of the Spirit to effect the action of grace upon the speaker, and upon all believers, as befits the requirements of their individual vocations and without being held to a single scriptural version of this action simply because it is the easiest for the believer to recognise and trust. What the speaker finally acknowledges by the conclusion of "Whitsunday" is the absolute necessity of continued faith and trust on his part -- again, we recall the "Temper" formula of "Thy power and love, my love and trust" (1.27) -- if he expects the "Dove" to play its parts: as the Comforter, as the nurturing parent Dove, and as participant in and audience to "my song."

"Grace," like "Whitsunday," signals its association with the Holy Spirit in its very title, for just as Whitsunday marks the contemporary Christian celebration of the Pentecost event, and is therefore an appropriate occasion for the believer to reconcile his expectations of the literal Pentecost with the very different "Whitsunday" that he is experiencing and recording, so grace is the gift and the hallmark of the Spirit, a gift which so far as this speaker is concerned is conspicuous by its absence from his life:

My stock lies dead, and no increase

Doth my dull husbandrie improve:
O let thy graces without cease
Drop from above!
(11.1-4)

The horticultural metaphors of "Employment (I)" have been transplanted to "Grace" to such an extent that the same "voice," or posture, of the poet/speaker of the "Jordan" sequence may be responsible for both poems.⁵⁴ However, the use of "husbandrie" imagery reflecting an overtly public function of this speaker as a priest (see "Employment [I]," 11.19-20) is not evident in this poem. Instead, these images have been allocated to the representation of private acts of meditation and writing of devotional poetry, rendering the poem an intensified examination of this private aspect, and a plea de profundis to God for sustenance in the form of grace. The deliberate inward-turning of this speaker with regard to the roles upon which he focusses leads to an equally deliberate defining of responsibilities; "My stock," both creative (poetry) and devotional (prayers) cannot flourish or even survive by "my dull husbandrie" alone, therefore "thy graces" must help. As in "Employment (I)," the speaker if nothing else knows what he needs, and Who can give it to him.

The depiction of grace itself is intriguing, for "Graces" that "Drop from above" are found in Exodus 16:

And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold,
upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small
round thing, as small as the hoar frost on the
ground.

And when the children of Israel saw it, they
said to one another, It is manna: for they wist
not what it was. And Moses said unto them,
This is the bread which the Lord hath given you
to eat.

And the house of Israel called the name thereof
Manna: and it was like coriander seed, white; and
the taste of it was like wafers made with honey
(Ex 16:14-15,31)

In the first stanza of "Grace," the speaker's refrain
of "Drop from above!" and the expectation that makes
the plea take this particular form stem directly from
his awareness of the manna story, a story which he,
as a conscientious practitioner of deliberate and
occasional meditation, must read and then apply to
his own unique circumstances. As this is a poem
within the sequence that includes "The H. Scriptures
(II)," we may infer that this speaker's awareness
also extends to the recognition of the manna as a
type of the Eucharist, a palpable manifestation
of God's grace on earth, being "the bread which the
Lord hath given you to eat," and by its very name a
"good gift." What the speaker envisages and asks
for, then, is a similarly sustaining gift of grace
to nourish and encourage his "dead," anxious, and
barren spirit.

Another characteristically Herbertian theme
at work in "Grace" is the association of Christ

with the Spirit, though in rather a different way than in "Whitsunday" and in other poems in which the association is established through the "Dove" or "wing" images. Barbara Lewalski has noted that the application of "typological symbolism" is "absolutely central to (Herbert's) poetic vision,"⁵⁵ in that the use of these symbols establishes and maintains an immediate and intimate link between the poet and the biblical personages and events that are at once his literary sources and his spiritual paradigms. In this first stanza, we observe the application of biblical typology to link not only manna, the gift of God the Father, to the grace of the Holy Spirit, but manna as a type of the Eucharist which is both the gift of Christ, and is Christ as he identifies himself as "the living bread, which came down from heaven" (Jn 6:51) and as it represents his sacrifice (Mt 26:26). A parallel set of associations appears in "The Bunch of Grapes," in which manna is called "Scripture-dew" (l.16), a name that links the nourishing gift of manna with the similarly nourishing received Word, and with Christ himself, the Word made flesh. By showing "how all thy lights combine" to provide speaker and reader with this metaphorical "potion" in which the same "dispersed herbs" of manna, Eucharist, and Grace are combined to yield two distinct "constellations of the storie," Herbert reveals his own mastery of biblical typology within

the context of meditative practice and the application of this practice to his work. Yet the very speaker who expresses these "constellations" in the course of his plea describes his own resources and abilities as "dead."⁵⁶

The relationship between grace and the Trinity is evident in the second and third stanzas as well. Lines 5-6 recall the "sunne"/Son puns elsewhere in "The Church" -- including the suggestion of this pun and its associations in "Employment (I)" -- and are linked as well to the many references to the "house" of God within, and of course including, The Temple:⁵⁷

If still the sunne should hide his face,
Thy house would but a dungeon prove
(11.5-6)

The distinctive image of the Dove appears in the third stanza:

The dew doth ev'ry morning fall;
And shall the dew out-strip thy Dove?
The dew, for which grasse cannot call,
Drop from above
(11.9-12)

As F. E. Hutchinson rightly paraphrases these lines, "'Grass cannot call for dew and yet receives it, but I can and do call for the dew of thy grace,'"⁵⁸ the "call" being the refrain. Hutchinson notes as well that "grasse" puns upon "grace" by assuming the position of the word "grace" in the third line of each stanza.⁵⁹ The deliberate choice of the word "grasse,"

and the subsequent pun that results from this choice, suggest that the spirit, if not the speaker, of the "H. Scriptures" is again at work in this poem. A reference to Isaiah 40:6 ("All flesh is grass") may well be at the back of this pun, for neither grass nor flesh can "call" upon God to satisfy their needs, but the immortal soul can, and does.⁶⁰

Moreover, the soul is so eager and so determined to get what it needs from the Holy Spirit that it tries to spur the Spirit into action by presenting it with the possibility of being "out-stripped" by the lowly, yet apparently more reliable, nourishing action of the dew upon the grass. The familiarity beneath the anxiety of the speaker as he poses this question to the Spirit reminds us that these poet/speakers are seeking not so much the assurance of their own salvation as they are the maintenance of a healthy and productive relationship between themselves and God. The "proof" of the relationship is manifested in the reciprocal action of poetry, prayer, meditation, and music as they are inspired by the Holy Spirit, produced and practiced by man, and offered back to God as "sweetnesse and praise" ("Employment [I]," 1.5). This chiding question is but one step away from the respectful, yet insistent requests of other speakers in this sequence -- "Listen, sweet Dove, unto my song," "Lord, place me in thy consort" -- and its

presence reassures the reader that the speaker's sense of hope, and even his shrewdness with regard to the preservation of his cherished vocation, remain intact.

The fourth and fifth stanzas, like the two which immediately precede them, are closely linked, though not so much in terms of identifications as of diction and balance. Each stanza uses the formula of "still" -- which as Strier reminds us, means "always" ⁶¹ -- and "Let" to describe the actions of the enemies of a healthy and productive life, namely, "Death" and "Sinne," and the proposed counteraction of grace upon these. The speaker has in a sense isolated the "braves of conqu'ring sinne" ("Whitsunday," l.24) and now addresses the action of each of its components upon his defenceless soul; without grace, Death, "working like a mole/...digs my grave" (ll.13-14), while Sin is "hammering my heart/Unto a hardness" that is "void of love" (ll.17-18). Grace, in addition to nurturing the speaker's creative and devotional life, is now called upon to "work" (l.15) to save that life by displacing the work of forces hostile to it. These proposed actions of displacement and even attacking of forces hostile to the soul by grace are commonplaces of Herbert's Protestantism, and reflect his theological bias:

In Reformation theology, as in Paul's epistles, both sin and grace are conceived

of as forces independent of the individual personality, though not external to it. Herbert consistently portrays them this way in his poetry⁶²

Building from this, these stanzas embrace themes and allusions which resonate throughout "The Church" and which have particular application to Herbert's understanding and delineation of his poetic vocation. Thus, the depiction of Death as a force "still working like a mole" is linked both to Herbert's own awareness of, and his speakers' varying degrees of trepidation concerning, human frailty and mortality (e.g. "Church-monuments," "Time," among many others), and to his recurrent fear of the "death" of his creativity and thus his most effective role in life, signalling his abandonment by the Holy Spirit (e.g. "The Forerunners"). This particular fear is perhaps most acutely expressed in a poem such as "Deniall," yet it is clearly present throughout this sequence, in "Employment (I)," "Whitsunday," "Grace," and "Praise (I)," for each of these addresses some aspect of the relationship between a poet and the Spirit Whose grace, and the manifestation of it in the poet's own "work," is the most vital and looked-for assurance against premature creative "death" and a life of sterility and despair.

The animation of Sin reflects its representation in a major source of material for a devotional poet of this period, namely, emblem books. Many books,

particularly those concerned with Jesuit "heart theology," include scenes of restorative and cleansing action upon the sinful human heart. Herbert's own "Love Unknown" describes a sequence of such purgative actions upon its speaker's heart, while the speaker of Donne's Sonnet Fourteen pleads with "three-personed God" to "Batter my heart" and "make me new" (ll.1-4).⁶³ However, the "hammering" of the heart described in "Grace" is intentionally presented as destructive and detrimental in order to demonstrate the speaker's, and Herbert's, familiarity with the emblematic and biblical presentations of the theme to the extent of being able to rework them and thus intensify their impact. This flexibility allows Herbert add another dimension to his portrayal of grace; here, "suppling grace" is a unguent that heals and blesses the heart as it counteracts the "art" of Sin. Here, Herbert also alludes to one of his most important and recurrent themes, that of the Crucifixion. The words "crosse" and "hammering" in particular evoke the Crucifixion, and suggest that "Sinne" in effect crucifies "my heart," which is to say the speaker's creative and devotional identity (see "Easter," stanza 1) by making it hard and "void of love," and therefore void of Christ, who is "Love." As "Easter" and the poems of the "Jordan" sequence demonstrate, Christ and the Holy Spirit are closely allied in the work of keeping the devotional poet

alive spiritually and artistically, so that he may live to praise.

The final stanza of "Grace," while offering one more association of Christ with the Spirit -- grace is begged to "come," "for thou dost know the way" (1.21), "the Way" being that of Christ (Jn 1:23) as well as a recollection on the part of the speaker of the imparting of grace in his past -- is primarily directed towards the expression of a tension that is evident in many parts of "The Church." The speaker of "Grace," who, having exhausted his arguments and his "stock" alike, finally asks that the Spirit come or else:

Remove me, where I need not say,
Drop from above
(11.23-34)

In this, he reveals a kinship, borne of the anxiety and exhaustion that can frequently impinge upon the meditative (and creative) experience, with the speaker of "Home," who laments:

Thy long deferrings wound me to the quick,
My spirit gaspeth night and day
(11.3-4)

and whose own refrain echoes the themes of "Grace"'s final stanza:

O shew thy self to me,
Or take me up to thee!
(11.5-6)

We know from what the "Grace" speaker has told us and the Spirit that he does not want to die, for if he welcomed death he would not have asked for grace to perform a cross action upon it (15-16). Nevertheless, the constant strain of looking for, and not receiving, grace -- or "Comfort," or "Employment" -- forces him to entertain, or perhaps maintain for its presumed effect upon the listener, the idea of an absolute "removal" from life and vocation.

As "Grace" ends with the words of an exhausted and frustrated speaker, whose desperate pleas reflect his irritation with God as much as his urgent need for that God to "move" to him in the form of grace, so "Praise (I)," the final poem in the "Jordan" group, begins with a bargaining session:

To write a verse or two, is all the praise,
That I can raise:
Mend my estate in any wayes,
Thou shalt have more
(11.1-4)

In these lines we hear once again the pre-eminent voice of this sequence, a voice that is respectful and diplomatic, yet which is mindful of its own needs and responsibilities regarding the maintenance and cultivation of its own meditative practice and its poetic (and in some cases, pastoral) vocation, and which is quietly insistent that these needs be heard and met by God. As the confidence and productivity

of the individual speakers within the group are at a high point, as in "Jordan (I)" and "The H. Scriptures (I)," or conversely, are faltering or even "dead," as in "Grace" and the central stanzas of "Whitsunday," the voice, and the essential rigour that guides it, are very nearly submerged. Yet in this last poem, the confidence in the existence of a relationship, a covenant of grace between poet and Spirit, even as the poet may doubt his ability to fulfill or exploit the covenant to the utmost, is immediately apparent, as it is in "Employment (I)" and "The Holy Scriptures (I)," as well as in the first and last stanzas of "Whitsunday." This speaker's "stock," while not dead, is at the present limited to only "a verse or two," and by naming this verse as "praise," and thereby identifying himself in terms of his vocation as a devotional poet, he implies that the continuation of his productivity lies firmly with the object of the praise, God. This allocation of responsibility is enhanced by the speaker's use of the word "raise," which suggests not only the familiar Herbertian association of poetry with instrumental music, and thus the "raising," or tuning, of verse to a devotional pitch, but also the "raising" of devotional capital.⁶⁴ The next two lines draw out the pecuniary metaphor. God is directed to pay for praise by "any wayes" that will "Mend my estate," by assisting in the maintenance of the speaker's soul against the "braves

of conqu'ring sinne," and He is assured that as soon as He does this, "Thou shalt have more" verses, and therefore more praise. Given the nature of the covenant, it is hardly surprising that the speaker's tone should be so politic and yet so insistent, for he, the professed "praiser" and therefore servant of God must convince God to serve him, chiefly by means of the imparting of grace, if their relationship is to be of mutual satisfaction.

In the second stanza, the speaker supplies an assurance of his own good conduct -- "I go to Church" (1.5) -- and offers God a choice of "wayes" of "mending":

I go to Church; help me to wings, and I
Will thither flie;
Or, if I mount unto the skie,
I will do more
(11.5-8)

The "wings" connect this poem to a number of others in "The Church," but perhaps most specifically to its neighbours "Whitsunday" and "Church-musick." This stanza even prefigures the components of "Church-musick," for in both poems the "wings" of the Holy Spirit are located within the same structure, the "Church," or "your house" as it is called in the latter poem (1.3). As in "Church-musick" and in "Easter-wings," the speaker stresses his dependency upon the wings of the Spirit to assist in the growth or functioning of his own. Once more, the servant

must be served, as the speaker's "wings" represent the action of the Spirit within him. Given the location of the anticipated flight within the "Church," and the literal location of the poem within Herbert's "Church," speaker, listener, and reader are invited to consider the form that the flight, and therefore the "wings," might assume. The grace of the Spirit may enable further "Praise" to take wing from the speaker back to God, or it may "flie" down to the speaker in the form of music, enhancing his meditative experience and therefore nourishing his vocation.

The speaker, ever-accomodating, offers God yet another form of flight, namely, his own flight from life "unto the skie" and into Heaven. This suggestion is related to the pleas of the speakers of "Grace" and "Home," and arises from the same anxiety of coping with a God Who "doth hide himselfe sometime," but its intent is fundamentally different from those desperate pleas for a resolution of a spiritual crisis that would amount to the annihilation of the soul. ("The Temper [I]", ll.17-20 contains a more elaborate version of this plea.) The speaker of "Praise (I)," thoroughly confident of salvation, broaches the possibility of his death as a means by which he "will do more" (l.8), for his vocation, like his soul, is immortal, and the work of praise will certainly not suffer as a

result of upward mobility. This is not to say that this speaker, or any speaker encountered in "The Church" thus far, prefers death to life in terms of his personal happiness or his vocational productivity. (On the contrary, so conscious are the speakers, and their creator, of the hindrances of "affliction" that they beg the "Lord of life" to "Kill me not ev'ry day" [Affliction (II)," 11.1-2] and cling to the possibilities of life, however painful its realities may be.) However, as a responsible Christian, he is bound to meditate upon his death, and as a responsible poet he is sometimes wont to think himself and God better served if he is an active member of a heavenly consort rather than remaining earthbound, barren, and ineffectual.

With the third stanza the speaker propells his argument beyond the confines of "I" and "Thou" to present the need of all men for the grace of God, and the rewards that God may anticipate as a result of meeting this need:

Man is all weaknesse; there is no such thing
As Prince or King:
His arm is short; yet with a sling
He may do more
(11.9-12)

By stating so baldly the "weaknesse" of man, and by extension placing "Prince" and "King" in invisible inverted commas by declaring that "there is no such

thing" on earth when man is observed with respect to God, the speaker assures God that it is to Him that he, like all men, owes true fealty. This assurance is underscored by a deliberate echo of "Jordan (I)," whose speaker, and David, "plainly say, My God, My King" (1.15). The speaker of "Praise (I)," in declaring that man is not a "King," rightly reassigns this title to God.

The third line of the stanza refers to the story of David and Goliath in 1 Samuel.⁶⁵ As with the account of the manna as it is used by the speaker of "Grace," it is necessary for the reader to turn directly to the biblical text in order to understand how this speaker has applied the letter of Scripture to his argument, "Seeing not onely how each verse doth shine,/But all the constellations of the storie." This is particularly important with respect to the "sling" reference in "Praise (I)," as it seems to contradict the speaker's claim that "Man is all weaknesse" by imputing a specific power to him. Scripture, however, justifies the speaker's use of the reference by making clear the dual meaning of the original "sling":

Then said David to the Philistine, Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield: but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom thou hast defied.

So David prevailed over the Philistine with a sling and with a stone, and smote the

Philistine, and slew him; but there was no
sword in the hand of David

(1Sam 17:45,50)

David has a "sling," but he, like all believers, is also armed with confidence borne of the knowledge that God is with him, however fleeting confidence may be. So armed, David achieved the rationally improbable feat of killing the giant Goliath. Armed with his "sling," the grace of God in any form in which it manifests itself, man may overcome the limitations of human frailty, and "He may do more," for himself and for God.

The fourth stanza further extends the scope of the speaker's argument away from himself to include "the poore" and needy souls of the world, freeing him from any charge of special pleading and reminding God that He must serve many servants:

An herb destill'd, and drunk, may dwell next doore
On the same floore,
To a brave soul: exalt the poore,
They can do more
(11.13-16)

According to the prevalent theories of physiology in the seventeenth century, the location of the soul was the heart, which is "'next doore' to the stomach,"⁶⁶ and therefore "on the same floore" as the eventual destination of "An herb destill'd, and drunk." On the surface, therefore, the speaker appears merely

to be reminding God that the flesh, which can be and is nourished by man himself, dwells "next doore" to the soul, which cannot be nourished by man's efforts alone and which therefore must not be neglected by God, but must be fed with sustaining grace.

However, the suggestion of a connection between this "herb" and the "dispersed herbs" of "The H. Scriptures (II)" is irresistible, and proves upon examination to be valid. "An herb distill'd" is a "potion" ("The H, Scriptures [II]," l.7), the end product of the speaker's study of Scripture, his understanding of "how all thy lights combine." When this is "drunk," it is applied by the speaker to his own life, and most particularly to his work as a poet. The speaker of "Praise (I)" has "distill'd" the biblical account of David's victory over Goliath and has "drunk" it by citing it to strengthen his own petition; like David, he too needs help from God. In so doing, he demonstrates to the reader and God that he is a responsible and conscientious poet, who wisely makes use of the great gift of "This book of starres" in his plea for the gift of God's grace. He also implies that the nourishment that he and his work derive from the "drinking" of Scripture is not enough to sustain his co-habitant "brave soul," and that the difference must be met by God.

The speaker's closing directive in this stanza

offers up a few more "herbs" in the form of God's own words. "Exalt the poore" reminds Him, and us, of the words of the Psalmist, and the song of Hannah:

He raiseth up the poor out of the dust,
and lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill,
to set them among princes, and to make them
inherit the throne of glory

(Ps 113:7-8;
1Sam 2:8)

The speaker, counting himself among "the poore" men of the earth, asserts that "They can do more" than they are doing for themselves and for God at present, if only he will "exalt" them by imparting grace to them.

The fifth and final stanza brings speaker and reader sharply back from the contemplation of a larger "they" to the immediate needs of "me":

O raise me then! Poore bees, that work all day,
Sting my delay,
Who have a work, as well as they,
And much, much more
(11.17-20)

We are reminded of the final, pleading, "O come!" of the speaker of "Grace" by both the form and force of this speaker's plea, and in the apparent willingness of both speakers to ask for death, and therefore the resolution of their earthly anxieties. Yet this speaker has demonstrated himself to be an altogether calmer and more confident customer than his predecessor in this sequence, and it is clear from the second

stanza that he views death not as an escape, but as an opportunity for further and more fruitful "work." Moreover, given the number of meanings attached to this speaker's earlier use of the word "raise" in connection with his own actions, it is likely that it functions in the final stanza as something more than a variation upon the "remove me" of "Grace."

Quite simply, as in the second stanza, the poet is efficiently reminding God of the various options available to Him for the imparting of grace. He may literally "raise" the speaker's soul, through death, to Heaven, or "raise" it in rapture, or "raise" its devotional pitch through tuning, which in the case of this speaker would focus not so much on his own salvation as that of his "work." The specificity and the professionalism of his request, centred as it is upon the perpetuation of his vocation and thus of his most effective devotional practice, echoes yet again the voice of the speaker of "Employment (I)," and it is not surprising to observe the resurfacing of the earlier poem's metaphor of the busy "bees." These bees, who are "poore" souls like himself, irk and "sting" the speaker precisely because they, at this moment and according to his perceptions, "work all day," and are apparently content and productive in their work. Additionally, the line "Sting my delay" may reflect a specific personal grievance of the

speaker's in the form of the "stinging" comments of his busy contemporaries who cannot understand why he, who has "a work, as well as they," cannot "bring hony with the bees" ("Employment [I]," 1.18). The speaker's frustration is compounded by his own confidence in the validity of his "work," which is worth "much, much more" than that of his peers, even as it seems to be very much less, both in terms of quantity and in terms of its very existence, being a product of a privately enacted and unremunerative vocation.

In this respect, "Praise (I)" differs from "Employment (I)," the poem which it otherwise most closely resembles within the sequence, for this final poem deliberately does not extend its discussion of the speaker's work to include a pastoral and therefore public vocation. The primary work of the priest is not limited to praise, for his vocation encompasses many worldly responsibilities:

The Countrey Parson upon the afternoons in
the weekdays, takes occasion sometimes to
visite in person, now one quarter of his
Parish, now another...

The Countrey Parson is not onely a father to
his flock, but also professeth himselfe
thoroughly of the opinion, carrying it about
with him as fully, as if he had begot his
whole Parish...

The Countrey Parson desires to be all to his
Parish, and not onely a Pastour, but a Lawyer
also, and a Phisician....⁶⁷

But the primary work of the devotional poet is, by

definition, the praise of God. It is therefore galling to the poet/speaker of "Praise (I)" to have such a clear perception of the needs and specific responsibilities attached to his vocation, and yet not only to be unproductive, but to be invisible with respect to the more public and seemingly more vital work of his peers. The Christian poet, by the terms of his vocation, is bound to praise. Yet his work is carried out for himself -- and for the Spirit that directs, receives, but does not need it -- and is by its very nature private, subjective, and of no overt or intentional benefit to any other person. We may recall that Herbert's own "work," apart from specifically public poems such as Musae Responsoriae and Memoriae Matris Sacrum, was published posthumously, and if we can believe Walton, was perceived by its author to be of interest or value to others only incidentally:

(The Temple is) 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; (I) desire him (i.e. Nicholas Ferrar, to whom the MS was delivered) to read it: and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor Soul, let it be made publick: if not, let him burn it: for I and it, are less than the least of God's mercies⁶⁸

In retrospect, the frustration and even the irritation of the speaker who alone knows that he has "a work, as well as they," but who is fated to bear

his fears in silence -- with respect to the "bees," that is -- may well derive from Herbert's own experience of his vocation.

As we conclude this examination of the "Jordan" sequence, we would do well to refer back to Hall's Arte of Divine Meditation. The extended meditation upon the vocation of the Christian poet that forms the pre-eminent theme of this sequence is indeed "a bending of the mind...through divers forms of discourse, until ones thoughts come to an issue," although it is clear from the final stanza of "Praise (I)" that the "issue" of the continued reception of grace, and of the maintenance of the poet's sense of his vocational identity when confronted with the visible, public success of those around him, is not likely to be laid to rest so long as the poet remains true to his vocation, which by its very nature is practiced "betwixt God and my Soul" and is subject to the effects of "spiritual Conflicts." Yet the essential coherence of the voice of the sequence as it emerges at various points from each of the speakers demonstrates that the source of this voice, Herbert himself, recognises the rewards to be obtained both through the continual practice of poetry as an aspect of the meditative art, and through the channeling of other important Protestant devotional practices such as prayer, biblical exegesis, and most

particularly music, into the enrichment of his vocation. Against these practices, and the undoubted joy that the poet and his God may derive from them, must be expressed, and in some way balanced, the isolation in which they tend to be carried out, and the inevitable frustration and even despair that arise when either employer (God), or payment and some measure of success (grace), or both, prove to be elusive despite the continuous work of the Christian called into this line of employment. When a balance has been struck, when the poet perceives his work to be well-crafted and well-received -- and even the most bitter or desperate speakers acknowledge that at some time, either anticipated or in the past, such a balance exists -- the poet's hearkening to his vocation is vindicated. His "one place," which is not static but is "ev'ry where" ("The Temper [I]," l.28) in that grace is everywhere, offering "an easie quick accesse" ("Prayer [I]," l.1) between poet and God, is for a time found, and savoured:

Thus we have found that our meditation like
the wind gathereth strength in proceeding; and
as natural bodies, in the nearer they come to
their places, move with more celerity, so doth
the soul in this course of meditation, to the
unspeakable benefit of itself⁶⁹

-II-

"The scope of the whole world"

(Joseph Hall, Arte of Divine Meditation, 74)

Chapter Three

The View from Abroad:

Continental Catholicism and Protestant Practice

Arts are the only helpe towards humane perfection, and hence God has recorded the names of the first makers of shepherds' tents, ironworks, musical instruments and golden ornaments. Language and literature are humane arts... the Jesuits have won much of their reputation, and stollen many hearts, with their diligence in this kinde. How happy it shall be for the Church and us, if we excite our selves to imitate this their forwardnesse? We may out-strip them... Behold here, not feete, but wings offered to us!

Joseph Hall presents this challenge to the young Protestant readers of a textbook entitled Ludus Literarius, published in 1612 by his nephew, John Brinsley, the headmaster of Ashby Grammar School.² That Hall, in his Commendatory Preface to the work, links the "literary game(s)" of schoolboys with the advancement of the Church of England, its doctrines, and its "arts" is not surprising in view of contemporary events

within and beyond England. These events focussed attention upon the nation's "humane arts" and the ability of her Protestant writers to enhance these arts, while meeting the continual challenge posed to them by the "forwardnesse" of the Jesuits and other Catholic organisations prominent in the Counter Reformation.

In the preceding year, the publication of the Authorised Version of the Bible represented not only the remarkable collaboration of the nation's finest scholars and theologians, but also the affirmation of a voice -- an English voice -- for a church that considered the Bible to be "heav'ns Lidger here" (The H. Scriptures [I]," 1.11), and as such a resource and a treasure open to all capable of understanding and profiting from its study. At the same time, the impetus to produce such accurate and accessible versions of Scripture, and to formulate and build a canon of Protestant meditative literature dependent upon and continually enriched by Scripture, was as we have observed, and as Hall makes clear, largely shaped by an awareness not only of Protestant needs but of existing trends of meditative practice among Catholics, and the dissemination of literature outlining the essentially Christocentric and schematic methodology advocated by various influential Catholic writers.

Perhaps the greatest perceived threat to the development of an indigenous Protestant literature and aesthetic were those works specifically produced for an English readership by the recusant presses on the Continent. The English translator of Thomas de Villacastin's Manuall of Devout Meditations and Exercises (1618) sounds a distinctly militaristic call to action characteristic of the Jesuits during the Counter Reformation, as he describes the prizes to be won through the practice of even these simplified versions of the Spiritual Exercises:

In a word heere may you exercise your selves in all the heroicall acts of Vertue which our Lord and Maister Christ Jesus, the most exact and perfect patterne of all Perfection, left unto us for example³

The Spanish Jesuit who is the original author of this work writes of the "perfect patterne" that is the basis of Christocentric meditation, when he asks for God's grace:

I most humbly beseech him to graunt unto us such plenty therof, that his most holy life and death may be unto us a perfect patterne, rule, and guide of all our thoughts, words, and deeds. That (like true souldiers of his spiritual warfare) following our Captaine Jesus, we may be partakers heere in this world of his grace, and in heaven of his glory⁴

English Protestants engaged in the development and practice of their own meditations were wary of such imported Catholic literature that promised a "patterne,

rule, and guide" to life through formulaic meditation, particularly those that associate the activities of the practitioner with those of Christ to such an extent that access to "all the heroicall acts" of the Saviour is set forth as a realistic meditative goal. Hall, in a treatise entitled A Serious Disswasive from Poperie (1609), attacks the Catholic way of devotion:

(it is) A Religion, that requires nothing but meere formality in our devotions... there is no care of the affection, as if God regarded not the heart, but the tongue and hands, and while he understands us, cared little whether we understand our selves⁵

Add to this observation another of Hall's objections to "Poperie" as "A Religion, that hood-winkes the poore Laity in forced Ignorance... that forbids spirituall food as poyson; and fetches Gods booke into the Inquisition,"⁶ and we see that Catholic modes of meditation as they were viewed by the architect of the emergent Protestant way are radically opposed to the "two elements (that) especially characterize Protestant meditation, whatever the subject or formal structure," namely, the application of the meditation to the self, rather than the application of the self to the "meere formality" of a devotional exercise, and the freely sanctioned use of the Bible in meditation as the "spirituall food" that sustains it.⁷ These specific objections to Catholic meditative thought and methodology as expressed by Hall, whose Arte of Divine

Meditation (1606) was "initially conceived... at a time of high anti-Jesuitical feeling in England,"⁸ and whose understanding of "Poperie" was strongly influenced by and linked to his observations of the Jesuits in particular, were sustained in meditative and polemical writings of English Protestants throughout the seventeenth century. These perceptions are as fundamental to the Protestant position as are the more familiar objections to what were perceived to be the presumption, the idolatry, and the Mariolatry of the Ignatian method. When all of these objections are considered together, and then are met by Protestant vigilance, exemplified by the writing and publication of a work such as Hall's Serious Disswasive, and diligence, demonstrated by the continuous work of adding to the Protestant canon of literature undertaken by Hall, Donne, Lewis Bayley, Robert Bolton, Richard Baker, Richard Baxter and Jeremy Taylor, some of the more prominent writers of devotions and Protestant meditative manuals in the first half of the seventeenth century, it is unlikely that the Ignatian method alone would be permitted to make much of an impact upon Protestant meditative practice, aside from the challenge of imitating and overcoming "their forwardnesse" with newly honed native "arts."⁹

We observe therefore that there is a Protestant objection to the nature and content of Catholic devotional writings and practices, and a recognition

on the part of at least some Protestants that as "language and literature are humane arts," and the "only hope towards humane perfection," a distinctive sense of a Protestant aesthetic could and should be cultivated. Whereas practitioners of Catholic meditation were advised by Ignatius "to praise relics of Saints, ...stations (of the Cross), pilgrimages, indulgences, jubilees,... and lighted candles in the churches"¹⁰ and could make use of all of the accoutrements of the Church, its saints, and its practices in their writings, Protestant writers found a similar richness of resources in the Word itself. These resources were enhanced by the practice of Protestant meditation in a very special sense, as Sir Thomas Browne observes with respect to the reading of Scripture:

...unspeakable mysteries in the Scriptures are often delivered in a vulgar and illustrative way, and being written unto man, are delivered, not as they truly are, but as they may be understood; wherein, notwithstanding the different interpretations, according to (the) different capacities, (they) may stand firme with our devotion, nor be any way prejudiciall to each single edification¹¹

The Bible, then, provides Protestants, and Protestant writers in particular, with two levels of meditative and literary resources. The first of these is the Word itself, as it appears within its scriptural context and as it is meditated upon by the reader. The second of these is composed of the "different interpretations,

according to different capacities," that are attached to any given passage of Scripture, and which reflect the experience of each reader and also the shifts in perspective that accompany experience and which may alter an individual's reading of a single passage.

This expression of a Word-based literary sensibility, developing as it does from a Word-based meditative practice, is evident in the meditations of Sir Richard Baker, of whose style Sir Henry Wotton observes with approval that "(it) seemeth ... to have not a little of the African Idea of St. Augustines age; full of sweet Raptures and of researched conceits."¹² In his Meditations and Disquisitions upon the Three Last Psalmes of David (1639), Baker responds to the same passage of Scripture that underlies the imagery of Herbert's "Grace," Psalm 102:4 ("My heart is blasted and withered like grasse; so that I forget to eat my bread"):

The grasse is blasted by the stroake of an adverse winde; and my heart is blasted by the breath of Gods anger, in this they are like: The grasse is withered for want of moisture, and my heart is withered for want of Gods moistening Grace; and in this they are like: so in blasting and withering, the grasse and my heart are like, but in this they are very unlike; that the Grasse hath no sense, and is senselesse of either, where my heart is sensible; Alas, too sensible of them both.

But how can it be thought any strange matter, that my heart should be withered like Grasse, when my heart is flesh, and all flesh is Grasse? Alas, it is not strange at all, for therfore indeed is my heart withered, because it was fleshly; for if it

had been spirituall, there had been no danger of withering at all. Oh then take from mee, O God, my fleshly heart, and give mee a spirituall heart; that though my old heart being withered, cannot recover: yet my new heart being fresh, may retain its freshnesse and never wither¹³

Baker's dense, introspective, "African" prose style, which reminds Wotton of the Augustine of the Confessions (part of the patristic literature to which Protestants looked as their meditative heritage in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), is very different from the style of Herbert in "Grace," and the scriptural passage that is the focus of Baker's writing is but one of several sources of theme and imagery for Herbert's poem.¹⁴ Yet the Word is at the centre of both the formal meditative writing and the poem that uses meditation to make sense of experience. Thus Baker, whose writings document his practice of deliberate meditation, and Herbert, who through "Grace" demonstrates and recreates -- for he is a writer who writes about the work of writing -- the application of a previously completed deliberate meditation upon Psalm 102 to his current experience, represent for the reader the twofold expression of Protestant meditation as it is recorded in and contributes to the development of Protestant literature. For while the "literall sense" of Scripture may seem to these Protestants to be at once "vulgar and illustrative" in its presentation, and elusive as to its meaning, the challenge of interpretation and

application is freely extended to Christians, and as Donne explains, may assist the individual's meditative and creative activities by demonstrating the dynamism of the Word. This dynamism allows it to be interpreted "according to different capacities" and circumstances without fear of obscuring its meaning:

The literall sense is always to be preserved... But the literall sense of every place, is the principall intention of the Holy Ghost, in that place: And his principall intention in many places, is to expresse things by allegories, by figures; so that in many places in Scripture, a figurative sense is the literall sense¹⁵

The Word, then, is understood to be both a "literall" text, and one whose meaning may be expressed in a "figurative sense" within that text and through the words of those who interpret it. These interpreters in turn may enter into the figurative aspect of the text through typology, as we observe in The Temple in Herbert's evoking of poetic and priestly types. This understanding of the interrelationship of the literal and the figurative in the Word corresponds to the two components of Protestant meditative practice, namely the deliberate meditation upon the Word and the application of this to the practitioner's "occasional" experiences. When we understand the closeness of the relationship between meditation and writing, between Word and words, we may then appreciate Hall's especial emphasis upon "language and literature" in his advice to young Protestant scholars. We also can understand

how and why Donne, in his Devotions upon Emergent Occasions (1624), describes a God Who would be understood and honoured through words, Who is at once "direct" and "literal" in that he does not hold back any part of the truth from His Word as He imparts it, but Who is "a figurative, a metaphorical God too"; a God Who is in fact a writer, and a patron of writers:

...a God in whose words there is such a height of figures, such voyages, such peregrinations to fetch remote and precious metaphors, such extensions, such spreadings, such curtains of allegories, such third heavens of hyperboles, so harmonious elocutions, so retired and so reserved expressions, so commanding persuasions, so persuading commandments, such sinews even in thy milk, and such things in thy words, as all profane authors seem of the seed of the serpent that creeps, thou art the Dove that flies¹⁶

By creating and maintaining a dialect of his own within the Word, the Protestant writer serves not only God, but the development of his literary tradition as well. By recognising that the Word will be the common denominator of that literature, the individual is free to find his own voice, his own style, and the limits of his own imagination in spelling "all the constellations of the storie" ("The H. Scriptures [II]," 1.4). The Protestant writer recognises, if only "upon emergent occasions," the value of his own experience, and cultivates his appreciation of it through his vocation, aided and guided by meditation. He does not seek to isolate and describe a given experience without being able to learn from it through the application of scrip-

tural meditation, as Hall fears is the result when the religion that sustains the individual appears to stress the "meere formality" of schematic devotions above the "occasional" understanding of the self. For the practitioner of occasional meditation must live in a world that, too, is occasional:

This world is but an Occasionall world, a world onely to be us'd; and that but so, as though we us'd it not: The next world is the world to be enjoy'd, and that so, as that we may joy in nothing by the way, but as it directs and conduces to that end¹⁷

He may even imprint upon his own work evidence of his understanding of occasionality, as do Herbert in the deliberately random ordering of poems and sequences in The Temple,¹⁸ Donne, in choosing to meditate upon the personal, unforeseen, and even random experience of serious illness, an experience which is then "digested"¹⁹ into a written form, and Browne in the apparently unorganised entry of observations in Religio Medici, in which the reader discovers "tintinnabulary echoes... awchic cumulatively intimate connections beyond logic."²⁰ Beyond logic, beyond "formality," the idea of occasionality reaches back to the Bible itself, which includes its own randomly ordered book (of Psalms), and its own "secrets, which my life makes good" ("The H. Scriptures [II]," 1.9) which are intended to be "us'd" by men in the explication and vindication of their own lives.²¹

We have elsewhere noted that the other principal Catholic meditative method to which English Protestants had access during this period, the highly popular Introduction to a Devout Life by St. Francis de Sales, is not attacked or viewed with suspicion by Protestants in the same way as were the writings of "the Jesuits." Nevertheless, it is probable that the influx of Salesian literature during the seventeenth century caused concern among the champions of an indigenous, independent, and distinctively Protestant practice of meditation and meditative writing. Francis de Sales, representing the middle way of continental Christianity between the Jesuits and Geneva, and himself presenting to those "obliged to a publique life"²² a method of meditation somewhat less schematic than that outlined in the Spiritual Exercises, could appear to the unwary Protestant reader to be rather appealing on the surface. Yet in his "kinde of method,"²³ Francis de Sales, like Ignatius of Loyola, relies upon the imagery of the Mass, the sacraments, and the saints, all of which were familiar to and accepted by Catholics, as well as the deliberate evocation of a single image or emblem for contemplation by the reader, again reminiscent of the continual evoking of static images or particular events such as the Crucifixion throughout the Exercises.²⁴ For example, in the Devout Life Jacob's Ladder is offered, though not visually depicted as in an emblem book, as "the true embleme of a devout life."²⁵ The rungs of the ladder,

representing "divers degrees of charitie...ascending by contemplation to a blessed union with God," are supported by prayer and the sacraments.²⁶ It is the deliberate inclusion and naming of these practices as those which support man as he attempts to lead a devout life, rather than the subject of the emblem itself, that marks this approach to meditation as specifically Catholic, particularly as the word "prayer" when used by Francis tends to refer to a formal and not a personalised or extemporaneous appeal.²⁷ The author directs his readers to visualise and contemplate this emblem:

Now looke (I beseech you) upon those which are on this ladder...they have wings to flie and soare upward to God by holy prayers; but they have feete also to walke with men by a holy, and friendly conversation²⁸

While such a meditation is fundamentally different from the Word-based practice of Protestants, it is possible that Francis de Sales's nonmilitant approach, and his tone as he addresses his advice to "Philothea," who represents "all such as desire to be devout," distances him from the rigour of the Ignatian method in the eyes of Catholic readers, and even finds some degree of kinship with the Protestant concern for the application of the meditation to the self. Certainly, it is clear that some English Protestants read the Devout Life, Protestants such as William Crashaw, a prominent and vociferous Puritan divine who maintained

a library of Catholic books for reference purposes in the composition of refutations, and because, as he admitted in a sermon of 1610, it was as yet necessary for Protestants to make use of "superstitious" Catholic writings in the practice of meditation, as comparable Protestant works had only begun to be published within the previous decade.²⁹

In the poetry of Richard Crashaw, William's son, the practice of Protestant meditation comes full circle with respect to these Catholic writings to which it had originally responded, in a rather surprising way. For Richard Crashaw, who had been raised as a Protestant, and who in his poetry demonstrates a particular admiration for the work of Herbert, was also a practitioner of the Salesian meditative method, and towards the end of his life, embraced the Counter Reformation by leaving England and converting to Roman Catholicism. For the modern reader of Herbert, Crashaw offers an important and interesting commentary on the way in which a Protestant poet is read by a Catholic one, and on the ways in which the meditative practice of each poet informs not only his own work, but also the perspective from which he interprets the work of another.

As the result of his father's polemical activities along with the access to Catholic writings that these activities permitted him, Richard Crashaw was probably

aware of the Devout Life and other Catholic works at an early age. Certainly, from the time of his university career onwards his writings show many direct borrowings and other influences which demonstrate a thorough familiarity with the Salesian method.³⁰ In the mid-1640s, a time of mounting tensions and rancor within the Church of England which led to civil war and the ascendancy of the Puritan faction in church and state by the end of the decade, Crashaw left England. Until shortly before his departure he, like Herbert, held a number of academic and ecclesiastic posts in and around Cambridge University, and had maintained connections with the Little Gidding community founded by Herbert's friend and executor Nicholas Ferrar. Crashaw went to Paris, where he probably completed his formal conversion to Catholicism, and took up a "small imploy" as a canon at the cathedral in Loreto.³¹ He died soon afterwards, in 1649, by which time several collections of his poetry, the Epigrams of 1634 and Steps to the Temple (1646, rev. 1648), had been published in England.

Among Crashaw's works, Steps to the Temple and the posthumously published Carmen Deo Nostro (1652) exhibit most clearly and copiously the degree of his immersion in the Salesian method. Like Francis de Sales, Crashaw is fascinated by martyrdom, and like him is fascinated to the point of obsession with the "Saving Blood" of Christ and the sacred blood of mar-

tyred saints.³² Like Francis, and most emphatically unlike his father and the Calvinism of his upbringing, Crashaw is very little concerned with sin, aside from sins of omission regarding thankfulness for God's gifts. Where Francis stresses man's nearness to Christ by invoking the "sacred humanitie of our Saviour," Crashaw "sees in everything a sign of Christ's love," and trusts so consistently in the power of this love that he is notably "unconcerned with assessing his spiritual progress" through his poetry.³³ And like Francis, Crashaw relies heavily upon verbal emblems, especially those connected to the Passion, and upon the sense of smell, equating sweet fragrances with the cleansing and sanctifying aspects of meditation.³⁴

The Salesian influence is very much apparent in Crashaw's poem "On Mr. G. Herberts booke, intituled the Temple of Sacred Poems, sent to a Gentlewoman," which appears in Steps to the Temple and was probably composed sometime between the publication of The Temple in 1633 and Crashaw's formal conversion to Catholicism. What is also very much in evidence is the status awarded to Herbert, and to his "booke," by Crashaw. The title of his own collection clearly alludes to The Temple itself, and to Crashaw's modest assessment of his work as only approaching that of Herbert, a point he further emphasises by the naming of The Temple in the title of his own poem. The poem itself is given

an auspicious place in the collection between two longer poems, "On a prayer booke sent to Mrs. M.R.," and the hymn to St. Teresa. The similarity between the opening lines of "On Mr. G. Herberts booke" and the poem that precedes it is one of the first and most telling indications not merely of how highly Crashaw regards The Temple, but what he considers it to be:

Loe here a little volume, but large booke,
 (Feare it not, sweet,
 It is no hipocrit)
Much larger in it selfe then in its looke
 ("On a prayer booke," ll.1-4)

Know you faire, on what you looke;
 Divinest love lyes in this booke:
Expecting fire from your eyes,
To kindle this his sacrifice
 ("On Mr. G. Herberts booke," ll.1-4)

Reading these poems in sequence, and recognising the similar terms of respect applied to each book, and the similar degree of power attributed to each of them, we are led, as the author intends us to be, to regard the second book as similar to the first, and even as a prayer book, written by George Herbert. The two poems together, addressed as they are to women who are affectionately saluted as "sweet" and "faire," in turn suggest the use of another work that employs this same device, the Devout Life of Francis de Sales, which is addressed to "deare Philothea."³⁵ While Crashaw's poems are presumably addressed to real women, they are

part of a published collection of poetry and so may be seen as being addressed to all who would enter into the way of prayer, just as Philothea, literally "she who loves God," develops out of Francis de Sales's letters of spiritual guidance to individual Catholics, many of whom were women. (These letters circulated throughout Catholic communities on the Continent and were eventually collected and published for the reading public.)³⁶

Crashaw maintains this binary system of reference and deference to Herbert and to Francis de Sales throughout the poem, as the individual components of the opening lines indicate. "Divinest love lyes in this booke" recalls the guiding principle of the Devout Life, and its author's definition of devotion:

(Devotion is) nothing else but a true love of God, yet not every sort of love: for, in as much as the love of God adorne our soules, it is called Grace...in as much as it giveth us strength to doe good works, it is called Charity: but when it is arrived at that degree of perfection, wherein it causeth us not only to doe well, but also to worke diligently, frequently, and fervently, then it is called Devotion³⁷

Thus, "Divinest love" may be equated with devotion, being the love that man has for God. In this context, the phrase may specifically refer to the evidence of George Herbert's love for God as this love is revealed to the reader of The Temple. Yet the assertion of the second line of the poem is literally true as well, for the book in question here, The Temple, contains three

poems called "Love." Of these, the sequential "Love (I)" and "Love (II)" speak directly to Crashaw's gentlewoman as she peruses her gift. "Immortall Love" is the "authour of this great frame," ("Love [I]," 1.1) namely the universe, the Book of Creation, and also of all that is created within it, such as The Temple, which could not have been built without the sustaining force of God's love, despite the tendency of men to take sole credit for their various works ("Love [I]," 11.5-8). This love is also named as "Immortall Heat" ("Love [II]," 1.1), the engendering fire of creation, which begets and attracts the "lesser" flames of man's imagination and devotion:

let those fires,
Which shall consume the world, first make it tame;
And kindle in our hearts such true desires
As may consume our lusts, and make thee way.
Then shall our hearts pant thee; then shall our brain
All her invention on thine Altar lay,
And there in hymnes send back thy fire again
("Love [II]," 11.2-8)

Thus, the reader of "Love (II)," and by extension all who would fuel their individual fires of creativity and devotion with the "greater flame" of God's love, is directed in turn to help keep this flame alive by feeding it "All her invention." Whether "thy fire" takes the form of "hymnes" or of meditative "devotion" as defined by Francis de Sales, it is clear that the reader and practitioner has a responsibility to love God, as God loves him, and to honour Him through

works, although the fire of God's love will always be "greater" than that produced by the endeavours of man.

Thus, the reader of The Temple, who, according to Crashaw, uses this book for meditative purposes and presumably looks to receive some return or response as the result of her meditations, is herself contracted to the author of the book, who is "Expecting fire from your eyes,/To kindle this his sacrifice," a sacrifice which he, in turn, has laid upon the "Altar" of love. That a reader should be held to the same requirements that the poet sets for himself indicates the seriousness and reverence with which Crashaw views The Temple, in that the joys that a reader may derive from it must proceed from a commitment to it and a respect for the "heart" and "brain" of George Herbert that made these joys accessible.

Just as Crashaw through his own poem impresses upon the reader of Herbert the need for sincere and sustained participation in "his sacrifice" through the use of The Temple in meditation, so Herbert himself seeks to engage the help of an envisaged reader, "some kinde man," who would "thrust his heart/Into these lines" and bear some of the burden of the sacrifice:

till in heav'ns Court of Rolls
They were by winged souls
Entred for both, farre above their desert!
("Obedience," ll.42-45)

Francis de Sales reveals similar feelings concerning the responsibilities imposed upon him by his vocation:

It is a paine, I confesse, to guide soules in particular; but a comfortable paine...it is a burden which recreates and revives the hart, by the pleasure it brings to those that bear it³⁸

In issueing such a well-intentioned caveat to the recipient of "Mr. G. Herberts booke," Crashaw intends that the sincere and devout reader will not only be mindful of her responsibility to God, but may perhaps take upon herself some of the responsibility for the maintenance of her meditative life, and relieve by proxy the greater responsibilities of the man whose work she reads, and of the God who makes that work possible. Herbert and God both live eternally in The Temple, and so long as the book is read and used, the "sacrifice" on the part of the author, both in terms of the sacrificial offering to God that the book represents and with respect to the sacrifice that Crashaw understands Herbert to have made on behalf of his own readers as they use this book, is continuous, as is recognition of this sacrifice and participation in it on the part of the reader.

Having delivered these instructions, Crashaw can allow the reader of The Temple to proceed to the delights contained within it:

When your hands unty these strings,
Thinke you have an Angell by the wings

In these lines, Crashaw appropriately acknowledges the many verbal emblems in The Temple by describing the physical dimensions of the book in terms of one; its leaves are the angel's wings. Additionally, the "Angell" is Herbert himself, who is revealed "by the wings" of his book. The implications of this angel metaphor direct the reader once again to the Devout Life, in which the men who are described in the emblem of Jacob's Ladder are "either men, who have Angelicall harts, or Angels who have humane bodies... they have wings to flie and soare upward to God by holy prayers."³⁹ It is probable that Crashaw at this point in the poem chooses to link his angel emblem with these particular Salesian angels, who are, like Herbert, actually devout men, rather than making an immediate identification with the more numerous references to the "Angell" in the Devout Life, who is the Guardian Angel and who, like the saints, is invoked in Salesian meditation by the (presumably Catholic) practitioner.⁴⁰ For while Crashaw at the time of the poem's composition is, if not already a convert to Catholicism, at least strongly sympathetic to it and personally inclined to follow Francis's advice to read and meditate upon the lives of the saints --among which that of "B(lessed) Mother Teresa" is particularly recommended⁴¹ --and to apply what he reads in the practice of his vocation, he is aware that The Temple is a Protestant book, and

thus cannot be imprinted with specifically Catholic iconography. The "Angell" of the poem, and of The Temple, therefore is not the literal Guardian Angel as a Catholic would understand it, but it can be identified with both the human angels on Jacob's Ladder and with the idea of the Guardian Angel on a metaphorical level, as Crashaw soon makes clear.

The "Angell," namely Herbert, as identified with and by his book, is:

One that gladly will be nigh,
To wait upon each morning sigh.
To flutter in the balmy aire,
Of your well perfumed prayer
(11.7-10)

"Morning" is the optimum time for meditation according to Francis de Sales, while "well-perfumed prayer" is one of the most frequent evocations in the Devout Life.⁴² However, we may imagine that the fluttering of this Herbertian angel is turning the leaves of the book to a poem such as "The Odour, 2 Cor.2," in which the Speaker's repetitions of the words "My Master!" produce "a sweet content,/An orientall fragrancie...With these all day do I perfume my minde" (11.4-6). The binary references are thus sustained, and even begin to overlap, as Herbert without being so named becomes the "good Angel Guardian" of his reader, who through his poetry assists the prayers of the devout reader.⁴³

The identification of Herbert as one of these
"Angels who have humane bodies" is maintained in the
next lines of the poem:

These white plumes of his heele lend you,
Which every day to heaven will send you:
To take acquaintance of the spheare,
And all the smooth faced kindred there
(ll.11-14)

The use of the word "white" to denote purity is a commonplace, but one that is particularly favoured by Crashaw and explored at great length in "The Weeper" and other poems.⁴⁴ The "plumes" are linked to the "wings" of line eight, and therefore are part of the iconography of the angel, and may also be intended to resemble the "plume" of a quill pen, and thus remind the reader of the specific vocation of this "humane" angel. He must "lend" the reader his "plumes," or rather his poems, because they are in the first place his own. This acknowledgement, along with a similar mention of Herbert's ownership of "these devotions" in lines 15-16, is the closest that Crashaw comes to an admission that The Temple, being a private devotional work, is not in fact a meditative manual intended for public consumption, and thus no longer belonging solely to its author.

Nevertheless, Crashaw is so convinced of the efficacy of Herbert's plumes/poems as subjects for meditation that he asserts that they "will send you"

to heaven, every day. This faith in methodology is rather more Catholic than Protestant. While Francis de Sales's "kinde of method" and Ignatius's more rigorous sequence of exercises broken down into "weeks" both do not hesitate to promise results, including "blessed union with God,"⁴⁵ to diligent practitioners, the experience of the Protestant, as Herbert attests, is less predictable:

Although there were some fourtie heav'ns, or more,
Sometimes I peere above them all;
Sometimes I hardly reach a score,
Sometimes to hell I fall
("The Temper [I]," 11.5-8)

The particular goal of the elevated soul as presented by Crashaw, the "spheare" of the "smooth faced kindred" is also more readily associated with Catholic than with Protestant meditative teaching and practice.⁴⁶ It would appear, then, that this aspect of the meditative process as Crashaw describes it is derived more from Salesian methodology, which directs the practitioner to "Invoke God, and thy good Angell, and... the sacred persons concerned in the mysterie upon which thou doest meditate"⁴⁷ than upon any specific passage gleaned from The Temple, although in "To all Angels and Saints" the "glorious spirits...See the smooth face of God" (11.1-2). However, as Herbert's intention in that poem is to honour the inhabitants of heaven, including the "Mother of my God," while emphatically rejecting the possibility of a direct appeal to any one of them apart from God ("I dare not; for our King,/...Bids no

such thing," ll.16-18), once again Crashaw is obliged to gloss over the reality of Herbert's Protestantism as it is actually practiced in his eagerness to present The Temple as both a genuine meditative text and one that is compatible with his own favoured methodology.⁴⁸

In the concluding lines of the poem, Crashaw reinforces a number of the themes and motifs introduced earlier:

And though Herberts name doe owe
These devotions, fairest; know
That while I lay them on the shrine
Of your white hand, they are mine
(ll.15-18)

"Owe" (i.e. own) directs the reader back to the borrowed "plumes" of line eleven, and reasserts the right of "Herberts name" above all others to own "these devotions," and presumably to use them for meditative purposes. This deliberate naming of the author and owner of "these devotions" is, as we have observed with respect to Hall's meditations, indicative of a Protestant rather than a Catholic sensibility concerning the feasibility of extending one individual's meditations to others.⁴⁹ While the naming of Herbert by Crashaw may further reflect the latter's recognition of The Temple as both a Protestant work and one that derives from the practice of meditation, rather than being a collection of meditations or a meditative manual, this recognition is coloured by the

very act of sending the book to an individual complete with instructions and performance guarantees. For, contrary to Herbert's purpose in writing The Temple as an ostensibly private enactment of his vocation, Crashaw in this poem is selling "Mr. G. Herberts booke" as a meditative text in much the same way as Herbert sells the Bible, "heav'ns Lidger here," as the Protestant devotional manual sinequa non in "The H. Scriptures (I)" (l.11).

As "heav'ns Lidger" is not open to Catholic laymen apart from hearing it read by a priest during church services -- a fact lamented, we recall, by Hall in his "Disswasive from Poperie" -- Crashaw, who, if not yet a catachumen, as a practitioner of Salesian meditation and thus one who is aware of the Catholic position with respect to the Bible, cannot recommend it for meditative purposes to his "Gentlewoman."⁵⁰ Yet such is his commitment to Herbert and to The Temple that he expresses no anxiety over recommending, as a meditative text one particular book whose author continually demonstrates and celebrates his use of another Book which is effectively closed to Crashaw and his Catholic readers.⁵¹ That Crashaw does not address this problem, as well as other conflicts between Catholic methodology and Protestant experience as it is presented in The Temple may lead us, as well as the "Gentlewoman," to wonder how he imagines that a Catholic would be able to use this, a product of the developing Protestant

meditative and literary tradition, in the practice of meditation without compromising either the integrity of "these devotions" as they are written, or that of her own faith.

However, it is clear from the way in which this poem is executed that Crashaw has noted well certain characteristics of Herbert's Protestant poetics, and has respected them to the point of tempering his own more florid style so that the poem may complement that which it accompanies. We need only to look at the poems that precede and follow "Mr. G. Herbert's booke" in Steps to the Temple to see which elements Crashaw has deliberately omitted from this poem in order to that it may suit the temperament of The Temple. While we have observed that the "Ode on a Prayer Booke" is similar in some respects to "Mr. G. Herbert's booke," particularly in the way in which each book is held in reverence by Crashaw, the vocabulary and diction of the "Ode" is far more opulent, dramatic, and detailed than that of the poem following it. The "Teresa" hymn, too, is unabashedly baroque in its lush images and specifically Catholic in its subject and themes. Moreover, both of these poems emphasise a spousal and erotic relationship between God and the woman who is the poem's recipient or object. In the "Ode," Christ is specifically identified as the "noble Bridegroom" (l.47) of the "young Gentle-woman" to

whom the poem is addressed. She in turn is identified as the "Heart" (1.48), a name reflecting the way that the soul is represented in contemporary heart books; yet her relationship with Christ is depicted in a very different way than is that of the childlike figures in the emblem books. That Crashaw not only presents, but also encourages, the evocation of a relationship between the soul and God that is expressed and understood in sexual terms is clear from the conclusion of the "Ode":

O let the blissefull Heart hold fast
Her Heav'nly Arme-full, she shall tast,
At once ten thousand Paradices;
 She shall have Power,
 To rifle and Deflower,
The rich and Roseall spring of those rare sweets,
Which with a swelling bosome there she meets.
Boundlesse and infinite
 Bottomlesse treasures,
 Of pure inebriating pleasures,
Happy prooffe! she shall discover,
 What Joy what Blisse
 How many Heav'ns at once it is,
To have her God become her lover
 (11.111-24)

In the "Teresa" hymn, the saint's "faire Spouse" (1.65) prevents her from dying the violent death of a martyr, as "Wise Heaven will never have it so" (1.74). Rather:

Thou art Loves Victim, and must dye
A death more mysticall and high.
Into Loves armes thou shalt let fall,
A still surviving funerall.
His is the Dart must make the Death,
Whose stroake shall taste thy hallow'd breath;
 (11.75-80)

The "death more mysticall and high" is described

in deliberately sensual and dramatic fashion:

How kindly will thy gentle Heart,
Kisse the sweetly-killing Dart?
And close in his embraces keepe,
Those delicious wounds that weepe
Balsome to heale themselves with. Thus
When these thy Deathes so numerous,
Shall all at last dye into one,
And melt thy soules sweet mansion;
Like a soft lump of Incense, hasted
by too hot a fire, and wasted,
Into perfuming clouds, so fast
Shalt thou exhale to Heav'n at last,
In a resolving sigh, and then,
O what? -- aske not the tongues of men.
Angells cannot tell. Suffice,
Thy self shall feele thine owne full joyes,
And hold them fast for ever

(11.105-21)

By contrast, the restraint of "Mr G. Herberts Booke," in which the primary relationship (between Herbert and his prospective reader) is non-erotic, offering the protection of the "good Angel Guardian" rather than the embraces of a lover, demonstrates the sensitivity of Crashaw as a reader. While he may not be able to achieve the integration of Salesian meditation and Protestant poetics that he seeks, he pays heartfelt tribute to Herbert not only by this attempt, but through his observance of the characteristics of Herbert's tone and diction as well. As a result, the poem is not a slavish, yet unsatisfactory, imitation of Herbert, but rather a kind of commentary upon his work, in much the same way as a musical variation proceeds from, yet remains consonant with, the theme of the original.

The address to the recipient of the book and its accompanying poem as "fairest" recalls "deare Philothea" and the modus operandi of the Devout Life, while the word "shrine" brings to mind the Herbertian images of "sacrifice" and offerings -- occurring as they do in The Temple itself -- from the poem's opening lines, yet here yoked to the specifically Crashavian image of the "white hand" of the gentlewoman. As her hand is clean and pure, so it is fit to receive an offering so precious to him who presents it. Indeed, both the gift and its recipient are held in similarly high regard, as the one is the "shrine" for the other. As the book is placed in the hand of the gentlewoman, she herself is ennobled by its prescence, and is bound to honour and protect it within the sanctuary that is her soul.

While it is clearly not possible to take Crashaw's concluding assertion that "they are mine" literally, Herbert's poems are part of him because of his evident love for them and his belief in their contribution to his meditative life. Whether or not such a highly personalised response to The Temple, involving as it does an arranged marriage of two quite different and on many points incompatible meditative traditions, could be comprehensible to any other Catholic of the period is open to question. Certainly, as the century progresses, The Temple is found increasingly to be of

interest and use to Puritan congregations in England -- a fact which might have comforted William Crashaw -- and is only taken up by Catholics and Anglo-Catholics of the Oxford Movement in the nineteenth century.^{52, 53} Yet we cannot doubt the depth of Crashaw's respect for Herbert, nor the depth of his sincerity as he offers, by means of this poem, a set of "steps" to The Temple to one deemed worthy of such a precious and heartfelt gift. As a convert and an Englishman Crashaw is perhaps not representative of any generalised "Catholic" response to the maturing Protestant meditative tradition and its literature. Yet the fact that even one such as he would feel so strongly about a Protestant work that he would not only attempt to reconcile it with Catholic methodology, but would override the constraints of that methodology where they ran counter to the Protestant experience as expressed in its literature, affirms for Crashaw and for his readers the legitimacy of Protestant meditative practice, Protestant "language and literature," and Protestant "arts." No longer need the English Protestants "go to the Romanists," for the Romanists had at last come to them.

Chapter Four

"These crosse actions":

Temper, Tension, Tuning

In "The Crosse," Herbert delineates certain aspects of the Protestant way of and to the Cross. This journey, like that of Christ, is often painful and frightening for the believer, who may at times beseech God to relieve him of his meditative responsibilities, and "ease my smart":

Ah my deare Father, ease my smart!
These contrarieties crush me: these crosse actions
Doe winde a rope about, and cut my heart:
And yet since these thy contradictions
Are properly a crosse felt by thy Sonne,
With but four words, my words, Thy will be done
(31-36)

"These contrarieties" and "crosse actions," namely, the tension experienced by the Christian soul as it tries to balance its desire to be acknowledged, tuned, and even tested by God against its fear of being tortured and broken by such heightened spiritual awareness and responsibilities, are the themes of many poems in The

Temple, and their associated images are particularly prevalent and varied in the first half of "The Church." In these images, and in the themes around which they are constructed, we find a Protestant response to the Passion, and also to the way in which the events of the Passion are contemplated in Catholic meditation.. For while the Catholic methodology proved to be largely incompatible with Protestant theology and concerns, the Passion is naturally a subject which all Christians must continually address and attempt to respond to in their meditations and in their lives. While he rejects what he perceives as the presumption inherent in the Catholic methods, in which the practitioner is directed to interpolate himself into the Passion event in various ways, bringing himself to Christ, the Protestant practitioner attempts to incorporate the Passion, Christ's unique experience, into his own experience, and so bring Christ into his own life.

When writing about the sacrifice of Christ through the Passion, or more generally, about the nature of his own relationship to Christ and his sacrifice, Herbert very frequently uses a version of the metaphor of the soul as a musical instrument, usually stringed, which can be tuned or "tempered" by stretching the strings to produce the highest, holiest pitch.¹ It is easy to imagine the ways in which this strongly emblematic central image may be altered to suit the needs of the poet

and/or the temperament of his speaker(s). The lute or harp metamorphosizes into a rack, and the strings into the sinews of the tortured soul. Less frequently, the frame of the instrument becomes a human "frame," which may be broken if the tuning process is too severe. This new, malleable image itself becomes an emblem of the Crucifixion; the precise form of the emblem and its interpretation within the context of a given poem depends upon the speaker's attitude towards his role and responsibilities as a Christian, and his assimilation of the events of the Passion into his own spiritual development.²

Herbert's emblem, for it is as versions of an emblem that these images are best understood, particularly as their more dramatically visualised qualities find parallels in the Jesuit emblem books of the period, has its literary and theological roots in St. Augustine's Expositions on the Psalms.³ Certain aspects of this work, along with those of other Early Christian writers, had become part of "habitual thinking" about music during the Middle Ages, and were carried into the Renaissance era.⁴ In a popular musicological work of the late 1580s, therefore, we find a paraphrase of one of Augustine's expositions:

For both to praise God upon well sounding cymbals, and upon the harp & psalterity of ten strings, is a note and signification that the partes of our body are so coiyned and linked together as be the strings, etc⁵

As Herbert's knowledge of these expositions and his application of the images presented in them to his own poetry reflects a greater awareness of Augustine's work than could be acquired solely through received ideas and habitual thinking, we would do well to examine the expositions themselves. In the exposition of Psalm 149 -- along with Psalm 150, one of the much debated "music Psalms" to seventeenth century theologians because of its emphasis upon the use of instrument-music in the context of worship -- the exposition of the third verse, "Let them sing praises unto Him with the timbrel and psaltery" (or "harp," as it appears in the Authorised Version, or significantly in terms of Herbert's use of this image "lute," as it appears in the Prayer Book) presents Augustine's analysis of the metaphorical significance of the various instruments and relates these metaphors to the sufferings of Christ and the Christian's consequent attempts at emulation:

Wherefore taketh he to him the timbrel and psaltery? That not the voice alone may praise, but the works too. When timbrel and psaltery are taken, the hands harmonise with the voice...Thou hast taken to thee an instrument, and thy fingers agree with thy tongue. Nor must we keep back the mystical meaning of the timbrel and psaltery. On the

timbrel leather is stretched, on the psaltery
gut is stretched, on either instrument the
flesh is crucified. How well did he 'sing a
psalm on timbrel and psaltery,' who said, 'the
world is crucified unto me, and I unto the
world'? This psaltery or timbrel He wished
thee to take up, Who loveth a new song, Who
teacheth thee, saying to thee, 'Whosoever
willeth to be My disciple, let him deny
himself, and take up his cross, and follow me'⁶

Note that Augustine has adroitly passed the instrument from the hands of the Psalmist David (the "he" of the first line) to those of his audience ("Thou hast taken to thee...") and then to those of Christ. This he does by linking Christ's words from the New Testament (Mt.16:24, and Gal.6:14, where Paul refers to Christ's words and experience) to those of the Psalm itself. The identification of Christ with David, one of the key associations in the biblical typology of later centuries, inextricably links the components and tuning of the Psalmist's musical instruments to the Crucifixion, so much so that the reader mentally supplies the Cross to the observation that "on either instrument the flesh is crucified." In addition, the Christian reader may be prompted to participate in the metaphor, and enhance his own understanding of it, by the literal taking up of an instrument so that "the hands harmonise with the voice."

Augustine continues:

Let him not set down his psaltery, let him not
set down his timbrel, let him stretch himself

out on the wood, and be dried from the lust of
the flesh. The more the strings are
stretched, the more sharply do they sound⁷

Here the address is clearly to the Christian audience,
first by Christ, and then picked up by Augustine, so
that there is a direct link between "let him deny
himself, and take up his cross" and "Let him not set
down his timbrel." The link merges into a complete
paralleling of Christian with Christ, of instrument
with Cross, in the line "let him stretch himself out on
the wood," which by linking the "gut" and "leather" of
the instruments to the flesh of the Christian who
holds, tunes, and plays these instruments associates
them with the authentic Crucifixion. At the same time,
Augustine avoids the suggestion that by the creation of
these associations with Christ and the Crucifixion the
Christian becomes Christ in any real sense, for it is
clear that there is but one Crucifixion, and that it
belongs to Christ. While the suffering of Christ is
experienced and comprehended by him alone, it is still
possible for man to "follow" him, to be taught, and to
"take up" an instrument which by its very structure
suggests to him something of the nature of the Cruci-
fixion, and of the similar "stretching" of his own body
and soul that is accomplished through denial of "the
lust of the flesh" and the tuning and sharpening of his
devotion. The musical instrument, the tangible emblem
and link between man and the Crucifixion, by its very
tactile presence keeps man at arm's length, reminding

him that just as the timbrel and the psaltery resemble but are not the same as the Cross, so his own physical and spiritual sufferings resemble but are not to be presumed to be the same as those of Christ.

Concluding his exposition of this line, Augustine introduces another linking device, in the person of St. Paul:

The Apostle Paul then, in order that his psaltery might sound more sharply, what said he? 'Forgetting those things which are behind, and stretching forth unto those things which are before, I press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling'. He stretched himself: Christ touched him; and the sweetness of truth sounded⁸

As Paul is not writing about music, it is clear that Augustine intends to use "his psaltery" metaphorically in order to reach the process of spiritual stretching and tuning that Paul himself describes. Augustine is able to do this precisely because he has previously so deliberately linked the tactile components of the psaltery to the human body, and the manipulation of these components by the stretching process to man's physical and spiritual development. Moreover, the inclusion of this passage in a discussion of music adds another layer to the series of actions that take place within the tuning process. As man tunes his instrument, and is reminded of the Crucifixion, so his soul is tuned; thus it would seem that the active role (tuning the instrument) engenders a passive one (being

tuned by meditation). Yet Augustine says of Paul that "He stretched himself," and because of his efforts on his own behalf, in the cause of his own spiritual development, "Christ touched him." The message is clear; the Christian can and should take part in the tuning of his own soul by extending -- by "stretching" -- himself to meet the hand of God, and by expressing a willingness to be so touched. Similarly, the conjunction of Paul, the well-tuned soul, and Christ, who let himself be stretched on the Cross for the sake of such souls, is described in terms of music, for it is indeed "the sweetness of truth" that is sounded, in a moment of exquisite harmony.⁹

That Augustine himself was committed to and inspired by the metaphors and associations suggested by the instruments of the Psalms is demonstrated by the number and range of expositions devoted to the exploration of these metaphors, and by his own appreciation and knowledge of the ancient instruments themselves. He is always careful -- unlike the majority of Renaissance writers¹⁰ -- to distinguish between the verbs psallere and citharizare, and he constructs and expounds metaphors based upon the differing physical structures of the instruments. Briefly, Augustine bases his distinction, and in turn his metaphors, on the fact that the sounding board of the psaltery is located on the upper part of the instrument, while that of the harp is located on its lower part:

...there is a distinction to be made between our works, when they are upon the harp, when on the psaltery: both are however acceptable to God, and grateful to His ear. When we do any thing according to God's Commandments... when we are active and not passive, it is the psaltery that is playing...But when we suffer any thing of tribulation, of trials, of offences on this earth...this is the harp¹¹

Augustine's distinction is a neat and pleasing one, reflecting his awareness that the psaltery, being literally an instrument upon which sacred songs are played, should in its very structure reflect its exalted status, which structure in turn should serve as a tactile metaphor for the instrumentalist of the consecration of his activities -- both musical and otherwise -- by and for God. However, the harp, a distinctly more secular, even pagan instrument, like man, must "sound from below," and so the music of the harp, like the prayers of suffering, sinful man, take longer -- or seem to take longer -- to reach God. It is perhaps for this reason that the writers of the Renaissance tended to use the harp, or "lyre," as cithara was more commonly translated, when writing about music in a nonspecific context, for they could thus derive imagery from a more familiar instrument and one whose function, according to Augustine, was immediately responsive to the activities of man.¹²

Augustine reinforces the anthropomorphic and sympathetic qualities of the harp by linking it to

the words of Paul:

When the Apostle... said 'We glory in tribulations, knowing that tribulation worketh patience and patience experience and experience hope,' it was the harp sounding from the bottom, but still sounding sweetly. For all patience is pleasing to God. If however you fail in tribulations, you have broken the harp¹³

Again, the function of the instrument has shifted. Whereas in the previous passage the (real) structure of a (real) harp suggested a metaphorical application to the (real) sufferings and failings of man, in this passage the harp itself is metaphorical, representing Paul the enlightened yet imperfect man, "sounding sweetly" his conviction that "tribulation worketh patience," that stretching man to the limits of his endurance both tunes and strengthens him, granting him the patience that "is pleasing to God." Yet Augustine refuses to permit man to bask in the specious glory of a self-directed regimen, for he makes man, not God, responsible for overseeing the tuning process and taking care that the harp -- i.e., himself -- is not "broken" through prior neglect or overzealous stretching. This contention of Augustine's is particularly important with respect to Herbert's use of the tuning metaphor, as it is a frequent foible of his speakers, when they "fail in tribulations" and become overstretched in spirit, to accuse God, their Creator, of having "broken" them.

Among Augustine's many other expositions involving the instrument metaphor, his discussion of the Psalmist's emphasis upon stringed instruments is particularly germane to the examination of similar metaphors in Herbert's poetry. The following passage is from the exposition of Psalm 150, the second of the instrumental "music Psalms":

When then he (David) saith 'on the strings and organ', he seemeth to me to have intended to signify some instrument which hath strings... he hath suggested to us to seek some other meaning in the strings themselves: for they too are flesh, but flesh now set free from corruption¹⁴

It is tempting to think of "some instrument which hath strings" as a particularly pure and attractive emblem. Pure, because while its wooden frame and stretched strings of gut mimic the bones and sinews of man, its "flesh" does not war against a spirit, nor is it tainted with sin and the weight of mortality. Attractive, because it has such a structure; it is functional.¹⁵ If indeed one is tempted by and accepts this emblem, however, one must be willing -- as Augustine is, as Herbert's speakers often are not -- to accept responsibility for its maintenance, which is to say that whosoever takes up an instrument, be it a harp, a lute, or a Cross, must also be aware of the possibilities of breakage, and the need for repairs.

The first four poems of "The Church" prepare the

reader for the major instrument metaphors of "Easter," as these poems with their various speakers have as their underlying theme the (largely unsuccessful) attempts by the soul to join Christ on the road to Calvary. The speaker of "The Altar," who pleads, "O let thy blessed SACRIFICE be mine" (l.15), is answered antiphonally by Christ's refrain in "The Sacrifice": "Was ever grief like mine?" and finally by his conclusion that "Never was grief like mine" (l.252). The speaker of "The Thanksgiving," an enthusiastic but imperceptive soul, seems to stand at the very foot of the Cross as he frets:

Oh King of wounds! how shall I grieve for thee,
Who in all grief preventest me?
Shall I weep blood? 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
(ll.3-8)

This speaker then imagines that he makes his way to Calvary through a perversion of Christ's agony:

Shall thy strokes be my stroking? thorns,
my flower?
Thy rod, my posie? crosse, my bower?
(ll.13-14)

To his credit, the speaker realises that there is no adequate poetic vehicle which can present him with a fulfilling yet safe way to "Copie thy fair, though bloudie hand" (l.16) -- a line itself interesting in

its depiction of Christ as the writer of his own Gospel through the evidence of his actions and sufferings, and in the speaker's telling use of adjectives, in that he prefers to see Christ as "fair, though bloudie" -- and so he embarks upon a survey of feasible if rather pointless penances and "good works." Yet midway through this pious catalogue, and again at the very end of the poem, the speaker is forced to confront the fact that he is stymied by the Passion itself, for it is outside the realm of his experience, and the scale of its sacrifice confounds his attempts at rationalisation or sublimation. This is as it should be, of course; he is not God/man, therefore he will not be asked to make a sacrifice that is beyond his capabilities. By this point in the sequence, reader and writer recognise the speaker's frustrated and frustrating attempts to get at, or get within, the Crucifixion as evidence of the Christian's debt of love for Christ and his fervent desire to repay this debt.

Thus, the next poem in this opening sequence, "The Reprisall," presents an enlightened though disappointed speaker who realises that this debt can never be fully repaid by him:

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
(ll.1-4)

Additionally, the speaker acknowledges that in his attempts to take an active role in Christ's Passion he is misguidedly battling Christ for the lead (stanza 2) instead of seeking out his own supporting yet meaningful role. By this acknowledgement, or "confession" (l.13), the speaker understands that he will have a share in Christ's triumph:

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 active role is refuted, insofar as it applies to the speaker's attempt to experience Christ's Passion on Christ's own terms, for it is both unnecessary (the sacrifice has been made, and need not be repeated) and impossible (the wholly mortal and imperfect speaker does not have the capacity for such a sacrifice), yet the urgent need for some form of response from Christ still remains with the speaker (ll.15-16 above). Beginning with "Easter," then, Herbert's speakers find for themselves a way of and to the Cross through instruments such as the lute and harp whose very structure and purpose connect them to the Crucifixion and to the consecration of human actions for the glory and love of God. As we have already noted, these instruments as they appear in patristic writings and in contemporary emblem books serve a literal and an emblematical function. As tactile reminders of the Crucifixion, they

are used to celebrate the promise of salvation given man by Christ. As metaphors, they link the real Crucifixion, the instrument resembling and representing it, the special function of that instrument to produce music for the praise and delight of God, and man's extension of himself to God to be the Organum Dei, to be tuned, tested, stretched, and played in a way akin to the experience of Christ, yet practicable and bearable on a human scale.

The relief and satisfaction of the speaker of "Easter" are apparent when the pleading desolation of "The Altar" is recalled:

A broken ALTAR, Lord, thy servant reares,
Made of a heart, and cemented with teares:
(11.1-2)

In "Easter," the personified heart is repaired and revived, paralleling and being directed by the Resurrection:

Rise heart, thy Lord is risen. Sing his praise
Without delays

Who takes thee by the hand, that thou likewise
With him mayst rise:
That, as his death calcined thee to dust,
His life may make thee gold, and much more just
(11.1-6)

With this depiction of a rejuvenated "heart" which can "rise" and "sing" (1.1), very much like those represented in contemporary Jesuit emblem books,¹⁶ there is the presentation of portions of the human anatomy --

This teaching is expounded through the playing of the speaker, who himself is taught by the lute emblem even as he plays upon it, and who is taught as well by the example of the Psalmist, whose words he echoes ("Awake, O harp and lyre!" Pss.57:2, 108:2.)¹⁷ The "name" he plays is that of Christ, for as a man the speaker bears "the same" name. The word "taught" may also evoke the "taut" strings of the newly tuned lute, which in turn remind the speaker in true Augustinian fashion of the taut, "stretched sinews" of Christ. This linking of Christ and speaker through naming and through the lute emblem fulfills the intentions of "The Reprisall," whose speaker pledged: "in thee I will overcome/The man, who once against thee fought" (ll.15-16).

Similarly, Christ's "stretched sinews taught all strings," which are observed, tuned, and played by the speaker, who then relates these teachings and actions to the "tuning" of his own body and soul, as Augustine suggests. The "key," like the day itself, is "high," symbolically, because "Easter" celebrates the highest and most triumphant feast of the Christian Church, and literally, as sacred music -- particularly that of the seventeenth century -- is written in a distinctively high key.¹⁸ Thus, Herbert reminds the reader of the practicality of his chosen metaphor, by insuring that the emblematical function of the lute is in harmony with its literal components and characteristics, and that these would be recognised by a contemporary

audience.

The third stanza points up the harmony of "both heart and lute" (l.13), the Organum Dei and the instrument of man:

Consort both heart and lute, and twist a song
Pleasant and long:
(ll.13-14)

The word "consort," like "key" in the preceding stanza, has a dual meaning, one of which is specifically musicological. "To consort" means "to play jointly on several instruments,"¹⁹ and thus since the heart must be one of these, we have a case of a metaphorical instrument (the heart, or rather, the speaker) playing on and playing with an actual instrument (the lute). "To consort" may also mean "to agree with" or "to associate with"; this usage is related to the noun "consort," meaning "spouse," and certainly it is appropriate to construe the harmonious interaction of instrument and instrumentalist as a marriage whose offspring is "a song/Pleasant and long."

This stanza sustains the knitting together of parts observed in the first stanza, with the heart and lute calling upon the Holy Spirit to join in their music:

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
(11.15-18)

Again, interrelationships are apparent; the three-part consort of heart, lute, and Holy Spirit is analogous to the structure of the Trinity, and is connected to the Trinity by the Spirit itself. It is worthwhile to note that the Holy Spirit, Who represents and facilitates communication and cooperation among men, Who "helps us in our weakness, for we do not know how to pray as we ought" (Rom 8:26), is described as having a "sweet art," a description that anticipates "Church-musick," a poem about the Holy Spirit, in which it is called "Sweetest of sweets" (1.1). Notable as well is the fact that the speaker calls upon the Spirit to "make up our defects," indicating that he has at last found his own role and is thus able to call upon others to enhance it, rather than being continually frustrated in an attempt to imitate Christ's role.

The three remaining stanzas of "Easter" are shorter (four lines apiece as opposed to six) than the first three. Their themes and images reflect a harmony and levelling-off of the emotions of the speaker after the necessarily complex building-up of metaphor and sentiment that characterise the opening stanzas. Here, the mood is one of joyous yet reflective celebration, as the speaker acknowledges that he will always be "behinde" Christ, yet as he has grown in awareness, he has

given over competition in favour of reconciliation and participation:

I got me flowers to straw thy way;
I got me boughs off many a tree:
But thou wast up by break of day,
And brought'st thy sweets along with thee
(11.19-22)

This stanza suggests that the speaker's finding of his own way of the Cross through music, and through the meditative fine-tuning of his own spiritual development as inspired by his interaction with the lute emblem, has not and will never completely quell his frustration at being "behinde," at not being able to do for, or to give to, Christ in a recognisable and gratifying way. Yet he is aware that he is not alone in either his frustrations nor the love out of which they arise:

The Sunne arising in the East,
Though he give light, & th'East perfume;
If they should offer to contest
With thy arising, they presume
(11.23-26)

The poem ends with the speaker's acknowledgement that "Easter," and Easter, belong to Christ, though again he self-consciously notes that "many sunnes" (i.e. "sons") "to shine endeavour," but are fated to "misse":

Can there be any day but this,
Though many sunnes to shine endeavour?
We count three hundred, but we misse:
There is but one, and that one forever
(11.27-30)

It is telling that the poem which follows this,

"Easter-wings," comments thematically and emblematically upon the issues of reconciliation and participation explored by the speaker of "Easter," although the emblem created by the physical shape of the poem is not one of music:

With thee
O let me rise
As larks, harmoniously,
And sing this day thy victories:
(ll. 6-9)

and:

With thee
Let me combine,
And feel this day thy victorie:
(ll. 16-18)

The fact that the speaker/creator of "Easter-wings" wishes not only to "combine" and "rise" with Christ, but also to "sing," and that he describes these actions as happening "harmoniously" further demonstrate the flexibility and subtlety of Herbert's music metaphor. The metaphor works in the overall context of the Easter poems both when it is given a position of central importance, as in "Easter," or when aspects of this position are used to enhance the structure and diction of the complementary poem.

The critical reader of Herbert soon observes that "clusters of images"²⁰ link poems within The Temple. One such reader, Fredson Bowers, examines the linkages between "Easter" and "The Temper (I)" through what we

have called the lute emblem to the exploration and enactment in each poem of the given speaker's response to the Crucifixion, and the application of these responses to his own devotional life and spiritual development.²¹ Bowers notes that the connection between the two poems, a connection that is not spelled out until the sixth stanza of "The Temper (I)," is in fact alluded to in the very title of "The Temper." For while the "primary... reference (in the title) is to the hardness and the elasticity imparted to steel by the tempering process of heating and then chilling,"²² the second meaning links the lute emblem-Crucifixion "cluster" to parallel sets of references within "The Temper" and "Easter":

As man is stretched by his afflictions to promote repentance, so a lute string is tuned to produce harmonious chords of praise and thankfulness. This tuning of a musical instrument to adjust its pitch, and to bring its various strings into correct harmonic relationship, is known as tempering....²³

A third meaning, perhaps the most obvious one to the twentieth-century reader, is linked to our understanding of "temper" as it pertains to man's emotional, and to some extent physical, health:

When the four humours of the body are in equable relationship, a man is properly tempered. Thus 'to temper' means to restore the proper temperature to, to bring into a good or desirable state of health; to cure, heal, or refresh...And since (as understood in the 17th century) in mental states 'temper' follows the physical, it comes to mean a mental balance or composure, a command over

excessive emotions. Acceptance of God's will
is thus a tempered state²⁴

This meaning of "temper" is itself linked to another distinct "cluster" of images involving illness (recall the speaker of "Easter-wings," who "with sicknesses and shame.../became/Most thinne" [ll.12, 15]), afflictions, and breakdowns of body and spirit. These images in turn have further connections with the lute emblem-Crucifixion cluster; these connections will be discussed as they emerge in "The Temper" and other poems.

With these references in mind, let us now turn to "The Temper (I)." The first stanza reveals little concern on the part of the speaker with tempering of any kind, apart from the the word "steel" in the second line:

How should I praise thee, Lord!
 how should my rymes
 Gladly engrave thy love in steel,
If what my soul doth feel sometimes,
 My soul might ever feel!
 (ll.1-4)

Apropos of John Hollander's observation that Herbert consistently links prayer and song throughout his writings, it is evident that the speaker is a poet, who does not question that he should praise God in "rymes," but rather ask how these "rymes" might be made as strong and as enduring as if they were engraved in steel.²⁵ That the "rymes" are both being engraved and, apparently, doing the actual engraving is explained by

By contrast, the "Temper" speaker speaks not of "brain" but of "soul" -- and indeed, of "my soul" as opposed to "our brain" -- and not of "invention" but of what "My soul might ever feel." The lack of confidence that afflicts the "Temper" speaker and that threatens to distance him from God and from his vocation is gradually revealed:

Although there were some fourtie heav'ns, or more,
Sometimes I peere above them all;
Sometimes I hardly reach a score,
Sometimes to hell I fall

(11.5-8)

Also implicit in this stanza is the theme of music, for as Hollander observes of The Temple, "It is as if the image of music were always running beneath the surface."²⁷ Here, the speaker is, according to his own perception, the music that is played according to the fancy of God the musician. Like music, he rises (1.6) and falls (1.8), at the mercy of a pattern whose logic he cannot begin to comprehend -- notice the bewilderment expressed by the repetition of "Sometimes" -- and whose scale and power frightens him.

In the third stanza, the bars of the musical scale have metamorphosized into an instrument of torture, and confidence has been usurped by terror:

O rack me not to such a vast extent;
Those distances belong to thee:
The world's too little for thy tent,

For the first time, the speaker makes a specific plea to God; Do not torture me, do not test me on a scale not meant for me. The "space" element of the second stanza is here sharpened by the pain of the speaker who no longer rises and falls in confusion but without being harmed, but who is now being racked over a "vast extent" of space and degree. The second line hints at the involvement of Christ in the speaker's pleas, for "Those distances belong to thee" in combination with the image of the rack suggests another instance of torture with the apparent compliance of God, namely, the Crucifixion. This suggestion is reinforced by the similarity between this stanza and the description of the magnitude of God's powers in Isaiah, the book of Old Testament containing the most comprehensive prophecies of the coming of Christ:

Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of
his hand, and meted out heaven with a span....

It is he that sitteth upon the circle of the
earth... that stretcheth out the heavens as a
curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to
dwell in

(Isa.40:12,22)

However, the speaker as yet neither sees in his words those that they echo, words upon which he has presumably meditated, nor recognises the promise of salvation and protection implicit in them.

The images of rack and space are continued in the fourth stanza, but with angry questions in place of pleas:

Wilt thou meet arms with man, that thou dost stretch
A crumme of dust from heav'n to hell?
Will great God measure with a wretch?
Shall he thy stature spell?

(11.13-16)

Images of combat between God and man are not infrequent in The Temple with "Artillerie" being perhaps the most notable and sustained treatment of the theme. However, this imagined combat recalls Jacob wrestling with the Angel (Gen.32:24-30) than any distinctive occasion in Herbert's poetry. And even the prospect of combat as a release from the rack exists only as conjecture on the part of the speaker, who can imagine no other justification of "A crumme of dust" being stretched to match God's stature, unless he exists only as a sort of plaything for God, a "wretch" to be stretched to His height for no discernible purpose. These questions, half impudent, half desperate, reflect the speaker's growing conviction that he is being forced to assume the weight of Christ's responsibilities, most particularly the Crucifixion itself, without regard for his limited capacities as an ordinary man. Bowers highlights the dilemma of this poet/speaker in noting the interplay of the rack-Crucifixion images with the lute emblem-Crucifixion images as established in "Easter" in these stanzas:

The space images,... that rack man to such a vast extent, that stretch a crumb of dust the distance between heaven and hell through the spaces of infinity suitable only for the reach of the divine Christ, these -- through the tuned lute strings stretched to the temper or key of celebration (these in turn typified by the stretched nerves of Christ on the cross) -- combine ultimately to suggest the vast distance actually encompassed by the outstretched arms of the crucified Christ, and the seemingly impossible made on man (who is not a God-Man) to stretch himself between the world of the spirit and the world of the flesh²⁸

At the opposite extreme from the speaker of "The Thanksgiving," who aspires to take part in the Crucifixion based upon his misunderstanding of the singularity of Christ's sacrifice and of his own proper role with respect to it, the "Temper" speaker believes that he is being crucified contrary to both his will and his capacities, and all he seeks is release and refuge:

O let me, when thy roof my soul hath hid,
O let me roost and nestle there:
Then of a sinner thou art rid,
And I of hope and fear
(11.17-20)

The speaker maintains enough perspective to recognise that God is his refuge, even when it is God from whom he is trying to escape. His suffering is real enough, if he should be willing to relinquish hope in order to alleviate it. Yet the arrogance and presumption beneath the humility of "The Thanksgiving" persist within the "Temper" speaker, who even as he expresses a desire to become a nonperson, a soulless creature that

can hide and roost and nestle but not feel, also believes that God has chosen him for a repetition of Christ's sufferings. Coupled with this presumption is the speaker's belief that the torments he experiences are inflicted upon him by God, rather than being afflictions of body and spirit for which he himself must take responsibility and from which he has the opportunity to learn of patience, faith, and acceptance. In reality, God has no need to repeat the Crucifixion through any man. Nor does He need to inflict suffering, testing, or torture upon man, who does well enough inflicting these upon himself even as he attempts to pin the responsibility for the pain that he suffers as a consequence on God, as the "Temper" speaker demonstrates. A man so obsessed with his own suffering, and so intent on accusing God of mistaking him for Christ, is not yet able to be "taught" (or for that matter, "taut" with regard to his own poetry of praise) by the Crucifixion, nor is he able to formulate an adequate personal and poetic response to it.

Yet lest we be too harsh in our assessment of the speaker's conduct, let us recall two important facts. The first is that in spite of the speaker's initial query as to how to go about the business of praising God, and his subsequent digression from the seeming confidence and sense of mission which marked the first two stanzas, to the anger, anxiety, and desperate bargaining of the third, fourth, and fifth stanzas,

his words -- his spiritual crisis as conveyed by words -- do form a poem, indicating that even despair and mistaken assumptions cannot destroy his innate poetic temper in terms of his communion/communication with God. The second is that a comforting majority of other speakers, and indeed other writers and creators of emblems, prefer to allocate the responsibility of maintaining the human instrument, the Organum Dei, to God, so that He may be blamed when it becomes overstretched as the consequence of human actions. It is therefore not surprising that one such Christian, the speaker of Donne's "Hymn to God my God, in my Sickness," recognises only upon his deathbed that before "I shall be made thy music," "I" must "tune the instrument" (ll.3-4). This moment of recognition demonstrates that one measure of human spiritual development, even, or perhaps especially, as death is immediately anticipated, is the assumption by the Christian of the responsibility for the maintenance of his soul so that it is ever receptive to the workings of grace upon it. In a sense, the Protestant creates his own "spiritual exercises" out of his experience and as he winnows out false assumptions concerning his role with respect to the experiences of others, including Christ. As the result of these exertions, he prepares himself to be taught/taut by the Passion, and so is tuned.

The sixth stanza of "The Temper" reveals the implicit link among the seemingly punitive forms of tempering -- racking, crucifying -- and what might be called the creative forms, namely the tuning of strings and the tempering of metal:

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
(11.21-25)

"Yet" signals the breaking-off of the argument and the taking of a new way, specifically, "thy way." As "The Way" is one of the Johannine names of Christ (e.g. Jn 14:6), the involvement of Christ with the speaker, which as we recall was implicit in the third stanza, is here fittingly given a place and a name in this stanza of grudging reconciliation. For not only does the speaker acknowledge that "thy way" -- i.e. a life lived in readiness to receive grace -- "is best," but in letting God "have His way" he is at last submitting himself to God and allowing Him to show the way. As we have observed in the opening poems of The Temple and again in "Easter," the Christian must achieve this receptive passivity with respect to the roles and responsibilities (e.g. the Passion) that are unique to Christ before his active role -- as believer, as poet, as tuner of instruments literal and metaphorical -- can be taken up or even comprehended by him. This passivity, which is attained through mental action and which engenders creative action, which we note in the first

line of this stanza, clearly extends not only to allowing Christ to make his sacrifice, with the Christian in a supporting and not a usurping role, but also to the much more tricky scenario presented in "The Temper." Here, the speaker must divest himself of the arrogance -- an arrogance which has emerged as a defence against genuine suffering -- which, in his search for a justification of this suffering, this anxiety, this dreadful fear, permits him to imagine that Christ's Passion is being forced upon and repeated within him. Only when the speaker has discarded this defence, and in so doing, has stopped blaming God, the careless or cruel temperer, for his suffering, can God, in the form of the Holy Spirit, work upon and within him and his music.

The second line of the sixth stanza metaphorically delivers the speaker over to God the master temperer -- for it must be kept in mind that this particular speaker cannot yet recognise himself as the tuner and guardian of his spiritual wellbeing -- in that God is requested to take charge of the speaker and is "given" the opportunity to choose the course of treatment; "Stretch or contract me." These words clearly link the tuning/tempering action to those of the rack and of the Crucifixion, but the third and fourth lines of this stanza indicate which of these the speaker now knows to be suitable for him.

There is a further meaning implicit in this request which may not be immediately recognised by the modern reader:

(During the medieval period) a pun on chorda ('string') and cor, cordis ('heart'), possibly first introduced by Cassiodorus, became so deeply imbedded in habitual thinking that the very origins of the word 'concord' often even today are mistaken for being musical²⁹

As with so many other aspects of music theory -- and literary embroidering of it -- this particular pun would have passed into the "habitual thinking" of Herbert, his contemporaries, and their readers.³⁰ Thus, the sinews/strings of the speaker in the second line give way to reveal his heart, the "me" of the line, and also "thy poore debter." While this description of himself by the speaker is not without some degree of self-pity, it is accurate in that it, combined with the image of the heart, illustrates the debt of love (and to Love) which the speaker in his anxiety, arrogance, and anger has left unpaid. The speaker's recognition of himself as being essentially a heart, made by and for Love, is a crucial step in the process of healing and reconciliation that these final stanzas of "The Temper" document. We need only recall that it is the risen, reconstituted, healed heart which is able both to take up the lute and make music, and to call upon the Holy Spirit to "bear a part" in "Easter." The continual interaction of a personified heart,

bearing its debt of love, and Love itself (i.e. Christ) forms the basis of many of Herbert's poems -- one may fairly say that this is one of the major themes of The Temple -- and its presentation, particularly in the vivid and emblematic "Love Unknown," in many ways parallels its central position for the creators of the contemporaneous Jesuit "heart-books." (These continental analogues, as they contribute to our reading of Herbert and to our understanding of the sources and motivations of both are discussed in greater detail at the end of this chapter.)

As the speaker's heart quickens with love and redirected purpose, its beating being another implicit extension of the "stretch or contract" images, he quite naturally, as a responsible poet and a responsible Christian, relates these to the tuning of his soul, and by extension, to the tuning of his creativity, for as a Christian religious poet his work proceeds from and reflects the state of his "Christian Temper."³¹ His recognition that "This is but tuning of my breast,/To make the musick better" is linked to medieval and post-medieval received ideas based upon the Platonic ideal of the well-tuned and harmonious soul, whose source is Socrates' description of "the just man" in The Republic:

He does not allow each part of himself to perform the work of another, or the sections of his soul to meddle with one another. He orders what are in the true sense of the word his own affairs well;

he is master of himself, puts things in order, is his own friend, harmonizes the three parts like the limiting notes of a musical scale, the high, the low, and the middle, and any others there may be in between. He binds them all together, and himself from a plurality becomes a unity³²

Sir Thomas Browne's treatment of music in Religio

Medici demonstrates how the Platonic ideal retains

its link with music in the seventeenth century:

In brief, it (music) is a sensible fit of that harmony which intellectually sounds in the ears of God. I will not say, with Plato, the soul is an harmony, but harmonical, and hath its nearest sympathy unto music: thus some, whose temper of body agrees, and humours the constitution of their Souls, are born poets, though indeed all are naturally inclined unto Rhythm³³

Herbert being Herbert as well as being a musician, of course there is more. While Herbert is able to rely upon the traditional ideas of the soul as an instrument and the soul as a harmony -- or at least "harmonical" -- to provide a recognisable identification for the images in these lines, he then proceeds to "temper" these ideas to suit his own needs, and those of the speaker. For while the traditional interpretation of "To make the musick better" would quite naturally "express the desire of the devout to have his prayers accepted,"³⁴ and this interpretation would in turn fit in well with Hollander's observation of the interchangeability of "prayer" and "song" in Herbert's poetry, we (and Herbert) may perhaps go further than that. As the "musick" is not simply being created by the tuning process, but is being made "better," this

indicates that the music was already part of the speaker. This "better" music is the same as "my rymes" of the first stanza, and thus in this stanza of reconciliation and submission the question with which "The Temper" opens, "How should I praise thee, Lord!", is finally answered.

Because the speaker has made peace with God, and has submitted himself to His grace, he knows that his "rymes," his "praise," his "musick," depend upon and give voice to his debt of love. Once again we observe a knitting-together of parts; the "breast" encompasses both the heart, which as we have seen is synonymous with "me," and the lungs, which create the "breath" (see "Prayer [I]," 1.2) that in turn links prayer, speech, and song. That the question is answered here, and in this way, is a further indication of the healing process which this poem documents -- calling to mind one of the meanings of "temper" as it does -- within the larger pattern of the Protestant way of and to the Cross as it emerges in various poems throughout The Temple. In this case, the speaker's recognition of his afflictions (anxiety, defiance, presumption) and his willingness to undergo treatment by opening himself, namely his "heart" and his poetry to faith and to love will lead -- in the undocumented "future" of this speaker, or in the "present" of some other, healthier one -- to the assurance of the Christian who knows that

he himself can "make the musick better."

The final stanza of "The Temper" develops from the resolution achieved in the penultimate stanza, presenting an accurate and apt depiction of the concept of assurance:

Whether I flie with angels, fall with dust,
Thy hands made both, and I am there:
Thy power and love, my love and trust
Make one place ev'ry where
(11.25-28)

It is interesting to note that the speaker does not imagine himself in the hands of God, being borne through life. Rather, he knows that he is with God, and God with him, whether he is in heaven or in hell: "Thy hands made both, and I am there." This confidence in God, or as the speaker himself names it, this "trust," is a further indication of the speaker's newly strengthened faith. In even the short time since the preceding stanza, the speaker has recognised that once he has allowed himself to be healed and nurtured by God's grace, he is made whole, strong, and free from the crippling effects of anxiety, fear, and misplaced pride. In taking even some small degree of responsibility for himself -- for the continual maintenance of his spiritual wellbeing, and for enhancing his life (and those of others, presumably) by continually striving "To make the musick better" -- he frees himself from his unhealthy, clinging dependence upon God.

Herbert's familiar images of nesting are transformed in the last three stanzas of "The Temper" into a parable of a fledgling Christian. This young creature, who begs at first to be "hid" and to "roost and nestle" within the shadow of its parent, gradually allows itself to be touched and nurtured, and finally, leaving behind a security which could now only be constraining and a hindrance to growth, launches out bravely to "flie," to "fall," and to live and learn. Love continues to connect parent and offspring, as we deduce from the position of the word "love" in the third line of the stanza:

Thy power and love, my love and trust

Love, in that it unites and is common to both parent and fledgling, both God and man, provides an anchor for both, and at the same time visually -- in terms of what we see on the page -- and metaphorically highlights those characteristics which distinguish God and man from one another, and which are inextricably linked to their separate beings, "power" being the hallmark of God, and "trust" of man.

That we should call love the anchor of this new relationship is appropriate, as the anchor is often linked to Christ and to the Crucifixion in emblems and in emblematical writings, notably in Donne's seal of

"Christ crucified on an Anchor, which is the emblem of hope,"³⁵ and in Herbert's own "Hope"; this identification is derived from the biblical description of the covenant as "an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast, and which entereth into that within the vail, Whither a forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus" (Heb.6:19-20). As one of the names of Christ is "Love" -- indeed, this is his standard identification in the heart-books -- and as Christ is both God and man, it is he to whom the poem and the speaker at last return. Though the speaker may "flie" or "fall" as he tests his wings, the Love that is Christ will not -- can not -- desert him. Rather, its omnipresence frees him from the fear of the unknown and untested, for Love has gone ahead and made "one place ev'ry where." Just as there are no limits on the power of Love, so by this Love there need be no limits upon the aspirations of the soul.

That this confidence, this poignant and delicate expression of covenant between God and man is rarely attained and easily lost amid the ever-encroaching mundane cares, fears, and responsibilities of the soul's existence is demonstrated in the very first lines of the poem immediately following "The Temper (I)." This is named, appropriately, "The Temper (II)," and acts as antithesis to the thesis of the first poem. Taken together, the two poems tacitly demonstrate the implementation of one aspect of the

tempering metaphor. Just as "The Temper (I)" evokes the heating and stretching of steel as it describes the soul's suffering, anger, and finally ardour, so "The Temper (II)" in its first two lines evokes the chilling and contracting that are intrinsic components of the tempering process as it pertains to steel and to the Protestant understanding of the soul's development. Assurance, like meditation, is occasional, subject to the perception of the individual soul while its immutable truth is known only to God. Only faith -- not works, not reliance upon a method of devotion -- can save man, and the faith of a fragile soul can blow hot and cold, as the "Temper" poems suggest.

While the fears expressed by these and others of Herbert's speakers do not seem to suggest that what they fear is actual damnation, their faith must accommodate not only their hope of salvation, but the maintenance of their vocation through the grace of the Holy Spirit as well, and it is in this aspect of faith that much of their joy and much of their pain resides. Thus it is not truly possible to speak of a consistently "mature" Protestant soul, unless it is one who recognises and accepts his own limitations, his own vocation, his own self, and is content to leave the rest to God. "Between melting and freezing/ The soul's sap quivers."³⁶

Thus, "The Temper (II)" begins with a crisis, of
"joy" and contentment suddenly vanished:

It cannot be. Where is that mightie joy,
Which just now took up all my heart?
(ll. 1-2)

That the confidence so painfully gained by the first stanza of "The Temper (I)" has utterly vanished, with the speaker effectively denying the revelation with which the first poem concludes, is discouraging -- from the speaker's perspective, at least -- but hardly surprising within the Herbertian scheme -- or rather, deliberate lack of scheme and thus of the presumption inherent in any kind of methodology. Yet these contractions and spasms of doubt experienced by the speaker are both necessary and beneficial, for such "crosse actions" are requisite for spiritual growth.

Of even greater severity in terms of a faith crisis is the plight of the speaker of "Deniall," the next poem in which the lute emblem and its attendant metaphors figure predominantly. For, far from having any confidence in his own salvation, or even in the efficacy of his prayers, this speaker is engaged in an elaborate confidence trick directed at the reader, at God, and at his own fears. This speaker would have us, God, and himself believe the agony he describes took place, and presumably was resolved, in the past. He seeks, in fact, to deny his present anguish (hence the title) by pretending that it has ended:

When my devotions could not pierce
Thy silent eares;
Then was my heart broken, as was my verse:
My breast was full of fears
And disorder
(11.1-5)

Instead, the disjointedness and metaphorical confusion in even this first stanza points to considerable, and barely contained, agitation on the part of the speaker. Why -- in the normal, or assured, practice of devotion should prayers "pierce" the ears of God, unless the soul, in its desperation, seeks to startle or even wound God in an attempt to be heard and recognised? The mixing of images in "Thy silent eares" -- for it is not the "eares" of God which are "silent," but rather it is the speaker who hears nothing from God -- further suggests the speaker's agitation. These images also convey the "truth" according to the speaker's confused perspective; namely, that God is deaf to his prayers, his pleas, and his poetry. While the "broken" heart is an affliction shared by many of the speakers in The Temple from "The Altar" onward, that it is here linked so closely with "my verse" suggests the interdependence of the speaker's physical and emotional health and his ability to write poetry and thus effectively to praise God. A trusted and dependable relationship has broken down, precisely because the speaker has lost the trust so painfully gained at an earlier stage of his spiritual development.

The assured poet/speaker, or rather, the speaker when he is assured, confident that the grace of God is upon him, is able to pay back this gift according to his capacity in the form of prayer, which in Herbertian terms is virtually synonymous with devotional poetry and song. But when this soul perceives (as opposed to "observes," for the soul cannot help but be subjective) that he has fallen from God's favour, and that he is no longer rewarded with and sustained by grace, his confidence in his future and in his ability to create is severely shaken. Thus, "My breast was full of fears /And disorder," for as the harmony of the speaker's relationship with God breaks down, so the interior harmony of his verse falters and breaks off in "disorder." This disorder of soul and creativity triggers further breakdowns, and "the center cannot hold":³⁷

My bent thoughts, like a brittle bow,
Did flie asunder:
Each took his way; some would to pleasures go,
Some to the warres and thunder
Of alarms
(11.6-10)

Again, agitation leads to a confusion of metaphors; It is not the thoughts which are like a bow, but like a misdirected, "bent" arrow which from "a brittle bow/Did flie asunder." This purposely buried arrow image itself is linked to the "piercing" of the preceding stanza, just as "My... thoughts" are linked to "my devotions." Just as the speaker has (or as he would

maintain, "had") lost his trust in God, and therefore his control over his spiritual wellbeing as it is manifested in his devotional practice, so he has lost control over the creative process, and the thoughts and words that are the elements of that process. And just as he has lost control of his poetic imagination -- "Each took his way; some would to pleasures go,/Some to the warres and thunder/Of alarms" -- so his rhythmic sense, his hidden music, continues to be undermined.

By the third stanza, the speaker's anxiety is so acute that he finds it increasingly difficult to maintain his posture of denial concerning his present situation:

As good go any where, they say,
As to benumme
Both knees and heart, in crying night and day
Come, come, my God, O come,
But no hearing
(11.11-15)

In denying the remembered assurances of "they," presumably his friends and associates, that he is really "as good" as any one of them, the speaker slips momentarily from his posture of recollection, revealing in the word "say" that at least some portion of the anxiety that he describes is being experienced even as he speaks. The verb "crying" also points towards an expression of ongoing grief rather than a recounting of grief overcome, yet by that point the confusion of images and disjointedness of diction are so acute as to

bear witness themselves to the present condition of the speaker's body, mind, and soul.

As we have already observed in the course of our examination of "Easter" and "The Temper (I)," the knitting together and/or healing of parts of the body is a characteristically Herbertian signal of spiritual regeneration and the rededication of the healed body and soul to faith in God and to the expression of faith through body and soul working in harmony. Similarly, the dislocation of body parts, or in the most extreme form of the image the disintegration or destruction of the body, signals the death of hope within that body. In "Deniall," the dislocation -- or rather, the isolation of parts of the body in a manner which suggests that neither body nor soul is fully operative -- is compounded by the continued breakdown of the speaker's thought processes. These in turn are strained by the burden of attempting to sustain the denial of present anguish.

The speaker's "knees and heart," representing the physical (e.g. genuflecting, kneeling) and emotional aspects of devotion, are isolated by the use of the word "benumme," which with its connotation of coldness performs a "crosse action" upon the heat of spiritual ardour. These dislocated parts are given a voice by the speaker, a voice that "in crying night and day/ Come, come my God, O come," apparently is not heeded,

God, having invested "dust a tongue" solely "To crie to thee," now audaciously and cruelly refuses to "heare it crying." The purported injustice which this argument is intended to expose -- namely, that God appears to be guilty of breach of contract -- is of course perceived and constructed by the speaker alone, and is not borne out by any external evidence. For it is only the despair of the speaker which leads him to believe that there is "no hearing" of his prayers by God, rather than imagining -- as he might in a less anguished state of mind -- that God hears, but is silent. It is easy and natural to look for a comprehensible sign of God's grace as it is manifested within the believer; miracles, the stigmata, and rapture are but some of the more dramatic traditional (i.e. Christian, but primarily associated with Roman Catholicism) signs. Certainly, a Christian writer of any denomination counts the very fact of his inspiration, and the work that he produces as a result, as a less dramatic but greatly comforting sign of the continued gift of His grace. This particular sign is of paramount importance to Herbert, related as it is to his understanding of the Holy Spirit as the Christian muse, without whose aid there is no poetry and no music (see "Easter," "Church-musick," "The Temper [I]," stanzas 1, 6, and 7, "Employment [I]," "Grace," "Praise [I]"). It is far less easy to create, or even to believe, when one is without such signs and without confidence. This creative sterility further undermines the speaker's

faith, and while provoking desperate spasms of devotional action ("My heart was in my knee") leads him to conclude once again that there is "no hearing," and that he has been abandoned.

The temperament of this speaker as compared to those of "The Temper" poems is evident in his refusal to blame God for his despair, even as he laments His apparent indifference to human suffering. Nor does this speaker anticipate some sort of deus ex machina operation upon his soul to restore it to health and creative fertility. Rather, this speaker, like that of "Easter" and of Donne's "Hymn to God my God," knows that he has been, and will continue to be, the custodian of his own soul and his own talents, though each of these is ultimately dependent upon and responsive to the grace of God. This considered, responsible, and tempered attitude is particularly evident in the fifth stanza:

Therefore my soul lay out of sight,
Untun'd, unstrung:
My feeble spirit, unable to look right,
Like a nipt blossome, hung
Discontented
(ll.21-25)

The soul of the poet is here wholly identified with and by the lute emblem, in a manner suggesting Saint John Chrysostom's exhortation, "you may yourself become a cithara... making a full harmony of mind and body."³⁸ It is "untun'd, unstrung," for its custodian lacks both

the will and the skill to maintain it at present. Such an instrument cannot be used to make music, and thus the lute emblem here specifically represents the breakdown and sterility of the poet's creative imagination. This breakdown is the result not only of his despair, but of his denial of his despair as well, for the intellectual and literary powers upon which he must draw to preserve the posture of denial necessarily detract from the deployment of those powers towards the regeneration of his true poetic vocation.

Further indications of fundamental dislocations and schisms within the speaker are evident in the presentation of "my soul" and "My feeble spirit" in this stanza. While the "soul," representing the speaker's complementary identities as Christian and poet -- the identification is suggested by the adjectives "untun'd" and "unstrung," which are connected to the lute emblem and thus to the representation of the speaker in terms of his vocation -- is crippled and mute through fear and anxiety, "My feeble spirit," representing the will and personality that animate the soul, suffers from its unnatural separation from the soul. This separation is reinforced within the stanza by the allocation of different emblematic images to both "soul" and "spirit." While "my soul" is identified with the lute emblem, "my feeble spirit" is illustrated through a simile depicting fertility and potential reduced to

sterility and decay, for it is "Like a nipt blossome," which "hung/ Discontented." The weight of the denial posture, which amounts to a denial of the reality of experience, and thus of one's own self, is now claiming the speaker's psyche, as it has already destroyed his physical health. The poignancy of his exhausted and paralysed state is effectively pointed up by Herbert's use of sight images in this stanza. First, we see the lute emblem, representing the soul and the vocation of the Christian poet, and also his distinctive connection with Christ, which "lay out of sight" and seemingly abandoned. Next, we see the "feeble spirit," the will of the poet, which is likened to "a nipt blossome" and which, deprived of nourishment and its source of strength, is "unable to look right," unable to look towards and make a connection with the very soul of which it should be a part.

The denial posture impedes the speaker in one other, critical, way. By refusing to confront the reality of his present experience, he cannot learn from it. Occasional meditation demands that experience, however painful, must be contemplated as it takes place or as it is immediately anticipated, so that the lessons learned from deliberate meditation can be applied to a current and genuine situation.³⁹ By pretending that his period of despair has ended, when clearly it has not, the speaker severs his past deliberate meditations -- such as that which he seems to have made

upon Ps.30:9 -- from the very "emergent occasions" upon which they could be put to use on his behalf.

We have already observed that one of the touchstones of experience and development among the speakers in The Temple is the extent to which they blame God for their misfortunes or their lack of confidence in their salvation; a corollary to this is the tendency of less well-tempered speakers to accuse God of mistaking them for Christ and visiting wholly inappropriate degrees of suffering upon them (e.g. "The Temper [I]," stanzas 3 and 4, and the "Affliction" poems, particularly [I] and [IV]). By making these accusations, the speakers reveal their subjective misapprehension of the uniqueness of Christ's sacrifice, as well as their misinterpretation of their own role with respect to that sacrifice. We have noted as well that the speaker of "Deniall" is to all indications a tempered speaker, in that he neither blames God for his devastating lack of confidence nor expects that the restoration of this confidence will come about solely through divine intervention. Such a speaker, sincere, devout, yet prey to fear and to doubt in times of adversity, is at once very human and very Christlike. However, his humility and his anguish prevent him from recognising the resemblance, which nevertheless is evident to the reader; the lute emblem, even in its "unstrung" manifestation, should always suggest a link to Christ and the Crucifixion to

That man may be closest to Christ, and to his sacrifice, when he himself has reached an extremity of suffering, fear, and doubt within the sphere of his own experience is suggested in at least one other poem in The Temple. In "The Collar," the speaker, a priest who is trying in vain to throw off the heavy yoke of his responsibilities as a Christian, presents a series of images that unbeknownst to him evoke the Last Supper and the Passion. While the "Collar" speaker, like the speaker of "Deniall," neither acknowledges the emblematic function of the images he names, nor overtly connects his experience to that of Christ in any way, he is tempered enough to recognise that his ultimate allegiance is due to and his ultimate salvation is to be had through God, and thus it is to God that he instinctively turns:

So it is with the speaker of "Deniall" in the
1 stanza of the poem:

O cheer and tune my heartlesse breast,
Deferre no time;
That so thy favours granting my request,
They and my minde may chime,
And mend my ryme
(11.26-30)

Here all pretext of a past tense, all denial, is dropped, and the appeal to God is as direct and explicit as that made by the "Temper" speaker. Yet there is a difference. Whereas the "Temper" speaker essentially gives in to grace and resigns himself to the action of it upon his soul in whatsoever form it should take -- a form by and large incomprehensible to, yet accepted by him -- the speaker of "Deniall" knows, presumably on the basis of past experience, precisely what must be "done" by God, and what the effect of this action will be upon himself and upon his "broken verse." This speaker does not turn himself over to God, thus eschewing responsibility for the present and future maintenance of his spiritual vigour and maturation. Rather, he recognises that in this instance of profound spiritual and creative paralysis it is God the Holy Spirit Who can provide specifically that infusion of grace which will make possible the reconstitution of mind, soul, and poetry.

It is only within this context that the first line of this stanza can be understood and distinguished from the similar vocabulary used by the "Temper" speaker in the sixth stanza of that poem. The "Deniall" speaker, in this despondent state, feels himself to be unable to maintain his own soul, to keep it and his verse in proper "tune." He describes himself as having a "heartlesse breast," which not only refers back to the "broken heart" of the first stanza but also to the

painful and paralysing schism between "soul" and "spirit" in the stanza immediately preceding this. The speaker calls himself "heartlesse" because, in the breakdown of confidence and will documented throughout the poem, culminating in the bleak dislocation of images in the fifth stanza, he believes that he has not the heart to effect a cure on his own. Nor has he. For just as the more confident "Easter" speaker recognises the need for God in his consort, and calls upon Him to "let thy blessed Spirit bear a part,/And make up our defects with his sweet art" (ll.17-18), so the temporarily shaken and despairing "Deniall" speaker recognises that only God can make up his defects, and thus his appeal is focussed and explicit: "O cheer and tune my heartlesse breast,/Deferre no time."

Just as the "Easter" speaker knows why he needs the Holy Spirit, and what he will be able to accomplish once the Spirit is with him, so the "Deniall" speaker is able to articulate the anticipated results of "thy favours granting my request" in a lucid and logical manner. His use of the phrase "That so" indicates some degree of assurance in his ability to make a request of God, the granting of which may lead to the restoration of his spiritual and creative health. In the envisioned acceptance and execution of "my request," that "They and my minde may chime,/And mend my ryme," a further parallel with "Easter"'s tripartite consort of "heart,"

"lute," and "Spirit" is apparent. "Thy favours" -- grace -- "and my minde may chime, /And mend my ryme." The parallel is of course not identical as to the interaction of its components, as the eventual result of the deliberate combination of separate elements is different in either case. In the already healthy and vigorous consort of "heart and lute" in "Easter," the Holy Spirit is called upon to "make up our defects," that is, to enhance and sanctify the creative process as undertaken by a Christian poet. In the desolate, "broken" environment of the "Deniall" speaker's interior landscape, it is "my ryme," namely the creative process itself, which must be mended through the combined and harmonious efforts of "thy favours" and "my minde," which correspond to the "Spirit" and "heart" of the "Easter" scenario.

The re-emergence of this creative trinity, and the adaptability of its components (to heal or be healed) is reassuring. For just as this speaker's recognition that God is at once his saviour and his muse leads directly to the mending of his "ryme" and the healing of his spirit, within the context of The Temple, and particularly in those poems which contain this trinity or one or more components of it (the Spirit/Comforter, the lute emblem, the emblematic heart), the interaction of these components on behalf of the individual becomes an emblem of the regenerative power of faith. It is a particularly, and even purely, Protestant emblem, as

this trinity always involves one of the Persons of the Godhead, usually the Holy Spirit, with the individual and his vocation, thus sanctifying the work of the individual even as the the nature of this work is being explored. By having faith in God, the Protestant necessarily has faith in himself, and in his unique contribution to the work of praise.

With the final casting-off of the denial posture and the direct appeal to God in the final stanza of the poem, music has found its way back into the diction of the speaker; note the words "tune," "time" -- which can refer to the beat of musical rhythm -- "chime," and "ryme." The most obvious manifestation of this re-entry of music, this mending of poem and poet, is the rhyming of "chime" and "rhyme," the only instance of rhyming fourth and fifth lines in the entire poem, or rather, the only place where the fourth and fifth lines do not deliberately not rhyme. These lines appear to attract the largest part of critical attention that is directed towards "Deniall," and for some critics the rhyme poses a problem. As Richard Strier sees it:

The major interpretive question is what to make of the restoration of order in the rhyme and prosody of the final stanza. 'Enactment' becomes the crucial issue⁴⁰

Strier concurs with Helen Vendler's view of "Deniall" as a prayer, a "'state of envisaged happiness':⁴¹

The mending envisaged is in the future...What this means is that 'my rhyme' in the final line cannot refer to itself... 'My rhyme' is metaphorical and existential; it refers to a state of harmony...between God's will and the poet's ('They and my minde'). The poet cannot, in this sense, mend his 'ryme' himself. He cannot mend his spiritual state by mending his representation of it. For Herbert truly to have thought he could would make the poem in effect a magical ritual...for Herbert to have pretended to think this would make the poem the 'piece of arbitrary wit' that (Arnold) Stein sees (see Herbert's Lyrics, 16). Only by taking 'my rhyme' not to refer to verbal rhyme can the poem be saved from these charges⁴²

I have quoted Richard Strier's criticism of "Deniall" because there is a fundamental and serious problem within his reading. By attempting to explain away the "ryme" as "metaphorical and existential", Strier forgets -- or ignores -- the fact of it. Unless he is prepared to credit the speaker with the gift of prophecy -- and one would suspect, given his desire to save the poem from the "charge" of being "a magical ritual," that he is not -- he cannot, and does not, reconcile his contention that the final stanza presents "'a state of envisaged happiness,'" a prayer whose answer will be worked out "in the future" with the fact that the "ryme," the mending, takes place and is spoken in the present. We know, Herbert knows, and Strier knows that the speaker does not anticipate the "ryme" as he begins his appeal, for as Strier rightly observes, "the 'may' of the penultimate line governs 'mend' as well as 'chime.'"⁴³ Yet to draw from this observation the conclusion that "'my rhyme' cannot

refer to itself" is bewildering. For the "ryme" -- the word itself, and the fact that this word supplies the heretofore missing rhyme of the fourth and fifth lines -- does exist, is meant to exist, and is presumably intended to be read as a "mending."

In other words, it is clear that "my ryme" follows quite reasonably from "my request," and from the gradual relinquishing of the denial posture. While this interpretation is related to that which contends that the final stanza of "Deniall" is a prayer that is answered even as it is made, an interpretation favored by Joseph Summers and Barbara Lewalski, there is more to it than that.⁴⁴ As we have observed, both faith and grace, which are given to man by God and which are rendered back to Him -- through devotion and the enactment of vocation, respectively -- are always available to the Christian. Faith in particular, whether or not it is perceived by him as such, offers both a release from anxiety and an essential resource for the continuance of his distinctive vocation, assisted by grace. We have spoken of the principal meaning of the title of this poem, referring as it does to the posture of denial desperately and unsuccessfully cultivated by the speaker with respect to his present crisis of confidence in the efficacy of his prayers and the maintenance of his vocation as a Christian poet. There is a second meaning, a corollary of the first, for as the speaker denies the ongoing nature of his despair,

he denies God the opportunity to help him by means of faith. If his despair and creative paralysis were indeed all in the past, there would be no occasion for this poem; nor would it exist -- in this form, in any case -- if this speaker, or any Christian, was continuously enjoying a confident and fruitful relationship with God. The fact that it does exist, and the fact that through sheer emotional exhaustion and a breakdown of the "feeble spirit" sustaining the denial facade, the speaker is forced into the present, into admitting and not denying the restorative power of God into his life, and into trusting and not denying that his prayers are heard, demonstrates the transitory nature of assurance as it is perceived by the individual. It also indicates the re-emergence of faith -- in God, and particularly in the continuance and reliability of the relationship between the Christian poet and his saviour/muse -- in the experience of this particular speaker.

In halting his denial of both God and the reality of his despair, the speaker ceases to fight God and his own feelings, and to be further wounded by such fighting. Thus, the "warres and thunder," the "crying," the "fears/And disorder," and the breakdown of spirit and verse give way at last to a harmony of diction and rhythm in the final stanza, with the last line falling, as it should, like a sigh of relief on the part of the speaker. Having given in to faith, he

can at last give over fear, the fear that crippled his soul and his imagination, and that blocked the "easie quick accesse" ("Prayer [II]," l.1) of his prayers and his poetry to -- or rather, back to -- God. Like many of the others in The Temple, this speaker, in submitting to faith, to a grace that is ultimately irresistible, rediscovers his role as a Christian, and the responsibilities and privileges attendant upon that role. The moment of the rhyme signals for us as we read it and for the speaker as he is now able to speak it the newly, if not permanently, confident rediscovery and resumption of the particular role of the poet.

A number of other poems in The Temple illustrate the flexibility and the importance of the lute emblem and its corollary images of tension and tuning as they are variously used by Herbert to explore the parallel-journeys of the Christian soul towards the discovery of its role with respect to Christ's sacrifice, and of the Christian poet towards his place within the creative trinity of "heart," "lute," and "Spirit." In a brief examination of these images in other poems, we may recognise their contribution to our analysis of emergent Protestant attitudes towards the demands of vocation, devotion, and creativity. In "Home," the refrain at the end of each of the thirteen stanzas dramatically yet succinctly expresses the tension, even torment, felt by the soul who believes himself to be caught "Betwixt this world and that of grace" ("Af-

fliction [IV]", 1.6), and who is driven to beg of God, "O shew thy self to me,/Or take me up to thee!" (11.5-6) in the belief that life cannot be endured when assurance is lacking. That this speaker is a poet, and may perhaps be a less well-tempered incarnation of the speaker of "Deniall," is implied in the final stanza:

Come dearest Lord, passe not this holy season,
My flesh and bones and joynts do pray:
And ev'n my verse, when by the ryme and reason
The word is Stay, sayes ever, Come
(11.73-76)

The anatomical naming, and the anthropomorphic quality of letting "flesh and bones and joynts" each perform a human action, in this case prayer, is the healthier version of the "Deniall" scenario, for in that poem the parts of the body are dislocated and perform separate and confused actions instead of being united in the action of devotion. "Ev'n my verse" becomes the literal voice of the speaker, so intimately is it connected with his being and with the preservation of the vocation that gives direction to both life and poetry.

Within the solemn and exquisite balancing of themes, images, and verse in "Aaron," music and tuning are given a position at the very centre of the poem; the third line of each five-line stanza concerns these themes. From the triumphant assurance of the first stanza, with its "Harmonious bells below, raising the

dead" (l.3) to the swift and sudden loss of confidence on the part of the "Poore priest" who now hears only "A noise of passions ringing me for dead" (l.8), comes the sound of "Another music, making live not dead" (l.13 -- the literal centre of the poem), the music that is Christ. Christ thus is recognised as "My onely musick, striking me ev'n dead" (l.18), so much a part of the speaker and his priestly and poetic vocations that the hearing of it has a tempering effect upon him: "My doctrine tun'd by Christ, (who is not dead)," (l.23). The lute emblem is here tacitly used to represent the speaker's "doctrine," those beliefs and actions that identify him as a Christian, and thus being "tun'd by Christ" is akin to that which occurs or is about to occur in "Easter," "The Temper (I)," and "Deniall." In each poem, the imparting of grace to the faithful, and the recognition of it by the faithful through the recognition of vocation is linked to a greater awareness of Christ's sacrifice and to the role of the Christian with respect to that sacrifice. Tuning, and the lute emblem, signal the Crucifixion for speaker and reader, just as Augustine suggests.

While Herbert is certainly not the only Protestant writer of his period concerned with the exploration of the themes illustrated by the lute emblem and its related or attendant images, there are few examples of these particular images being used by other Protestant devotional writers apart from those "tuning of the

soul" references which Hollander places in the category of "habitual thinking." Donne's "Hymn to God my God" has been noted as an important and original contribution to a type of devotional thinking and writing which has its antecedents in Augustine's Expositions and which in the seventeenth century in England is otherwise most fully and richly explored in Herbert's work. We should not construe from this fact either that other Protestant writers were not concerned with making their way to the Cross, or that these images, and the Augustinian theology from which they are derived, were not present in the literature of the period.⁴⁵ Yet it is appropriate to acknowledge The Temple as the one single work that synthesises the Augustinian theology with the personalised nature of the Protestant meditative experience to offer, consciously or not, an alternative and acceptable response to the Passion to that promulgated by contemporaneous Catholic writers, without subverting its purpose by being a mere attack upon or criticism of Catholic (or indeed, Puritan) devotional practice.⁴⁶ As such, it contributes to the indigenous Protestant tradition of meditative writing even as its author is fed by that tradition.

Additionally, the means by which this synthesis is achieved and explored through the lute emblem contributes to our understanding of George Herbert's own role in the church music controversy that raged among English Protestants from the middle of the sixteenth

century until the Restoration. Far from dismissing church music, and particularly instrumental music, as frivolous, Popish, or even dangerous, Herbert translates his love of music into an integral part of the devotional and creative life of a Christian. By imbuing the terminology of music and musical instruments with the grace of the Holy Spirit, he designates music as an effective means of communication with God, and of introspection within themselves, for his speakers, whatever their degree of confidence or spiritual temperament. Additionally, music is overtly linked to the public roles of the speakers as priests, musicians, and lovers of song and music, each of which represents some aspect of Herbert's vocations and avocations.⁴⁷ Music, and Herbert's treatment of music, offer reader, writer, and participant a way to Christ (through the didactic, celebratory, and participatory aspects of the lute emblem), a creative fellowship with the Holy Spirit (as Comforter, as muse, and as intercessor), a connection with the Judeo-Christian and patristic heritage (through the "music Psalms" and Augustinian theology), and finally, a clearly-marked and always accessible "way to heavens doore."

In the Exercises for the First Week in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola, the practitioner is directed to:

Imagin(e) Christ our Lord present and placed

on The Cross,...how of being Creator He has come to make Himself man, and pass from eternal life to temporal death, and so to die for my sins. In like manner, looking at myself, what I have done for Christ, what I am doing for Christ, what I ought to do for Christ; and so seeing Him in such condition and so fastened on the Cross, to think over what shall occur⁴⁸

The remainder of this chapter examines the ways in which the writers of several Jesuit emblem books published between 1625 and 1635 applied the precepts of Ignatian Christocentric meditation and identification to the composition of emblems, particularly those emblems that involve "looking at myself," insofar as the writer, reader, or other participant of the emblem is attempting to identify with or otherwise place himself within the context of the Crucifixion and Christ's sacrifice. Through the examination of Catholic visual and verbal analogues to the lute emblems and "crosse actions" of Herbert's poetry, the reader's awareness of the application of interrelated themes of music and the Crucifixion in The Temple may be enhanced by an understanding of the parallel application and working out of similar themes within the context of the Ignatian method.

Regia via Crucis, written in Latin by Benedictus van Haeften, S.J., and published in Antwerp in 1635, is typical of a Jesuit emblem book in that it could be more accurately described as an instructive and highly schematic devotional manual in which the emblems illustrate the text rather than themselves being

the basis of any extensive written commentary. The characters depicted in the emblems of the Regia, the Christ Child and the Human Soul, are essentially the same as those found in other Jesuit works; while Christ is here called, as is usual, "Divine Love," the Soul is called "Staurophila" rather than the more familiar "Anima." Chapter XIV of the Second Book of the Regia, entitled "Rejoicing in the Cross,"⁴⁹ is illustrated by an emblem which is constructed as follows:

Inscriptio: "Communicantes CHRISTI passioni-
bus, gaudete" (1 Pet. 4:13)

Pictura: Divine Love stands on the left,
holding a hymnal and singing.
Staurophilia stands on the
right, also singing and playing
a Cross which stands upright
and is strung like a harp.

Subscriptio: "Morbus deliciae, mors lucrum,
poena voluptas, CRUX mihi quod
nulla me CRUCE cerno premi"

As its title suggests, Regia is a "Cross book," in that the Cross is both the primary subject (and, of course, object) of the meditative exercises and the dominant visual image in each of the emblems, forming the locus of all activity carried out within its confines. In much the same way, the personified human Heart forms the locus of each emblem in the Jesuit "heart-books," one of which, the Schola Cordis, was also written by van Haften.

This high degree of concentration upon a single

image, be it Cross or Heart, suggests a second generation of Jesuit writers who draw from and enlarge upon the original Ignatian scheme and ethos. Whereas the Spiritual Exercises direct the reader to contemplate and identify with Christ and specifically with the events of the Passion, the Regia isolates one element from these events -- the Cross itself -- and renders it an emblem within an emblem.⁵⁰ Like the lute emblem in Herbert's poetry, like its prototype in the Augustinian expositions, and like the very word "crosse" as it is used in The Temple, the Cross depicted in each emblem of the Regia serves as an emblem both of Christ's sacrifice and of the relevance of that sacrifice to every activity of the "Staurophila"/Soul character, and thus of the soul of the reader and practitioner as well.

It is clear that such an explicitly visualised emblem as is found in the Regia is by its very nature more obvious in its references and linkages than is the lute emblem as it is used by Herbert. While the lute emblem suggests the Cross, the harp in the Jesuit emblem is the Cross, or rather, it is a Cross, which functions in such a manner as to suggest a harp. The structure of this harp in turn suggests the Body of Christ through the strings of gut stretched upon its frame, and the event of the Crucifixion itself through the nails by which the strings are "so fastened on the Cross." By this analysis of the Cross intra-emblem the

meaning of the inscriptio, and its direct reference to the activities of the figures in the larger emblem, particularly to Staurophila, are made clear. Both Divine Love and Staurophila are "communicantes," participants in Christ's Passion within the context of this emblem. Divine Love is Christ, while Staurophila's playing of the harp, the manifestation of the Cross intra-emblem in this particular emblem, demonstrates her tactile connection with the Passion. If such a connection seems presumptuous, we must remember that Ignatian meditation demands "el traer de los sentidos,"⁵¹ the application of the senses of the reader to the visualisation and contemplation of each episode of the Passion. In this second generation work, Staurophila, the human soul, represents this Ignatian-minded reader as well, and so her action visualises and represents "el traer de los sentidos."

As the figures are participants, so, as indicated by the inscriptio, they "rejoice," and their joy is expressed by and through music. That van Haeften deliberately chooses to express "gaudete" through music, assigning to the Cross this particular emblematic function, and to the harp and to music this particular emblematic honour, would indicate not only a shared sentiment and analogous method of thinking concerning music with Herbert, but also shared sources, namely, Augustine's Expositions and other patristic writings in which the instrument-Crucifixion metaphor

is developed and expounded.

Published in the same year (1635) as the Regia, van Haeften's Schola Cordis presents an emblem related to the harp-strung Cross in that it depicts an unusual sort of Crucifixion. Like those in the Regia, the emblems in this heart book illustrate the chapters of the text to which they are assigned. In the case of the Crucifixion of the Heart emblem, the inscriptio also serves as the sub-title of the ninth chapter of the book.⁵² The emblem is structured as follows:

Inscriptio: "CORDIS IN CRUCE EXPANSIO"

Pictura: Divine Love (on the left) and Anima (on the right) "crucify" the Heart by stretching ropes attached to it over the nails of the Cross; as a result, the Heart is stretched and made taut.

Subscriptio: "In simplicitate CORDIS quaerite illum"

Like the Cross in the Regia, the Heart appears in each emblem in the Schola Cordis, and thus acts as the intra-emblem within each pictura. As it undergoes its purgations and even its Passion, it mirrors the similar progression of spiritual development within the heart of the reader, who enters the "School of the Heart" out of love for Christ, and thus out of the desire to learn "what I ought to do for Christ."

In this emblem, at the moment of greatest tension

and torment, it is significant that the Heart is depicted as, and, according to the inscriptio, defined as, "expanding." Thus, while this emblem contains no overt reference to music or to tuning, it is in fact linked to these through the concept of tempering. The heart grows and "expands" in love as it is stretched and tried by circumstances, just as the strings of an instrument expand and are brought to the highest and most sacred key by the action of tuning.

Aside from the tempering of both heart (i.e. the Christian) and instrument (i.e. music, poetry, vocation, devotion) through stretching, expanding, and tuning, and thus the interrelationship of metaphors and images related to both, there is a further connection among the Heart, the Crucifixion, and music to be discerned by the light of the Augustinian Expositions. The Heart of the Christian, stretched on the Cross in like fashion to -- but not identical with -- the Crucifixion, forms a link to the literal Crucifixion and to the emblematic instrument-Crucifixion established and developed in the writings of Augustine and other early Christian writers. In the Exposition upon Psalm 149, for example, we recall that Augustine advises "let him stretch himself out on the wood... The more the strings are stretched, the more sharply do they sound."⁵³ While Augustine was writing primarily about what we have called the lute emblem, and its connection to the actual Crucifixion, he is addressing

individual Christians who are in effect invited to see through this emblem to another one. These Christians are given the opportunity to view their own spiritual development as an emblem of Christ's experiences and sacrifice. The Christian who views himself from without as he "stretches himself on the wood" is the one best able to be continually aware of the potency of the lute emblem. He works through it, as he prays, praises, sings, and makes music for the glory of God, and it works through him, as he allows experience and faith to test and to tune him. Both of these emblems, that of the lute and of the individual, work through, or rather because of the Crucifixion, for it is through the sacrifice of Christ that man is at last able to learn fulfillment as the Organum Dei.

Perhaps the most intriguing of the Jesuit emblems on these themes is a hieroglyph, or rather a description of one in a "naked" emblem book (i.e. a book printed with only inscriptae and subscriptae, for which emblems were designed separately and affixed within the text) entitled Epigramas Y hieroglyphicos a la vida de Christo. Written by Alonso de Ledesma, a Spanish Jesuit, it was published in Madrid in 1625. The caption for the missing emblem-plate reads as follows:

Pintose una harpa, y un braco con un templador:

Mientras mas tirays las cuerdas

A vuestro instrumento, Amor,
Suenan sas voces mejor⁵⁴

(A picture of a harp, and an arm holding a tuning screw:

The more you stretch the strings
Of your instrument, Love,
The better the voice will sound)

The function of this image as it is described is very close to both the analogous images in the poetry of Herbert (e.g. "This is but tuning of my breast/To make the musick better," "The Temper [I]," ll. 23-24) and to the common source of both the Spanish Jesuit and the English Protestant writers, the Expositions of Augustine (e.g. "The more the strings are stretched, the more sharply will they sound"). As in "Love Unknown," it is "Love" who is responsible for the tuning -- or in the case of the poem, the cleansing -- process. Indeed, the strongly personified "Love" of this and other poems in The Temple (e.g. "Love [III]") parallels and may in part be based upon the visualisations of the "Love" character in these contemporaneous Continental emblem books (e.g. "Divine Love," the Christ Child, the eye, hand, or arm of God). That this harp is itself an emblem of the Christian soul is clear from the references to "the voice" and particularly to "your instrument," for we recall from the patristic writings and from the application of these in the seventeenth century that the body of man is the instrument of God, in that man has this privilege and this responsibility even as he plays his own "instrument" in the enactment

of his individual vocation.

That this Jesuit writer deliberately links his version of the lute emblem to the Crucifixion is clear from the position of his hieroglyph within the narrative of "la vida de Christo"; it is part of a sequence "of which the subject is...Nailing Christ on the Cross."⁵⁵ Thus, this emblem represents not only the Christian soul, whose Christ-like sufferings and meditation upon the actual sacrifice of Christ (with the guidance of the Spiritual Exercises) will make his "voice" -- his meditations through the Exercises -- "sound better"; it represents Christ as well. To state this is not to state the obvious. It is the human, mortal, even despairing aspect of Christ that is called "your instrument." It is truly the Christ of the Cross, the suffering man who imagined that he too had been forsaken by his God (Mt.27:46), and thus the Christ that is in every Christian. In this context, "Love" and "your instrument" are the same, as if the divine Christ, the second Person of the Trinity, is offering support and guidance to His own incarnation as Jesus of Nazareth, who, like every man, is the instrument of God.

The Jesuit reader, like the Jesuit writer, is trained to construct and maintain an identification of his own experience with that of Christ, and approaches

these second generation emblems from the rigour of the Spiritual Exercises. In the Exercises for the Second Week, the practitioner is directed "to ask for an intimate knowledge of the God who was made man for me, that I may love Him more and follow Him."⁵⁶ It is impossible that the Jesuit reader -- or indeed the the Catholic reader of Jesuit works -- would fail to identify this representation of his own soul's journey towards God even as it is primarily depicted as an emblem of Christ's journey through life on earth towards reunion with God. Within the Ignatian scheme, the two are one.

Were George Herbert to have seen de Ledesma's hieroglyph we may conjecture on the basis of what we have observed in his poetry, particularly in "The Temper (I)," that he would not and could not accept the Jesuit understanding of it, which is to say that he could not have placed "The Temper (I)," which contains an image similar to the hieroglyph, within a sequence of poems entitled "the life of Christ," or "the nailing of Christ to the Cross." Although the sentiment of de Ledesma's epigram is, as we have noted, very close to the moral of "The Temper (I)" as understood by its speaker, Herbert in that poem emphasises that while the speaker's sufferings may find a parallel in those of Christ, and may even make him Christlike, it is foolish, presumptuous, and counter-productive to try to identify with Christ through a repetition or appropri-

tion of his unique sacrifice (e.g. "The Thanksgiving") or to imagine that such a sacrifice is being forced upon one by God.

Moreover, the practice of Protestant meditation as it developed in the first decades of the seventeenth century in England, and as it reflected Protestant theological concerns, was antithetical to what its adherents viewed as the Jesuits's "'ridiculous tying (of) men to a daily taske of reading some part of the storie of Christs passion,'"⁵⁷ and to the methodology and staticity of the Exercises in their original form and as they were extended through emblem books and other devotional manuals. We have noted that one of the hallmarks of Protestant meditation is the "application of the subject to the self,"⁵⁸ and within this particular examination of the lute emblem and its ties to Crucifixion images we have observed that not only are these images perceived quite differently by the speakers of each poem, but also that the perceptions of a given speaker with respect to these images may change within a poem, reflecting the subjectivity but also the dynamism of the Protestant practice of reflection and application. A single emblem on a page is often not enough, or is restricting because of its very status as an ultimately finite image. On the other hand, the mental and spiritual challenge of working through the myriad possibilities of a verbal image, sustained by grace and and guided by the Word, offers the Protestant

a protected yet genuine freedom in the practice of meditation and the enactment of vocation, as the final stanza of "The Temper (I)" indicates.

Therefore, we may conjecture that Herbert would read the hieroglyph as he reads his own lute emblem, that is, by the light of Augustine. The "instrument" is the soul (or "heart," or "mind," or "spirit") of the Christian, the "arm holding a tuning screw" is the irresistible grace of God, which at times may be perceived by the soul to be an instrument of deliberate torture (e.g. "Deniall," "Affliction" [I] and [IV]), "the voice" is the prayer of the well-tempered soul. But because this verbal emblem is presented as a harp or a lute, it naturally reflects and involves the Crucifixion, both the fact of it and the contemplation of it by the Christian even as he confronts his own suffering, his own doubts. Like the Cross or Heart intra-emblems in the works of van Haeften and other Jesuit writers, Herbert's lute emblem exists because, as Augustine insists, its very structure and components (wood, gut strings, tuning pegs) so insistently keep the Crucifixion in the forefront of the soul's contemplations.

For Herbert the poet and lover of music the lute emblem is invested with a special resonance and significance, and it is for this reason as much as the other that it is very nearly as important a motif in The

Temple as is the Cross in the Regia or the Heart in the Schola Cordis. For the lute, being literally a musical instrument, becomes a poetic and creative instrument in The Temple in that it represents the special "voice" of the Christian poet, who consecrates his talents to the service and praise of God. The lute is thus an instrument of liberation, as it frees the well-tempered soul from the fruitless attempt to identify overmuch with Christ's unique experience, and from the despair and sterility -- both spiritual and creative -- that must inevitably follow such an attempt. Through the lute, through the awareness of Christ's sacrifice yoked to the affirmation of the equally unique and valid mission of the artist, and the expression of this art, the Christian, freed -- if only "occasionally," in the true Protestant sense, for as Chana Bloch observes, "what we know we do not always remember"⁵⁹ -- from the responsibilities of a role and an identity that are Christ's alone, is able to recognise and call upon the Holy Spirit, the Person of the Trinity Who gives comfort and assists communication, to "bear a part" and supply confidence and inspiration to his creative endeavours:

But thou wilt sinne and grief destroy;
That so the broken bones may joy,
And tune together in a well-set song,
Full of his praises,
Who dead men raises.
Fractures well cur'd make us more strong.
("Repentance," ll. 31-36)

-III-

"And in heaven there is invariably music"

(Joseph Hall, Arte of Divine Meditation, 44)

Chapter Five

"A gray-haired custome of most times and places":

Music and the Established Church in the

Post-Reformation Era

The locus classicus for the debate within the Established Church over the admissibility of music within organised worship, a debate that engaged the minds, souls, and talents of preachers, theologians, poets, pamphleteers, and at least one monarch from the mid-sixteenth century until the end of the seventeenth, is found in the following passage from the Confessions of St. Augustine, in which he reflects upon his own reaction to hearing the Psalms sung in church:

I feel that by these holy words my mind is kindled more religiously and fervently to a flame of piety because I hear them sung than if they were not sung...It is not good that the mind should be enervated by this bodily pleasure. But it often ensnares me, in that the bodily sense does not accompany the reason as following after it in proper order, but having been admitted to aid the reason, strives to run before

and take the lead... Yet when I remember the tears I shed in the early days of my new faith: and again when I see that I am moved not by the singing but by the things that are sung -- when they are sung with a clear voice and proper modulation -- I recognise once more the usefulness of this practice¹

Throughout the post-Reformation era, these words were hurled as verbal artillery by both parties in the debate, by the pro-music churchmen demonstrating that Christian church music was a "grey-hair'd custome" linking their own church to that of the Fathers,² but also -- with significant excisions -- by Puritans within the church, Separatists without it, and by the great reformer, John Calvin himself, all of whom found in music something to distrust and something in need of control or outright condemnation. In his "Letter to the Reader" prefacing the Genevan Form of Prayers and Songs of the Church (1542) Calvin acknowledges that the incorporation of singing into "public prayers" is "nothing of recent invention" and that "we know by experience that singing has great power and vigor to move and inflame men's hearts to call upon and praise God with a more vehement and burning zeal."³ Nevertheless, it is a power easily misused by sinful man, and therefore "we must guard against abusing it for fear of soiling and contaminating it and thus converting it to our condemnation when it is intended for our profit and salvation."⁴ Calvin reveals much of the nature of his personal reservations and fears concerning music in the next lines of

the "Letter":

If there were no other consideration than this one alone, namely, that we must be moved to moderate the use of music, to make it serve all honesty, and that it may not be occasion to unbridle us to dissoluteness or to weaken us to disordered delights, and that it may not be an instrument of fornication or any immodesty. But there is still another advantage. For there is scarcely anything in this world more capable for turning or bending hither and thither the customs of men, as Plato has wisely remarked. And actually we know by experience that it has a secret power, almost unbelievable, to move morals one way or another⁵

Calvin's faint praise of vocal music, placed as it is within the context of his congregation's prescribed version of the Psalter -- for, like the Psalter, the Prayers and Songs is essentially a collection of metrical Psalms -- would thus seem to frame its users' responses to such music, and predetermine that their own future reactions to sacred and secular music would be marked by apprehension and by the need to control its "secret power." The pro-music apologists of the Established Church, and, indeed, some music-loving Puritans, were to spend the better part of two centuries combatting those Protestants whose perception of music was shaped by Calvin as surely as was their doctrine. Indeed, as the champions of church music were themselves in all aspects of doctrine Calvinists as well, we must consider not only why church music was so fiercely opposed by some Calvinists, but also why its "powers" were welcomed and extolled by others who saw nothing incompatible

in their love and use of sacred music and their Calvinistic doctrine.

Calvin himself draws a distinction -- one which was to hold throughout the debate -- between vocal and instrumental church music. While for him the former is tolerable if firmly controlled, bare of the "disordered delights" and distractions of ornamentation, and restricted chiefly to the metrical Psalms, the latter simply does not, or should not, exist within the context of worship or meditation. In his Commentary upon Psalm 149, which, with the Psalm that immediately follows it, is one of the "music Psalms" on the interpretation and application of which much of the debate turns, Calvin rebuffs the invitation of the Psalmist ("Let them praise his name with dancing, making melody to him with timbrel and lyre," Ps.149:3) with a comment that takes the form of a prohibition:

The musical instruments he mentions were peculiar to this infancy of the Church, nor should we foolishly imitate a practice which was intended only for God's ancient people⁶

Calvin's inconsistency with respect to the separate entrance requirements that he establishes for vocal and instrumental music is indicative of his distaste for the use of musical instruments within the context of organised worship. He deliberately sacrifices vocal and instrumental music, both of which are

sanctioned by the Psalms and neither of which are of "recent invention," as a bond between the historical and the contemporary church in order to isolate the use of instruments within the pre-Christian "infancy of the Church." Furthermore, his commentary on the opening line of this Psalm ("Sing to the Lord a new song") infers that the Psalmist himself suggests that harmony among the members of the church -- the successors to "God's ancient people" -- will supersede the use of and need for the harmony produced by song:

For though he (the Psalmist) proceeds to exhort the Lord's people to sing God's praises together, he hints along with this that the Church would coalesce again into one body, so as to celebrate God's praises in the solemn assembly?

In setting out this argument, Calvin effectively cancels out even the scant support for vocal church music that he expresses in the "Letter." It is therefore not surprising that those contemporary adherents to Calvin's doctrine who would integrate musical harmony into their services encountered opposition from their leader. Louis Bourgeois, "whose hymns have been considered an important sustaining force for the Huguenots in persecution," was unable to have even a harmonised version of the psalter printed in the city of Geneva.⁸

When confronted by the multiplicity of musical instruments in Psalm 150, Calvin either ignores them,

as when he omits to comment upon the fourth line of the Psalm, which is particularly laden with instruments, or interprets them as instruments of control imposed by God upon man as an outward manifestation of the Rule of Law:

...the more forcibly to teach the children of God that they cannot apply themselves too diligently to the praises of God. Nor was it without reason that God under the law enjoined this multiplicity of songs, that he might lead men away from those vain and corrupt pleasures to which they are excessively addicted, to a holy and profitable joy... (Man's) perverse disposition could only be corrected in the way of God's retaining a weak and ignorant people under many restraints, and constant exercises. The Psalmist, therefore, in exhorting believers to pour forth all their joy in the praises of God, enumerates, one upon the other, all the musical instruments which were then in use, and reminds them that they ought all to be consecrated to the worship of God⁹

By making instruments into controlling and restraining devices, Calvin takes them out of the hands of men and places them safely in those of God. By his deliberate references to "the law," to "a weak and ignorant people," and to "the musical instruments... then in use," Calvin divorces his congregation from that of the Psalmist, and awards custody of the instruments to the "weak and ignorant." His message is clear; under the Rule of Grace, the strong and enlightened Christian should feel no need for the externally imposed, distracting, and potentially dangerous "harmony" that music provides.

With the death of Henry VIII and the introduction

of a more radical Protestantism into the Church of England by Thomas Cranmer and his supporters at the court of the young King Edward VI, the climate in England was hospitable to the reception and implementation of Calvin's ideas concerning church music. The publication of Psalms in English Metre (c.1548), a psalter modelled on Calvin's Prayers and Songs, "ensured that the congregational music of the English reformed church should follow the Genevan model."¹⁰ This set of circumstances, moreover, meant that an alternative Protestant perspective on the use of music in the church, such as that expressed in the introduction to Martin Luther's Wittenberg Gesangbuch, which was published in 1524, could make little headway in post-Reformation England:

That the singing of spiritual songs is a good thing and one pleasing to God is, I believe, not hidden from any Christian, for not only the example of the prophets and kings in the Old Testaments (who praised God with singing and playing, with hymns and with the sound of all manner of stringed instruments), but also the special custom of singing psalms, have been known to everyone and to universal Christianity from the beginning... I am not of the opinion that all the arts shall be crushed to earth and perish through the Gospel, as some bigoted persons pretend, but would willingly see them all, and especially music, servants of Him who gave and created them¹¹

That such a choice between the opinions and approaches of Luther and Calvin concerning the various forms and functions of church music existed on the Continent from the beginning of the post-Reformation era, but

did not in England, clearly held consequences for the subsequent development of church music in general and instrumental church music in particular. The introduction of the Baroque into English church music, for example, came much later, and to greater opposition, than its integration into the secular music of the court; baroque style was "well established" at the court of Charles I and elsewhere in secular life in the first half of the seventeenth century, but the persistent Calvinistic suspicion of church music, coupled with the association of such music with the Catholic Church, delayed the entry of the Baroque's innovations into the Church of England until the Restoration.¹²

With the ascendancy of Elizabeth I in 1558 came a renewed commitment on the part of the Church of England to articulate its positions concerning questions of doctrine and ritual. The doctrine remained essentially Calvinistic, though increasingly it inclined what Herbert calls "the mean" ("The British Church," 1.26) rather than to the stricter Genevan formularies promulgated during Edward's brief reign. Concerning ritual, however, the Elizabethan era saw a continuous divergence within the church from the stringent anti-ceremonialism that characterised Calvinistic worship in its purest form. Chief among the numerous writings outlining this reorientation of ritual, including music, is Richard Hooker's Of the Laws

of Ecclesiastical Polity (1597). Hooker argues that the use of music immeasurably enhances the comprehension and enjoyment of the Psalms on the part of the congregation:

so pleasing effects it hath even in that verie parte of man which is most divine, that some have bene thereby induced to think that the soule it selfe by nature is, or hath in it harmonie¹³

Whereas Calvin fears in particular the power of melody, through which "venom and corruption is instilled into the depths of the heart,"¹⁴ Hooker welcomes melody as:

...an admirable facilitie which musique hath to expresse and represent to the minde more inwardlie then any other sensible meane the verie standinge, risinge and fallinge, the verie stepes and inflections everie way, the turnes and varieties of all passions, whereunto the minde is subject: yea so to imitate them....¹⁵

Nor does Hooker, unlike Calvin and Augustine, perceive this "facilitie" as a distraction or a mere "bodily pleasure." Instead, he advocates the performance in church of music that most powerfully acts upon the mind and heart of the listener:

...that draweth to a marvelous grave and sober mediocritie... also (music) that carryeth (the listener) as it were into ecstasies, fillinge the minde with an heavenlie joy and for the time in a maner severinge it from the bodie¹⁶

This passage proves to be a touchstone for most seventeenth century advocates of church music, looking

as they do to "the unparalell'd Hooker"¹⁷ for guidance and assurance in increasingly tempestuous times. These later writers are inclined to Hooker's view that as the special powers of music are undisputed, it is foolish to fear or attempt to restrain them so long as they are judiciously applied within the context of public worship or private meditation. While not all writers are willing, or find it prudent, to echo Hooker's contention that music, like poetry, is one of the "thinges most necessarie for the house of God,"¹⁸ and therefore an indispensable part of Protestant worship, most will readily concur with his un-Calvinistic observation of the temperament of the opposition:

they must have hartes verie drie and tough, from whom the melodie of psalmes doth not sometime draw that wherein a minde religiously affected delighteth¹⁹

While Hooker's liberality concerning the use of and benefits to be derived from church music is markedly different from the attitudes of Calvin and the earlier English reformers, the nature of the music from which he derives such pleasure is essentially the same as that found in the Genevan and English hymnals, namely, the metrical Psalms. While during this period the Book of Psalms along with other portions of the Bible received much attention from translators, it is notable that the versions of the metrical Psalms that were officially approved for use in worship, as

opposed to those made by individuals for their own pleasure and use, tended to have been compiled early in the post-Reformation era, at the time when the influence of Genevan Calvinism was strongest. Thus, the Psalms that appear in Coverdale's "Great" Bible of 1540, which were incorporated into the Book of Common Prayer by Cranmer in 1549, appear as well in subsequent editions of the Prayer Book "because of the conservatism of liturgical practice" concerning church music, "even after the publication of the more accurate" Authorised Version in 1611.²⁰ Yet other kinds of church music were gradually becoming acceptable within the English church. One of Elizabeth's Injunctions on the subject offers congregations not merely the option to include music in their services, but also a degree of choice in the ways in which this music can be performed:

...And it is enjoyned to be practiced in our Church of England, by Queen Elizabeth in her Majesties Injunctions, in these words, For the comforting of such that delight in Musick, it may be permitted, that in the beginning, or in the end of Common Prayers, either at Morning or Evening, there may be sung an Hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of Melody and Musick that may be conveniently devised....²¹

Moreover, the Elizabethan era saw a boom in the publication of sacred and secular music and of works relating to and defending the use of church music in particular.²² One such work is John Case's The Praise

of Musicke (1586), which appeared in English and Latin editions in the late 1580s. In his Preface, Case acknowledges his own position as an advocate for music, while observing that his enthusiasm is not shared by all members of the Church of England:

So I make answere to them that passe their sentences of condemnation upon me, that they do in no wise disgrace me, but Hierome, Ambrose, Augustine, Basil, Gregorie Naziarion, and the holy Fathers of the primitive Church....²³

Case establishes his own credibility as a Protestant writer by allying himself with the sacrosanct Fathers of the Church, for it was by viewing these saints as spiritual antecessors, and often ignoring the differences between them on such subjects as church music, that post-Reformation Protestants differentiated between the "Papist" saints of the more recent past and their own sufficiently ancient and legitimate heritage.²⁴ He chooses, furthermore, to concentrate upon the praise of church music "because that is a matter in controversie" at the time of his writing.²⁵ Case builds his apologia pro musica sacra with frequent reference to classical writers, in particular "the Platonicks and Pythagoras," so that he arrives with sufficient support at "the marke whereat I aime, I Meane, the use of Musicke in the church."^{26, 27} Case, like Hooker and unlike later writers exercising caution in an atmosphere of growing intra-Protestant conflict, argues that church music is not simply desirable, but is a "Necessitie," as is the instruc-

tion of children in music theory and performance.²⁸ The training of children to read, sing, and perform music is similarly advocated by Luther in the Wittenberg Gesangbuch, but is rarely stressed by Calvinist writers with reference to sacred music. It is, however, considered among the accomplishments of the gentleman to be able to compose music, to sing, and to play musical instruments, as manuals for the would-be well-bred such as Sir Thomas Elyot's Governour (1531) and Henry Peacham's Compleat Gentleman (1622) emphasise. In his Preface, Case refers his reader to Elyot's work for guidance on the "decent use hereof in gentlemen" of music, and in so doing places the mastery of sacred as well as secular music among the attributes to be cultivated by all who wish to considered "gentlemen."²⁹ Indeed, Case perceives music as belonging in and to the church principally, and while it may at times have a "Particular use ... in civill matters," those "matters" that he names as appropriate for the performance of music have an ecclesiastical ring to them, being "sacrifices, feasts, mariages, and Burials."³⁰

That church music is "Lawful" is "confirmed by the practice of the church," a church that embraces the Psalmist and other figures from the Old Testament who sung, performed, or were otherwise favourably affected by music: Solomon, Moses, and Nathan are

cited in addition to David.³¹ The essential New Testament reference that confers the Protestant imprimatur upon Case's argument is drawn from Matthew 26:30:

yea, even our saviour Christ used this divine exercise, for when he had eaten the passover with his disciples, S. Mathew addeth, and when he had song (sung) a psalme they went out unto the mount of Olives³²

Case attributes the dearth of musical activity in the earliest days of the church to poor acoustics in the catacombs in which services were conducted -- a deduction made by many contemporary writers -- and draws further on "authorities out of the Doctors," namely the Greek and Latin Church Fathers, for the earliest Christian advocacies of church music. He dismisses those among the "authorities" who explicitly condemn some specific aspect of music, usually instrumental, by glossing their objections and recasting them as praise. Of Justin Martyr, who inveighs against two of Case's most cherished causes, the use of instrumental music in church and the instruction of children ("To sing doth not at all become children, but to sing with dumbe instruments, and with dauncing and cimbals. Therefore the use of such instruments and others which are fit for children, is thrust out, and expelled (from) the church, and singing onely is retained...",³³) Case remarks: "as hee plainly alloweth singing, so he excludeth not all Musical instruments, but such as are fit for children."³⁴

Given the special status of Augustine within the post-Reformation church, and the problem of his conflicting yet strongly felt responses to church music, Case takes particular care to address the situation that is described in Book Ten of the Confessions. In so doing, he corrects those in his own church who would misconstrue Augustine's reaction to church music as an equation of music with sin:

they alleadge the place of S. Augustine, where he saieth, that he did sinne mortally when he was more moved with the melody, than with the ditty... Saint Augustine in that place doth not condemne Musick for the sweete sound thereof, but his own fraile and weake nature, which took occasion of offence at that, which in it selfe was good³⁵

Music has such powers that it is not surprising that sinful, imperfect man, who sees the workings of God through a glass, darkly, when he sees them at all, should fail to comprehend the benevolent intention of those powers, and should instead fear his own reaction to that "which in it selfe was good." Such a man was Augustine and so, Case would maintain, are those of his contemporaries who fear and condemn what they might profit from and enjoy. As Case understands it, the principal benefit that man derives from the practice of music -- for Case emphasises the importance of active participation in music as well as the more passive involvement of the listener -- is a heightened concentration upon and perception of goodness, both as

it is imparted to him and as he realises his potential to "do good afterwarde":

For he that singeth well doth frame his minde to his song, and bringeth it, as it were, from an inequality to a certain equality and proportion, not that he is moved by any thing, but rather that he doth perceive thereby the affections and imaginations of good things, and stirreth up in his minde a greater intensity to do good afterwarde. For the soule being intensive to the wordes doeth forgette the affections and perturbations: and being made merie with the pleasant sound is brought to a sense and feeling of Christ, and most excellent and heavenly cogitations³⁶

For "singeth" read "prays," for "song" read "meditation," and this passage becomes as accurate and and heartfelt a description of the Protestant meditative experience as any written by Joseph Hall or the many other writers of meditative literature throughout the next fifty years. Or imagine "he that singeth well" as a Christian poet, one who seeks ever "to frame his minde to his song," and we have that marriage of longing and satisfaction that the speakers in The Temple continually attempt to make, so that the responsibilities of vocation are not merely satisfied, but become an occasion for joy. Such are the ramifications of the church music debate, providing as it does for those who witness it a framework for understanding and enacting other aspects of life, and providing for the student of the post-Reformation era a context from which to interpret the religious literature of the era as it is informed by doctrine

and practice. For just as music may depend upon words, so for a poet such as Herbert, words -- his words, "his song" as he frames it -- depend upon music, and upon the depth of perception and joy that grace, through music, grants to him and to his readers. While either words or music alone may be insufficient for human understanding, together they are undeniably powerful, and "make me understood" ("The H. Scriptures [II]," 1.12).

Case concludes his apologia with an attack upon those Protestants who would permit only "plain Musicke," psalmody chanted by the whole congregation with neither instrumental accompaniment nor division into parts, and while echoing Calvin's assertion of the power of melody, he maintains that he welcomes and does not fear that power:

...artificiall singing is farre better than their plain Musicke, for it striketh deeper, and worketh more effectually in the hearers: Therefore much rather to bee allowed in Gods congregation³⁷

There is the suggestion in this passage that "artificiall" -- melodic and embellished -- singing is more pleasing and acceptable to God than "plain Musicke," as it makes "farre better" use of music's power to work upon the soul, and does not refute this power by attempting to control or dilute it. This suggestion is also presented in Case's observation that as music is "that thing which is most excellent in man," he

should consecrate it to the worship and praise of the God who gave it to him, rather than denying himself and God this most effective channel of grace.³⁸ Music in the context of worship is part of every Christian's life and may, as in the case of Herbert, be placed in the service of an individual's vocation. It is in any case a thing to be enjoyed and treasured, and those who fear it are more to be pitied than despised in Case's view, "considering that neither my singing maketh me lesse the servaunt of God, nor their not singing them the more holy and devoute men."³⁹

The accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne in 1603 brought to the debate a reassertion of the case for church music by the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the face of continual Puritan resistance, whose leaders had discovered a new focus for their opposition to instrumental music in the growing fondness for organ music within the Established Church. If "organical musick" was dangerous, the organ itself was a Papist excrescence foisted upon God's people by those whose motives could only be suspect. So deep was the Puritan fear and mistrust of this particular aspect of church music, and of the unhealthy preoccupation with ritual that it appeared to represent, that James seized upon it as a potent aid in the establishment of the episcopacy and the rites of the Established Church in Edinburgh:

The King's intention in 1607 was to initiate a change in the Scottish Church far more radical than the mere superimposition of bishops. The presence of bishops without coercive power affected few: the imposition of a new form of service, or new ceremonies, was a change in which everyone would have to participate... Holyrood Chapel was rigged up for Anglican services. 'A pair of organs,' reported the news-writer Chamberlain, 'costing £400 had been sent to Edinburgh, besides all manner of furniture for a chapel, which Inigo Jones tells me he has charge of, with pictures of the apostles, Faith, Hope, and Charity, and such other religious representatives, which how welcome they will be thither, God knows'⁴⁰

The reaction of the Scots to these gifts was not recorded. In the face of this continual opposition to church music by many Puritans and Separatists, along with the lack of consensus among those who favoured and supported it as to its proper role and method of expression, it is not surprising that the composition of church music was hindered in England, although as we have noted, this reluctance to be tainted by the Papist influences of the Baroque did not extend to composers of secular music.⁴¹

However, writing and preaching on the subject of church music continued into the seventeenth century as Protestants on either side of the debate sought to define and articulate the nature of their church by deciding what did and did not have a place within it. In a sermon preached at Norwich in 1605 and published as The Authoritie of the Church in 1607, Francis Mason outlines the church's rights and responsibilities "in

making Canons and Constitutions concerning things indifferent," and "the obedience thereto required" of all members of the church. In view of the sermon's title, its dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and its text, "'Let all things be done honestly and by order'" (1Cor 14:40), it is clear that Mason intended to take a hard line against the Puritans on each point of "order" within the church, which he proceeds to do with particular attention to the components of the Divine Service itself. In his defence of the role of church music within worship, Mason first addresses one of the two principal objections to it; namely, that as it is not specifically sanctioned for use by Christians in the New Testament, music is pagan, or profane, or, as Mason's opponents would have it, "Jewish":

Suppose there be some resemblance in matter or forme, what then? is the Church of Christ bound so farre to avoide all conformitie with the Jewes, that she may not at all resemble them in in a matter of decencie? Our musicall harmonie they would likewise abolish as Jewish, but they have not yet prooved, that church musicke vocall or instrumentall, is such a Jewish ceremony as ought to be abrogated. The princely prophet David brought into the Church the melodie of musicke, for the better praising and lauding of God⁴²

Mason, echoing Hooker and Case, answers the second principal objection, that music is distracting, dangerous in that it makes the soul vulnerable to profane excesses, or too much associated with pleasure to be suitable within the context of worship:

For the sweetnesse of harmonically sounds doth insinuate it selfe into the soule of man, preparing the affections for the service of God, lifting up the heart towards heaven, delighting the mind, kindling devotion, and ravishing the spirit with celestial joy. If it be said that some come to the Church rather to be delighted with musicke, then to bee instructed with religion, what then? yet in that they will come to the Church I rejoyce, yea and I will rejoyce⁴³

The last words of this passage echo those of St. Paul, who in his Letter to the Philippians writes of the activities of those around him while he is in prison:

Some indeed preach Christ, even of envy and strife; and some also of good-will. The one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to add affliction to my bonds. But the other (preach out) of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the gospel. What then? notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoyce, yea, and will rejoyce
(Phil.1:15-18)

By first invoking the name of David, the author of the Psalms which were accepted by all as "plaine musicke," and then echoing the words and argument of Paul, Mason aligns himself with the Word and with the Protestant view of history that is spelled out in the Word, whereby the actions of man are paralleled, explicated, and illuminated by the similar activities of his scriptural antecessors. By incorporating his arguments into a sermon, he meets his Puritan opponents in the context of their own most favoured polemical form. Building from this solidly Word-centred foundation, he suggests that God imparts

ineffable joys to man through music, which man should not shun simply because he does not see them or understand their actions upon his soul:

Even so it may be, some come to the Church only to heare the melody; yet who can tell, but it may please the wisdom of that heavenly teacher to find out a way, that hearing those things, wherein their eares delight, they may also learne that whereby their soules may profit⁴⁴

Without naming it as such Mason, like Case, presents a solution to the dilemma of Augustine as it continues to be experienced by many in the post-Reformation church, the dilemma being whether or not there is a place for the pleasure that music gives within the context of worship. For those who oppose church music, their efforts may be seen as an attempt to ward off the envisaged corruption of the soul that would take place were it allowed to experience pleasure in an inappropriate context or through an allegedly profane mode. However, by asserting that music works in mysterious ways, and should be allowed to do its work, Mason contends that men in turn are allowed to enjoy music, and by enjoying and learning from it may also learn "that whereby their soules may profit," namely, "the way to heavens doore" ("Church-musick," 1.12).

Whosoever is harmonically composed delights in harmony; which makes me much distrust the symmetry of those heads which declaime against all Church musicke⁴⁵

With these words, written in the 1630s, Sir

Thomas Browne wondered at the logic that could lead men to destroy organs and deface churches in the name of God. For his own part, Browne claims, "I should cut off my arme rather then violate a church window, then deface or demolish the memory of Saint or Martyr."⁴⁶ That Browne deliberately distances himself from the destructive activities of contemporary iconoclasts reveals the vigorously partisan mentality that pervaded English Protestantism in the decades preceding the Civil War. In the 1630s, in part due to the ascendancy of William Laud and his fellow "ritualists" within the Church of England, the number and magnitude of Puritan attacks upon perceived elements of Papist ritual within the church increased markedly.⁴⁷ In 1630, the stained glass windows of Salisbury Cathedral, near Herbert's parish of Bemerton, were smashed, while "less melodramatic but perhaps especially disheartening to Herbert was the inescapable decline of church music at Salisbury, which was perennially attacked by the Puritans as being overly curious and formal."⁴⁸ In this climate, the installation of an organ in a village church in Somerset became an opportunity for an eloquent defence of church music and a plea for tolerance of such "church monuments" as organs, altars, and stained glass windows. In 1630, in the same year and the same part of the country as the attack upon Salisbury, Humphrey Sydenham preached a sermon entitled "The

Well-Tuned Cymball" at the "Dedication of an Organ lately set up in Bruton," near his own parish of Puckington. Described in his own day as "Consummata eloquentia celeberrimus,"⁴⁹ Sydenham's reputation as an orator and a defender of church ritual most likely contributed as much as geographical proximity to his being asked to deliver this sermon. The sermon, which was published as part of a collection as least as early as 1637 and may have circulated before then, became a primary reference for the pro musica sacra writers of the Restoration, just as Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity had exerted a similar influence over writers up to and including Sydenham himself.

Sydenham's text underscores the political and religious tension attending the church music debate, as well as other aspects of ritual and practice, at this time. He takes as his own the words of the Psalmist, informing his audience that "I will sing, and I will sing aloud,"⁵⁰ as befits one who would emulate David:

I will sing of thy Power; yea, I will sing aloud
of thy Mercy, in the morning, because thou hast
been my defence and my refuge in the day of my
trouble (Ps.59:16)

He outlines, in the manner of most apologists, the long tradition of church music as documented in Scripture, and asserts that Christians are justified in looking to both the Old and New Testaments for

guidance in the proper use of church music:

...the Churches of old have generally mix'd Psalmes with their Devotions, and Melody, with their Psalme; Melody, as well of Instrument as of Voyce; which, as it hath been a gray-hair'd custome of most times and places; so not so obsolete, now, or super-annuated, that it should be barred wholly with that Law of Ceremonies⁵¹

Sydenham also draws upon the example presented in the Old Testament of what might be described as the pragmatic aspect of church music, noting that David not only composed and performed music, but also organised the performances of others so that all might hear and respond to the music of those most suited to perform it:

And because this sacred melody might not breed confusion in publicke services, speciall men are cull'd by David for speciall Instruments, others for Songs, for the better raising-up of mens hearts, and sweetning their affections towards God⁵²

This passage is important in two respects, aside from its contribution to the argument in favour of preserving the church's "ancient" musical tradition. Firstly, it confronts the issue of "confusion" that was cited by Puritans, clearly taking their lead from Calvin himself, as a reason to avoid the use of music in public worship. As Sydenham perceives it, musical talent amounts to a vocation, which is conferred by God and which must be recognised, cultivated, and exercised by man in the service of himself and others and in the work of praise. Therefore, there are men

in every period of history, and in every congregation, who are "speciall men" with respect to a musical vocation, just as other men are "cull'd" and called to write poems, to preach sermons, or to build organs and churches. As long as these men remain constant to their vocations, their presence within the congregation can only contribute to the greater good.

Sydenham's resolution of the issue of confusion by explicating the continual enactment of vocation that takes place within every congregation leads as well to a consideration of vocation, or "talent" as a later apologist will call it, as an individual's "way to heavens doore." For even as the "affections" of the congregation are engaged, "sweetned," and uplifted through hearing and to some extent participating in church music, so the musically gifted individual, whether he is an organist, a composer, or a choir-master, is twice blessed; by communal participation, and by individual vocation and the rewards and responsibilities attendant upon its enactment.

Sydenham makes use of the visual images represented in many contemporaneous emblem books and in the literature that is influenced by them to describe the tempering effects of music upon the soul:

(Music is) the very Hammer that bruizes and beats into Devotion, those Dispositions which will not be otherwise suppld and made tender⁵³

Emblematic images are also used in his description of the effect of music upon those who cannot perceive its beneficent actions:

And yet there are some eares so nice and curious (I know not whether through weaknesse or affectation) to which this Harmony in the Church is no more passable than a Saw or a Harrow, which in stead of stroaking, draggs and tortures them⁵⁴

In this defence of aural sensation, Sydenham refers to the sense of taste as well as invoking the visual sense through the emblematic metaphors of the Hammer, the Saw, and the Harrow. Puritans "have a taste, questionlesse of Geneva," for intoning Psalms, but:

singing aloud relishes too much of the Romish Synagogue; and though perhaps it doe, yet there can be no Plea here for those, who obtruding to us the use of Instruments by Pagans in honour of their Idols; or the moderne practice of some places, where Religion lyes a little sluttish and undress'd, that therefore they are not warrantable, or at best but offensive in a reformed Church⁵⁵

Far from diluting the Reformation, music aids in its maintenance through its cleansing and uplifting effects upon the soul, and bringing to bear upon it the harmony that is manifest in all of creation. Thus, Sydenham wishes of those "anti-harmonicall snarlers" that:

they would but wipe off a little those willful scales which hang upon their eyes, (for) they could not but see the admirable vertues and effects which melody hath wrought even in that part of man which is most sacred; Insomuch, that

both Philosophers and Divines have jump'd in one
fancie, that the Soule is not onely naturally
harmonically, but Harmony it selfe⁵⁶

Deny music, and you deny not only "the whole course of
nature," which is "a kinde of singing, a melodious
concentration both of the Creator and the creature,"
you deny yourself the protection it offers you by "not
considering what wonderful effects and consequences
Musicke hath wrought both in expelling of evill
spirits, and calling on of Good."⁵⁷

Sydenham warns against "The over-carving and
mincing of the ayre," which "lulls too much the out-
ward sense," observing that "the most curious Ayre
that ere was set, is not halfe so harmonious as one
groane of the Spirit."⁵⁸ He advises that church music
be of "a sober mediocritie, and grave mixture of Tune
with Ditty," which:

...rocks the very soule, carries it into
exstasies; and for a time seemes to cleave and
sunder it from the body, elevating the heart
inexpressably, and resembling in some proportion
those Halleluiahs above, the Quire and unitie
which is in Heaven. And as it is a represen-
tation of that Unitie above, so is it of concord
and charitie here below, when under a consonance
of voyce, we find shadowed a conjunction of
minds, and under a diversitie of notes, meeting
in one Song a multiplicitie of Converts in one
devotion, so that the whole Church is not onely
one tongue, but one heart⁵⁹

Harmony is called "an Embleme of unity in the
Church," in that the palpable aspects of church music
-- the organ, the choirmaster, the sound of the

music itself -- serve as emblems upon which the congregation can focus, emblems that exert a unitive function, binding the separate participants together and then directing the devotions of the whole body to God.⁶⁰ The organ in particular is cited "as having a neere affinitie with the voyce of man; which, lifted as it ought, resembles that of Angels."⁶¹ Thus, the organ reveals yet another "way to heavens doore," as it both mimics and incites the voices of men to be heard within the sphere of heaven.

Sydenham expands upon his description of the organ, moving from its emblematic function to its power to impress the meaning of its music through the immanence of the Holy Spirit with respect to the grace for which music, like all communicative arts, provides a channel. Once again, a specific Puritan criticism of music -- here, that music is distracting -- is addressed and dismissed:

'twas the wisdom of the Spirit (seeing mans disposition somewhat refractory to good, and struggling naturally with the Laws of vertue, his affections more steepe and prone to the wayes of pleasure than the untrodden paths of Righteousnesse) to mixe the power of Doctrine with that of Tunes... that while the eare was charm'd with the sweetnesse of the Ditty, the minde also might be rapt with the divinenesse of the matter, and so whilst others sing, we not onely heare, but learne too⁶²

In concluding his sermon, Sydenham makes explicit

reference to the contentiousness of the times, and cautions would-be zealots that by the need to "do something for Gods Glory":

I meane not... that Sacrilege, which fleeces the Revenewes, but the Ribbes and Entrailes of a Church, defaces Pictures, and rifles Monuments, tortures an innocent peece of Glasse for the limme of a Saint in it; Razes out a Crucifixe, and sets up a Scutchion; Pulls down an Organ, and advances an Houre-glasse; and so makes an House of Prayer, a fit den for Theeves⁶³

He regrets that "The times are so loud for Faith, Faith, that the noyse thereof drowns sometimes the very Motion of good Workes," including the "good Workes" implicit in music. Among these is harmony, which, as it proceeds from God to believer through music, has the potential to heal divisions within the church, and engender another kind of "Harmony."⁶⁴

That Humphrey Sydenham's plea that men should avail themselves of the grace and harmony offered to them by God in the form of music, and use them to enhance all aspects of life, devotional and otherwise, was not to be heeded in his lifetime is evident from the events of the years following the publication of The Well-Tuned Cymball. During the early 1640s, Sydenham, a Royalist, was ejected from all of his preferments by the Parliamentary Commissioners, and died in unknown circumstances around 1650.⁶⁵ In 1641, parliamentary supporters tore the keys off the great organ in Durham Cathedral, and a similar attack upon

the organ at Westminster Abbey was only prevented by a counterattack by members of the choir.⁶⁶ One of the first actions of the parliamentary troops after the outbreak of war in August of 1642 was to damage or destroy all objects in Canterbury Cathedral, including the organ, which might be considered part of the "stinking heap of atheistical and Roman rubbish," as one Puritan leader described the ceremonies of the Established Church.⁶⁷ Church music, aside from the metrical Psalms, was prohibited by order of Parliament, as was of course all instrumental music within the church.

It is in such an atmosphere that a pamphlet entitled The Organs Funerall was published in 1642. Purportedly written by Joseph Brookbank, a clergyman whose later work on the subject of church music places him securely within the pro musica sacra tradition of the Established Church, it is subtitled "The Querister's Lamentation for the Abolishment of Superstition and Superstitious Ceremonies," and takes the form of a dialogue between two of Sydenham's "speciall men," men whose professional livelihoods as well as individual vocations depend upon church music, a querister (here, most likely a choirmaster) and an organist. The pamphlet is full of topical references, most particularly to the impeachment and imprisonment of Archbishop Laud in the previous year for "bringing popish articles into the church," among other offences.⁶⁸ Thus, the

Querister laments that "our grand Patron of our infirmities is in Limbo," "Limbo" being the Tower, where Laud was held for four years until his execution in 1645, and "our infirmities" an ironical reference to church music itself, "which is now termed by many (to be) Idolatrous rags of Popery," and which is now a hindrance, a sickness, and a threat to the life and livelihood of the professional musician.⁶⁹ The Querister regrets his association with the Royalists, and ponders whether his own reversal in fortunes, as well as those of the Archbishop, may be laid to their misapprehension of the proper place of music and other ceremonies within the church, despite his own genuine love of these ceremonies:

...but truly I thought as I was taught that it was no sinne to use Ceremonies, but that they were things of an indifferent quallity, and might be used without offence, but one comfort is I could not be brought to conceive the exercise of them to be of absolute necessity to salvation... yet I could never have the power to refuse the use of them, for that preferment had the predominance in my brain⁷⁰

The temper of the times can be gauged by the Querister's care in stating that he could not be accused of believing music "to be of absolute necessity to salvation." While the "indifferent quality" of music is subscribed to in theory by even the most ardent apologists, Hooker and Case do not hesitate to proclaim the "Necessitie" of music (the choice of word is Case's) in the church, writing as they do from the relatively

liberal environment of the Elizabethan church. We recall that Hooker names music as "one of the thinges most necessarie for the house of God," and while he certainly does not contend that music is requisite for salvation, it would appear that, for him, music is deliberately given to man to enhance his understanding and appreciation of the Word. To ignore or fear such a gift is folly. Fifty years later, the Querister is "daily in danger... to be questioned and sentenced to be pilloried and lose my eares,...perchance fined and banished, or (sentenced to) perpetuall imprisonment" should he dare to challenge the prohibitions on music.⁷¹ Ironically, until the previous year the very punishments he describes had been administered to Puritans who defied Laud; a cartoon of the mid-1630s shows the Archbishop being served an entree of Puritans' ears for dinner.⁷²

Conceding that "now the current of the streame runnes in another channell, I must goe with the tyde," the Querister concludes that he will be forced not only to give up his "yearely pension for singing" and his tutelage of "young Artists," but also those pursuits -- "the Taverne and the Ale-house," and playing the "Venus Game with loving Citizens wives" -- which might prove equally dangerous to his life and welfare in the current moral climate.⁷³ Reluctantly but prudently, he resolves to "betake my selfe to another course of life,"⁷⁴ and asks the Organist for his

prognosis of the situation confronting professional musicians such as themselves. The Organist, less willing to shape his conscience to the times, reminds the Querister that "our Ancient and famous Sound" was one of the glories of Protestant worship as practiced in England. He retains a hope for church music:

(that it) will still be continued as a decent and comely thing in the Church, and a remembrance of the Ordinances of the Law... to shew that we acknowledge in our religion as well the Law as the Gospell, and agree well to the retuning of both Testaments in this Kingdome, and that wee esteeme not one above the other⁷⁵

Brookbank exploits the double meaning of the word "Law" in this passage, for while the immediate, temporal "Ordinances of the Law" offer the professional musician a choice between unemployment and illegal activity, the ancient and ordinarily revered "Ordinances of the Law" established the basis for "our Ancient and famous Sound." Therefore, in line with Mason and Sydenham, the Organist reminds the Querister "that we acknowledge in our Religion as well the Law as the Gospell," and should be wary of attempts to undermine that Law by branding it pagan or superstitious.

The Querister, dismissing the hopes of the Organist as impolitic, avows that "it's the best policie to serve the times, and change with the wind, for by that meanes I may be safe when others are questioned,"⁷⁶ while the Organist agrees to suspend their

discussion, and presumably, his own work, "till wee heare more" concerning the prohibitions. What they were to hear, what all defenders of church music heard, was not encouraging. In 1644, Parliament ordered the demolition of all church organs, and in the next year, abolished the Book of Common Prayer and much of the attendant liturgy, including that involving music.⁷⁷ By the end of the decade, both Laud and King Charles I had been executed and the rites of the Established Church effectively outlawed, with severe punishments delivered to clergymen who were discovered practicing the illegal rites or who were suspected of Royalist sympathies.

The climate of fear among the non-Puritan clergy during the Commonwealth induced many to follow the lead of the Querister and "serve the times," at least outwardly. One of the more successful of these equivocators was John Gauden, a minister who established good relations with the parliamentarians early in the 1640s, and maintained them throughout the Commonwealth while publishing pamphlets and books in support of such forbidden institutions and practices as the episcopacy, the Marriage Service, and vocal church music. Gauden's Hierospistes: A Defense by way of Apology for the Ministry and Ministers of the Church of England (1653) contains a cautious, yet for the times quite daring, defence of church music on the

grounds that "the use of harmonious sounds is a gift which the Creator hath given to man above all creatures, and wherewith man may be so pleased and exercised in the use of it as thereby to be better disposed, and more affected...to serve the Creator."⁷⁸

Gauden describes the beneficial effects of music as:

either in more spiritual, holy, humble, calm affections, or in more flaming devotions and sweet meditations, (which are the usual affects of good and grave music on sober and devout souls....)⁷⁹

He risks a remarkably frank criticism of the current regime when he declares that "I can conceive no true religion, but such as is flatted with vulgar fears, can forbid Christians to make the best (which is a religious) use even of music, referring to it, as all honest and comely things, to God's glory."⁸⁰ Gauden also reminds his readers of the intrinsic musicality of the Psalms, and that "though we have lost the ancient tunes of their holy psalmodies," they and other hymns must be recognised not only as music, but as a particularly potent kind of music:

which hath a secret, sweet, and heavenly virtue to allay the passions of the soul and to raise up our spirits to angelical exaltations by which we may more glorify and praise God, which is a part of our worship of him⁸¹

Although there is little to distinguish Gauden's apologia from any of those of the past century in terms of the arguments he presents or the skill and

imagination he deploys in the defence of church music, his work is remarkable in that it exists at all, and for its deliberate attempt to "allay the passions" and address the prejudices of those in power. Mindful of his audience, Gauden avoids a defence of church music that would link it to the despised "ceremonies" of the Established Church, but instead offers a pragmatic argument in favour of the expediency of music. As music is a gift of God, a gift specifically entrusted to man, it is both inexpedient and rather churlish of man deliberately to reject this gift which can only "more glorify and praise God." Gauden also takes care to assure his readers that music is not to be feared:

Certainly music is of all sensible human beauty the most harmless and Divine. Nor did I ever see any reason why it should be thought to deform us Christians, or be wholly excluded from making a part in the beauty of holiness⁸²

While the efforts of Gauden and others on behalf of church music were not to meet with any significant degree of success during the Commonwealth, sacred and secular music continued to be composed and, when possible, published. The preeminent music publisher in London at this time was John Playford, who demonstrated his courage and commitment to music by printing works outlawed for their "profane," "Papish," or otherwise dangerous and corrupting nature. There was, in spite of the Puritans' attitudes and ordinances, a market for at least some of these degenerative

musical works; a collection entitled The Dancing Master, for example, was published by Playford in 1650 and reprinted in 1652 and 1657.⁸³ Playford retained his virtual monopoly over music publishing into the Restoration, and his business was buoyed by the dramatic restitution of music to the church by Charles II. Upon his return to London in May of 1660, Charles reinstated one of the most visible aspects of the Established Church, the Chapel Royal, and directed his choirmaster "to raid cathedral and collegiate choirs for the best possible choristers."⁸⁴ Another powerful and deliberate demonstration of the royal affirmation of the legitimacy of church music, in particular of that form of it most despised by the previous regime, was the unveiling of a new organ in Westminster Abbey in December of the same year.⁸⁵

However, if church music was now in official favour, both the role of the apologist and the music itself were quite different from what they had been before the Commonwealth. Now that music was unequivocally a part of worship within the Church of England, and the power of its critics substantially and permanently diminished, the function of the apologist was obsolete, as there was no longer either a debate over church music, as in the years between the introduction of Calvinism into England and the establishment of the Commonwealth, or a need to keep even the idea of church music alive in the face of governmental efforts

to extinguish it during the Commonwealth. Of the music that was now being composed and performed in the churches and chapels, Playford observes, "all solemn musick was much laid aside, being esteemed too heavy and dull for the light heels and brains of this nimble and wanton age."⁸⁶

As a result, writing on the subject of music reflected the changed nature of music as well as the changed role of the writer. Apologia metamorphosised into encomium, and the polemics of defence were now channelled into the elaborate and often consciously aesthetic praise of music, its powers, and its delights. At the brink of these changes stands a work such as Joseph Brookbank's The well-tuned organ (1660). Written and published immediately after the return of Charles II to London and the re-establishment of the Chapel Royal -- as Brookbank informs us in his dedication to the King -- it is a work that in theory was superfluous, as the legitimacy of church music was no longer threatened. Nevertheless, the author perceives his work to be a necessary vindication of his "abundant" sufferings under the "sinister Policy" of the Commonwealth.⁸⁷ Certainly, it is very different from Brookbank's pamphlet of 1642, if indeed he is the author of that earlier work; yet there is something of the spirit of the Querister about The well-tuned organ. For if we imagine that the Queri-

ster has spent the past eighteen years trying to follow "the current of the streame" (or perhaps, as the dedication suggests, trying like the Organist to retain some small part of his vocation, and being punished for doing so), it is then not surprising to find in 1660 the defence of music prudently linked, through the King, to the Defence of the Realm.⁸⁸

The Brookbank of The well-tuned organ is very much aware of the English pro musica sacra literary and polemical tradition, and is familiar with the classical and Early Christian sources used by the writers of the post-Reformation era in establishing historical and theological justifications for the use of music in the church. In particular, Brookbank draws upon Mason's Authoritie of the Church and Sydenham's Well-Tuned Cymball, the latter providing him with a title for his work and a parallel for his own discussion of vocation, or "Talent." Whereas Sydenham speaks of "speciall men," Brookbank records his observation of "a certain piece of needlwork... enclosed in a very fair handsome wooden frame" created in 1612 by a woman named Maria (Mary) Marston, that was displayed in the Temple Church.⁸⁹ The needlework contains the invocation from Psalm 115, "Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo fit Gloria" (sic) (Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give Glory), as well as its worker's consecration of "'the first fruits of her needl, shaddowing out the

glory of Heaven, and Earth, to the Glory of God

Almighty: ' "90

By which act of hers she shows, what duty of thankful, and specifical returns in and for all things we ow unto God; and if in all, then in this of Instrumental Musick, whereby he is more honoured, praised, and magnified... In a word, to explode, or exclude Instrumental Musick, from the service and worship of God, is to caus the Church, to hide a Talent, which God hath given her, whereby to praise, honour, and glorifie him, which to do of how sad, and dangerous a consequence it is⁹¹

Not only are the talents of individuals a part of the church, but these assembled talents (there is a pun on the Latin talentum, a sum or weight of money, in the references to "returns" and "things we ow") are only given to men so that they may be invested in the work of praise, an argument reminiscent of "Employment (I)"; "The measure of our joyes is in this place,/The stuffe with thee" (11.11-12). To neglect or fear the responsibility imposed by one's talent is therefore to cheat God, clearly a "sad and dangerous" course of (in)action.

That Brookbank places such emphasis upon instrumental music, declaring that "there can be no Honour, Rejoycing, Zeal, Prais, and Thanksgiving performed to Divine Majestie, in a more Divine, Heavenly, abstract, and Seraphical manner, then by Instrumental Musick,"⁹² directs our attention once again to the time and circumstances in which The well-tuned organ was written.

As the dedication is dated 24 August 1660 --less than three months after the restitution of the Chapel Royal -- the full extent of the restoration of church music as sanctioned by Church and State may not yet have been known; thus, an especial plea for instrumental music might serve as a timely reminder. That this plea was heeded and welcomed by those now in power as an opportunity not only to restore, but to consolidate and place before the congregations of England the "Embleme of unity," not to mention authority, that church music along with the Prayer Book and other ritual components of worship had the capacity to represent is evident from the ongoing restoration of churches, and of organs to churches, throughout the next several decades.

Now that its position was secure and its sundry "effects" no longer the subject of impassioned debate, the very solemnity and majesty of pre-Restoration church music, the qualities that had sustained its defenders and frightened its opponents, were in danger of being "laid aside," for even Playford, who regretted this change in aesthetic sensibilities, demonstrated his willingness to "goe with the tyde" and "new string the harp of David" in the various editions of his Introduction to the Skill of Musick, which included new instrumental sacred music in the edition of 1674 and part-sung music for the metrical Psalms (1677).⁹³ Playford also recommended that

English singers of sacred and secular music study Italian vocal techniques, at the same time as the King was sending the composers, musicians, and choristers of the Chapel Royal to Italy and France to learn Continental music and styles, there being "no adequate artistic training available in England" due in large part to the longstanding ambivalence of the church in giving full support to any arts that might have been considered "Papish," and more recently to the specific ordinances restricting or prohibiting such training.⁹⁴

The catalyst for one of the most enduring and visible manifestations of music's newly secure place within the Church of England, and the equally new emphasis of its composers and patrons on its aesthetic and stylistic character rather than its specific devotional function, came from the Continent as well. In 1683, Henry Purcell, the pre-eminent English composer of the Restoration era, noted that the feast day of St. Cecilia (22 November) is "commemorated yearly by all musicians... annually honour'd by a Public Feast... as well in England as in Foreign Parts."⁹⁵ This is the earliest extant reference to musical celebrations in honour of St. Cecilia's Day in England, although it is known that the custom, as distinct from the purely devotional observation of saints' days as practiced by Roman Catholics, originated in France in the early 1570s.⁹⁶ By 1683,

there was in London a "Society of Gentlemen, Lovers of Music," who annually commissioned one or more odes in honour of the saint, which were performed as part of the day's celebrations and subsequently published.⁹⁷ The celebrations also included a church service, held in Christopher Wren's new Church of St. Bride, at which a suitably laudatory sermon on the subject of church music was delivered.

Despite the overtly sacred context of the St. Cecilia's Day commemorations, it is remarkable to observe how far church music, and the perception of it by the literati, had shifted from the fairly consistent devotional function it had occupied throughout the century following the introduction of Calvinism into the English church. While the advocates of church music viewed it as a devotional tool or enhancement, and while their opponents held that music was too powerful to be properly used within the context of worship, both parties in the debate examined church music by a devotional criteria. However, the enthronement of Music by the St. Cecilians, among whom were numbered the most celebrated and influential composers of the late seventeenth century, as well as the writers John Dryden and Joseph Addison, effectively rendered church music, as it had been understood, employed, and defended within a devotional context, devoid of a distinctive and effective religious function and held it to be of primarily artistic

interest. It is almost as if the Puritan fears of "artificiall musick" and of decadent aesthetes attending church "onely to heare the melody" had been deliberately realised and encouraged. Ralph Battell, who preached the St. Cecilia's Day sermon of 1693, dutifully pays homage to Hooker and to the Early Christian apologia tradition:

the Efficacy of Musick is truly admirable, and does mightily edify, because it does most powerfully excite the Passions and Affections; the very heart and Soul towards God. By this our Minds may be raised and spiritualized in their flights towards Heaven, our Devotions quick'ned and enflamed with a greater Zeal and Fervency in our Religious Addresses⁹⁸

Yet his sermon is not a true apologia, because it does not need to be; nor is the "Efficacy of Musick" in a devotional context of primary concern to the Society of Gentlemen, Lovers of Music. There are markedly fewer citations of Scripture in these sermons as compared with the literature of the earlier apologia tradition, perhaps because this essential component of the polemics of defence has little relevance, aside from the purely historical, when there is no longer an opposition, and victory ostensibly has been achieved.

What now concerns the church of the Restoration era is "Reason." In his sermon of 1695, Charles Hickman, chaplain to William III, observes that:

We talk much of a rational way of Worship; and 'tis fit indeed that Reason should direct the

Just as Brookbank's Well-tuned Organ looked back to the apologia tradition while anticipating the greater liberality of the Restoration era, so in Hickman's sermon the "Affections" of the past century and a half confront the Age of Enlightenment, the Age of "Reason." As order gradually returned to the Church of England in the last decades of the seventeenth century, a number of its reinstated "ceremonies," including music, became on the one hand increasingly safe, even sterile, with respect to spirituality, but on the other hand more open to innovation and external influences with respect to creative development. All passion was spent with regard to reformation, restoration, and reconciliation, and if as a consequence the spiritual dynamism that informed the church music debate in the post-Reformation era necessarily dissipated into the safe, "rational" slumber of the early eighteenth century church, still the secularisation of church music could not help but propell it, and its composers, into the exploration of new styles and subjects less closely tied to the actual letter of worship.¹⁰⁰ "Affection" may stand for "Passion," but if by the end of the seventeenth century we take it to mean "Imagination" as well, we see that music, which engages the imagination as "the out-goings of an inflam'd Desire,"¹⁰¹ may act as a foil to the stultifying impossibility of attempting a purely "rational

way of Worship." The rational and the passionate
coalesce, appropriately, only in God, the supreme
Musician, the orchestrator of our passions:

only the Musician gets within us, and manages
our passions with an Arbitrary Power¹⁰²

Chapter Six

"The way to heavens doore":

A Meditation upon "Church-musick"

Of "Musicke," wrote Henry Peacham in The Compleat Gentleman (1622):

Never wise man (I thinke) questioned the lawfull use hereof, since it is an immediate gift of heaven, bestowed on man, whereby to praise and magnifie his Creator; to solace him in the midst of so many sorrowes and cares, wherewith his life is hourelly beset: and that by song, as by letters, the memorie of Doctrine, and the benefits of God might be for ever preserved¹.

There is much in this passage, and in the sensibility that created it, that is germane to an examination of Herbert's "Church-musick." For as church music's apologists and as Peacham, who writes about both sacred and secular music, believe and expound, music has an explicitly moral function as the "immediate gift of heaven, bestowed on man." Moreover, music solaces man "in the midst" of life, by taking him for a time out of

that life and its "hourely" measure of cares, frustrations, and distractions. Finally, music teaches man about the God Whose gift it is. Belonging to God, but extended to man and intended for his happiness and his instruction, music, like Scripture, is "heav'ns Lidger here," ("The H. Scriptures [I]," 1.11), where God and man may meet.

That aspects of Scripture and church music, and the poems that bear their names should be so closely associated is appropriate, for "The H. Scriptures (I) and (II)" and "Church-musick" are near neighbours in "The Church." Following the "Jordan" sequence there is, as Chana Bloch observes, "the sequence of poems ...that finds in an actual church building a series of emblems for the life of the spirit,"² a sequence that has elsewhere been referred to as the "church monuments" sequence and which includes "Church-musick." At first glance, the poem is notable within its sequence for its seeming immateriality of subject amid the three-dimensionality represented by the titles of "Church-monuments," "Church-lock and key," "The Church-floore," and "The Windows." Yet several elements of this sequence coalesce in "Church-musick," or are otherwise pointed up by contrast with the celebratory tone of the poem. "Church-monuments" and "Church-lock and key," which flank "Church-musick" in this sequence, are firmly

grounded, welded to the structure of the church by the very nature of their subjects and by the restriction upon movement that is requisite in such a physical structure. The themes of these poems reflect the earth-bound, weighty, nature of their titles and subjects. The speaker of "Church-monuments" adopts the conceit of escorting "My body to this school" (1.7) so that it may learn of its mortality, and its inevitable entombment in such a monument, so that it -- or rather, the "soul" who deems such a lesson necessary -- "mayst fit thy self against thy fall" (1.24). "Church-lock and key" begins with a confession: "I know it is my sinne, which locks thine eares/And bindes thy hands" (11.1-2). The reader of "The Church" knows that both death and sin are opposed to the work and happiness of the soul, and that relief from the fear of death and sin may "Drop from above," in the form of the grace of the Holy Spirit ("Grace," 11. 13-20). Thus, "Church-musick" by its very title represents a respite from death and sin, for the enabling grace that allows man to make and enjoy music is clearly a gift of the Spirit, and thus music is a sign of the Spirit's presence within and among the members of the church, and within the structure of the building itself. Whereas death and sin "intombe" and "binde" man, music elevates him, draws him within the protection of its wings, and imparts to him the knowledge of "the way to heavens doore."

Throughout "The Church," and most particularly in poems such as "Easter," "The Temper (I)," and "Praise (I)" which precede "Church-musick," Herbert deliberately emphasises and expands upon the idea of music as object, in that it is given to and used by man through a character or object -- a lute, a consort, a song, or the Holy Spirit itself -- that by its presence or identity grants music a dimension and a place of its own. That Herbert does this demonstrates the centrality of music to the enactment of his poetic vocation. That he needs to do this, that he needs to establish the place of music within the architecture of "The Church," reflects the contentious times in which Herbert lived and wrote, and reveals on his part "a deep engagement with the religious and political life of the early seventeenth century,"³ at least as far as the admissibility of music into the church was concerned. We find this association of music with the structure of the church in a contemporary work, one which may have been known to Herbert, and which in any case reflects his sentiments. In The Well-tuned Cymball (1630), Humphrey Sydenham describes sacred music as "a Representative Cathedrall":

...when there was not yet a Temple built, but an Ark onely (a mysticall porch or entrance to that Temple to come) we finde a Representative Cathedrall amongst the Iewes, (composed of) Singing men, and Psalmes, and Instruments of Musicke,

Music, then, is the original temple, and continues to sustain and enhance the devotions of the congregation, as well as offering an occasion for joy to every member who welcomes and does not fear its powers. As such, it is properly considered within the context of church monuments, and with such carefully chosen monuments as mattens, even-song, and church windows, each of which is the subject of a poem in this sequence and all of which, like music, were increasingly attacked by Puritan factions during the late 1620s and throughout the 1630s.⁵

We have called this chapter a "meditation," for in examining "Church-musick", or any poem, we as readers meditate upon it. Yet this poem itself is a recreation of its author's occasional meditation upon the subject of church music. In order for occasional meditation to take place, according to Hall, there must first be deliberate meditation upon Scripture, so that "Thy words do finde me out, & parallels bring" ("The H. Scriptures [II]," l.11), through the application of the meditation to the experience of the practitioner; "Thus feed thy soul by meditation. Set thine hours and keep them, and yield not to an easy distraction."⁶ There are a number of deliberate meditations at work in "Church-musick," in that the poem's themes and images can be traced to several different scriptural passages.

As is true of many, if not most, of Herbert's poems, "Church-Musick" contains a number of Psalmic echoes, both because the church music of the period is directly concerned with and derived from the Psalms, and because in a more general sense, "To recite, to quote, to echo the Psalms is to associate oneself with the community of believers."⁷ Certainly, a parallel to this poem in terms of theme and motivation can be found in Psalm 92, which begins:

It is a good thing to give thanks unto the
Lord, and to sing praises unto thy name, O
Most High:
To shew forth thy loving-kindness in the
morning, and thy faithfulness every night,
Upon an instrument of ten strings, and upon
the psaltery; upon the harp with a solemn
sound.
For thou, Lord, hast made me glad through
thy work: I will triumph in the works of thy
hands

(Ps.92:1-4)

Within the Herbertian scheme, moreover, the depictions of raising/rising and falling/failing as these actions are experienced or witnessed by individual speakers in many poems, including "Church-musick,"⁸ and the specific anxiety felt by those who recognise that these actions are not predictable and may seem to contradict one another -- are expressed in and derived from the Psalms in toto. Whereas the Psalmist laments in one place that "thou hast lifted me up and cast me down" (Ps.102:10), in another he concludes:

But it is good for me to draw near to God:
I have put my trust in the Lord God,

that I may declare all thy works
(Ps. 73:28)

In this Psalm, God is depicted as a refuge, and one that is particularly necessary and appropriate for the enactment of a communicative vocation through which one "may declare all thy works."⁹ The influence of such an identification upon a reader of the Psalm who both strives to enact his own communicative vocation, and who is able to praise, to rejoice, and upon occasion to take refuge with others within the "Representative Cathedrall" of music is reflected throughout The Temple, and nowhere more than in "Church-musick." The poem is spoken ex cathedra in more ways than one; as the speaker praises the "Representative Cathedrall," he discovers his own place within it. And as he makes his discovery, he at last is able to speak with assurance and authority about what he has so painstakingly learned with respect to that place.

In the first stanza of the poem, the speaker, addressing "Church-musick" as it is represented in a form as yet unrevealed to the reader, calls it the "Sweetest of sweets." This brings to the mind of any biblically attuned reader the many sweetness images in Scripture; the Psalmist, speaking of the ordinances of the Lord, calls them "sweeter...than honey and the honeycomb" (Ps. 19:10), while Proverbs says:

Pleasant words are as a honeycomb, sweet
to the soul and health to the bones

Among the many poems in The Temple containing references to sweetness, "The H. Scriptures (I)" and "The Glance" are particularly notable for the extent to which Herbert constructs and deploys images of honey and sweetness to represent truth, understanding, and nourishment, as well as delight.¹⁰ In short, sweetness is equated with good and true words, be they those of God or of man as he learns them from God. In "The Odour, 2.Cor.2," a poem directly based upon a single passage of Scripture, Herbert maintains this equation. As the speaker of the poem meditates upon the words "My Master," he can find no better or more explicit way to describe the effect of this meditation than in terms of sweetness:

How sweetly doth My Master sound! My Master!
As Amber-greese leaves a rich sent
Unto the taster:
So do these words a sweet content,
An orientall fragrancie, My Master

(11.1-5)

Thus, from both a scriptural and a Herbertian frame of reference, the "Sweetest of sweets" as named in "Church-musick" is undoubtably powerful, though as yet rather mysterious.

The suggestion of power implied by the speaker's use of the superlative in his initial address becomes increasingly stronger in the first stanza:

Sweetest of sweets, I thank you: when displeasure
Did through my bodie wound my minde,
You took me thence, and in your house of pleasure
A daintie lodging me assign'd
(11.1-4)

The words "I thank you," and the association of this poem with music through its title and its theme, recall the Book of Psalms, and in particular those Psalms specifically composed as hymns of thanksgiving:

The biblical psalm of thanksgiving is a species of the hymn, in gratitude for a particular benefit, presenting the testimony of someone who has himself personally experienced God's mercy. At its center is an experience of suffering -- enclosed, mastered, overcome¹¹

This experience is succinctly presented in several Psalms of thanksgiving in a near-formulaic way. The Psalmist affirms in Psalm 30:

O Lord my God, I cried unto thee,
and thou hast healed me
(30:2)

In Psalm 34, he recalls:

This poor man cried, and the Lord heard
him, and saved him out of all his troubles
(34:6)

and in Psalm 138, he remembers:

In the day when I cried thou answeredst me,
and strengthenedst me with strength in my
soul
(138:3)

The speaker of "Church-musick" follows the Psalmic formula -- I call, you respond, I am healed --

although it is worth noting that the speaker, a creation of Herbert, describes his former condition in characteristically quiet and tempered fashion; even the use of the phrase "I thank you" reveals the innate politeness and restraint of this particular member of the "British Church." Where the Psalmist "cried to thee for help," Herbert experiences "displeasure," which is promptly recognised and then dispelled by the ministrations of the "Sweetest of sweets." That the "Sweetest of sweets" should have the power to do something that in the Psalms is ascribed to God suggests that the speaker's address is to God. Music alone cannot mimic the actions of God, but music as it is associated with God in the Person of the Holy Spirit can, and as in "Easter" (ll.17-18), does.¹² Not simply music, but specifically church music, has this power to restore peace to the soul and health to the body.¹³

The specific acts of the Spirit that are directed towards the speaker through church music recall the "place" images of "Employment (I)" (ll.6-7, 11), and prefigure those of "The World," in which "Love built a stately house" (l.1) that is later destroyed by Sin and Death:

But Love and Grace took Glorie by the hand,
And built a braver Palace then before
(ll.19-20)

In "Church-musick," "displeasure" is displaced by a

newly discovered "house of pleasure," the house of God and also the "Representative Cathedrall" that music creates and maintains for believers.

The structure that Herbert erects in the first stanza of the poem, and the terms that he uses to describe this structure -- as a "house of pleasure" containing a "daintie lodging" -- comment upon the position of music within his own church. As we have observed in our examination of the church music debate, many Protestants, from John Calvin to the "Sectarie" of the first half of the seventeenth century as described by Peacham in 1622, perceived music as a distraction from the business of worship and as a possible gateway for sin should an individual confuse his enjoyment of sacred music with baser pleasures. These Protestants therefore maintained the view that "the service of God is nothing advanced by singing and instruments."¹⁴ By deliberately naming the church as a "house of pleasure," Herbert wittily appears to confirm the worst suspicions of the opponents of church music, while making a point that would probably go unnoticed and unrelished by such zealots. For the believer, the church, the house of God, is the true house of pleasure, wherein he is "assign'd" a place, and given the opportunity to fill and enjoy it.

If the location of the first stanza in the past is

signalled by the speaker's use of the past tense and the word "when," a shift into the present is evident from the first word of the second stanza, "Now":

Now I in you without a bodie move,
Rising and falling with your wings
(11.5-6)

The effect of church music as it is experienced and described by the speaker of this poem recalls Hooker's similarly evocative description:

(music) carryeth (the soul) as it were into ecstasies, fillinge the mind with an heavenlie joy and for the time in a maner severinge it from the bodie¹⁵

In his description of the experience -- we might say the occasion -- of hearing church music, Sydenham draws upon Hooker and other writers, including Augustine, to illustrate not simply the power of music, but also the "wisdome of the Spirit" that invests it with this power:

Et hoc sit modulatione quadam & delectabili Canori, sayes that delightful African, by a kind of modulaminous and delightfull ayre, which insinuating strangely with the outward Sense, steals subtilly into the minde of man, and not onely invites but drawes it to a holy chastitie and immaculatenesse, and therefore 'twas the wisdome of the Spirit ... to mixe the power of Doctrine with that of Tunes....¹⁶

Sydenham, like his contemporary Herbert and like their antecessor Augustine, recognises the sensual, even sexual, qualities of music, which "not onely invites but drawes" the enthralled mind to a consummation, one that

is holy, chaste, and immaculate. While the seduction that Augustine acknowledges in Book Ten of the Confessions is affirmed as a simple fact of the relationship between music and listener, the description of both music and Augustine himself as "delightful" indicates that his spiritual heirs feel little if any ambivalence over the propriety of this relationship, and endorse it without the reservations that he experiences.¹⁷

Rather, through music, man is permitted to be tempted by and submit to the delights of a sensuous, yet non-sexual, intercourse, while remaining chaste and holy, and as the result of this submission he is empowered by "Doctrine" even as he is rapt with the enjoyment of "Tunes." It is, as Sydenham and Herbert both make clear, "the wisdom of the Spirit" that makes this so.

Herbert grafts onto his description of the speaker's experience one of his most important and pervasive images, that of "wings." The image presents another Psalmic echo, for the Psalmist tells God "in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge" (Ps. 57:1).¹⁸ The speaker of "Church-musick" names the image as "your wings," and so expands the nature of the association of church music with the Holy Spirit. Elsewhere in "The Church," the wings image tends to be specifically associated with the Holy Spirit as a dove, as in "Whitsunday" and "Praise (I)" in the sequence that precedes "Church-musick," and in "Easter-wings"

among other poems. That he does this signals to the reader who may still be wary of the power of church music that this power is of and from God. The image serves as well to link this poem to others that depict the manifestation of grace within the experience of the individual, for that is what church music, and the poem called "Church-musick," each represent.

The second stanza reintroduces the image of sweetness into the poem in the description of the speaker and the Spirit's mutual love as represented and celebrated through music:

We both together sweetly live and love,
Yet say sometimes, God help poore Kings
(11.7-8)

Through music, the speaker, and therefore any believer, can live and love "both together" with the Holy Spirit as long as he recognises and does not fear the power of the Spirit as expressed through music. In other words, he must learn to trust, and to maintain this trust outside of each literal experience of music. "Now," within one such experience, the speaker's trust in his beloved is so great that he permits himself to remark, "God help poore Kings." This comment is reminiscent of those of Donne's self-aggrandising lover in "The Sun Rising," who declares of his beloved and himself:

She's all states, and all princes, I:
Nothing else is.

Princes do but play us; compared to this,
All honour's mimic; all wealth alchemy
(11.21-24)

While the context of the relationship in "Church-musick" is rather different from that of a traditional love poem, Herbert's speaker deliberately associates his relationship with the Holy Spirit with a conventional representation of lovers, while reminding himself and us that without such a relationship, "Man is all weaknesse" ("Praise (I)," 1.9), and therefore vulnerable to temptation, particularly in the form of an illusion of earthly power. In fact, as "there is no such thing/As Prince or King" ("Praise (I)," 11.9-10), among men, those "poore Kings" who have succumbed to temptation and illusion can only be objects of the speaker's gentle pity.

In saying these words, the speaker may actually be singing, and therefore participating in the experience of church music to an extent somewhat greater than if he is simply listening to it. As Chana Bloch notes, the idea expressed in the words "God help poore Kings" is a commonplace of the Book of Psalms, particularly in "the psalms that would have been sung on Anglican feast days."¹⁹ Given Herbert's identification with and emulation of both the Psalms and the Psalmist in the construction and furnishing of his own Temple, it is inevitable that the speaker of a poem celebrating church music would be given the words that most often

were set to music in the seventeenth century, namely those of the Book of Psalms, even as he personalises his perception of this music by grafting an additional association onto it.²⁰

The third and final stanza of "Church-musick" follows the chronological pattern of the preceding stanzas, and thus concerns the speaker's future.²¹ The first words of this stanza, like the opening of the poem, take the form of a direct address to the subject of the poem, followed by a description of the speaker's intended or anticipated action:

Comfort, I'll die; for if you poste from me,
Sure I shall do so, and much more
(ll.9-10)

The name "Comfort" is derived from the Greek word parakletos, which is transliterated as "Paraclete" in English and is variously translated as "Counselor," "Advocate," or, in the Authorised Version, as "Comforter." The word is a synonym for the Holy Spirit in the New Testament, designating the functions that the Spirit performs for Christians on earth. Christ, in the Gospel according to John, tells his disciples of the coming of the Spirit, and its specific attributes and responsibilities:

...the Comforter, which is the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said to you ...

...when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you, from the Father, even the Spirit of

truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall
testify of me (Jn.14:26; 15:26)

By uttering the name "Comfort," the speaker of "Church-musick" reveals his awareness both of the identity of his subject and of the biblical passages that describe and illuminate its actions. Like the speaker of "The H. Scriptures (II)," this speaker is struggling to "make me understood," by reconciling scriptural teachings to his immediate experience of church music, and his anticipated reaction to the ending of that experience. As he listens, as he recognises the presence of the Spirit, and as he fears for himself should the Spirit leave him when the music ends, the speaker seizes upon that quality of the Spirit most precious to him upon this occasion. It is this quality that is named in the speaker's plea, and which causes the the speaker to address the Spirit as "Comfort," rather than by the more correct title of "the Comforter." In effect, the name by which the speaker addresses the Spirit functions as the vocative form of the Spirit's scripturally-derived title, in that it is a variation upon the original, yet is appropriate in this context and correct and recognisable in its identification.

These few words are the Protestant meditative experience in microcosm, in that they demonstrate the continual and virtually unconscious application of

deliberate meditation within the daily life of the worldly yet Word-centred individual. Being a man who is "all weakness" ("Praise [I]," 1.9) when he is alone, and mindful of the excellence of what he has just experienced, he momentarily loses his trust in his own ability to seek out similar experiences with the help of God. We will recall from our examination of "The Temper (I)" and of the preceding stanza of this poem that the relationship between God and man as expressed in the words "Thy power and love, my love and trust" is kept intact by the mutual love of its participants, but must be sustained by the power of God and the trust of man as well, two qualities that have quite different properties. The power of God can never be diminished, but the trust of man in that power, and in his own ability to recognise and serve that power, can be and often is diminished by anxiety, fear, and adverse or discouraging experiences, all of which interfere with the maintenance of trust.

Thus, a man who knows that he is speaking to the Holy Spirit, Who is his "Comfort," Who grants him the gift of grace, and Who represents his freedom to interpret, to create, and to enjoy the works and acts that are made possible by grace, falters, and claims that "'I'll die" if the Spirit, as it has been most recently evident through church music, leaves him when the music ends. In one sense, of course, he is correct to say that without the presence of the Spirit

in his life, he will die, "and much more," for such a life would be tantamount to damnation. Yet the speaker knows from his practice of deliberate meditation that Christ, through the Holy Spirit, is "with you always, even unto the end of the world" (Mt.28:20), and that the grace of the Holy Spirit will continue to manifest itself in other aspects of his life, particularly through the enactment of his vocation. The assurance of the Spirit's presence frees him from fear, and gives him the freedom to understand and to grow, for "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom" (2Cor.3:17). He recovers his trust, and so recognises:

But if I travell in your companie,
You know the way to heavens doore
(11.11-12)

These concluding lines bring the poem full circle. The first and second stanzas of "Church-musick" address themes of pleasure and sensual gratification as they may properly exist within a sacred context, through music "which can first ravish the affections, and then dissolve the heart."²² The final stanza affirms that this Christian who "with open eyes" ("The Pearl," 1.32) rejects both temptation and despair in favour of the "companie" of the Holy Spirit as he enjoys the delights of music in the "house of pleasure" will go not to hell, but to Heaven, for he trusts in the Spirit to "know the way."

We observe in this final stanza, as in the "Jordan" sequence and in many other poems in The Temple, the Holy Spirit working in conjunction with Christ. This association is established for the reader, as we have observed, through the use of the word "Comfort," which derives from the name Christ gives to the Spirit in the Gospel of John; the Greek word parakletos is not used by Paul in the same way, and his references to the Spirit therefore are not translated using the word "Comforter." The words "the way" are used here and throughout "The Church" (see "The Temper (I)," 1.21, "Grace," 1.21, "The Call," 1.1) to refer implicitly to one of the Johannine names of Christ ("I am the way, and the truth, and the life," Jn.14:6), while the phrase "heavens doore" reminds us that Christ is "the door" (Jn.10:9), and therefore the means by which man, assisted by the Spirit who knows the way, may enter heaven. Such a density of images and identifications marks another step of the Protestant way of and to the Cross, being the only means whereby man can identify with aspects of Christ's experience through the recognition of parallels between this experience and his own, the subsequent reconciliation to the validity and uniqueness of his own experience, and the maintenance and enactment of his vocation presented as both evidence of this reconciliation and as a form of praise in and of itself.

"Church-musick" is one of the very shortest poems in "The Church," and it shares with other brief poems that concentrate upon a single theme perhaps an even greater degree of the "concision" that Chana Bloch observes as a primary characteristic of Herbert's scripturally enriched poetic vocabulary.²³ At least two other short poems, in the explication of their individual arguments, shed further light upon our examination of "Church-musick" within the context of the poetic vocation as understood by Herbert and expressed through his speakers. In "The Quidditie," a conscientious Christian poet reminds God and himself what the product of his vocation, namely "a verse," is, by enumerating the things it is not:

My God, a verse is not a crown,
No point of honour, or gay suit,
No hawk, or banquet, or renown,
Nor a good sword, nor yet a lute:

It cannot vault, or dance, or play;
It never was in France or Spain;
Nor can it entertain the day
With a great stable or demain:

It is no office, art, or news
Nor the Exchange, or busie Hall;
But it is that which while I use
I am with thee, and most take all

In "The Posie," Herbert incorporates his own motto, or "posie," into the fabric of the poem, demonstrating its integration into this as into every aspect of his life:

Let wits contest,
And with their words and posies windows fill:

Lesse than the least
Of all thy mercies, is my posie still.

This on my ring,
This by my picture, in my book I write:
Whether I sing,
Or say, or dictate, this is my delight.

Invention rest,
Comparisons go play, wit use thy will:
Lesse than the least
Of all Gods mercies, is my posie still

In the first of these poems, the speaker, in a manner reminiscent of that of "Jordan (I)," relishes the simplicity of his vocation in contrast to the confusion and futility of many worldly pursuits, for he knows that through poetry, and through the imparting of grace into his life that the writing of poetry represents, "I am with thee," so long as he has the wit and the confidence to "use" this vocation properly. In the second poem, a similarly confident poet reveals that he tempers his confidence, which might otherwise turn into arrogance, with a continual meditation upon his chosen motto, "Lesse then the least of Gods mercies." Appropriately, the motto is drawn from Scripture, from Jacob's words to God, "I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies" (Gen. 32:10). In the Epistle to the Ephesians, Paul modifies and personalises the Genesis passage as he reflects upon his calling:

Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles, the unsearchable riches of Christ

(Eph. 3:8)²⁴

Thus, the poet's motto reminds him from Whom his vocation and his knowledge of his own place with respect to his vocation, a knowledge which is "my delight," emanate. The association of this "posie," and therefore this passage of Scripture, with the account of Jacob wrestling with the Angel of God (Gen. 32:24-30) reveals an aspect of vocation that is of particular interest, importance, and use to Herbert, as the wrestling images of "The Temper (I)" (ll.13-14), "Artillerie" (ll.25-28), and "The Crosse" (l.8) demonstrate. One's vocation cannot be overcome or ignored by man, yet difficult as its enactment may be, it blesses him, as the Angel blessed Jacob -- or rather, as Jacob demanded that the Angel bless him:

And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled
a man with him until the breaking of the day...

And he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh.
And he said, I will not let thee go, except
thou bless me

(Gen.32:24,26)

Herbert's speakers continually wrestle with God by challenging the burden that the enactment of their vocation imposes, or by wrongly attempting to conquer the problem of formulating a response to Christ's experience by projecting themselves into it, or even believing that they should. By asserting the worth and the dignity of their own lives and their own work, by this "confession" of the importance of self-knowledge and individual experience, the Protestants of "The

Church" do not conquer God, but with Him "come/Into
thy conquest":

though I can do nought
Against thee, in thee I will overcome
The man, who once against thee fought
("The Reprisall," ll.14-16)

Such awareness extends into other, vocationally related activities ("Whether I sing,/Or say, or dictate"), including those involving church music. For as we have seen, music represents not only a personal avocation for Herbert, but a discipline intrinsically linked to the enactment of the poetic vocation through the music that is in Scripture, and particularly through the Psalms that are at once poems and songs, at once private communications between a poet and his God, and communal hymns of praise, seemingly designed and destined for use within the "Representative Cathedrall" of the Established Church. Through music, as through poetry, "I am with thee," and "I travel in your companie." These concluding expressions of trust and gratitude on the part of the Christian poet fittingly echo the Psalmist, the constant object of his emulation, and his admiration:

I will praise thee: for thou hast heard me,
and art become my salvation

(Ps.118:21)

Notes for Summary

¹ Richard Baxter, A Christian Directory (London, 1673) Preface.

² Richard Marius Thomas More (New York, 1984) 312.

³ Marius, 312: "...without Tyndale's Bible, without its powerful language and dynamic cadences, the spirit of English Protestantism would have been something other than what we now know...From a cultural perspective, 1525 has a much better claim to mark the end of the Middle Ages than the traditional date of 1485 usually given in the textbooks."

⁴ Joseph Hall The Arte of Divine Meditation, in Bishop Joseph Hall and Protestant Meditation, ed. Frank Livingstone Huntley (Binghamton, NY, 1981) 108.

⁵ This is the title of Louis L. Martz's study of Herbert and other seventeenth century religious poets (New Haven, 1954).

⁶ While a reading of Herbert from a Protestant perspective has generally necessitated the use of fairly recent critical works, it will be apparent to any serious student that ongoing inquiries into such subjects as the relationship between English Protestant poetry and contemporary Catholic literature proceed from the groundbreaking work of Rosemond Tuve (A Reading of George Herbert. Chicago, 1952), while the study of Herbert from a doctrinal perspective is based upon the approach of Joseph Summers (George Herbert: His Religion and Art. Cambridge, Mass., 1954). As such, current criticism, while emphasising the explicitly scriptural bias of Herbert's thought and work, continues to be stimulated and sustained by the work of Tuve, Summers, and others.

Notes for Structure and Sources

¹ John Donne, Sermons, ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols. (Berkeley, 1953 -) IX:9:219.

² For a discussion of Hall's Occasional Meditations and his treatment of experience within them, see Frank L. Huntley, Bishop Joseph Hall (Cambridge, 1979) Chapters 6-7.

Notes for Chapter One

¹ Donne, Sermons, II:7:167. Also, see Basil, Saint, Homily on Psalm 29: "The physical structure of the body is, speaking figuratively, a harp and an instrument harmoniously adapted for the hymns of our God; and the actions of the body, which are referred to the glory of God are a psalm, whenever in an appropriate measure we perform nothing out of tune in our actions." In Exegetic Homilies, trans. Sr. Agnes Clare Way (Washington, D.C., 1963) 213.

² Donne, II:7:166-67.

³ Donne, II:7:171-72.

⁴ Donne, III:17:367:
"Turne over all the folds, and plaits of thine owne heart, and finde there the infirmities, and waverings of thine owne faith... Turne thine eare to God, and heare him turning to thee, and saying to thy soule, I will marry thee to my selfe for ever;... Turne to thine own history, thine owne life, and if thou canst reade there, that thou hast endeavoured to turne thine ignorance into knowledge, and thy knowledge into Practice,... then thou hast searched that Scripture... This is Scrutari Scripturas, to search the Scriptures, not as though thou wouldest make a concordance, but an application; as thou wouldest search a wardrobe, not to make an Inventory of it, but to finde in it something fit for thy wearing."

⁵ Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth Century Religious Lyric (Princeton, 1979) 160.

⁶ Donne, II:7:171. He refers to the Deuteronomy passage, and its implications, in the "First Anniversary":

if you,

In reverence to her, do think it due,
That no one should her praises thus rehearse,
As matter fit for chronicle, not verse,
Vouchsafe call to mind, that God did make
A last, and lasting'st piece, a song. He spake
To Moses, to deliver unto all,
That song: because he knew they would let fall
The Law, the prophets, and the history,
But keep the song still in their memory
(ll.45-66)

⁷ See Lewalski, 133-34.

⁸ Huntley, Bishop Joseph Hall, 72-73.

9 Hall, The Arte of Divine Meditation, 78.

10 Lewalski, 171.

11 Lewalski, 171.

12 Ignatius of Loyola, Saint, The Spiritual Exercises, trans. Joseph Rickaby, S. J. (London, 1915) 3.

13 Ignatius of Loyola, 3.

14 Ignatius of Loyola, 7.

15 Ignatius of Loyola, 7.

16 Ignatius of Loyola, 3.

17 A. G. Dickens, The Counter-Reformation (London, 1968) 77.

18 Ignatius of Loyola, Saint, Annotations to the Exercise (Anon. English translation) (Rouen, 1630). These leaflets were produced for an English readership at least as early as 1614, according to the records of Stonyhurst College Library, which possesses many examples of recusant and "exile" publications from the period. I am indebted to Fr. Frederick Turner, S. J. , for this information.

19 Thomas de Villa-Castin, S. J., A Manuall of Devout Meditations and Exercises...translated by a(n English) Father (St. Omer/English College Press, 1618) 5.

20 Some examples of these are the Schola Cordis and the Regia via Crucis of Benedictus van Haeften (both pub. Antwerp, 1635), which are examined in Chapter Four of this study. Among Continental works translated for an English Catholic readership are such emblem books as Parthenia Sacra, trans. H.A. (Rouen, 1633) and Etienne Luzvic's Le coeur devot, trans. as The Devout Hart (Rouen, 1634).

21 Francis de Sales, Saint, An Introduction to the Devout Life (1608) (Paris, 1648) Preface.

22 Most of these editions were published at Douai. Other English presses located abroad which published the Devout Life were St. Omer (1617), Paris (1630, 1637, 1648), and Dublin (1662, 1673). The first extant London edition was published in 1669. (See the Pollard/Redgrave and Wing Short-Title Catalogues.)

23 The contemplation of the Mysteries of the Life of Christ, which corresponds to such traditional

aspects of Catholic devotional practice as the rosary and the Stations of the Cross, is part of the second week of the Ignatian exercises. The section of the work entitled "Rules for Thinking with the Church" directs the practitioner to praise not only God and the saints, but also "relics...decorations and buildings of churches, likewise images, and to venerate them according to what they represent." (Spiritual Exercises, 221). The differences between these aspects of Ignatian and Salesian practice, and the reaction of Protestants to them, are discussed in Chapters Three and Four of this study.

24 Hall, Arte, 80.

25 William Tyndale, "Prologue...shewing the use of Scripture," Doctrinal Treatises (Cambridge, 1848) 398 and 400. For the use of a similar image of the Scriptures as nourishment, see "The H. Scriptures (I)," which is discussed in Chapter Two of this study.

26 Donne, II.11.236-38. The representation of memory as a personalised book of devotions is enhanced by Donne's use of the word "about" to mean both "on" and "pertaining to."

27 George Herbert, The Country Parson, Works, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford, 1945) 265. (Hall's meditative terminology is discussed in Chapter Two of this study.)

28 Lewalski, 154.

29 Dickens, 81.

30 John Calvin, The Institutes of the Christian Religion, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia, 1960) III:x:6:724. Vocation is also described as "the beginning and foundation of well-doing," exerting such an influence over one's life that "a man of obscure station will lead a private life ungrudgingly so as not to leave the rank in which he has been placed by God." (Calvin, 724-25).

31 Baxter, A Christian Directory, 279-280.

32 Baxter, 279-80. Max Weber concludes from his reading of Baxter and many other Protestant writers of the period that in both Lutheran and in Calvinist theology there existed the concept of "the valuation of the fulfillment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could assume" (Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons [New York, 1958] 80). It is clearly not necessary to agree with

all of Weber's conclusions concerning the relationship between the "Protestant ethic" and the development of capitalism in order to appreciate his awareness of the works of Baxter and other English Protestant writers, as well as his observation of the essential link between vocation and the Protestant identity. For a discussion of "the specifically Protestant notion of the dignity of all vocations in the eyes of God, a favorite theme of the Reformers," with respect to Herbert's use of the character of the servant in his poetry, see Chana Bloch, Spelling the Word: George Herbert and the Bible (Berkeley, 1985) 227.

33 Joseph Brookbank, The Well-tuned organ (London, 1660) 11.

34 Weber, 124.

35 Apart from those in the "Jordan" sequence, other poems that describe some aspect of a business-like relationship between God and man include: "Redemption"; "Affliction (I)"; "The Temper (I)," ll. 1-4; "The Pearl," ll. 33-35; "Jordan (II)"; "Providence", and "Hope."

36 Baxter, 375-76.

37 In this, Herbert's speakers are unlike those of Donne's "Holy Sonnets," who recreate various emotions and fears connected to the issue of assurance as it applies to salvation itself, rather than to their vocations.

38 Lewalski, 150.

39 Lewalski, 302.

40 Chana Bloch, "Spelling the Word: Herbert's Reading of the Bible," "Too Rich to Clothe the Sunne": Essays on George Herbert, ed. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Pittsburgh, 1980) 29. And see Bloch, Spelling the Word: George Herbert and the Bible, 305.

41 Weber, 88.

Notes for Chapter Two

- 1 Hall, Arte, 72.
- 2 Hall, Arte, 42.
- 3 Hall, Arte, 14ff.
- 4 Huntley, Bishop Joseph Hall, 44.
- 5 Hall, Arte, 17 (editor's preface).
- 6 Hall, Arte, 13 (editor's preface).
- 7 Among the poems in "The Church" that have as their theme the frustration or anxiety of the poet are: "Deniall," "Miserie," "Sinnes Round," and "The Forerunners."
- 8 Herbert, Works, 289.
- 9 Hall, Arte, 85.
- 10 That Herbert is aware of the different personae that vocation engenders within the individual is evident from the presence of poet/speakers (e.g. the "Jordan" sequence), preacher/speakers (e.g. "The Windows"), and priest/speakers (e.g. "Aaron," "Affliction (I)," and perhaps "The Collar"), who represent aspects of one individual's experience.
- 11 See Walton's account of Herbert's description of The Temple in his letter accompanying the manuscript; Izaak Walton, Life of Mr. George Herbert (London, 1927) 314.
- 12 See Chapter Four of this study.
- 13 John Hollander, The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry, 1500-1700 (Princeton, 1961) 294.
- 14 Hall, Arte, 74.
- 15 Bloch, "Spelling the Word: Herbert's Reading of the Bible," 21.
- 16 Bloch, 15.
- 17 The sequence up to and including the "Easter" poems is discussed in Chapter Four of this study, as is "The Temper (I)." The "monuments" sequence as it informs the reading of "Church-musick" is examined in Chapter Six, while "Love (II)" is discussed as a probable influence upon one of Crashaw's poems in Chapter Three.

18 Lewalski, 314.

19 Hall, Arte, 9 (editor's preface).

20 Hall, Arte, 74. Many of Hall's meditations reflect his interest in nature, just as the recreated meditative occasions in The Temple reflect Herbert's experience of music, the writing of poetry, and preaching, among the many things of which he "makes use." See Huntley, Bishop Joseph Hall, 92-96.

21 Richard Strier describes this outcome as "the possibility of individual 'interlining' through grace." Richard Strier, Love Known: Theology and Experience in George Herbert's Poetry (Chicago, 1983) 173.

22 Lewalski, 105-06, 308.

23 Hendrikus Berkhof, The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit (London, 1964) 18. Also, see "The Sonne," 11.5-6, and the discussion of "sunne" imagery in George Herbert, The English Poems, ed. C. A. Patrides (Totowa, 1974) 12.

24 Joseph Hall, Contemplations upon the Principal Passages in the Holy Story, II:410. Quoted in Frank Livingstone Huntley, Bishop Joseph Hall (Cambridge, 1979) 87.

25 Herbert, Works, 231.

26 Strier, 173.

27 Strier, 173.

28 Hall, Arte, 10 (editor's preface).

29 Hall, Arte, 10 (editor's preface).

30 Hall, Arte, 87.

31 Bloch, 15.

32 Hall, Arte, 11 (editor's preface). Also, on the parson's study of Scripture, see Herbert, Works, 228.

33 The determination of English Protestants to assert themselves in the post-Reformation era is well demonstrated by an excerpt from one of Donne's sermons:

...it is almost an incomprehensible thing, that in so few yeers he made us of the Reformation, equall even in number to our adversaries of the Roman Church....

34 Encyclopedia Judaica (Jerusalem, 1971) VIII:963. Also, see Herbert, Works, 228, on the parson's study of Scripture: "There he sucks, and lives." Jews were officially barred from England from 1290 until 1656, and the primary depiction of them in literature, derived from stereotypes and popular tradition rather than from any English writer's experience, was rarely positive. However, with the growing consciousness of the Bible, and of the typological significance of biblical personages, among English Protestants, there was in the post-Reformation era some reappraisal of "the Jew" in literature, and a greater identification made between the contemporary Jewish people and those the Protestants read about and admired in Scripture. Herbert's poem "The Jews," for example, is far more sympathetic to and aware of Jews as a people than are the contemporary representations of Jews in drama and popular literature. (VI:777-78). It is likely that knowledge of this particular practice, explicitly linked as it is to the study of Scripture, if available to English Protestants even through popular tradition would be of interest and use to them as a literal enactment of scriptural teachings.

35 Bloch, 15.

36 Bloch, 15.

37 Herbert, English Poems, 77n.

38 Herbert, English Poems, 77n.

39 Bloch, 15.

40 Bloch, 15.

41 "The Countrey Parson is full of all knowledg ...He condescends even to the knowledge of tillage, and pastorage, and makes great use of them in teaching, because people by what they understand, are best led to what they understand not." Herbert, Works, 228.

42 Walton, 314.

43 Bloch, 16.

44 Bloch, 23-24, in contrast to Stanley Fish's reading of the poem.

45 Bloch, 15.

46 Lewalski, 204; see plate of Cordis Inhabi-

tatio, Benedictus van Haeften, Schola Cordis (Antwerp, 1635). Herbert's literary, as opposed to his representational, source for this image is most likely derived directly from Scripture; see Chapter Six of this study for a discussion of the "wings of God" image in connection with "Church-musick."

47 Lewalski, 204.

48 The arrangement of the poems also reflects the fact that Whitsunday follows Easter in the Christian calendar.

49 Among other poems in "The Church" that present a paradigm of the relationship between God and man, perhaps the most sustained and (not coincidentally) the most dispassionate relationship is documented in "Love (I)" and "(II)."

50 The interaction of the human heart with Christ both sustains that heart, and therefore its owner's devotional life, and within Herbert's poetic vision informs and further sustains vocation through the identification of Christ with the Holy Spirit. As Bloch observes with respect to "Easter": "Christ's resurrection raises the heart to new possibilities of action," including the action that is the enactment of vocation. Bloch, Spelling the Word: George Herbert and the Bible, 249.

51 Richard Rogers, Seven Treatises Containing such Direction as is Gathered out of the Holie Scriptures...called the practice of Christianitie (London, 1603) 44.

52 Strier, 21.

53 Strier, 231.

54 For an explication of the role(s) of the speaker in Herbert's poems, see the "Structure and Sources" section of this study.

55 Lewalski, 141.

56 See "The Collar" for another speaker who unconsciously incorporates typology and biblical imagery into his diatribes against God's injustice.

57 See "Redemption," l.1, and "The World."

58 Herbert, Works, 497.

59 Herbert, Works, 497.

60 There may also be a punning reference to the poet's own name in these lines. Herba is the Latin for "grass," and thus the flesh that is "Herbert" is also "grasse."

61 Strier, 21.

62 Strier, 21.

63 Herbert, English Poems, 140n: "The major Biblical analogue is Psalm 51" ("Create in me a clean heart, O God" [Ps 51:10]).

64 See Robert Boenig, "The Raising of Herbert's Broken Consort: a Note on 'Dooms-day', 29-30." N&Q 2(1984) 239-41, for a discussion of "raising" as it applies to the tuning of stringed instruments to a sacred pitch.

65 Herbert, English Poems, 79n.

66 Herbert, English Poems, 80n (1974 ed.). Patrides's reading of the stanza is to my mind more plausible than that of Hutchinson, who places the soul in the head and must then allow "the effects of the potion when drunk" to "ascend to the brain" (Herbert, Works, 497).

67 Herbert, English Poems, 29n. The "Letter to Ferrar" is suggestive in that it reflects the sensibility of Protestant meditative writing, namely, that such writing is subjective and essentially private. Thus, the writer is, in Hall's words, "careful to avoid cloying my reader with other men's thoughts" (see note 24 above), although he is willing to let his work be read if it may be of use to another.

68 Herbert, Works, 247, 250, 259.

69 Hall, Arte, 106.

Notes for Chapter Three

- ¹ Huntley, Bishop Joseph Hall, 8.
- ² Huntley, 8.
- ³ Thomas de Villa-Castin, Devout Meditations and Exercises, Dedicatory Letter.
- ⁴ Thomas de Villa-Castin, Author's Preface.
- ⁵ Joseph Hall, A Serious Disswasive from Poperie (London, 1609) 35.
- ⁶ Hall, 30.
- ⁷ Lewalski, 148.
- ⁸ Hall agreed to act as chaplain to Sir Edmund Bacon on the Flanders mission to satisfy "'the great desire I had to inform myself ocularly of the state and practice of the Romish church, the knowledge whereof might be of no small use to me in my holy station.'" Huntley notes that Hall "left his clericals behind." (Huntley, 72-73).
- ⁹ Bayley's The practise of pietie (1613) is perhaps the most popular Protestant meditative work of the period, reaching its 35th edition in 1635. Bolton's A Safe and Comfortable Walking with God (1626) is one of the first meditative works emphasising the rapture experience, a theme of particular importance to many Puritan practitioners. Taylor's Holy Living (1650) and Holy Dying (1651) and Baxter's Saints Everlasting Rest (1651), written by clergymen active in and affected by the events of the Civil War, remained popular and influential for many years after their publication. The devotional works of Hall, Donne, and Baker are discussed in this study.
- ¹⁰ Ignatius of Loyola, Spiritual Exercises, 221.
- ¹¹ Sir Thomas Browne, Religio Medici, Works, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London, 1964) I:45:56.
- ¹² Sir Richard Baker, Meditations and Disquisitions upon The Lords Prayer, 4th ed. (London, 1640) Commendatory Epistle.
- ¹³ Sir Richard Baker, Meditations and Disquisitions upon the Three Last Psalmes of David (London, 1639) 149-50.
- ¹⁴ See C. A. Patrides, "The experience of Otherness: theology as a means of life," The Age of

Milton, ed. C. A. Patrides and Raymond B. Waddington (Manchester, 1980) 174ff. for a discussion of the importance of Augustine and his writings in the development of Protestant thought and literature.

¹⁵ Donne, Sermons, VI:2:62.

¹⁶ John Donne, Devotions upon Emergent Occasions (Ann Arbor, 1959) XIX (Expostulation), 124. In this same Expostulation, Donne also addresses the subjects of biblical typology and symbolic writing and the implications of the use of these modes for the reader and interpreter of Scripture:

The style of thy works, the phrase of thine actions, is metaphorical. The institutions of thy whole worship in the old law was a continual allegory; types and figures overspread all, and figures flowed into figures, and poured themselves out into farther figures... (In the New Testament) How often, how much more often, doth thy Son call himself a way, and a light, and a gate, and a vine, and bread, than the Son of God, or of man? How much oftener doth he exhibit a metaphorical Christ, than a real, a literal? (XIX:125)

¹⁷ Donne, Sermons, III:3:188.

¹⁸ "I believe that the random order of The Temple is deliberate, and that even if he had lived to revise the volume, Herbert would not have imposed on it a more systematic arrangement. If he regarded his poems as a kind of psalmody, it is entirely possible that he intended (an analogy) to the order of the Book of Psalms." Bloch, Spelling the Word, 240.

¹⁹ Donne, Devotions, title page. He describes the work as "severall steps in my Sickness, Digested into ...Meditations,... Expostulations,... Prayers." The use of the word "digested" in this context may thus mean not only "condensed" or "rendered," but may also refer to the Protestant understanding of the Word as spiritual food, and meditation upon it as digestion; see Chapter Two of this study.

²⁰ C. A. Patrides, introduction, Major Works, by Sir Thomas Browne (Harmondsworth, 1977). I do not concur with Patrides's conclusion from this observation, namely, that the apparently random ordering of entries in Religio Medici is derived not from meditative but from dramatic literature. Given that Browne's work exhibits the hallmarks of Protestant meditative writing -- the use of the Bible, the application of meditations and observations to the self, a sense of occasionality -- and while not strictly a devotional work is considered by its author to be a "religious" one, I suggest that Browne's

sources and sympathies are more readily found in meditative literature than in any other genre.

²¹ Peter Daly describes the background for the occasional meditations that are made possible by deliberate meditation and by the subsequent involvement of the practitioner in worldly events and activities as "not planned, or formally or thematically arranged, but deriv(ing) from accidental, yet spiritually meaningful, encounters with life." Peter M. Daly, Literature in Light of the Emblem (Toronto, 1979) 76. Such an "accidental encounter," in the form of serious illness, is the impetus for Donne's Devotions, in which he reveals not only his background in scriptural meditation, but also his deliberate examination and cultivation of specific scripturally derived images which are of particular relevance to his own work and temperament. For example, the Devotions contains a meditation upon scriptural images of "ship" and "sea" (e.g. Wisdom 14:3, Acts 27:31) as they apply to his present condition. Illness is "a long and stormy voyage" at sea, while "thy ship is thy physician" (XIX:127). That these images are both important to Donne, and may be employed with variations upon other "emergent occasions," is evident in his "Hymn To Christ," which was composed five years previous to the Devotions, in anticipation of a voyage to Germany:

In what torn ship soever I embark,
That ship shall be my emblem of thy ark;
What sea soever swallow me, that flood
Shall be to me an emblem of thy blood
(11.1-4)

The choice and manipulation of specific, scripturally-derived meditative and literary emblems by Herbert is discussed in Chapter Four of this study.

²² Francis de Sales, Devout Life, Preface.

²³ Francis de Sales, Preface.

²⁴ Francis de Sales, Preface. The very nature of the Exercises and Additions in Ignatius's work builds towards some result that is promised and expected if the exercises are carried out properly; see the Additions to each week of the Spiritual Exercises in particular.

²⁵ Francis de Sales, 10.

²⁶ Francis de Sales, 10.

²⁷ Francis de Sales, 94.

²⁸ Francis de Sales, 10.

²⁹ Marc F. Bertanasco, Crashaw and the Baroque (University, Ala., 1971) 44n., 56. While the elder Crashaw may also have made use of the first Protestant meditative works that were available by 1610, such as Hall's Arte of Divine Meditation (1606), the distinctively Puritan literature, with its emphasis upon the rapture experience, that would probably have held the greatest attraction for him developed slightly later in the period. A Puritan meditative work can be identified at least as early as 1626, when Robert Bolton published A Comfortable Walking with God. See Gordon Rupp, "A Devotion of Rapture in English Puritanism," Reformation Conformity and Dissent, ed. R. Buick Knox (London, 1977), for a discussion of the development of Puritan meditative literature.

³⁰ Bertanasco, 56-59. This familiarity is particularly evident in "The Weeper" among Crashaw's other major poems.

³¹ Richard Crashaw, Poems, ed. L. C. Martin (Oxford, 1957) xxxv, from MS of John Bargrave.

³² Bertanasco, 62-63.

³³ Francis de Sales, 91-92, and Bertanasco, 62 and 70.

³⁴ The continual reflection upon aspects of the day's meditation is described by Francis de Sales as a "nosegay of devotion" that refreshes and delights the practitioner (36), and as "the odour of sweetnesse, which comforts men, and rejoyces Angels" (11). Among the poems in which Crashaw presents the association of sweet scents and sanctity are: "The Weeper" (stanza 27 in particular); "On the Name of Jesus," ll.165-180; "Ode on a Prayer booke," ll.107-10; "On the assumption," ll.63-68, and the "St. Teresa" hymn, ll.109-17.

³⁵ Francis de Sales, 11.

³⁶ Dickens, The Counter Reformation, 174. Among these women was Jeanne de Chantal, a French noblewoman who founded the Order of the Visitation in 1610.

³⁷ Francis de Sales, 4.

³⁸ Francis de Sales, Preface.

³⁹ Francis de Sales, 10.

⁴⁰ Francis de Sales, 102-03.

⁴¹ Francis de Sales, 154. In addition to the specifically Catholic meditative mode of contemplation of and appeal to the saints and to St. Teresa

in particular that informs Crashaw's devotional and poetic sensibilities, his meditation "Upon the booke and picture of Teresa" in "The Flaming Heart," the poem that follows the hymn proper, is clearly linked to image-oriented Catholic meditative practice.

42 Francis de Sales, 11, 95. Also, see note 30 above.

43 Francis de Sales, 104.

44 George Walton Williams, Image and Symbol in the Sacred Poetry of Richard Crashaw (Columbia, S.C., 1963) 44.

45 Francis de Sales, 10.

46 Williams, 131.

47 Francis de Sales, 102-03, 151-52.

48 The Protestant attitude towards the specific invocation of angels and saints that informs Herbert's poem is expressed by Donne as follows:

I must not rely upon the prayers of others; not of Angels, Though they be Ministeriall spirits, and not onely to God himselfe, but between God and Man, and so, as they present our prayers, no doubt poure out their owne for us too, yet we must not rely upon the prayers of Angels. Nor of Saints; though they have a more personall and experimentall sense of our miseries then Angels have, we must not relie upon the prayers of Saints (Sermons, IX:9:218)

Donne's suspicion of the efficacy, even the morality, of heavenly intervention stems from the Protestant insistence upon the validity of the "personall and experimentall sense" of the individual's experience. By contrast, we recall Hall's contention that Catholicism "cared little whether we understand our selves" (Disswasive, 35). Thus, Donne warns that even the preacher must not rely "upon the prayers of the Congregation... except we make our selves parts of the Congregation, by true devotion, as well as by personall presence" (IX:9:218).

49 Hall, in his published works, is careful "'to avoid cloying my reader with other men's thoughts,'" be they his own thoughts or those of the writers of Scripture. Huntley, Bishop Joseph Hall, 87.

50 Francis de Sales, 154-56.

51 "The readers of The Temple are assumed to be

readers of the Bible as well, a group of initiates with a history and a dialect in common. We cannot get past the title page of the volume without some knowledge of Scripture, and readers had better have the Bible at their fingertips (or at least their elbows) if they expect to enjoy Herbert's poetry with anything like its full resonance." (Bloch, 1)

⁵² Richard Baxter draws upon, responds to, and attempts to emulate Herbert's work in his own manual of devotion, The Saints Everlasting Rest (1651) and elsewhere in his numerous writings. In 1697, a Puritan congregation published their own versions of over fifty of Herbert's poems as Select Hymns, as did John Wesley in the early eighteenth century.

⁵³ Gerard Manley Hopkins, Selected Poems and Prose, ed. W. H. Gardner (Harmondsworth, 1953) editor's preface.

Notes for Chapter Four

¹ Boenig, "The Raising of Herbert's Lute," 240.

² Ilona Bell reads in the "Easter" sequence an explicit critique of the Ignatian method, rather than the implicit alternative to it in the form of Protestant meditative practice that I have suggested. See "Setting Foot into Divinity": George Herbert and the English Reformation," Essential Articles for the Study of George Herbert's Poetry, ed. John R. Roberts (Hamden, 1979) 66.

³ Among these Jesuit emblem books is the Schola Cordis of Benedictus van Haeften (1635), which is one of the principal sources of Francis Quarles's Emblemes, a highly popular "Protestantised" work.

⁴ Hollander, The Untuning of the Sky, 42.

⁵ John Case, The praise of musicke (Oxford, 1586) 122.

⁶ Augustine of Hippo, Saint, Expositions upon the Book of Psalms (Oxford, 1857) VI:439.

⁷ Augustine, VI:440.

⁸ Augustine, VI:440. Donne evinces a similar awareness of the "Corpus hominis, Organum Dei" construction in his "Hymn to God my God, in my Sickness." In that poem, the body of the dying Christian has been, and will continue to be, "the instrument" of God (l.4), which the soul tunes (l.4) in preparation for death, when "I shall be made thy music" (l.3).

⁹ Augustine, VI:440.

¹⁰ Hollander, 46. It is worthwhile to note that this haphazard attitude towards the identification of ancient liturgical instruments extended to John Calvin, who dismisses or ignores them in his commentary upon Psalm 150. See Chapter Five of this study for an examination of some of Calvin's writings on the subject of church music.

¹¹ Augustine, II:203-04. Augustine's Expositions offer the most sustained treatment of several metaphors that are used by other Early Christian writers as well, notably Basil the Great:

Perhaps the mind, which seeks things above, is called a psaltery because the structure of this has its resonance from above. The works of the

body, therefore, give praise to God, as if from below; but the mysteries, which are proclaimed through the mind, have their origin from above, as if the mind was resonant through the Spirit (Basil, Saint, Homily on Psalm 32, 230.)

¹² Hollander, 46.

¹³ Augustine, II:204.

¹⁴ Augustine, VI:455.

¹⁵ A similar deliberately chosen and tangible emblem is that of the "ship" in Donne's writings, particularly the "Hymn to Christ" (1619) and the Devotions (1624). The cultivation of these meditative and literary emblems by Donne and Herbert is complemented and encouraged by the practice of occasional meditation, whose advocates recommend meditation upon non-liturgical objects in addition to meditations directly related to one's vocation. Hall includes in his Occasional Meditations his responses to "a Spider in his Window," "the hearing of the street cries in London," and "the sight of a well-fleeced sheepe." Given the account of Herbert's musical activities in Walton's Life and the evidence that "many of his poems are structured like lute songs," it is probable that Herbert's own avocation and interests led him to explore the possibilities of the lute emblem as a means of interpreting the Passion for the individual to such an extent as is apparent in "The Church." See Robert Boenig, "Listening to Herbert's Lute" RenR Nov. (1984) 298-99.

¹⁶ The most notable of these is the Schola Cordis of Benedictus van Haeften; see note 3 above.

¹⁷ Chana Bloch observes that the specific vocabulary of "Easter" may reflect Herbert's knowledge of the Sidney-Pembroke translations of the Psalms. The Countess of Pembroke's translation of Ps.57:34-36 reads:

Wake my tongue, my lute awake,
Thou my harp the consort make,
My self will beare a part

See Bloch, Spelling the Word, 250-51.

¹⁸ Boenig, "Consort," 240.

¹⁹ Boenig, "Consort," 239-40.

²⁰ Fredson Bowers, "Herbert's Sequential Imagery: 'The Temper (I),' " Essential Articles, 231.

21 Walton, "The Life of Mr. George Herbert," 303. Also, see note 15 above; also, Louise Schleiner, "Jacobean Song and Herbert's Metrics" SEL (1979) 109-26.

22 Bowers, 233.

23 Bowers, 239.

24 Bowers, 240.

25 Hollander, 288. "If we can believe Walton, Herbert's almost constant use of 'sing' for 'pray' represents a personal as well as a conventional figure...."

26 See Chapter Three of this study.

27 Hollander, 294.

28 Bowers, 238. In this context, it is worthwhile to note the similar themes of space and tension in Donne's "Good Friday 1613," although the speaker of that poem fears that the "spectacle" of the Crucifixion would be unbearable for him, while the speaker of "The Temper" has already projected himself into the spectacle:

Hence is't, that I am carried towards the west
This day, when my soul's form bends towards the east,
There I should see a sun, by rising set,
And by that setting endless day beget;
But that Christ on his Cross, did rise and fall,
Sin had eternally benighted all.
Yet dare I almost be glad, I do not see
That spectacle of too much weight for me
Who sees God's face, that is self life, must die
What a death were it then to see God die

(11.9-18)

29 Hollander, 42.

30 Hollander, 42.

31 This is the original title of the "Temper" poems in the Williams MS; see George Herbert, The English Poems, ed. C. A. Patrides, 74n.

32 Plato, The Republic, trans. G. M. A. Grube (Indianapolis, 1974) IV:107.

33 Browne, Religio Medici, II:9:84.

34 Hollander, 272.

35 Walton, 63.

36 T. S. Eliot, Little Gidding, I:11-12.

37 William Butler Yeats, "The Second Coming,"
1.3: "Things fall apart; the center cannot hold."

38 John Chrysostom, Saint, Exposition of Psalm XLI, Source Readings in Music History, ed. Oliver Strunk (London, 1952) 70.

39 To cite but two examples of the importance of immediate and individual experience within Protestant meditation: Donne's Devotions upon Emergent Occasions (1624) developed out of his severe illness of 1623-24, and the work is deliberately presented as to suggest that the meditations were composed in media res. Jeremy Taylor's Holy Dying (1651) combines the tradition of ars moriendi literature with Protestant meditative concerns and practices.

40 Strier, 190.

41 Strier, 190.

42 Strier, 190.

43 Strier, 190.

44 Strier, 190n.

45 Perhaps the most obvious example of a similarly concerned Protestant poem is Marvell's "The Coronet," which draws heavily upon Herbert's "A Wreath."

46 While Hall's meditative writings are very different in tone from polemical works such as the Disswasive from Poperie (1609), the reader is continually made aware that his Arte was conceived as an alternative to the perceived threat of Catholic methodology upon Protestant meditative practice. Herbert, writing in the next generation of Protestantism, yet before the schism within the Church of England has become fully realised, is perhaps fortunate in that his Protestant identity can be taken for granted when he addresses such traditional meditative subjects as the Passion, without the need to iterate a partisan identification that we find among the writers of the later 1630s and throughout the Commonwealth period.

47 Among the poems that exhibit a connection between music and the public roles and avocations of their speakers are: "Easter," "Church-musick," "Christmas," "Aaron," and perhaps "A true Hymne," if we take the writing of hymns to be rather more public, even priestly, than the privately enacted vocation of the poet.

48 Ignatius of Loyola, Saint, The Spiritual Exercises, 26.

49 Benedictus van Haeften, Regia via Crucis (Antwerp, 1635) 228.

50 G. Richard Dimler, S.J. notes the tendency among Jesuit emblematisers to graft additional icons on to the primary pictura." See "Jesuit Emblems," The European Emblem: Towards an Index Emblematicus, ed. Peter Daly (Waterloo, 1980) 112.

51 Ignatius of Loyola, 177.

52 van Haeften, Schola Cordis, 566.

53 Augustine, VI:440.

54 Alonso de Ledesma, Epigramas y hieroglyphicos a la vida de Christo (Madrid, 1625). Described and quoted in Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery (Rome, 1964) 150.

55 Praz, 150.

56 Ignatius of Loyola, 85.

57 Rogers, Seven Treatises, A6.

58 Lewalski, 149.

59 Bloch, 168-69.

¹ Augustine of Hippo, Saint, Confessions, trans. F. J. Sheed (London, 1943) X.33:232.

² Humphrey Sydenham, The Well-Tuned Cymball (London, 1637) 8.

³ John Calvin, The Form of Prayers and Songs of the Church (Letter to the Reader), ed. and trans. Ford Lewis Battles Calvin Theological Journal (1980) 160-65.

⁴ Calvin, Prayers and Songs, 163. Calvin addresses the proper use of "God's gifts" in the Institutes as well:

Let this be our principle: that the use of God's gifts is not wrongly directed when it is referred to that end to which the Author himself created and destined them for us, since he created them for our good, not our ruin (Calvin, Institutes, III:x:1:720)

However, when considering Calvin's understanding of the place of music within a devotional context, we must acknowledge his belief that instrumental music was "destined for us", i.e. Christians, primarily as a relic of the Law of Ceremonies, existing only in Scripture and having no place in "our" worship. It is perhaps reflective of Calvin's distrust of music that he completely omits aural sensation from a list of "many things" attractive to us, "apart from their necessary use," a list that includes the scent and appearance of flowers and the "loveliness" of precious stones and metals; see Calvin, Institutes, III:x:1:721.

⁵ Calvin, Prayers and Songs, 163-64.

⁶ John Calvin, Commentary on the Book of Psalms, trans. James Anderson (Edinburgh, 1849) V:312.

⁷ Calvin, Commentary, 312.

⁸ Suzanne Selinger, Calvin Against Himself: An Inquiry in Intellectual History (Hamden, Conn., 1984) 112.

⁹ Calvin, Commentary, 320. Calvin's readings of Psalms 149 and 150 are strikingly different from those of Augustine, whose understanding of musical instruments as permissible within the context of worship and as emblems of the Crucifixion informs Herbert's manipulation of these emblems in a number of poems; see Chapter Four of this study.

10 Gerald Abraham ed., "The Age of Humanism, 1540-1630," The New Oxford History of Music (London, 1968) IV:465.

11 Martin Luther, Wittenberg Gesangbuch (Preface) Source Readings in Music History, 341-42.

12 Judith Hook, The Baroque Age in England (London, 1976) 35.

13 Richard Hooker, Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, ed. W. Speed Hill (Cambridge, Mass., 1977) V:151.

14 Calvin, Prayers and Songs, 164.

15 Hooker, 151.

16 Hooker, 151-52.

17 Sydenham, 13-14.

18 Hooker, 152.

19 Hooker, 153. The debate over church music may thus be seen as an extension of the continuous definition of the Protestant aesthetic during this period; see Chapters One and Three of this study.

20 Bloch, Spelling the Word, xiv.

21 Brookbank, The well-tuned organ, 24.

22 Peter Le Huray, "'The fair musick that all creatures made,'" The Age of Milton, 247. Le Huray notes that in the twenty-five years prior to 1588, "no more than fifteen works (on music) had been published. In the next twenty-five there were printed almost a hundred sets of music books and books on music, many of the very highest calibre."

23 Case, The praise of musicke, Preface.

24 As we have seen, the attitude of even one of the Fathers -- Augustine -- towards church music is not wholly consistent within his own writings, although he, like Basil, and unlike a writer such as Gregory, specifically praises instrumental music. Basil calls the Psalm "a musical sermon when it is played rhythmically on the instruments with harmonic sounds." (Homily on Psalm 29). See Oliver Strunk, ed., Source Readings in Music History, for a survey of patristic writings on this subject.

25 Case, Preface.

26 Case, 41.

27 Case, 66.

28 Case, 66.

29 Case, Preface. Also, see Henry Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman (London, 1622) Chapter XI.

30 Case, 79.

31 Case, 90.

32 Case, 93.

33 Case, 117.

34 Case, 118-19.

35 Case, 142.

36 Case, 123-24.

37 Case, 143.

38 Case, 152.

39 Case, 150.

40 H. R. Trevor-Roper, Archbishop Laud, 2nd ed. (Hamden, Conn., 1962) 47-48.

41 Hook, 42, 124, and 149. It is not entirely correct to speak of a "Puritan" attitude towards church music, as there were notable dissenters from the Puritan position throughout the post-Reformation period, including the Commonwealth. Richard Baxter calls music "the chief delightful Exercise of my religion and my Life; and hath helped to bear down all the Objections which I have heard against Church-Musick, against the 149, 150 Psalms" (Poetical Fragments [London, 1681] Preface). A Puritan congregation at the end of the century demonstrates a degree of flexibility within their interpretation of "plaine Musick" by preparing a number of Herbert's poems for use as Select Hymns (London, 1697). Moreover, congregational singing, with or without accompaniment, became an important part of worship in many Reformed churches in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and has remained as a distinctive feature of these churches.

42 Francis Mason, The Authoritie of the Church (London, 1607) 46.

43 Mason, 46-47. A similar opportunity for painless enlightenment is advocated by Herbert:

Hearken unto a Verser, who may chance
Ryme thee to good, and make a bait of pleasure.
A verse may finde him, who a sermon flies,
And turn delight into a sacrifice
("The Church-porch," 11.3-6)

44 Mason, 47.

45 Browne, Religio Medici, II:9:84.

46 Browne, I:3:13. Keynes notes that this version, from the MSS and the unauthorised editions, differs slightly from that which appears in the edition of 1643:

I should violate my owne arme rather than a
Church, nor willingly deface the memory of
Saint or Martyr (I:3:13n).

47 G. E. Aylmer, "The historical background,"
The Age of Milton, 9-10.

48 Sidney Gottlieb, "Herbert's Case of
'Conscience': Public or Private Poem?" SEL 1(1985)
123.

49 Dictionary of National Biography LV:246.

50 Sydenham, 3.

51 Sydenham, 8. By contrast, Calvin's view of
"the ceremonies" is that they should exist only in
Scripture, so that Christians may better understand
the distinction between the Old and New Covenants:

Christ by his coming has terminated (the
ceremonies), but has not deprived them of
anything of their sanctity; rather, he has
approved and honored it. Just as the cere-
monies would have provided the people of the
Old Covenant with an empty show if the power
of Christ's death and resurrection had not been
displayed therein, so, if they had not ceased,
we would be unable today to discern for what
purpose they were established (Calvin, Institutes,
II:vii:16:364).

52 Sydenham, 10.

53 Sydenham, 15. Among Herbert's numerous
emblematic poems, see "The Temper (I)" and "Love
Unknown" in particular for similar images.

54 Sydenham, 15.

55 Sydenham, 15. Similar characterisations of
Rome and Geneva are found in "The British Church."

However, in that poem, the church of Geneva is "so shie/Of dressing" (i.e. of embellishment of any kind) that "She wholly goes on th'other side,/ And nothing wears" (ll.19-20, 23-24), while Sydenham, deliberately less subtle, draws from Geneva's "undress'd" condition the conclusion that she "lyes a little sluttish," and is therefore in a sense no more virtuous than the "Whore of Rome."

⁵⁶ Sydenham, 17. By contrast, Browne "will not say with Plato, the Soule is an Harmony, but (it is) harmonicall, and hath its neerest sympathy unto musicke" (II:9:84).

⁵⁷ Sydenham, 19.

⁵⁸ Sydenham, 22-23, 28. Also, see "Sion," 11.17-18:

All Solomons sea of brasse and world of stone
Is not so deare to thee as one good grone

⁵⁹ Sydenham, 22-23.

⁶⁰ Sydenham, 23.

⁶¹ Sydenham, 24-25.

⁶² Sydenham, 25.

⁶³ Sydenham, 30-31.

⁶⁴ Sydenham, 33.

⁶⁵ John Chandos, ed., In God's Name: Examples of Preaching 1534-1662 (London, 1971) 302.

⁶⁶ Andrew Barrow, The Flesh is Weak: An Intimate History of the Church of England (London, 1980) 49-50.

⁶⁷ Barrow, 48, 51.

⁶⁸ Barrow, 49.

⁶⁹ Joseph Brookbank, The organs funerall (London, 1642) 1-2.

⁷⁰ Brookbank, funerall, 2.

⁷¹ Brookbank, funerall, 3.

⁷² Barrow, 46.

⁷³ Brookbank, funerall, 3.

⁷⁴ Brookbank, funerall, 4.

- 75 Brookbank, funerall, 4.
- 76 Brookbank, funerall, 5.
- 77 Barrow, 54-55.
- 78 John Gauden, Hierospistes, in Anglicanism, ed. Paul Elmer More and Frank L. Cross (London, 1935) 610.
- 79 Gauden, 610. See Chapter Six of this study for a discussion of similar links between "Church-musick" and "sweet meditations."
- 80 Gauden, 610.
- 81 Gauden, 610.
- 82 Gauden, 611.
- 83 Dictionary of National Biography XLV:416.
- 84 Barrow, 64.
- 85 Barrow, 65.
- 86 Dictionary of National Biography XLV:416-17.
- 87 Brookbank, The Well-tuned organ, Epistle Dedicatory.
- 88 Brookbank, organ, 2.
- 89 Brookbank, organ, 10-11.
- 90 Brookbank, organ, 11. The last two words of Invocation to Ps.115 as they appear in the Vulgate are "da gloriam," not "fit Gloria" as the "needlwork" indicates. It is possible that Mary Marston translated the Invocation from English into Latin, and misconstrued the verb (facere, "to make or do," instead of dare, "to give").
- 91 Brookbank, organ, 11.
- 92 Brookbank, organ, 36.
- 93 Dictionary of National Biography XLV:417.
- 94 John Playford, Introduction to the Skill of Musick (London, 1674) A6ff. Also, see Hook, 124-25.
- 95 William Henry Husk, An Account of the Musical Celebrations on St. Cecilia's Day (London, 1857) 10.

96 Husk, 8.

97 Husk, 11ff.

98 Ralph Battell, The Lawfulness and Expediency of Church Musick Asserted (London, 1694) 24.

99 Charles Hickman, A Sermon Preached... on St. Cecilia's Day (London, 1696) 15.

100 "...it was in the baroque period that people first became conscious of style in music, and it was perhaps an inevitable consequence (of the ambivalence over church music) that the idea should have grown up that only a particular style of music was suitable in church." (Hook, 149).

101 Hickman, 15.

102 Hickman, 16.

Notes for Chapter Six

- 1 Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman, 96.
- 2 Bloch, Spelling the Word, 125.
- 3 Gottlieb, "Herbert's Case of 'Conscience': Public or Private Poem?", 110.
- 4 Sydenham, The Well-tuned Cymball, 9.
- 5 Sydenham, pp.30-33. Also, see Browne, Religio Medici, I:3:13.
- 6 Hall, The Arte of Divine Meditation, 77.
- 7 Bloch, 265.
- 8 e.g. "Church-musick," 1.6; also, "Easter," 11.1-4; "The Temper (I)," 11.5-8, 25; "Praise (I)," 11.2,5-8, 17; "The Crosse," 1.22.
- 9 We are reminded of the excerpt from the Psalms found on the title page of the first edition of The Temple: "In his Temple doth every man speak of his honour" (Ps.29:9), which establishes the communicative link between this Temple and one man's vocation, a link that is accomplished in this first instance through the Psalms.
- 10 "The H. Scriptures (I)," 11.1-2; "The Glance," 11.1, 5-7, 13-14.
- 11 Bloch, 284.
- 12 My perception of the subject of the speaker's address in "Church-musick" is rather different from that of Chana Bloch, who in contending that "Herbert's poem is addressed not to God but to the music that brings him to God" (Bloch, 297) does not consider the evidence, both thematic and metaphoric, that links the subject of the poem to the Holy Spirit. Nor does she explain how music could of itself bring man to God.
- 13 A parallel representation of this theme is found in Herbert's contrasting of sacred and secular poetry, and the poets responsible for each, in "The Temper (II)" and "Jordan (I)." In music, as in the writing of poetry, a commitment to the sacred does not preclude an understanding of secular modes. Rather, the writer of sacred poetry and the lover of church music is likely to "know the wayes" of secular learning so that he does not shun them out of ignorant fear, but after consideration and "with open eyes" rejects them in favour of those modes mostly closely attuned to his vocation.

14 Peacham, 97.

15 Hooker, Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, V:38:151-52.

16 Sydenham, 24-25.

17 Augustine, Saint, Confessions, X:33:232.

18 Other examples of the wing image in Psalms are found in Ps.17:8 ("hide me under the shadow of thy wings"); 36:7 ("the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings"); 61:4 ("I will trust in the covert of thy wings"); 91:4 ("under his wings shalt thou trust").

19 Bloch, 248n; also, on the use of the Psalms in the Established Church, see Bloch, 239.

20 Bloch, 231-37.

21 There is a intermediary stanza between the present second and third stanzas that appears in the Williams Manuscript version of "Church-musick":

Oh what a state is this, which never knew
Sickness, or shame, or sinn, or sorrow:
Where all my debts are payd, none can accrue
Which knoweth not, what means, too Morrow

The rejection of this stanza may have been due in part to its intrusion into the past/present/future pattern into which the remaining verses otherwise fall. See George Herbert, The Williams Manuscript, intro. Amy M. Charles. (Delmar, N.Y., 1977).

22 Sydenham, 14.

23 Bloch, 47.

24 As Paul is referring specifically to his gift as a minister of the Gospel (3:7-13), there is a clear connection between grace and vocation in this passage, and thus the Pauline formulation is of especial resonance and relevance to Herbert.

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