A STUDY OF GEORGE HERBERT'S Passio Discerpta AND LUCUS
IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TRADITION OF THE SACRED EPIGRAM

by

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ABSTRACT

The critical neglect of the neo-Latin poetry of English writers, particularly those of the Renaissance and seventeenth century, presents a difficulty for those students interested in understanding the entire career of an Anglo-Latin author. In Herbert's case, his neo-Latin poetry presents very distinctive aspects of his literary character and techniques, a knowledge of which may enable future readers to better appreciate The Temple, Herbert's major English work.

This thesis deals with Passio Discerpta (The Events of the Passion) and Lucus (The Sacred Grove) in particular, and demonstrates their firm place in the tradition of the sacred epigram. In order to form a clearer impression of the tradition and Herbert's work within it and of the contemporary models and sources upon which he drew, Chapter Two surveys briefly the epigrammatic conventions and religious background from which the sacred epigram derived. The differences between the epigrammatic style of Martial and of The Greek Anthology are discussed as well as the similarities between the satiric and the sacred epigram.
Chapter Three presents a comparison with other poets of the period working within the same convention, most notably Crashaw, but also such writers as John Saltmarsh, Francis Thynne, and John Pyne. This comparison shows Herbert's superiority to previous writers in his use of the epigram for religious subject-matter.

Herbert's skilful use of the conventions of the sacred epigram as a means of expressing his own deep religious feeling is demonstrated in the critical studies of Passio Discerpta and Lucus which form Chapters Four and Five, the core of this thesis. These chapters deal with the poems under the headings of arrangement, imagery, and narrative voice. The analysis of these various aspects reveals significant links between the arrangement of the poems within each volume and the imagery Herbert uses to express his themes. The thematic unity, the conscious selectivity of subject-matter, and the skilful use of the narrative voice as an integral part of the rhetorical structure are shown.

On the basis of this study, Herbert's sacred epigrams as exemplified by Passio Discerpta and Lucus are seen as forming aesthetic landmarks in that tradition, and as providing a new perspective from which students of The Temple may understand more fully Herbert's entire literary career.
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The major aim of this thesis is to cast a little critical light on the two sequences of George Herbert's Latin poetry entitled Passio Discerpta and Lucus, by studying them in the context of the tradition of the sacred epigram. I shall attempt to illustrate the high literary and aesthetic value of these two sequences by comparing Herbert's sacred epigrams with those of earlier religious writers and by a detailed critical study of each volume. Finally, I shall attempt to demonstrate Herbert's poetic mastery of the epigrammatic form in an effort to emphasize the injustice of modern critical neglect of Herbert's Latin poetry.

In spite of the resurgence of critical enthusiasm during the twentieth century for the Metaphysical poets, in particular the group of religious poets including Donne, Vaughan, Crashaw, and Herbert, very little criticism is available on the Anglo-Latin poetry of the period. One of the very few essays on George Herbert's Latin poems, by Edmund Blunden, challenges scholars of his time for neglect of the Anglo-Latin tradition;
Perhaps the classical scholars of this age have not noticed that such a tradition flourished, or perhaps they have glanced at it and recoiled from barbarous misexpressions and mismetrings.

He goes on to say:

I trust it is not fantasy to say that a majority of our actual English verse was written by men who had training in classical verse, alike in perusing the authors of Greece and Rome and in producing their own copies, their hexameters, Ovidian couplets, sapphics, scazons and the rest.

Blunden was writing in the early 1930's and then considered the area he had chosen for discussion to be "a wide subject and a chartless." Even now a brief survey of the criticism on Herbert between 1930 and 1970 reveals the subject to be as wide and uncharted as Blunden found it forty years ago. One doctoral dissertation, specifically upon George Herbert's Latin poetry, a critical study of *Passio Discerpta*, *Lucus*, and *Memoriae Matris Sacrum* together with an English prose translation of these works, was completed in 1966 by Sister Mary E. Mason, but apparently no other study of similar depth or detail has been attempted.

Of the numerous and rapidly proliferating critical works on Herbert, even the most recent such as Arnold Stein's *George Herbert's Lyrics*, published in 1968, have barely a reference to Herbert's Latin poetry. A number of books give Herbert and the Anglo-Latin religious poetry of the period a passing note, such as Leicester Bradner's *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry, 1500-1925*, which will be referred to at various
points in the following pages; but even F.E. Hutchinson in his definitive edition of Herbert's works devotes only a few sentences to a critical consideration of Herbert's Latin poetry. His notes are useful, especially in that they often quote the scriptural source or reference which Herbert was utilizing, but they are by no means extensive, and, as might be expected, primarily oriented toward textual concerns.

The obvious neglect of Herbert's Latin poetry on the part of literary critics is not an atypical case. It is understandable that a John Saltmarsh, a Francis Thynne or a John Pyne should not claim much critical attention, aesthetic or otherwise, but even writers like Crashaw and Milton are suffering from what can become a seriously lop-sided view of their works in toto, merely because their efforts in the Anglo-Latin tradition are being relatively ignored. When modern critics, trying to keep pace with the demands of the New Criticism and the historical approach, attempt to place English poets in every possible applicable tradition, it seems a studied myopia on their part either to neglect the Anglo-Latin poetry of writers like Herbert and Crashaw, or, when it is paid some attention, to deal with it as a type of alien excrescence, as not really a part of their work as a whole.
English scholars usually object that Latin literature is outside their pale since they are not classicists, and since Latin is one of the languages furthest from the rhythm and structure of English. The relative claims of the student of English literature and the Latinist proper on the neo-Latin poetry of the Renaissance in particular are discussed sensibly by Don Cameron Allen in his article "Latin Literature", published in 1941. Allen's attitude to the study of Renaissance Latin works by English authors is a more vociferous and less hesitant corollary of Edmund Blunden's expressed some seven years earlier:

If in the map of world literature there is a lost Atlantis, it is the Latin literature of the Renaissance . . .

When one realizes that the Latin literature of the Renaissance includes the works of at least six hundred poets, who wrote on a wide variety of subjects and used every poetic form from the epigram to the epic, one perceives that scholars have hardly begun to explore this literature . . . A careful study of the Latin literature of the period of the Renaissance should be ancillary to a study of the vernacular literatures, and when such a study is made, our judgements of the vernacular literatures, of the cultural and aesthetic temper of the period, will unquestionably be altered. 11

Allen's point of view is clearly and positively stated: even though the English scholar may have obvious and insuperable disadvantages, neo-Latin English poetry should not solely be the preserve of the Latinist.

In the last decade opinions in favour of serious study of Latin works by English scholars have been more frequently voiced. Recently, the case has been well put by William
Mathews in his introduction to two papers by James E. Phillips and Don Cameron Allen; he criticizes "the English habit of thinking that only things written in English are English . . . what is written in Latin is not English." He adds:

But if this amuses me, it bothers me too, for I doubt that a proper history of even the literature in English can be written or learned without adequate acquaintance with literature in Latin. And this is not only the worry of a medievalist. The same worry has for some time been nagging in Renaissance bosoms. Don Cameron Allen had, of course, eloquently expressed this "worry" thirty years earlier:

All in all, to study the vernacular writers without knowing the Latins is to practise surgery without learning anatomy . . . . Surely, to comprehend the stature of a vernacular writer who also wrote in Latin, one must know not only his Latin works but also their place in the later Latin tradition. Allen's solution to this problem resides in the availability of accurate translations:

In the editing of new texts, it might also be advisable to ignore the polite fiction that all scholars interested in the Renaissance read Latin. A series of texts and parallel translations like those of the Loeb Classical Library would be welcomed not only by those students who do not read Latin but also by those who do. Lack of adequate translation is, of course, one of the reasons for the neglect of Anglo-Latin poetry. Merritt Y. Hughes did Milton a great service by publishing side by side with his early Latin pieces an English translation, in his edition of Milton's works. Crashaw has no published
translation of his Latin poetry, and only in the last
decade did Herbert's Latin poetry receive the attention of
translators with the publication of McCloskey's and Murphy's
The Latin Poetry of George Herbert: A Bilingual Edition. 17

It has always been a vexed question as to whether study
of poetry in translation is a viable literary occupation.
In the case of Latin poetry with an English translation,
to study rhyme, rhythm, metre or movement of the verse,
would obviously be neither feasible nor valuable. However,
the study of imagery, treatment, and choice of subject-
matter is, I believe, both feasible and valuable. Knowledge
of these aspects can be traced in similar ways in poetry
written both in Latin and in English, and can considerably
increase our knowledge of the writer. In the case of the
epigram, in particular, which (as will be discussed in
greater detail in Chapter Two) depends for its effectiveness
on different techniques of word play, balance and contrast,
the translator is often fruitfully challenged by his task
of transposition, and can provide the student with a very
close approximation to the spirit as well as the letter of
the original.

The general points made so far in favour of study of
Latin literature in translation, can, I think, be adequately
supported in the case of Herbert's Latin poems. The bilingual
edition of Mark McCloskey and Ralph Murphy, which will be
referred to throughout this study for quotations from both
the Latin and the English translation, gives a very enjoyable and accurate access to Herbert's Latin works for English students interested in a wider view of the poet. McCloskey and Murphy have provided a translation more than adequate for the purposes of a study of subject-matter, imagery, narrative voice, and tone in *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus*.

My main focus is upon *Lucus* and *Passio Discerpta* for two reasons: firstly, because these two sequences are composed of indisputably religious poems (although *Lucus* does introduce some other themes, and is not constructed with the same symmetry and concentration as *Passio Discerpta*), and because Herbert is studied as a religious poet; and secondly, because these two sequences are written within the tradition of the sacred epigram, and only with a knowledge of their place in that tradition can the poems be fully understood and appreciated. Only upon this knowledge can further studies be based on the relationship of *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus* to Herbert's English religious poetry.

Although it is not known exactly when *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus* were written, the three epigrams on Pope Urban VIII supply internal evidence for the dating of the two collections in that Urban VIII was elected and assumed the papal title in 1623. Herbert still held the position of Public Orator
to the University of Cambridge in 1623 to which he had been elected on January 21, 1619/20, and which he did not relinquish until 1627. This would be the most likely period in Herbert's life for the composition of his Latin epigrams. Around 1605, Magdalen Herbert had sent her third son to Westminster School which had a higher reputation at Oxford and Cambridge for classical scholarship than most of the other London schools. Here Herbert had the best possible chance of laying the groundwork for his Greek and Latin studies. F.E. Hutchinson, in the Introduction to his edition of Herbert's works, adds an interesting point:

He would also have practice in writing such Latin epigrams on sacred themes as he was afterwards to write at Cambridge, since it was in 1630 and probably earlier a regular employment of King's Scholars on Sunday afternoons to write 'verses upon the preacher's sermon or the epistle and gospell,' just as Crashaw had similar practice a few years later at Charterhouse. 18

With an already strong classical background from Westminster, and some years of continued studies in Classics and Divinity, it was natural that a man of Herbert's learning and social position should use Latin (and a little Greek) as the medium for his earliest literary work.

The five sequences of Latin poems (three of which I will not be dealing with directly)—Musae Responsoriae Ad Andreae Melvini Scoti Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam; Passio Discerpta; Lucus; Memoriae Matris Sacrum (also known as Parentalia) and Alia Poemata Latina—can be fitted into different traditions of Anglo-Latin poetry. In the very
brief introduction to their bilingual edition McCloskey and Murphy sum up a generalized approach to each of the sequences, where they mention: "the youthful satire in the Musae Responsoriae, the ardent 'Baroque' sense of guilt in the Passio Discerpta, and the sly didacticism in the Lucus . . ."; also, "the Memoriae Matris Sacrum with its Petrarchan grief, and the Alia Poemata Latina with its unbounded flattery." More importantly, they continue:

Herbert's Latin verse is not only in the tradition of the Anglo-Latin poetry of his time, but it also reveals significant and little-known sides to his character and style. 21

McClodskey's and Murphy's concise and impressionistic responses to the collections give a hint of the different traditions upon which Herbert drew for each of the series. Musae Responsoriae is the best example of Herbert's facility with the satiric epigram, which derived from the classical epigrams of Martial. Passio Discerpta and Lucus are both representative of the second important branch of the epigrammatic convention, the sacred epigram. Memoriae Matris Sacrum, while demonstrating many of the common epigrammatic techniques, is composed of poems which are rather too long to be termed "epigrams" fittingly. Though they are a fine example of the Latin elegy, Edmund Blunden expresses some surprise at their being in Latin, and then corrects his former impression:
It is puzzling that he should have chosen to compose his elegiac series on the death of his mother (1627) in Latin and not English, more particularly because he writes of his desire to speak out in praise of his exemplary parent. The suitability of the classical languages for panegyric, however, must have appealed to him as Public Orator more than to most men. 22

Indeed, rather than being puzzling, the fact that Herbert wrote elegies to his mother in Latin rather than in English is quite understandable given the reverence accorded Latin as the international language of a cultured society. Herbert was too good a friend and admirer of Francis Bacon not to be imbued with the former's faith in Latin as the language of learned communication and lasting value. 23 Not only the accumulated tradition of the Latin elegy and panegyric would appeal to Herbert with his Latin training and profession, but also the belief that English would not last to posterity as would Latin.

Finally, Herbert's least consistent volume of Latin poetry, Alia Poemata Latina, springs from a tradition of adulatory, occasional Latin poetry. This sequence is interesting because three of the poems have been translated into English by Herbert himself and have been included in place of translations by the editors. Of these, two give thanks to John Donne for his gift to Herbert of his seal, the anchor; the third is a topical epigram on the expedition of Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham to Spain to court the Infanta. Although there are only ten poems
in this group, their miscellaneous quality explains the title, and their very heterogeneous nature is interesting to readers acquainted with *The Temple*.

In spite of the very high respect which his contemporaries, and later seventeenth-century readers, had for his English works, Herbert's Latin poems were never included in the praise accorded to *The Temple*, nor did they serve as models as *The Temple* did for so many imitators. Of all Herbert's Latin poems, *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus* have received least attention from either readers or commentators, largely because they were not published until 1874 when Grosart included them in his *Complete Works in Verse and Prose of George Herbert* (1874, 3 vols.). Grosart was the first editor of Herbert to make use of the Williams M.S. which contains *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus* annexed and in Herbert's own beautiful script. There are few textual problems as far as these two collections are concerned, firstly because Herbert's handwriting is so clear, and secondly because the words he erased in order to replace them with others are entirely illegible.

It is surprising that, since the textual problems involved in the study of *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus* are so few, and that scholars do not have to expend their energies on establishing a reliable text, more critical attention has not been granted them. It is one of the aims of this thesis
to suggest that a knowledge of Herbert's Latin poetry can illuminate his other works and his literary career as a whole and that a knowledge of the tradition of the sacred epigram and Herbert's work within it is necessary to understand Herbert's attitudes to religious poetry in both his Latin and English works. My belief that the two groups of poems, *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus*, are sacred epigrams is not accepted by all commentators. McCloskey and Murphy, in their introduction, seem to acknowledge that they are, by their grouping of these works under the heading "epigram" when they say: "The specific mark of this form was its brevity, as is to be seen in varying degrees in all the sections of Herbert's verse here, especially in *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus*." 24 They also justify their statement by noting that: "... the epigram was a vague form using a variety of metres, especially the elegiac couplet." 25 Leicester Bradner, on the other hand, is doubtful of the definite categorization of these works. He says at one point, in reference to Herbert's Latin poems:

This seems the proper place to discuss certain other pieces of religious poetry, which, although they are not epigrams, do not fit in very well elsewhere. 26

Yet a few pages earlier he has said of the *Memoriae Matris Sacrum*: "George Herbert's short religious meditations on his mother's death, which may perhaps be classed as sacred epigrams ..." 27 It is puzzling to find Bradner
allowing Memoriae into the class of sacred epigram, and excluding Passio Discerpta and Lucus, especially when he praises these latter poems highly for the qualities peculiar to the sacred epigram:

Much more pleasing than the reply to Melville are his short poems on the events of Christ's passion in Passio Discerpta and other poems on moral and religious themes in his Lucus. Here we find poems combining real religious feeling with a high degree of point and polish. Not so well known as Crashaw's Latin epigrams, they may well challenge comparison with them. Also of high rank are his Latin poems on the death of his mother.

This thesis totally concurs with Bradner's praise, but, being more definite over classification of the poems, will also attempt to demonstrate the firm place of Passio Discerpta and Lucus in the tradition of the sacred epigram. Once we see Herbert as fully aware of the tradition, both English and Continental, behind the sacred epigram which flourished so strongly, though briefly, in the seventeenth century; and capable of expressing through the epigrammatic conventions his deep, sincere, personal religious feeling in a framework apparently so different from that of his English poems, we can begin to see Herbert as a more rounded literary character. The Temple is too often read and studied as a thing apart, as the one masterpiece of Herbert's short life. With the Latin poems kept in mind also, it is easier to reveal certain aspects of Herbert's mind and art which The Temple with its artless complexity almost conceals.
In the following chapters I hope to demonstrate firmly the points here suggested. In order to form a clearer impression of the tradition within which Herbert is working and the contemporary models and sources upon which he drew, Chapter Two will be a brief survey of the epigrammatic conventions and religious background from which the sacred epigram drew its sustenance. It will discuss the differences between the epigrammatic style of Martial and that of The Greek Anthology, and the similarities between the satiric and the sacred epigram.

Chapter Three will present a comparison with other poets of the period working within the same conventions and with the same form, most notably Crashaw, but also such minor and obscure writers as John Saltmarsh, Francis Thynne and John Pyne. The aim of the Chapter is to illustrate Herbert's superiority to previous writers in the use of the religious epigram and to show some of the differences between Crashaw's use of the form as an expression of the Christian paradox and Herbert's.

Chapters Four and Five will comprise a critical study of Passio Discerpta and Lucus, with the intention of illustrating Herbert's skilful use of the conventions of the sacred epigram and thus evaluating the worth of these poems as literature. I shall deal with the poems from the point of view of specific poetic techniques: the thematic structure of each work as expressed in the overall arrangement of the poems within each volume, the imagery, and the use of the narrative voice.
In Chapter Six I shall discuss the conclusions to be drawn from this study, and also point forward to the scholarly work that may be done in the future, based upon the critical study of Passio Discerpta and Lucus, on the relationship of Herbert's Latin poetry to his masterpiece The Temple, which will demonstrate the unity of Herbert's literary career as a whole.

Finally, I hope to be able to emphasize Herbert's mastery of the conventions he utilized, and the importance and aesthetic value of his Latin poetry as exemplified by Passio Discerpta and Lucus.
CHAPTER TWO—THE ORIGINS OF THE EPIGRAM
AND ITS RENAISSANCE DEVELOPMENTS

For this Epigramme is but an inscription or writing made as it were vpon a table, or in a window, or vpon the wall or mantell of a chimney in some place of common resort, where it was allowed every man might come, or be sitting to chat and prate, as now in our tauernes and common tabling houses, where many merry heads meete, and scrible with ynke, with chalke, or with a cole such matters as they would every man should know, and descant vpon. Afterward the same came to be put in paper and in bookes, and vsed as ordinarie missives, some of friendship, some of defiaunce, or as other messages of mirth. 1

This passage, from Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), presents the idiosyncratic and vivid view of an Elizabethan literary critic on the definition and use of the epigram. However, Puttenham's three categories, friendship, defiance, and mirth, rather exclude his "definition" from the truly literary sphere, although his homely description does give some idea of the original use, and the development of the epigrammatic form as the Renaissance came to know it.

As Puttenham tells us, the epigram was originally an inscription, on a building or a tomb, having as its subject a person, an incident, or a moral or ethical exemplum. Most commentators on epigrams and epigrammatists have attempted to define the form by reference to its
original purpose. The epigrammatic inscription was always brief and concerned with either one person or event, and as the epigram developed, consonant with its original brevity, it remained concerned with a single idea. The fact that the epigram was often inscribed or engraved on a building or a stone leads Lessing to comment:

The true inscription is not to be thought of apart from that whereon it stands, or might stand. Both together make the whole from which arises the impression which, speaking generally, we ascribe to the inscription alone. First, some object of sense which arouses our curiosity; and then the account of this same object, which satisfies that curiosity. 2

Puttenham also has his own ideas about the reasons for the concision and single-mindedness of the epigrammatic inscription:

An Epitaph is but a kind of Epigram only applied to the report of the dead persons estate and degree, or of his other good or bad partes to his commendation or reproch: and is an inscription such as a man may commodiously write or engrave vpon a tombe in few verses, pithie, quicke and sententious for the passer to peruse, and iudge vpon without any long tariaunce: So as if it exceede the measure of an Epigram, it is then (if the verse be correspondent) rather an Elegie then an Epitaph. 3

This passage of Puttenham's, however, also begins to consider one of the major problems for students of the epigram, that of definition and categorization: when is an epigram not an epigram? Commentators both before and since the Renaissance have been puzzled by the Protean quality of the epigram. Paul Nixon at the end of his first chapter in Martial and the Modern Epigram gives a neat summary of the general response to this form:
It would be delightful if this long discussion inevitably led to a really adequate epigrammatic definition of the epigram, complete, yet compact. But it does not. In Greek, Latin and modern literature, in all three, though in varying proportions, the epigram may be the solemn epitaph or some savage travesty; it may be a neat compliment or a satirical thrust; it may be, in content, a dainty love poem, a fugitive piece, an occasional poem on "some single striking idea or circumstance," often hardly to be distinguished from the lyric. But no matter what be its content, we may usually expect it to be reasonably short and to end with some graceful, ingenious, pointed, weighty, witty, or satirical turn of thought to which its preceding lines lead up; we may always expect it to end with at least some rather special emphasis ....

Nixon expresses a common wish for an "adequate epigrammatic definition of the epigram" and it seems to be overwhelmingly the case that commentators on the epigram prefer to couch their comments in the form which they are discussing. Although I do not have the space here to go into this phenomenon in detail, examples can be found in any century; for instance, this quatrain by Robert Hayman in his *Quodlibets* (1628):

Sermons and epigrams have a like end,
To improve, to reprove and to amend.
Some passe without this use, 'cause they are witty:
And so doe many Sermons, more's the pitty.

Probably a better known example is Coleridge's couplet:

What is an epigram? A dwarfish whole,
Its body brevity, and wit its soul.

The qualities, or stylistic features of the epigram would, at first glance, appear fairly obvious: brevity and wit as Coleridge tells us. However, when trying to fix on a definition of the epigram, the student soon becomes faced with the necessity for innumerable qualifications.
Firstly, does an epigram have to be any specific length? (This problem arises with regard to the poems in Herbert's *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus* in that a comparison of their length with that of Crashaw's epigrams in *Epigrammata Sacra*, for instance, shows them on the whole to be much longer.) It seems to be generally true that the ideal epigram is one which can combine wit with the minimum number of lines. In his edition of *The Greek Anthology*, J.W. Mackail notes that the poems vary from two lines to twenty-eight, but rarely exceed twelve; this comment seems to be generally true of most collections of epigrams. For example, of twenty-one poems in *Passio Discerpta*, only one is longer than twelve lines, and of thirty-five poems in *Lucus*, only three, one of these being the very long "Triumphus Mortis" (The triumph of Death). As Hoyt Hudson notes:

Some free souls among the writers, however, from Martial down, have protested that they should judge for themselves what length is allowable; so that the business of the student seems to be merely to count the lines.

Martial, as might be expected, has the last word on the appropriate length of the epigram:

Cosconius, who think my epigrams long, you would be useful for greasing axles. On this principle you would fancy the Colossus to be tall, and would describe Brutus's boy as short. Learn what you are ignorant of: often two pages of Marsus and of learned Pedo treat of a single theme. Things are not long from which you can subtract nothing; but you Cosconius make your distichs long.

Length, then, is not the only important characteristic distinguishing the epigram. What then of its wit?
On the question of wit also qualifications are necessary, especially with regard to the sacred epigram, where subject-matter largely controls the kind of wit employed, not only for the ending, which is the usual place to find a display of wit in the epigram, but throughout the poem. In the New English Dictionary the "epigram" is defined as: "A short poem ending in a witty or ingenious turn of thought, to which the rest of the composition is intended to lead up." This "witty or ingenious turn of thought" is usually accompanied or expressed by such devices as antithesis, paradox, punning, reversal of the thought or idea that has been expressed or intimated throughout, or even simple explanation or disclosure of the "real" subject of the epigram. Of the effectiveness of the last method, this epigram of Sir John Harington's is a good example:

Treason doth never prosper: what's the reason? Why if it prosper, none dare call it treason. (Epigrams, 1618)

Hoyt Hudson introduces another qualification of the "witty or ingenious turn":

... one based upon the rhetorical teaching of the sixteenth century, and the resultant practice. We know what stress that century placed upon sententiousness— or "sentence", as it was sometimes called. If we are to give epigrammatists of the time their due, we should amend our definition... For the point of an epigram—and I believe this holds true for the Classical period as well as for the Renaissance—does not always depend upon a turn of thought. The thought may go straight forward, and the point may be merely an emphatic summary of what has already been presented, or a distillation from it.
In Greek, the name for this rhetorical device is **epiphonema**, in Latin, **acclamatio**. Erasmus, in his *Copia Verborum, Liber II, De Sententiis*, gives this as his description of this figure: "Now another kind of **sententia** called **epiphonema** by the Greeks, Quintilian calls **acclamatio**. It is the final acclamation of the thing narrated or proved. . . . This kind is suited to epigrams."\(^{13}\)

A good example of this rhetorical figure, the "final acclamation of thing narrated or proved", is in Crashaw's English epigram on the text from St. Matthew, Chapter 28, "Come and see the place where the Lord Lay":

Show me himselfe, himselfe (bright Sir) 0 show Which way my poore Tears to himselfe may goe, Were it enough to show the place, and say, Looke, Mary, here see, where thy Lord once lay, Then could I show these armes of mine, and say Looke, Mary, here see, where thy Lord once lay.\(^{14}\)

Repetition is a technique commonly used by Crashaw in his sacred epigrams to present the reader with a concluding **acclamatio**. Here the final repeated line serves to contrast the tomb in which Christ's body was placed, with Mary's arms in which Christ also lay, and the contrast is made more striking by the fact that the line is repeated word for word. The **acclamatio** Crashaw uses here is a little more complex than the examples which Erasmus gives in the continuation of the passage quoted above since it involves, as well as the repeated assertion, a turn of thought in the contrast between Mary's arms and Christ's sepulchre.
Puttenham, as well as Erasmus, gives the Renaissance theorist's view of this rhetorical figure:

Our poet in his short ditties, but specially playing the Epigrammatist, will vse to conclude and shut up his Epigram with a verse or two, spoken in such a sort, as it may seem a manner of allowance to all the premisses, and that with a joyfull approbation, which the Latines call Acclamatio. . . . Sir Philip Sidney very pretily closed up a dittie in this sort. 15

Acclamatio, provides a less usual ending for the epigram than does the "witty or ingenious turn of thought", and epigrams involving antithesis, paradox, and punning, are not hard to find. Puttenham quotes this couplet of Sir Philip Sidney's as an example of acclamatio, although it is also a good example of antithesis:

What medecine then, can such disease remoue,  
Where love breedes hate, and hate engenders loue. 16

A typical example of the epigram based on a concluding pun is this by Hook:

Here comes Mr. Wynter, surveyor of taxes,  
I advise you to give him whatever he axes,  
And that, too, without any nonsense or flummery,  
For though his name's Wynter, his actions are summary? 17

In contrast to the example of acclamatio already given from one of Crashaw's poems, the ending of the poem entitled "Two went up into the Temple to pray" from the Steps to the Temple gives a good illustration of his facility with the more common witty or ingenious ending for an epigram:
Two went to pray? O rather say
One went to brag, th' other to pray:
One stands up close and treads on high,
Where th'other dares not send his eye.
One neerer to God's Altar trod,
The other to the Altars God. 18

Here it is the antithetical inversion in the last line
which gives point to the ending of the epigram, and
emphasizes, by the very similarity of the phrasing, the
spiritual distance between the two men.

These two different techniques for concluding an
epigram derived from the two variations of the epigrammatic
form which flourished healthily side by side during the
sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England. These two
sources were the classical Latin epigrams of Martial,
generally satiric in intention, and the collection of poems
known as The Greek Anthology. These two sources are, in fact,
not as distinct as might be expected since it is apparent from
some of the epigrams in The Greek Anthology that the writers
had already adopted the typical epigrammatic style of
Martial; these poems appear side by side with other epigrams
which could truly be termed "Greek epigrams", so that The
Greek Anthology did present for Renaissance writers examples
of both the epigrammatic forms.

The difference between what one might call the "Roman
epigram" and the Greek is one of technique and intention.
Hoyt Hudson usefully quotes Lord Neaves on this point:
The true or best form of the early Greek epigram does not aim at wit or seek to produce surprise. . . . Its purpose is to set forth in the shortest, simplest, and plainest language, but yet with perfect purity and even elegance of diction, some fact or feeling of such interest as would prompt the real or proposed speaker to record it in the form of an epigram. 19

Although in both forms of the epigram all the emphasis is thrown upon the conclusion, Martial is more concerned with a "witty or ingenious turn of thought" at the end of his epigram, whereas the poets of The Greek Anthology normally display a tendency to conclude with what Renaissance commentators would call a sententia or an acclamatio. Take, for example, these two poems from The Greek Anthology:

If the best merit be to lose life well,
To us, beyond all else that fortune came;
In war, to give Greece liberty, we fell,
Heirs of all time's imperishable fame. 20

Cruel is death,—nay, kind! He that is ta'en
Was old in wisdom, though his years were few;
Life's pleasure he has lost; escaped life's pain;
Nor wedded joys nor wedded sorrows knew. 21

Martial, on the other hand, was a wit, and a poet skilled in the use of innumerable rhetorical devices to gain his epigrammatic point. His sophisticated narrator assumes a public voice—his poems are meant for an audience, whereas the effect of the Greek epigrams more frequently comes from their inscriptional simplicity. Martial's epigrams do not have the simplicity, sincerity or that quality in many of the poems of The Greek Anthology which approximates lyricism. (This relationship between the lyric and the epigram is an
interesting one especially from the point of view of Herbert's early epigrams and the poems generally called "lyrics", which constitute The Temple. The original Greek epigram was the closest to the primitive memorial inscription, and the poems of The Greek Anthology can move easily into the tone or content of epitaph or elegy:

Here lapped in hallowed slumber Saon lies,
Asleep, not dead; a good man never dies. 22

It is interesting to speculate on the relationship of the Renaissance development of the epigram to these two sources: the satirical, witty epigram based on those of Martial, and the flatter, less rhetorical, poems of The Greek Anthology, with their sincere, and often religious tone.

The development of the sacred epigram is a late phenomenon of the sixteenth century. The almost wholly secular, pagan aspects of classical literature greatly influenced the initial impetus of English neo-Latin poetry, in particular the epigram. For Martial's bent towards moral and satirical comment in his epigrams resulted, during the Renaissance, in a great and widespread interest in the satiric epigram. As a man of wit and worldly sophistication he attracted the deeply humanistic Renaissance scholars and writers more than did the anonymous writers of The Greek Anthology. The popularity of the epigram as a form is symptomatic of the Renaissance voraciousness to incorporate into English literature classical models, ideas, and concepts.
The resurgence of classical learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries created an incredible reservoir of literary forms, upon which not only the rapidly developing vernacular literatures drew, but also the neo-Latin literature of England as well as of the Continent. A good example of the closeness of the two kinds of writing, neo-Latin and vernacular, occurs at the end of the sixteenth century, first with the group of poets and writers called the Pléiade in France and slightly later in England the Areopagus, the group of men including Gabriel Harvey, Edmund Spenser, Sir Philip Sidney, Edward Dyer, Fulke Greville and Daniel Rogers, whose aim was to try to write English poetry using the Latin quantitative metric system. The attempt failed, but it does indicate a strong desire on the part of English poets to make the Latin tradition a reservoir of metres and forms as well as myths and allusions.

As more and more classical Latin documents were unearthed, Renaissance scholars began to discover the beauty of Augustan and Silver Latin literature in comparison with the language of medieval and fifteenth-century writers. Don Cameron Allen, in his article "Latin Literature", mentions the wholesale hunt for new Latin texts carried out by men like Poggius, Orsinus, Aurispa and Landrianus, and the fact that they "considered Latin of the middle period barbarous
and heavy-handed."\textsuperscript{24} Thus developed an increased awareness, on the part of the neo-Latin writers of the sixteenth century, of the origins of the tradition from which their work sprang, as well as an eagerness to utilize any literary form available. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, collections of epigrams were written by men for whom the very variety of poetic literary forms to choose from (epic, lyric, sonnet, pastoral, elegy, epigram etc.) was a challenge, and even the most obscure poets dabbled in every conceivable kind of poetic form, English and Latin.

Sir Thomas More, one of the first important writers of the sixteenth century, provides a good example of the versatility of Renaissance scholars. More's satiric epigrams were translations or imitations of poems from both the Latin and \textit{The Greek Anthology}; he also composed many original epigrams, some on particularly English topics, for instance, the five poems at the beginning of \textit{Epigrammata}\textsuperscript{25} on the marriage and succession of Henry VIII. Innumerable English epigrammatists followed More's example, although the first anthology of epigrams did not appear until late in the sixteenth century with Timothe Kendall's \textit{Flowers of Epigrammes} (1577). More, however, was not alone in his efforts. The other great humanist scholars and teachers, Grocyn, Linacre and Erasmus, were experimenting at the same time with the epigram in Latin, Greek, and English.
It is not until well into the sixteenth century, however, that this poetic variety and versatility began to include the sacred epigram. The development of the sacred epigram is a late phenomenon in the sixteenth century, and is, I believe, dependent upon another occurrence which greatly influenced English literature, and followed naturally after the largely secular interest of the humanistic scholars and writers like Grocyn, Colet, and More. This was the reaction of many men, whether writers or otherwise, against the influx of classical, pagan concepts that occurred during the Renaissance, and the attempt to oppose these concepts with those of the Christian life. They could either oppose them, or do as the Christian church had done in the very beginning, when she absorbed them into her own context and imposed her own values upon them.

Lily B. Campbell, in her *Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth Century England*, discusses the attempt of sixteenth-century writers to incorporate Biblical material into their poems and drama. (It is Biblical material alone which she calls "divine", and her book is not concerned with religious or devotional tone or attitude in poetry.) Campbell deals with a variety of different forms: epics, translations, Mirrors, epyllia and sonnets, although she does not touch upon the epigram. She says that her
book is an attempt to tell "The secondary story of the use of the Bible to combat the influence of the new paganism and the new secularism which accompanied the rediscovery of ancient works of literature and art," and which "has, however, received scant attention."^{27}

The sixteenth century saw a concentrated attempt on the part of men like Tyndale and Coverdale to have authorised a Bible in English. Finally, in 1537, the so-called "Matthew's Bible" was issued with the King's licence on the title page. A large part of Tyndale's translation was retained in this Bible, and since Tyndale's choice had been to make his translation popular rather than literary, for the layman rather than the theologian, writers, in particular, had at their disposal a vast source book, not only of Biblical material, but also of idioms and sentence structures which were to become part of religious and divine poetry.

The Authorised Version of the English Bible, issued under King James in 1611, is now recognized as having influenced the English language to a remarkable degree; phrases we can no longer place as Biblical have become inextricably woven into the colloquial texture of our daily language. But although this Bible was the product of a committee of learned men, the basis for their version remained that of Tyndale translated a century earlier.
The almost innate and inadvertent use of Biblical phrases, idioms and sentence structures can be illustrated from any of the religious poets of the seventeenth century, perhaps best from Herbert and Vaughan, since *The Temple* and *Silex Scintillans* continually reveal a poetic language based on the prose style of the Authorised Version.

The urge amongst poets and dramatists to supplant secular subject-matter with divine affected almost every literary form, the epigram being no exception. In the case of Herbert's sacred epigrams, the two movements which had affected literature in the very beginning of the sixteenth century—the renewed interest in classical learning and literature, and the desire to combat classical paganism with Christian material and devotion—reached a happy compromise.

As he was to do later and with increased skill in *The Temple*, Herbert used his knowledge of classical literature and mythology to heighten his Christian reader's awareness by revealing the Christian life, based on the life and sacrifice of Jesus Christ, as superior to the pagan life as expressed in classical literature. Herbert's contrast was not merely a negative one, as had been that of so many of the earlier sixteenth-century writers. Whereas John Hall in his *Courte of Vertue* (1565) derided by parody and derogatory imitation what he saw to be the pagan, classical
ethic in an anthology such as the *Courte of Venus*, Herbert, like Cowley and Milton, used classical parallels or echoes for typological effectiveness, benefitting by their metaphorical or imagistic richness while still exalting his Christian purpose.

A more detailed example at this point might clarify the importance of seventeenth-century religious writers' awareness of classical material, and the various ways in which they drew on it to enrich their poetry. Milton, the greatest of the seventeenth-century poets to combine classical and Christian elements in his writing, makes a good comparison with Herbert, for in Milton the reader becomes very much aware of the poet's sensitivity to classical myth and value and his use of them to give added richness to his verse. Consider, for example, this description of Eve from *Paradise Lost*, Book IV:

```
And heavenly choirs the hymenean sung,
What day the genial angel to our sire
Brought her, in naked beauty more adorned,
More lovely, than Pandora, whom the gods
Endowed with all their gifts; and O too like
In sad event, when to the unwiser son
Of Japhet brought by Hermes, she ensnared
Mankind with her fair looks, to be avenged
On him who had stole Joves authentic fire. 28
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Here Milton prefigures Eve's fate and betrayal of Adam by referring to Pandora. The comparison with Pandora adds to Eve's stature in one way, since Pandora was in legend the most beautiful of women, and diminishes it obviously in another, for Pandora loosed every kind of evil upon mankind.
Herbert's use of classical material in a Christian context is different from Milton's in that it is often simpler, barer in description; often the proper names in the myth are left to work for themselves and gain their own effect. For example, in the twenty-second poem of \textit{Lucus}, "In Improbum disertum" (On the eloquence of the wicked), Herbert uses the classical myth of Philemon and Baucis, almost in passing:

\begin{quote}
Sericus est dictis, factis pannusla Baucis:
Os & lingua tibi diues, egena manus:
\end{quote}

Your words are silk, your deeds
The clothes of Baucis: rich
Your mouth and tongue, poor
Your hand. (L, pp. 98-99)

There is nothing of Milton's reinforcing in his own voice the impression he wants his comparison to make on the reader (\ldots and 0 too like/In sad event \ldots). Herbert, having made his initial comparison between the richness of the words of the wicked and the paucity of their deeds by using the image of Baucis and Philemon, the old, poverty-stricken couple who were yet rich in humility and hospitality to Zeus and Hermes when visited by these Gods in disguise, is able to leave his single reference reverberating in the minds of his readers and conclude his epigram by referring to another myth, that of Charon, the ferryman of Styx:

"Aurea pro naulo lingua Charontis erit." (Your gilded talk will be/ Charon's passage money.) The tendency throughout the
epigram to horrify the reader at the eloquence of the wicked results from the use of concrete metaphors rather than abstract ones: words are like silken cloth, deeds become poor rags, a soul can "creep" down an arm, etc. The continual contrasts which these metaphors set up would be underlined throughout the poem for the seventeenth-century reader by the comparison between the two myths introduced. It is hard to believe that in his reference to Baucis Herbert did not have in mind the ending of Ovid's story in *The Metamorphoses*: Jove and Hermes, delighted at the goodness and hospitality of the old couple, transform their poor farm into a marble temple where Baucis and Philemon become priests of the Gods, until finally, frail with old age, they are metamorphosed into two trees, their branches entwining. The legend of Charon represents the complete antithesis of this myth, in that Charon, squalid and old, ferried the spirits of the dead across the Styx, one of the rivers of the underworld, into Hades. The fee for the passage was an obol, the coin placed in the mouth of the dead; but for the wicked man in Herbert's epigram, the only fee he has for the passage is his gilded talk, which will lead to death.

The successful integration of Christian and classical elements in poetry was the achievement of only a few writers. The majority tended to split their subject-matter into sacred and secular categories, or in Renaissance terms
"humane" and "divine". But the development of the epigram as a medium for religious poetry by writers like Saltmarsh and Thynne did not begin until at least a century after the epigram as a satiric medium was popularised by men like Sir Thomas More and Grocyn at the beginning of the sixteenth century. As in the case of the sonnet, its development was determined not by classical models or derivation, but by contemporary literary models and the prevailing religious atmosphere. Like the sonnet, the epigram could easily serve two masters. Barnabe Barnes, Henry Constable, and Giles Fletcher used the sonnet form for both sacred and secular subject-matter, just as, a little later, John Saltmarsh, Herbert, and Crashaw were to use the epigram. The concision and wit necessary for a good epigram, the concomitant restraint these qualities enforced, and the intellectual ingenuity they demanded from the poet, suited equally the expression of a satiric purpose or a religious one.

Although it is a generalization to divide the subject-matter of the epigram into two main categories, satiric and sacred, to look back on the epigram literature from 1515, when More was writing, to 1634 when Crashaw's Epigrammata Sacra was published, these two categories do stand out as the most comprehensive. Herbert, of course, is one of the best examples of a young neo-Latin writer interested in experimenting with both types of epigram;
and from the point of view of this thesis it is easier
and more useful to compare and contrast the sacred epigrams
of Herbert with his own use of the satiric epigram in
Musae Responsoriae, (especially since I shall not be
dealing with Herbert's satiric epigrams in the rest of this
thesis), than with epigrams on various topics such as those
of Harington or Hook quoted earlier.

To point out some of the similarities and differences
between one or two poems from Musae Responsoriae and
Passio Discerpta might be useful in showing the extent to
which sacred epigrammatists both followed and moved away
from their secular brothers.

The satiric epigram was normally "occasional" in the sense
that it was directed at some person or some particular
event, although, of course, its application was usually
meant to widen indefinitely. The poems in Musae Responsoriae
are mostly "occasional", but in comparison those of
Passio Discerpta are also "occasional" being concerned with
the events of the passion and the story of one particular
man, much more obviously so than are any of the poems in
The Temple, except perhaps for "The Sacrifice". Many of
the poems in Musae Responsoriae are concerned with sacred
subjects or religious dogma, the satire being directed towards
the attitudes and beliefs of Melville and the anti-Prelatists.
Thus, the tenth poem in Musae Responsoriae, "De Signaculo
Crucis" (On the sign of the cross), can be compared to a poem like the thirteenth epigram in Passio Discerpta, "Christus in cruce" (Christ on the cross). The central focus of the two poems is, of course, different. In the first Herbert is concerned to ridicule Melville's attitudes towards the "innocuam Crucem" (blameless cross), and does so by using a variety of images involving the Cross itself, for example, the visual image of "miserly devils" being less repelled by the cross than Melville and his anti-Prelatist friends:

Non plus maligni daemones Christi cruce
Vnquam fugari, quàm tui socij solent.

Miserly devils were
Never more repelled by it
Than your friends are wont to be
By Christ's cross. (MR, pp. 18-19)

By the end of the poem the epigrammatic conclusion involves a final image of the cross as object as well as satiric play and punning on the word "cross" itself:

Sed non moramur: namque vestra crux erit,
Vobis fauentibus, vel negantibus.

But let us get to the point:
For it will be your cross,
Whether you say yes
Or no to it. (MR, pp. 18-19)

Here the incipient "point" of the epigrammatic form is actually drawn to the reader's attention by the poet himself—"Sed non moramur" (But we do not tarry)—and the effectiveness of his point is enhanced by his firm tone of assurance that the cross of Christ will be Melville's, whether he likes it or not, such is the power of God. On a more human level,
the effectiveness is gained by the sense of Melville's stupidity and argumentative nature, conveyed by the pun on the word "cross", as a hindrance to or a statement immediately objected to by Melville. In the Latin verse itself, the stupidity of a man automatically objecting to a statement or an idea, whether he agrees or disagrees with it, is captured in the neat antithetical structure and alliterative and assonantal effect: "Vobis fauentibüsue, vel negantibus." The point gained here is one of wordplay and antithesis, using the conventional epigrammatic conclusion to comment simultaneously on the positive aspects of the cross as Crucifix, as well as satirically upon the object of the epigram's attack--Melville.

A comparison of the above poem with "Christus in cruce" from Passio Discerpta reveals much the same tenor of approach. There is the same concentration upon a single thought or line of thought, although the latter poem does display one distinctive feature of the epigram not so apparent in the former: it is much more obviously the complement of a highly visualised image--the actual Crucifixion. (The links between the form and purpose of the epigram and the emblem have frequently been commented on). The opening line, with the immediacy of its narrative voice and one word "Hic" (here), calls the attention of the reader with an inscriptive abruptness:
Hic, vbi sanati stillant opobalsama mundi,  
Aduoluor madidae laetus hiánsque Crucí:

Here, where the healed world's  
Smooth balm distilled,  
I, joyous, and my mouth wide open,  
Am driven to the drenched cross: (PD, pp. 70-71)

In spite of the necessary restraint in scope enforced by  
the brevity of the form, and the necessity of the whole  
poem concentrating upon one idea, the same technique of  
visual richness is employed through the imagery as it was  
in "De Signaculo Crucis". The poem is ostensibly concerned  
with the flowing of the blood of Christ during the  
Crucifixion; however, within the poem that blood has connected  
with it a variety of images. It is "opobalsama" (smooth  
balm), "stillarum" (dew), a rushing torrent with "acres . . .  
insultus" (rigorous assaults), and finally, the blood  
flowing from Christ becomes both spring and river in one  
line:

    Christe, fluas semper; ne, si tua flumina cessent . . . .

    Christ, keep welling up, for if your flooding stops . . .  

(PD, pp. 70-71)

Here the intensity and complexity of this sequence of images,  
concentrated upon one aspect of the Crucifixion, present the  
reader with a visual richness into which the paradoxical  
quality of the subject-matter is integrated. For example,  
the second image of the narrator "laetus hiánsque" (joyous,  
and my mouth wide open) is a description rather than an  
explanation. That he is thirsty metaphorically for the blood
of Christ is made apparent in the last two lines of the epigram, where his thirst becomes the result of guilt and is only kept at bay by the redeeming blood of Christ:

Christe, fluas semper; ne, si tua flumina cessent, Culpa redux iugem te neget esse Deum.

Christ, keep welling up, for if your flooding stops, Revived guilt will say you're not eternal God.

(PD, pp. 70-71)

The epigram here does not make use of wordplay or punning, but of an intellectual complexity which challenges the reader to a reassessment of his habitual responses to the scene that Herbert has placed in front of him. The imperative in the penultimate and the strong negative construction in the final line reverse the natural expectations of the reader. There is no glorification of the Crucifixion as sacrifice, no intense physical description, no paean of praise, only the anticlimactic and fearful statement that unless the blood keeps flowing sinful man will lose his faith. The most striking thing about this epigram is its subtlety and unorthodox use of the conventions. The conclusion of the epigram draws together the total effect of the imagery and reinforces what Herbert wishes to convey as the meaning of the Crucifixion by its use of anticlimax to enhance the faithless and voracious nature of man. The poem is completely egocentric from the narrator's point of view. There is none of the usual sense of the agony of the Crucifixion and pain that the sacrifice was made for such
an unworthy sinner. The wit or "point" of the epigram is made by an unusual reversal of expectations; in this case the wit is being directed towards the reader rather than away from him.

One more very brief example of Herbert's ability with epigrammatic techniques should demonstrate fully the similarities between satiric and sacred epigrams, and the way that the sacred epigrammatist could vary the epigrammatic conventions to gain effectiveness in his poetry. Herbert's poem from Musae Responsoriae, "De iuramento Ecclesiae" (On the oath to the Church), once again shows the use of a pun to achieve a witty ending:

O vere dictum, & belle! cum torqueat omnes
Ordinis osores articulare malum.

O true, O lovely answer:
For every hater of right order
Suffers from articular disease, (MR, pp. 20-21)

Here the pun is on the word "article". The satiric target is a certain man who cannot kneel down to assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England because of his gout. In comparison, the sacred epigrams usually display, in place of an outright pun, the "witty or ingenious turn of thought" mentioned earlier in this chapter. Consider, for example, the two line epigram "In pium Latronem" (On the good thief):

O nimium Latro! reliquis furatus abunde,
Nunc etiam Christum callidus aggrederis.
O too much a thief! You have stolen
A great deal from everyone
Else; now also, crafty, you go up to Christ.
(PD, pp. 70-71)

Here the epigram gains its witty effect by its deliberate ignoring of the thief's conversion and subsequent reversal of character. The thief is good only in the title of the epigram, for he has, in fact, stolen eternal life. The wit of this statement on the narrator's part relies upon an underlying envy of the narrator for the thief, who, though an unworthy sinner, is still redeemed whereas the narrator, as yet, is not.

One of the interesting aspects of Herbert's use of the epigrammatic form for both satiric and religious subject-matter is that of the intended audience of the epigram, or, from the opposite viewpoint, the "voice" that the poet uses to present his epigram. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this consideration was closely linked to the observance of rhetorical forms, the study and skilful practice of which was one of the major occupations and goals of the Renaissance writer. The theory of poetics was coloured by this desire for rhetorical excellence and skill with "figures". Hudson quotes Erasmus on this point:

My greatest approbation is reserved for a rhetorical poem and poetical oratory . . . the rhetorical art should transpire through the poem. 31

Of all the literary forms in use during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the epigram is perhaps more than
any other a "rhetorical poem." Like any other piece of rhetoric, it is designed for effect; as John Stuart Mill said in his famous apothegm, "Eloquence is written to be heard, poetry to be overheard." Hudson comments:

Epigrams are always written to be heard. Their authors address them to an audience. They have the touch of display; and they frequently have as well the persuasive purpose.32

If we agree that the epigram is a form which, in general, utilizes rhetoric to gain its effect, can we apply Hoyt Hudson's comment above to sacred as well as satiric epigrams? In the case of religious poetry, it is difficult to make a distinction between what one might call a rhetorical, public, narrative voice, and a simple, unpersuasive, private voice. The "voice" in The Temple is usually thought of as personal and intensely private, but in the epigram we expect the narrator to use a public voice, and speak deliberately to an audience. Certainly Herbert described The Temple as the result of "the many spiritual conflicts that passed betwixt God and [his] soul,"33 but he also delivered the manuscript to Edmund Duncon with the injunction that if it would do any other poor soul good, it should be preserved. Helen Gardner in her introduction to her edition of John Donne's Divine Poems comments that the religious poet, no less than the love poet or satirist, adopts a pose.34 The epigrammatist is obviously a poseur, but in the seventeenth century the religious writer
was also employing a persuasive rhetorical pose to "affect" his readers, and arouse their emotions.

The seventeenth-century religious background from which the sacred epigram drew its sustenance was based upon a tradition of "affective piety" which had developed during the eleventh century. It was described by medieval religious commentators such as Adam St. Victor and St. Bernard as "affective" in that its intention was to rouse religious emotions or thoughts within the reader or listener.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this kind of religious poetry became intimately linked with the theory and practice of meditation, and by the seventeenth century much of the religious poetry was based on meditational manuals and treatises by such men as St. Ignatius Loyola and Francois de Sales. The type of meditational poetry which Louis Martz has studied in detail, although it might seem a private and intensely personal kind of writing, is motivated by a desire not only to exercise the faculties of the meditator but those of the reader also. The art of meditation was at the root of religious life in the seventeenth century. The control and use of what St. Ignatius Loyola called "the three powers of the soul"--the memory, the understanding, and the will--were one of the lowest steps on the ladder towards a truly spiritual life. They
were considered to be a necessary part of daily living, leading towards the second stage—contemplation. As the individual practised meditation, it was, of course, a private and personal exercise, but when meditation is transformed into poetry, its public voice is revealed, not only in its "affective" intentions, but also in the rhetoric that is an integral part of its expression, since in its rhetoric lies its persuasive power.

A very good example of seventeenth-century poems based on meditational theory and practices, is Donne's *Anniversaries*. Each of the Anniversaries, the First and the Second, is divided into five highly structured sections, just as Saint Ignatius Loyola lays down the five stages of meditation in his *Spiritual Exercises*; also the tone and expression of these poems are striking for their deliberate and often exaggerated rhetoric. We know when Donne addresses his soul, as in the following passage, that he is almost more concerned with the reader than with himself:

> Thinke then, my soule, that death is but a Groome, Which brings a Taper to the outward roome, Whence thou spiest first a little glimmering light, And after brings it nearer to thy sight. 37

The *Anniversaries* are not an isolated example of this rhetorical public narrator in Donne's religious poetry; the *Holy Sonnets* have much of the same rhetorical force, and for many critics are too "theatrical" in comparison with a poet like Herbert. However, from the point of view
of purpose and tone, the Anniversaries would make an interesting comparison with Herbert's Memoriae Matris Sacrum, for this sequence of poems reveals Herbert in a pose completely different from that he assumes in the sacred epigrams or in The Temple.

Although Memoriae Matris Sacrum does not show as great a dependence upon meditational practices as does the Anniversaries, Herbert does, in many of the poems of The Temple, rely to a certain extent upon the meditational tradition. Louis Martz has shown him to be very similar in his religious attitude to St. Francois de Sales, the seventeenth-century French writer whose Introduction à La Vie Dèvote (1609) provides a prose guide to Herbert's inner religious life. Herbert thus is one of the best examples of the widespread effects of religious movements, that are the most characteristic features of the religious background of the seventeenth century. The meditational manuals and handbooks stemmed mainly from a Roman Catholic tradition carried on actively by the Jesuits after the Counter-Reformation, but the theories of meditation and the rules of holy living were well known to Catholics, Protestants, and Puritans alike.

The influence of the medieval tradition on the religious poetry of the seventeenth century, with its encouragement of a public and rhetorical voice on the part of the narrator,
accounts largely for the appeal that the epigram as a form had for religious poets. But there was also another influence in the form of the theories of the Jesuit poets writing in the sixteenth century. Their theories of "affective" poetry are closely linked to Renaissance theories of the epigram, its rhetoric, and its concentration on a single idea. It is possibly this strong connection between the rhetoric of the epigram and the "affective" and persuasive aims of the religious poets which has been lost sight of by twentieth-century readers. The rhetorical force of Donne's *Holy Sonnets* appears "theatrical" to some twentieth-century readers simply because they regard only the intensely private voice as fitting for a religious poem and cannot understand how rhetorical conventions can be used to express religious sincerity.

I would like to conclude this chapter by reinforcing the argument in favour of the epigram as an eminently suitable form for religious poetry. As the epigram developed through the Renaissance and seventeenth century, its concision and wit were recognized as providing poets with qualities of form which other classical models did not offer them. For the vernacular writers the long epic or epyllia provided scope and range for development and experimentation with a new and growing language. For the neo-Latin writer in search of the simplicity and sophistication of Martial and
the refined Augustan Latin which had been all but lost during the Middle Ages, the epigram allowed him to display his wit and his knowledge of a language flexible enough to express adequately and briefly that wit with perfect refinement of diction. For the religious poet the epigram provided a form which, through the intellectual ingenuity it demanded, allowed him to express the essential paradoxes upon which his belief in Christianity was founded.

In the following chapter I shall compare Herbert with other sacred epigrammatists of the period in order to demonstrate his superiority, not only in the use of the traditional epigrammatic conventions discussed in this chapter, but also in his use of those conventions to express his religious sincerity and arouse the religious emotions of his reader.
CHAPTER THREE—PREDECESSORS AND CONTEMPORARIES

In this chapter I should like to consider very briefly the relative merits of the sacred epigrammatists earlier than and contemporary with Herbert, and of Herbert himself as displayed in Passio Discerpta and Lucus. Herbert's use of the sacred epigram, as I hope to show, is undoubtedly superior to that of any of the sixteenth- or seventeenth-century writers, either in Latin or in English. The majority of the sacred, or indeed secular, epigrams written at this time were in Latin rather than English, although many of the writers of Latin epigrams also supplied English translations of their own work. Since in this chapter I am to be largely concerned with different uses of the common epigrammatic techniques, I shall use epigrams both in English and Latin for the purposes of comparison with Herbert.

In this chapter I have classed as sacred epigram writers only those predecessors or contemporaries of Herbert whose work with the epigrammatic form follows closely the outlines suggested in Chapter Two. Of the writers I have chosen to compare with Herbert—Timothe
Kendall, Andrew Willett, Robert Farley, Francis Thynne, John Saltmarsh, John Pyne, and Richard Crashaw—Willett and Farley are included only to sharpen slightly my definition of a sacred epigrammatist and distinguish him quite clearly from the emblem writer.

None of the other men named here has as established a reputation as Herbert, but each is interesting as demonstrating a particular aspect of the growth of the tradition of the sacred epigram. Kendall, for instance, was a translator and anthologist rather than an original writer, but had a definite interest in the epigram form, and Thynne is interesting for his clear distinction between the emblem and epigram. Saltmarsh demonstrates the desire of the Renaissance writers to draw the Bible into English literature, and Crashaw serves as the most comparable measure in the period of Herbert's skill with the form. The works of these writers show the form of the epigram gradually developing as a medium for the expression of sincere religious feeling in a writer like Herbert, and, at his very best, Crashaw. Saltmarsh was too often concerned with his witty reinterpretation of a Biblical incident; Pyne too often used his "epigrammata religiosa" for satirical thrusts at Catholicism. Crashaw frequently forgot his sincerity in the delight of his wordplay. Herbert's
achievement was to maintain within the form of the sacred epigram his own genuine religious emotion and his own distinctive narrative. But Herbert's achievement can only be judged by comparison with the work of previous writers.

As I mentioned earlier in Chapter Two, the resurgence of interest in the epigram as a form began at the beginning of the sixteenth century, with writers like More, Grocyn and Linacre; however, it was not until much later in the century, in 1577, that the first English anthology of epigrams was published by Timothe Kendall. Kendall's Flowers of Epigrammes, out of sundrie the moste singular authours selected . . . is composed of his own translations of the epigrams of a variety of "the best writers, as well antique as neoterique, of Epigrammes".¹ The antique writers include men like Martial, Balbus, and Ausonius, while the neoterique are represented by Buchanan, Haddon, Parkhurst, More, Ascham, and Kendall. In fact the author most widely represented in the volume is Kendall himself.

Kendall's selection of epigrams does not provide many that could be classed as sacred in subject-matter or tone. Some of his translations of epigrams from The Greek Anthology approximate religious feeling, but these poems show none of the sophistication of the epigrammatic conventions to be found in Herbert. What is especially noticeable as lacking is the subtle skill with which the climax of
the epigram is engineered. In an epigram such as the following there is no distinction between the body of the epigram and its ending. The moral purpose of the epigram renders the thought continuous in the four lines; there is no "turn" or ingenuity involved:

Nothyng hid from God

Thou Caitiffe though thou doe conceale,
thy crimes from men belowe:
Yet them to God thou must reveale,
whether thou wilt or no. 2

A comparison of this poem with Herbert's "In Stephanum lapidatum" (On the stoning of Stephen) reveals the difference between the two types. Since the Greek epigram is, in fact, very different from the Latin epigram of Martial or later writers in its use of the epigram form, it is perhaps unfair to compare it with Herbert. 3 However, even a comparison with one of Kendall's own epigrams which could be classed as "sacred" still reveals either Herbert's superiority, or the great development of epigrammatic techniques between 1577 and 1620:

Christe speaketh.

The ayre, the earth, the seas, the woods,
and all shall once awaie:
Alone my worde shall still remaine,
and (standing stedfast) staie. 4

It is hard not to be harsh to Kendall on the score of this epigram, but he does have an excuse in the title of the selection of his own poems: "Trifles by Timothe Kendal
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devised and written (for the moste part) at sundrie
tymes in his yong and tender age."°

Kendall's volume is interesting also because it
contains a number of epigrams by a variety of later writers
concerned with Rome and the Pope. He selects two from
George Buchanan, for instance, "Of Rome" and "Against Pope
Pius", both of which are an improvement upon Kendall's
own poem "A Comparison betweene Christ and the Pope".
The Pope and Rome seem to be common subjects in later epigram
collections, and this prevalence may have influenced Herbert
in his series of poems on Pope Urban VIII in Lucus.
Buchanan's poem "Of Rome" is more heavy-handed than say
Herbert's "Roma. Anagr." (Rome. An anagram), but it handles
wittily the wordplay upon the basic metaphor of the
shepherd and the wolf, and the classical allusion to
Romulus' and Remus who were suckled by the wolf and founded
Rome.° It also has an extremely colloquial and interesting
narrative voice, and, as in many of Herbert's poems, the
efficacy of the epigram is due as much to the manipulations
of the tone, as to what is said:

Of Rome

I nothyng muse a Shepheard doeth,
in Rome the scepter holde:
Sith that a Shepheard built the same,
(as sundrie bookes have tolde)
And sith the founder of the same,
with Woulvishe milke was fedde:
I marvell nothyng at all,
though Rome of Woulves be spedde,
But this me thinketh wondrous straunge,
that late a flocke should rest
In Rome of ravenyng murdryng woules,
and never be opprest. 7

Although Kendall's anthology was the first of its kind, it was not an original volume. Kendall took on the task of selection and translation from mainly Latin, or Anglo-Latin authors, and was concerned with presenting a representative selection. It was not until the turn of the century, thirty years later, that collections solely of sacred epigrams began to be issued. Leicester Bradner, in Musae Anglicanae, mentions the simultaneous rise of the sacred epigram and the emblem:

In the religious field the sacred epigram, based upon the Bible or the feasts and fasts of the Christian year acquired a great popularity, which however, it was obliged to share with the emblem-books containing short poems expounding the pictures. 8

Bradner appears to link the epigram and the emblem because the writers of both made use of Ovidian style and rhetoric:

The sacred epigram, as we have noted at the beginning of this section, was developed greatly at the end of the Renaissance by the Jesuit writers. Their aim seems to have been to produce a body of religious Latin verse in Ovidian style to counteract the influence of erotic secular Latin verse. To this end the Jesuit poets on the Continent utilized all the tricks of Ovidian rhetoric in dealing with religious themes and situations. In the same way the authors of religious emblem-books applied Ovidian style to drawing the moral implicit in their pictures. 9

Thus slightly later Bradner mentions Andrew Willett's volume of 1596 as the first English collection of sacred epigrams to be published:
... it was not until 1596 that a volume appeared containing religious epigrams. This was the Sacrorum emblematum centuria una of the noted clergyman, Andrew Willett. Willett was not by nature a poet, and his emblem-verses, which he provides with an English translation, are little more than imitations of the conventional type already established by Continental writers.

Undoubtedly Elizabethan and Jacobean usage of the term "epigram" was very loose and the term covered a great many different kinds of poems; however, the first English emblem book had appeared in England in 1586 with Geoffrey Whitney's Choice of Emblemes, and by 1596 the term emblem had been fairly well defined, even if the word "epigram" had not. In view of the fact that Willett actually describes his hundred poems as "emblems", and also that in the majority of cases the poems do not reveal any of the intentions or techniques of the epigram as it was rapidly being recognized, I think it is reasonable to accuse Bradner of rashness in elevating Willett to the height of first Elizabethan sacred epigrammatist.

Hoyt Hudson puts very well the argument for the distinction between the two terms "emblem" and "epigram"; he admits that "the emblem falls within the scope of epigrammatic poetry, broadly considered", then continues:

the emblem is easy to recognize, since it accompanies an allegorical or a symbolical picture; and its purpose is to point out the "lesson" of the picture. It is, to be sure, a kind of inscription, but its allegorical, symbolical, and homiletic nature set it apart from the true epigram. In practice, the two are not often confused. Francis Quarles wrote both emblems and epigrams, but he kept them fairly distinct; and the same statement holds for Francis Thynne and for Henry Peacham. Thynne had no pictures prepared for his
emblems, and realizing the importance of the omission he apologized for presenting them "naked (for soe I doe terme them, because they are not clothed with engravened pictures)." 12

Like Thynne and Peacham, Willett also left his emblems "naked". That is, they are not accompanied by pictures, but still their emblematic qualities, as against epigrammatic, can be pointed out, especially when compared with an epigrammatist like Herbert. Consider, for example, this poem of Willett's on the same subject as Herbert's "Avaritia" in Lucus:

**AVARUS. Emblema 36.**

\[\text{Vt ventum unus captat & alter in igne laborat} \\
\text{Tertius atque lutum tractat ineptus humi.} \\
\text{Hi perdunt operam, sed tentans omnia cura} \\
\text{In nihilum recidit, talis avarus erit.} \\
\text{Sicut ventus opes fugiunt, ut in igne liquescuunt,} \\
\text{Estque aeris prorsus sic lutulentus amor.}\]

The Translation.

Here one the winde would catch in hand, another workes in fire:
The third doth digge for heauy sand, and stirres in stinking mire.
All these doe but their labour loose, in vaie they take this care:
So is the man that doth repose his trust in earthly ware:
For riches flie as fast as winde, and melt even as with heate,
And he that gaine with greedie minde makes earth his meate. 13

The poem consists of a series of images which are, in fact, similes, although in the poem they are not stated as such, largely because they are actual verbal descriptions of what would be visually represented in the pictorial emblem.
The usual pattern of the emblem was description, application, and explanation, as can be seen in the above poem of Willett's. In the English version, lines 1 to 6 are descriptive, lines 6 to 9 apply these various descriptions to the moral object upon which the poem is centring, and lines 10 to 13 expand and amplify the application. The poem is neatly split into three sentences to follow this pattern exactly, and the three parts are closely linked and move forward logically towards the end of the poem.

The differences between this poem and Herbert's "Avaritia" (Avarice) point out very obviously the differences between the epigram and emblem:

Aurum nocte videns, vidisse insomnia dicit:
   Aurum luce videns, nulla videre putat.
   O falsos homines! Vigilat, qui somniat aurum,
   Plúisque habet hic laetus, quàm vel Avarus habet.

Gold seen at night is said
To be a dream,
And in the light is thought
To be real. O vain
Men, he is awake who dreams
Of gold: he's got more gold than even
The avaricious man. (L, pp. 86-87)

Herbert's poem is not a verbal description of an imaginary picture; his imagery is functional and does not serve the purpose of a descriptive, allegorical meaning, but displays verbal wit. Also, the effectiveness of this epigram is gained more frequently by the distinct contrast between the ideas within it. Whereas in the emblem the parts of the
poem move, logically connected, toward the conclusion, the climax of the epigram usually takes the form of a witty turn of thought or reversal of expectation. The aim of the emblem, even if it is not accompanied by an actual picture, is to draw attention to the art and meaning of a work other than itself, where the aim of the epigram is to draw attention to the art, or wit, of its own construction and idea. Rosemary Freeman has a rather harsh comment upon "the laborious and learned Dr. Willet":

The *Centuria* demonstrates the extent to which the emblem could become elementary, and though its author has a place among the emblem writers for his profession of originality, a place among the poets he could scarcely claim.

Like Andrew Willett, the Scottish poet Robert Farley, whom Leicester Bradner places in the company of the epigrammatists John Saltmarsh and Richard Crashaw, is also undoubtedly an emblematist. His *Lychnocusia sive moralia emblemata* (1638), his best known work, is a series of Latin emblems, with the illustrations and his own English translations. Lesser known and more interesting for this paper is his *Kalendarium Humanae Vitae* (1638). *Lychnocusia* is comprised of poems that are undoubtedly emblems, but the *Kalendarium*, though it also makes use of emblem illustrations, frequently reaches out in some of its poems beyond the superficial meaning of the picture, and at times Farley utilizes the techniques and approaches the form of the epigram; for
example, this poem from the *Kalendarium* illustrating an emblem with the motto "Ecce novum gaudium" (Behold new Joy):

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O what a pleasure is't to see
My new-sprung bud, which will be tree!
The glist'ring grasse with Phoebus ray
Doth make me cheere full looke, and gay:
But (ah!) if these my Flowers should die,
Lord what would then become of me.
Ile tell thee, this thy brood will wither,
Doe not despere, you'le have another. 16
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This poem does utilize certain of the epigrammatic techniques which Herbert uses to such great effect. For example, in the second half of the poem, the author completely changes the thought and tone by transforming his poem into a dialogue in the last two lines. Herbert's more refined use of this technique is evident in a poem such as "Martha: Maria" *(Martha; Mary)* from *Lucus*, but Farley's poem does partially display the techniques and the effect of the epigrammatic form.

Discounting Willett or Farley as the first English writers of original epigrams, whether in Latin or English, we are left with Francis Thynne, whose manuscript *Emblemes and Epigrames* was prepared for publication in 1600, but was not published until 1876. Thynne, as his title suggests, makes a very clear distinction in his volume between the emblems and epigrams. Rosemary Freeman mentions that his emblems, for the most part, were based upon Continental or contemporary models, but only briefly mentions his epigrams:

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Although the emblems are naked ('for soe I doe terme them because they are clothed with engraven pictures'), Thynne has them always very clearly before his eye: ... . It is this feature which distinguishes
the emblems from the epigrams that follow. Those rarely have any pictorial reference and aim purely at verbal wit; the emblems, however, are firmly based on their imaginary pictures. 17

Thynne's epigrams are by no means solely "sacred" in character. The majority are satirical or topical, some are cautionary, but there are a few that can be compared in subject and technique with those of Herbert, although their quality, on the whole, is undoubtedly inferior. Consider, for example, Thynne's twenty-fourth epigram "Fayth":

Our Saviour Christ, with words of greife complaiyned, that when he came to Iudge the world by fyer, that fayth should not be found to his desire, soe greatlie should the Christian fayth be strayned. but if he nowe the same would come to finde, he should see faythes more than stande with his mind, ffor greater and more faiths in yearth, with menn did not abounde, Soe contrarie, soe confident, soe pleasant to bee founde. 18

This poem can be well compared with Herbert's epigram from Passio Discerpta, "In Arund. Spin. Genuflex. Purpur."

(On the reed, thorns, bowing down, and scarlet), which is concerned, in a different way, with faith:

Quàm nihil illudis, Gens improba! quàm malè cedunt Scimmata! Pastorem semper Arundo dècet. Quàm nihil illudis! cum quò magis angar acuto Munere, Rex tanto verior inde prober.

How vain your fun, you wicked brood! How badly jokes turn out! How vain your fun! The reed Will always be the shepherd's. The more acute the gift of pain, The truer King it proves I am. (PD, pp. 66-67)
Thynne's epigram is in reported speech, whereas Herbert's is an address directly to the "barbari men" from Christ himself; but both poems follow the form of the medieval "Complaint" from the Cross. These two poems contrast strongly in the tone which is used. Herbert's epigram is truly serious, in keeping with his speaker. The wit of Herbert's ending is serious, unlike Thynne's which is distinctly humorous, because, in Herbert's case, his "witty" ending is the result of the turn of thought he uses, and his playing with the Christian paradox of life and death. Much of the effect of Herbert's epigram follows from his use of an indignant, indeed almost piqued narrative voice which, of course, is that of Christ. Where the normal expectation would be reinforcement, at the end of the epigram, of the Biblical statement that Christ died that we might live, here we do not receive that reinforcement, but the assurance that those without faith, in this case the Jews, are murderers, and Christ will receive everlasting life to watch them die.

Thynne's epigram does not have the complexity of feeling or thought that Herbert's epigram reveals, but it gains its effect through similar techniques, and is by no means a poor example of its kind. Its wit and humour stem from its colloquial diction and sentence structure, and the fact that Thynne takes the idea of the "Complaint" so literally. The wit in the climax of the epigram derives from its complete reversal
of the reader's expectations. Christ might be expected to condemn the faithless on earth, but all the reader receives is the impression of a multitude of faiths and the lilting line describing them.

However, Francis Thynne cannot be truly regarded as a sacred epigrammatist. His flair was much more towards humour than wit, as can be seen from the epigram "Fayth" or some of his more topical poems such as "A Tench and a Wench", an amusing dialogue between a Catholic and a Protestant who are sitting at dinner, one eating fish, the other flesh:

At length the Catholike complaind,
our wantoun times to bee
disordered in everie thinge,
as dailie hee did see:
'ffor nowe our Protestants, (said hee,) which newe Religion take,
Twixt Pigg and Bke, twixt Carpe and Capon,
not anie difference make.'
To whome the other replied: 'wee make
such difference of their kinde
As Papists doe twixt tench and wench,
to serve their wantoun minde. 19

This kind of use of the epigrammatic techniques is very far removed from the wit and emotional feeling of Herbert's poems on Urban VIII, for instance.

Another poet who was contemporary with Herbert, and can be fairly classed as a sacred epigrammatist, is John Saltmarsh, whose volume Poemata Sacra, Latine, ac Anglice scripta was published at Cambridge in 1636. Saltmarsh
illustrates very well the movement during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to incorporate Biblical material into literature. All of Saltmarsh's "sacred poems" are on subjects taken from the Old Testament, and not only for this reason, but because his poems are in Latin with no English translation, does he provide a good contrast with Herbert. The titles of Saltmarsh's poems are all taken from the Latin version of the Old Testament; for example, "De lapsu primi hominis" (On the fall of the first man), "In Adamum se abscondentem inter arbores horti a facie Dei" (On Adam hiding himself from the face of God amongst the trees of the garden), or "Ad Noam de Columba" (The Dove to Noah). Saltmarsh's poems on the whole are shorter than Herbert's, but display, within limits, the same techniques and conventions. The one limitation of Saltmarsh's volume in comparison with Herbert's is its very narrow range of subject-matter and reference. In a poem like "Afflictio" (Affliction) from Lucus, Herbert in the space of four lines makes implicit reference to several Biblical incidents, whereas Saltmarsh would usually concern himself only with the witty interpretation of the one he had chosen. However, a few of Saltmarsh's epigrams involve at least one reference other than that at the basis of the poem; for example, his "In gladium flammam vibrantem, custodientem hortum Eden" (On the waving sword of flame, guarding the garden of Eden).
QValis erat gladius? Mors in mucrone latebat:
Ardebat flammis saeva gehenna sui.

What kind of sword was it? Death lurked at its point;
A savage Gehenna glowed in its flames. 24

Here the point of the epigram gains in effectiveness by
Saltmarsh's use of the reference to Gehenna, the Hebrew word
for Hell, but also a name for the valley of Hinnom where,
in Chronicles 2, Ahaz sacrificed his children by fire. 25
The wit and skill of Saltmarsh's epigram lies in his
concise interpretation of the fate of Adam and Eve after
they have been expelled from Paradise, and warned not to return
by the waving sword. In Genesis, no interpretation
is put upon the sword, although we are told that it is there
to prevent Adam or Eve from returning and eating of the
tree of life. Saltmarsh links the sword, an instrument
of death, with the earthly mortality that Adam and Eve
are subject to, and the flames of the sword he links with
the flames of Hell. The reference to Gehenna here would
also undoubtedly bring to the seventeenth-century reader's
mind the sacrifice of innocent children by fire in Hinnom.
Again, in "Cornix & Columba" (The Crow and the Dove) 26
Saltmarsh displays his verbal and intellectual wit in the
epigram by using his own interpretation of a particular
Old Testament incident:

Effusa in pennam Cornix ingrata volabat:
Missa Columba volat, nuntia grata redit.
Dispar per volucrum, mens illis discolor: inde
Alba Columba fuit, Corvus at ater erat.
Spreading forth its wings, the Crow ungratefully set off: The Dove sent out, sped forth, and, a grateful messenger, returned.

An unequal pair of birds, their hearts were of different colours:
Thenceforth the Dove was white, but black the Raven. 27

Saltmarsh's technique here is to attribute to the Dove and Raven human responses and characteristics; one is "ingrata" (ungrateful), the other "grata" (grateful). Thus, he can use as his witty climax the comparison between each bird's "mental attitude" and its physical appearance. This technique is similar to that used by Herbert in "In pium Latronem" (On the good thief) from Passio Discerpta, where the wordplay is based upon mental attitude and appearance. Herbert, however, in his epigram, takes the comparison one step further by regarding the goodness of the thief as merely another example of his craft.

One more example from Saltmarsh should demonstrate clearly the kind of techniques that writers contemporary with Herbert regarded as necessary for and appropriate to the epigrammatic form. "In Arcum Pluvium" (On the Rainbow) shows Saltmarsh once again reinterpreting a Biblical incident in order to demonstrate his verbal wit and intellectual agility:

Emicat in coelis Arcus, sed nulla Sagitta:
Tempore Diluvii missa Sagitta fuit.

A bow flashes in the sky, but no arrow:
The arrow was shot at the time of the flood. 28
As in "In gladium flammam vibrantem", the poet's reinterpretation involves a strong sense of the wrath of God and the fate which man has brought upon himself, rather than hopeful and promising aspects of the appearance of the rainbow to Noah. The turn of thought in the epigram is simple. The reader is surprised in the first line by being told that the arrow does not logically follow the appearance of the bow, and surprised in the second that the arrow has in fact preceded the bow. However, the studied understatement and concision of the second line, combined with its tone of foreboding and pessimism, make the poem more successful than some of Saltmarsh's apparently more complex epigrams.

Finally, a sacred epigrammatist who forms a good contrast with Saltmarsh and Herbert, is John Pyne who is almost certainly the author of a volume entitled Epigrammata religiosa, officiosa, iocosa, which was published in London in 1627. Pyne's epigrams are in both Latin and English, and, in the section entitled "Epigrammata religiosa", are on a variety of subjects some sacred, some secular and topical. Pyne had a certain flair for humour as well as verbal wit in his epigrams; For instance, the humour in the epigram "De Italia. Ad Geographos." (On Italy. To the Geographers,) compares very well with Herbert's more sophisticated humour in his three poems on Pope Urban VIII:
Itala cum cruri sit facta simillima Terra,
Cur Romam Terrae venditat esse Caput.

Is Italie a Legge, and Rome confinde
Therein would be the Head; O haughtie minde! 30

It is Pyne's English translation rather than his Latin that reveals the latent humour of the epigram. I think that the epigram speaks for itself. The absurdity of the mental picture that it conjures up is the result of sly good humour rather than verbal wit or wordplay. Herbert, on the other hand, uses a much more refined and elegant tone in an epigram such as "Respons. ad Vrb VIII" (Response to Urban VIII):

Non placet vrbanus noster de nomine lusus
Romano, sed res seria Roma tibi est:
Nempe Caput Romae es, cuius mysteria velles
Esse iocum soli, plebe stupente, tibi:

Our urbane game about the Roman name
Does not please you,
But Rome herself concerns you very much.
For sure you are the head of Rome,
The mysteries of whom you would
Like to make a private joke of,
With cowlike commoners around. (L, pp. 104-105)

The difference between this epigram by Herbert and Pyne's just quoted is that Herbert's tone places him in a morally superior position to the Pope he is deriding. The narrator of Pyne's epigram is dealing with a much simpler idea and gives the impression of a man merely trying to make ridiculous his target rather than subtly undermining it with his wit.
Pyne's English translations can sink to a much more elementary level than the one quoted above; for example, the epigram entitled simply "Roma" (Rome):

Roma Caput Mundi se iactitat esse, Monarchas Prodidit, abscondi debuit ergo Caput.

Rome would as Head over the World be dreaded, But shee's a Traytor, and should be beheaded. 31

Yet Pyne's English epigrams are interesting because in many cases they utilize a distinctly emblematic approach and method, which Herbert rarely or never did in his Latin epigrams:

Words.

As Smoake which from the Chimney doth proceed, Doth argue some fire which is burning there: So Words a breath like Smoake, which th'heart doth breed, Should shew the ardent loue which th'heart doth beare. But as most Smoake doth from least fires ascend, So they use most Words who least Love intend. 32

Except for the fact that there are insufficient examples and similes, this might be a poem accompanying an emblem.

So far the poets I have chosen to compare with Herbert as writers of sacred epigrams have been relatively obscure, and their poetry is, on the whole, on a much lower aesthetic level than Herbert's. Richard Crashaw is practically the only religious poet of the period who wrote sacred epigrams whose reputation is comparable to Herbert's, and whose sacred epigrams are at all read and appreciated. Like many of the epigram writers of the period, Crashaw wrote in Latin as well as in English, and, like those of Saltmarsh,
his epigrams are based very closely upon Biblical events and passages. Saltmarsh based his work only on the Old Testament, Crashaw uses only the New, as does Herbert for the majority of his epigrams. Although Crashaw is generally regarded as a Roman Catholic poet, it is almost certain that his Latin epigrams were written while he was at Cambridge between 1631 and 1634 when he graduated with a B.A., although it is possible that some of them were written while he was at school. His *Epigrammatum Sacrorum Liber* was published in 1634; and the Divine Epigrams in English were included in *Steps to the Temple*, published in 1646, before his trip to Rome and eventual conversion to Roman Catholicism. However, Crashaw's High Anglicanism during the 1630's rendered his approach to poetry quite different from Herbert's. Crashaw came much more under Continental influences (mainly Marino and the Jesuit epigrammatists) than did Herbert, and the differences to be found between his Latin and English epigrams can largely be accounted for by the differences inherent in Marino's style and that of the neo-Latin Jesuit writers.

The focus of the Jesuit writers' use of certain of the epigrammatic techniques, not necessarily in epigrams, was the attempt to arouse the emotions of the reader, as the first step towards meditation. The Jesuit poet, in the same way as the epigrammatist, attempted to stimulate the affections of the reader by conjuring up a metaphor which
would immediately draw attention to the object of the poem. As Raspa states in his article "Crashaw and the Jesuit Poetic", their goal was to elicit at the beginning of a long poem the emotional response which usually occurred at the end of the short standard epigram, and to sustain it throughout by their skill and subtlety in handling and varying the basic metaphor. Raspa concludes:

It was to bear the reader 'on the wings of meditation' that the epigrammatic style was developed. 35

Ruth Wallerstein, using both her knowledge of the literary influences upon Crashaw, and the techniques of rhetoric which he and all other Renaissance epigrammatists utilized, gives a good critical appreciation of Crashaw's epigrams, both Latin and English:

They are highly rhetorical, first, in their use of dramatic question and answer, whether the figures and objects in the epigram speak to each other, or the author addresses them in the proud consciousness of his own superior insight; secondly, they are rhetorical in their excessive use of violent contrast and of paradox; thirdly in the frequent use of verbal turn or repetition to emphasize the contrast and the paradox, though the paradox itself is not verbal. 36

Undoubtedly the rhetorical and the verbal ingenuity are much more striking in Crashaw than in Herbert, and, as Wallerstein comments, Crashaw's epigrams are "to our modern taste highly rhetorical and chill". However, the difference between the two poets is largely one of approach. Although I would agree with Wallerstein on the question of Crashaw's rhetoric as far as its reception by twentieth-
century readers is concerned, I would add that it is more than likely Crashaw's approach to the material, rather than his technique, that renders his epigrams "melodramatic in their emotions". 38

Herbert is frequently no less rhetorical than Crashaw, and certainly no less or more skilled in the handling of epigrammatic techniques, but his approach to his sacred subject-matter, especially in *Passio Discerpta*, is in a much lower emotional key than is Crashaw's. Compare, for example, Crashaw's epigram from *Steps to the Temple*, "Why are yee afraid, 0 yee of little faith?" and Herbert's "Tempestas Christo dormiente" (The storm, while Christ sleeps), both of which are concerned with the storm on the Sea of Galilee while Christ slept. Crashaw's epigram is much longer than Herbert's and much more complex in its handling of metaphor and imagery:

As if the storme meant him;
Or, 'cause Heavens face is dim,
His needs a cloud.
Was ever froward wind
That could be so unkind,
Or wave so proud?
The Wind had need be angry, and the Water black
That to the mighty Neptune's self dare threaten wrack.
There is no storme but this
Of your owne Cowardise
That braves you out;
You are the storme that mocks
Yourselves; you are the Rocks
Of your owne doubt:
Besides this feare of danger, there's no danger here
And he that here feares Danger, does deserve his Feare. 39
Here Crashaw reveals a technique which occurs often in his epigrams; that is, of expressing in various ways throughout the poem the basic wordplay of contrast and idea which is to form the witty climax of his poem. For instance, in this epigram lines 9-14 express the analogy between the storm itself and the spiritual state of the disciples. These lines play with the reversal of the actual metaphor and the idea more skilfully than the final lines play with the abstractions danger and fear.

The rhetorical techniques of Crashaw's epigram are much more obvious than in Herbert's poem:

*Cum dormis, surgit pelagus: cum, Christe, resurgis,
Dormitat pelagus: Quam bene fraena tenes!*

While you sleep the sea arises:
When, Christ, you rise up again,
The sea slumbers. How well
You master things! (L, pp. 90-91)

Herbert displays the same use of balancing ideas and clauses in the body of the poem as Crashaw does in his final couplet, but Herbert's rhetorical devices are partly disguised by his simple concluding exclamation which, with its note of wonder and awe, expresses the natural ease with which Christ can control the elements at will. Crashaw, on the other hand, has much more complexity in his narrative voice which is addressing the disciples and chastising them for their fear; and this narrative voice, in spite of the colloquial opening of the epigram, functions to draw
attention to the rhetorical techniques: questions, antitheses, and repeated sentence structures which Crashaw uses in his epigram to heighten the effect upon his reader of his witty reversal in the last two lines. As I shall demonstrate in Chapters Four and Five, Herbert was concerned to distance the reader, by means of the narrative voice, from the material he was using, in the case of Passio Discerpta the story of the Crucifixion. Crashaw, on the other hand, uses every available epigrammatic technique to draw the reader as close as possible to "the physical details of the life of Christ." 40

This is easily demonstrated by comparing Crashaw's "In vulnera Dei pendentis" (On the wounds of the crucified Lord), and Herbert's poem from Passio Discerpta, "Christus in cruce" (Christ on the cross). Wallerstein chooses four lines from Crashaw's poem to illustrate this point:

Quisque capillus it exiguo tener alveus amne,  
Hoc quasi de rubro rivulus oceano.

O nimium vivae pretiosis amnibus undae!  
Fons vitae nunquam verior ille fuit.

Each hair goes with a small stream (of Blood) as if a rivulet from this purple ocean. Oh, too living waters of these precious rivers! never more truly was he the fountain of life. 41

Crashaw also gives his own translation of this poem in an expanded version:

Not a haire but payes his River  
To this Red Sea of thy blood,  
Their little channels can deliver  
Something to the generall flood.

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...

Ande was't thou in a sence so sadly true,  
The well of living Waters, Lord, till now. 42
Crashaw's style is characterized by his examination of minute
details, although his figure of Christ on the cross is not
"realistic" in the sense that the twentieth century uses
the term. His figure is a tableau or church sculpture,
but nonetheless described in fine detail. Herbert uses
the same imagery of water and rivers, but focuses not
upon the figure on the cross but upon the narrator:

Hic, vbi sanati stillant opobalsama mundi;
Aduolur madidae laetus hiánsque Crucì:
Pro lapsu stillarum abeunt peccata; nec acres
Sanguinis insultus examinata ferunt.

Here, where the healed world's
Smooth balm distilled,
I, joyous, and my mouth wide open,
Am driven to the drenched cross:
By the falling of that distillation,
Sins depart; dead things, they cannot bear
That blood's rigorous assaults. (PD, pp. 70-71)

There is the same conscious use of rhetoric in both
poets, but its use is much more effective and original
in the climax of Herbert's epigram, than it is in Crashaw's.
Where Crashaw uses a common Christian metaphor for the
conclusion of his epigram, which has logically been prepared
for by the imagery throughout the epigram, Herbert gives
a more complex idea, which is intellectually stimulating
because unexpected:

Christe, fluas semper; ne, si tua flumina cessent,
Culpa redux iugem te neget esse Deum.

Christ, keep welling up, for if your flooding stops,
Revivied guilt will say you're not eternal God.
(PD, pp. 70-71)
Herbert here extends the Biblical metaphor more than Crashaw to expand the meaning of the poem beyond the actual figure of Christ on the cross. However, apart from this basic difference in approach between the two poets, both show a similar skill in their handling of the epigrammatic techniques. Compare, for example, Crashaw's English epigram "Vpon the Thornes taken downe from our Lords head bloody" and Herbert's "In Coronam spineam" (On the crown of thorns). Both poets use the same immediacy and directness of address, rhetorical sentence structures and basic metaphors, though Crashaw is once again concentrating much more closely upon the actual incident of the thorns being removed from the Lord's head:

Know'st thou this, Souldier? 'tis a much chang'd plant, which yet 
Thy selfe did'st set, 
'Tis chang'd indeed, did Autumn e're such beauties bring 
To shame his Spring? 
O! who so hard an husbandman could ever find 
A soyle so kind? 
Is not the soile a kind one (thinke ye) that returnes 
Roses for Thornes? 43

In Herbert's poem also the narrative voice is prominent, but its verbal ingenuity is not the poem's raison d'être, as it sometimes has a tendency to become in Crashaw's poems:

Spicula mutemus: capias Tu serta Rosarum, 
Qui Caput es, spinas & tua Membra tuas.

Let us trade our hurts: 
You, who are the head, take the rose for wreath, 
And we, your members, take up your thorns. (PD, pp. 66-67)
However, as both Wallerstein and Leicester Bradner agree, 
there is a vein of "passionate seriousness" running through
Crashaw's epigrams which not all his rhetorical devices
and melodramatic emotions can conceal. Herbert's rhetoric
is not so obtrusive as Crashaw's which renders him less
susceptible to criticism.

Crashaw is undoubtedly the only seventeenth-century equal
of Herbert as a writer of sacred epigrams. Previous poets
like Saltmarsh, Thynne, and Pyne were moving towards a
use of the form which would fully express their religious
feeling and convey the power of the Biblical story upon
Renaissance minds. For religious writers the epigram provided
a perfect means of expression of the Christian paradox.

In the epigram:

Paradox is the dominant method, giving color to all the
other devices. The themes of Crashaw and of the Jesuits
deal wholly with religious story, and it is perhaps
for this reason, as well as by the mere process of
stylization, that they use paradox so frequently;
for to them life is a constant paradox between the
forms of things and their allegorized meaning, the objects
of this world being one extended allegory of the
spiritual world; or between the values and ways
of life of this world as the man of the world reads
and lives it, on the one side, and on the other, the
values of the spirit. 45

But the epigram also provides a trap for the religious writer.
Its reliance upon rhetoric, dramatic question, wit, and
verbal or intellectual ingenuity for its effect can betray
the poet into neglecting the meaning and sincerity of his
subject for the sake of display. It was one of Herbert's
greatest achievements that in his sacred epigrams he was able to maintain a balance between religious feeling and epigrammatic expression.
The purpose of the critical study which I shall present in this and the following chapter is two-fold. I wish not only to demonstrate the aesthetic value and literary interest of Passio Discerpta and Lucus, but also to use this demonstration to assert their importance for students of The Temple. I will try to judge the aesthetic success or failure of individual poems from these two sequences in the light of the conventions of the epigram, basing my discussion on the points suggested in Chapter Two, giving a more detailed study of Herbert's sacred epigrams than was attempted in Chapter Three.

The obvious difficulties inherent in carrying out a complete, critical analysis of the two collections of poems are slightly lessened in this study by the fact that it is based on translations, and deals only with those aspects of poetry which can be accurately studied in translation: choice of subject-matter, the arrangement of the poems, imagery, and the narrative voice. However, even though lessened, the difficulties are still apparent, and, since a study of each poem separately is impractical, I have decided to divide each of the following two chapters
into three categories: arrangement of the poems within each collection; the imagery used (I shall include such aspects as metaphor under this heading); and, lastly, the position of the narrator in the poems, the "voice" he adopts.
I The Arrangement of the Poems in *Passio Discerpta*

Critical controversy over the arrangement of the poems in *The Temple* is still rife; however, the essential "unity" of Herbert's masterpiece is usually agreed on, in that all the poems use similar techniques and are thematically linked to provide a definite progression in thought and meaning. This very important aspect of *The Temple* is also evident in *Passio Discerpta*, and it is the arrangement and unity in theme and imagery of this volume which I wish to discuss here.

I begin with *Passio Discerpta* because it comes before *Lucus* in the Williams Manuscript and because it has a much more obviously schematised arrangement than *Lucus*. The title, "The Events of the Passion", naturally suggests a chronological progress through the various stages of the Crucifixion described in the New Testament. Herbert, of course, does this, but he is necessarily selective; and the selective aspect of his arrangement is one of the interesting features of the volume. Herbert, in his twenty-one epigrams, has dealt with all the major incidents which occurred on Good Friday. However, there is a very obvious grouping of the incidents within the volume,
which might suggest something about Herbert's thematic concerns and his interpretation of the Christian story. Of the twenty-one poems, only two are concerned with the Crucifixion *per se*: "In Christum crucem ascensurum" (To Christ about to ascend the cross) and "Christus in cruce" (Christ on the cross). Even the former of these two is not directly and completely about the Crucifixion. It refers analogically to small Zacchaeus' attempt to see Jesus by climbing up a sycamore tree, and it compares this event with the Crucifixion. Of the remaining nineteen poems, only six are concerned, and then only indirectly, with the actual image of Christ on the cross.

For whatever reason, Herbert was not solely concerned with the central tableau of Good Friday. A reading of any of the Gospel accounts of the Crucifixion from the New Testament quickly brings to the attention a number of incidents which might seem suitable material for an effective sacred epigram in the seventeenth century; for example, the progress towards Calvary, and Simon of Cyrene's sacrifice in carrying Jesus' cross. Yet Herbert makes no mention of these likely incidents, unless the second poem "In sudorem sanguineum" (On the bloody sweat) refers obliquely to this event as well as to the Crucifixion itself. He does not mention the offering of a drink of wine mixed with a bitter drug, and Jesus'
refusal to drink; nor the placard nailed over his head with the charge against him: "This is Jesus, the King of the Jews"; nor the taunts of the crowd, daring Christ to save himself; nor Jesus' cry "Eli, Eli lama sabachthani?" (My God, my God, why did you forsake me?); nor the final offering of vinegar on a sponge. On the other hand, he does mention in "In Christum crucem ascensurum" an incident which occurred prior to the Crucifixion. This list emphasizes, I believe, the fact that Herbert's interests and thematic concerns did not focus directly and solely on the death of Christ as an event which required, or benefitted by, "realistic", or accurately detailed portrayal. Herbert was concerned with the wider spiritual implications of the Crucifixion; not with the event as such, but with its meaning for the average Christian.

Rather than focus upon the figure of Christ on the cross, Herbert selected subjects for his epigrams from the incidents leading up to the Crucifixion, and from the various phenomena which resulted from the death of Christ. The incidents which occurred directly before the Crucifixion were not part of legal or civil punishment, but were the expression of human pettiness, malicious cruelty, greed, and callous indifference. "In Sputum et Conuicia" (On the spitting and mocking), "In Coronam spineam" (On the crown of thorns), "In Arund. Spin. Genuflex. Purpur." (On the reed, thorns, bowing down, and scarlet), "In Alapas"
(On the slaps), "In Flagellum" (On the whip), "In vestes diuisas" (On the portioned garments) all refer to petty acts of cruelty of minor characters in the drama of the Crucifixion. Just as the Crucifixion occurred approximately at mid-day, the two poems which are actually concerned with Christ on the cross, and which follow the list of poems given here, are almost exactly at the mid-point of the volume. The effect of this arrangement is to take the emphasis off the Crucifixion and spread it equally to incidents occurring before and after it. This distances the event from the reader and allows him to see the total picture in perspective. It is also characteristic of Herbert's technique throughout the volume; that is, to mediate between the reader and the event.

The last six poems of the volume are concerned with the physical results on earth of the death of Christ. At the end of the volume the events of the Passion are out of the hands of human beings; Herbert is concerned with emphasizing to the reader the timeless and universal aspects of the Crucifixion and its meaning. For example, in the first group of poems, Herbert's anger is directed towards the Jews who spat and mocked at Christ, and his plea is for the Gentiles to draw from the well, which is the body of Christ, the waters of life:
Parate situlas, Ethnici, lagenásque, Graues lagenas, Vester est Aquae-ductus.

O Gentiles, Fetch you jars and buckets--big jars to your well! (PD, pp. 64-65)

In contrast, in the poem "Petrae scissae" (The cleft rocks), the narrator reaches out away from the immediate present, which is the time of the Crucifixion, which the volume creates for the reader. The meaning of the whole event widens and the conclusion of the poem has a much more general significance:

    corda . . .
    Quae contrita tamen caetera damna leuant.

Hearts, However, when ground to powder lighten All other losses. (PD, pp. 78-79)

Another interesting point about Herbert's selection of incidents is raised when one recalls that Herbert does not mention the Biblical characters, relatives and friends of Christ, who were witnesses at the Crucifixion, and an important minority who stand out vividly in the various New Testament descriptions of the scene. Herbert does not mention the female characters, in particular, Mary, the mother of Christ, and Mary Magdalene, the two characters who might be expected to convey much of the emotional intensity. The only individuals to whom he refers throughout the volume are the good thief, Zacchaeus, Plato, Christ, and himself. It would be easy and possibly mistaken to over-
emphasize this point, but complete omission of the mourning followers of Christ from the picture Herbert gives does enable him to throw into relief his sense of awe and gratitude for Christ's sacrifice, rather than concentrating his attention on the emotions and sense of loss of the witnesses of the scene.

Herbert's technique throughout the volume is to move away from the actual realistic details of the scene. He uses the conventions of the sacred epigram, to move his poem away from the image the title would normally create in the mind of the reader towards the witty or ingenious turn of thought to which the rest of the epigram is intended to lead up. A good example of this is in the very first poem of the volume, "Ad Dominum morientem" (To the dying Lord). The poem serves as an introduction to the volume in that it immediately focuses attention on the central Christ-figure of the event, and it also moves, as so many of the following epigrams are to do, from one particular fact of the Crucifixion, back to the narrator. In spite of the immediacy of the present participle "morientem" (dying) in the title of the poem, and the sense of an eye-witness account given in the first line, "Cum lacrymas oculosque duos tot vulnera vincant" (Since so much wounding overcomes my eyes, my tears), the whole emphasis of the poem is upon the narrator's response to the meaning of the scene, and is not directly concerned with an image of the dying Lord.
Although I shall deal with this aspect more fully later, it is obvious from the very beginning of the volume that Herbert is placing his narrator very firmly between the scene he is describing and the reader. It is this narrator's display of wit and rhetoric in presenting the epigram and concluding it with a witty or ingenious turn of thought which arouses the reader's emotions and sense of awe at the paradox and ingenuity of its expression.

The second poem, "In sudorem sanguineum" (On the bloody sweat), demonstrates even more clearly the immediacy which Herbert can create even while moving the reader's attention away from the actual event. The poem begins with one of Herbert's characteristically colloquial openings: "Quo fugies, sudor? (Sweat, where will you go?). The only realistic or "gory" detail in the whole poem is the title, where the sweat is bloody. And, although Herbert gives no further descriptive details, the image of the bloody sweat dripping down Christ's body is behind the witty conclusion to the epigram:

Ni me forte petas; nam quantò indignior ipse,
Tu mihi subueniens dignior esse potes.

Unless perhaps you seek me; for the more I am unworthy, the worthier
You can be, coming to help me. (PD, pp. 62-63)

The poem moves progressively away from the cross, out into the crowd of spectators on Calvary, and finally to one individual, the narrator.
This movement from the general to the specific and back again is, I think, characteristic of the volume and can be used to account to some extent for the selection and arrangement of the poems within it. The poems often move from the specific incident, Christ at the time of the Crucifixion, for example, to a general meaning of this sacrifice for all Christians. A good example of this technique occurs in "In Alapas" (On the slaps):

Ahl quam caederis hinc & inde palmis!
Sic vagina solent manu fricari:
Sic toti medicaris ipse mundo.

Ah, how with hands
You are on each side slapped!
It's thus that ointments are
Wont to be rubbed in the hand:
It's thus you yourself
Make well all the world. (PD, pp.66-67)

Here the ingenious turn of thought which leads Herbert from the specific to the general is the reversal involved in the metaphor of ointment, a metaphor of gentleness and healing in contrast to the brutality of Christ's treatment at the hands of the Jews.

Some of the poems, on the other hand, move directly from the specific address to Christ to the narrator's application of the incident to himself as a faithful and repentant Christian. For example, the very short epigram "In latus perfossum" (On the pierced side) demonstrates this:
Christe, vbi tam duro patet in te semita ferro,
Spero meo cordi posse patere viam.

Christ, when remorseless steel has opened up a path in you,
I hope there can be opened up a pathway for my heart.

(PD, pp. 64-65)

Here the wit derives from the double application of the word "path", and the very simple acclamatio which forms the last line of the epigram. It gains its simple assertive effect from the complete lack of any emotional overtones with regard to the actual piercing of Christ's side by the spear. The narrator juxtaposes the two lines with a simplicity and bluntness which create a certain sense of emotional shock in the reader, and in turn lead to intellectual stimulation.

In the volume as a whole these various movements are subsumed in an overall progression towards a general and universal meaning derived from the event of the Crucifixion. This can be best demonstrated by comparing the first and the last poems of the volume: "In Dominum morientem" (On the dying Lord) and "In Mundi sympathiam cum Christo" (On the harmony of the world with Christ). As I remarked earlier, the first poem in the volume is concerned primarily with the narrator's response to the personal meaning of the Crucifixion for himself; the more universal Christian meaning of every man's guilt for his sin, and the redemption of that sin through the Crucifixion are only implicit here. In the final poem of the sequence, "In Mundi
sympathiam cum Christo", the universal meaning is made explicit by the use of the same metaphors of earthly collapse and catastrophe that Herbert has been using throughout the second half of the collection:

Non moreris solus: Mundus simul interit in te, Agnostique tuam Machina tota Crucem.

You do not die alone: The world, at the same Time, dies in you, And the whole mechanism Is with your cross in tune. (PD, pp. 78-79)

Here, as in the poem before it, "Petrae scissae" (The cleft rocks), the destruction of the earth is used as the basis of a positive metaphor giving hope for Christian redemption. In "Petrae scissae", hearts ground to powder lighten all other losses; in "In Mundi sympathiam cum Christo", the world is in tune with Christ's cross, a symbol of destruction but also of redemption, just as the signs of earthly destruction on Good Friday convinced spectators of the sinfulness of the world. From this general meaning the poem returns finally and positively to the narrator, with a specific reference:

vel tua mundum Ne nimium vexet quaestio, pone meam.

Or, lest your inquiry Distress the world too much, Look for him in me. (PD, pp. 78-79)

Whereas "In Dominum morientem" ended with its focus on a sinful and unworthy narrator, the last poem ends on a
positive note: the sacrifice was not a futile one. The final three or four poems of the sequence conclude in such a way as to reinforce the concluding note of the last poem. For example, "Velum scissum" (The ripped veil) ends with the idea that God is omnipresent:

Vbique est Deus, Agnus, Ara, Flamen.

And God is everywhere--
The Lamb, the Priest, the Altar too. (PD, pp. 76-77)

The arrangement of the poems suggests that this thematic progression though the sequence was definitely intended by Herbert. I have already mentioned that the collection falls fairly distinctly into three parts: the opening based on the incidents stemming from the petty brutality of the characters involved; the very short section made up of "In Christum crucem ascensurum" and "Christus in cruce", the two poems actually concerned with Christ ascending or hanging on the cross; and the final section concentrating on the signs of earthly destruction subsequent to the death of Christ. However, Herbert could have achieved a thematic purpose such as I have outlined without choosing the particular incidents and arrangement which he did.

It is possible that the sequence was based on other works, possibly parts of the Catholic religious services such as the Improperia for Good Friday on which he based his poem from The Temple, "The Sacrifice". Such a
relationship has not yet been uncovered, but there are certain oddities about Herbert's arrangement that would suggest a firmer reason than mere whim. For instance, in the opening of the sequence, as I will be pointing out in the following section, it is the imagery which largely provides the connecting links between the poems, rather than the chronological arrangement of incidents. The first poem of the sequence is obviously an explanatory address, and serves the rest of the volume in the same way as the original inscription would have served the building or stone whereon it was engraved. However, the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth poems seem definitely to be out of place in a chronological arrangement, particularly the poem "In latus perfossum" which one might expect to follow the poems about Christ actually on the cross. This irregularity in a chronological arrangement, which Herbert follows fairly closely, does no harm to the aesthetic effectiveness of the volume because it does have very strong imagistic and also thematic links as explained by the three categories into which the poems fall. For instance, as I will show in the following section, although "In latus perfossum" seems to be misplaced from the point of view of a chronological arrangement in the volume, its imagery links it very strongly with the poems preceding and following it. Thus its placing appears to be the result of deliberation rather than whim.
The major points to be kept in mind about Herbert's arrangement of poems in this sequence are the three major parts into which they fall, their movement from general to specific and back again, and the way the arrangement enhances the position of the narrator as direct mediator and conveyer of emotions between the actual incidents and the reader. The following section will deal more specifically with imagery and attempt to relate Herbert's use of imagery to his arrangement and selection of poems.
II The Imagery in *Passio Discerpta*

The imagery in *Passio Discerpta* is interesting not only for its own sake, but also for its similarities to the later imagery of *The Temple*. In Chapter Two (page 38), I commented upon the variety and richness of imagery with which Herbert enhanced the single idea which was usually the centrum of the epigram proper. This is true of many of the poems in *Passio Discerpta* as well as "Christus in cruce", the example I gave earlier. Along with this variety and richness there goes a patterned grouping of thematic images which occurs in the case of certain poems on similar subjects.

One of the first of these patterned image groupings occurs at the beginning of the volume. Although, as I have pointed out in the previous section, the choice of subject-matter for the various poems might seem odd and out of context, the imagery has obvious similarities which link the poems. In the first of these groups the image is of fluid or running liquid. "Ad Dominum morientem" introduces an initial image used more fully in subsequent poems, and, without using a colour image explicitly, implies an underlying colour scheme in its imagery.
Students of Herbert are well aware that throughout The Temple runs a theme that involves the concept of words, of writing, and poetic creativity as being integrally related to religious emotion and its expression. Herbert does not use this theme in the same way in Passio Discertpt, but significantly it does occur in the very first poem, the inscriptive address to the dying Lord. Here the image connects two metaphors: ink is the colour of sin, black, but it is also a means of expressing repentance and gaining redemption. It is worthwhile quoting the whole poem:

Cum lacrymas oculóque duos tot vulnera vincant,  
Impar, & in fletum vel resolutus, ero;  
Sepia concurrat, peccatis aptior humor,  
Et mea iam lacrymet culpa colore suo.

Since so much wounding overcomes my eyes, my tears,  
I will have no effect, though melted down in weeping.  
Let ink help me out,  
A liquid more akin to guilt;  
Let my sins, now tinted right, pour forth their tears.  
(PD, pp. 62-63)

The colour imagery implicit here is threefold: I am assuming that the ink would be black, the "wounding" of Christ on the cross naturally brings to mind red or scarlet, and the narrator's tears are colourless. This triple aspect of the imagery gains its full effect cumulatively as each subsequent poem builds on the initial pattern set up. The witty turn of thought in this epigram gains its effect from the mingling of two metaphors: his words,
the black ink in a particular form, come to stand for his sins and his tears of repentance. The "wounding" is forgotten after the first line, but the redness, the bloodiness of the sacrifice which makes these tears necessary, is not forgotten.

The following poem, "In sudorem sanguineum", uses the imagery pattern established in the first epigram. The poem is about the "bloody sweat", a combination of two of the images mentioned above:

Quo fugies, sudor? quamuis pars altera Christi
Nescia sit metae; venula, cella tua est.

Sweat, where will you go? No matter
How much the other side of Christ
May know no limit, the vein
Is where you live. (PD, pp. 62-63)

Again there is no mention made of colour in the imagery, except that the word "venula" (vein) brings to mind the colour of blood. The wit at the end of this epigram functions on a number of levels, but one of these is a continuation of the metaphor initiated in the first poem:

Ni me forte petas; nam quanto indignior ipse,
Tu mihi subueniens dignior esse potes.

Unless perhaps you seek me; for the more
I am unworthy, the worthier
You can be, coming to help me. (PD, pp. 62-63)

Here the sweat becomes worthier coming to help a narrator unworthy because of his black sins. The metaphor of
writing in the first poem is carried over by association into this, where the help afforded could, on one level, refer to the redemptive powers of the blood (and therefore the sweat of Christ), and on another help with writing the epigrams and expression of the narrator's own sins.

The third poem is entitled "In eundem" (On the same), although, in fact, it is not upon the same subject as the previous poem. The specific word used in the two-line epigram is "blood" not "bloody sweat":

Sic tuus effundi gestit pro crimine sanguis,  
Vt nequeat paulo se cohibere domi.

Your blood joys to be poured our for sin so much,  
It can't keep a drop of it at home. (PD, pp. 64-65)

The witty ending here is gained by the use of the metaphor of Christ's body as a "home", with the concomitant idea that Christ is shedding his blood willingly, which of course in one sense he was. However, underlying the poem and continually in the reader's mind is the knowledge of the physical agony and brutality that the Crucifixion involved. This implicit association is made explicit in the following poem, "In latus perfossum", where one aspect of this brutality is brought home to the reader:

Christe, vbi tam duro patet in te semita ferro,  
Spero meo cordi posse patere viam.

Christ, when remorseless steel has opened up a path in you,  
I hope there can be opened up a pathway for my heart. (PD, pp. 64-65)
Again the wit derives from the narrator's treatment of the incident. The image of remorseless steel is succeeded in the second line by the gentle and tender image of the repentant and redeemed heart of the narrator nestling within the body of Christ. (There are a number of other interpretations to which the poem is susceptible, however.) But the poem also has underlying associations which link it with the previous three. The whole point of the pierced side in the Bible is the fact that the withdrawn spearhead brought only water not blood. It is this image of water which is picked up in the fifth poem "In Sputum et Conuicia" (On the spitting and mocking). The narrator is expressing indignation at the "Barbaros", the barbaric men who reviled Jesus:

0 Barbarosi sic os rependitis sanctum,
Visum quod un praebet, omnibus vitam, ...

0 barbaric men! Is this how you pay back the holy face, Which gives sight to one, and life to all... (PD, pp. 64-65)

But the image which he uses in the next sentence is one of impure men polluting holy waters:

sic Aquas vitae Contaminatis alueosque caelestes Sputando, blasphemando?

Is this how you defile, With spit and blasphemy, the waters Of life and the sacred conduits? (PD, pp. 64-65)
And the waters of life are, of course, in one literal sense, the waters that flowed from Christ's body. The turn of thought at the end of the epigram involves a witty use of the Jew's own word for unclean stranger, "Gentile" against the Jews themselves in combination with the metaphor of water which Herbert has already initiated. Since the Jews only revile Christ and pollute his holy waters, the narrator enjoins the Gentiles, believing Christians, to carry vessels to the well which is Christ's body overflowing with the waters of life:

Parate situlas, Ethnici, lagenásque, Graues lagenas, Vester est Aquae-ductus.

O Gentiles, Fetch you jars and buckets--big jars to your well!

After the fifth poem in the sequence, this image grouping gives way to another, still centering on the pettiness and brutality of Christ's tormentors, but viewing the incidents from the impressions given by another image pattern. This pattern centers upon the actual pain that Christ suffered, and the paradox that provides the witty material for the narrator in the following epigrams is that what for Christ was pain is for us joy and redemption. The paradox is very neatly expressed in the sixth poem "In Coronam spineam" (On the crown of thorns):
Christ, your punishment is pain,
Mine delicious ease; you are pricked with thorns,
I with the rose.  (PD, pp. 64-65)

The narrator has extended the metaphor of the thorns to include also the rose in order to extend the associations underlying his paradox and to increase its wit and intellectual ingenuity. The rose was the traditional symbol for Mary; in the medieval Latin hymns she is frequently the "rosa sine spinis" (rose without thorns), and the symbol is sometimes also applied to Christ. Here Herbert is also calling upon a medieval idea, which was that the rose was a flower of great medicinal efficacy. The imagistic richness of this poem is increased by Herbert's introduction of the metaphor of the head and the body: since the rose is at the tip of the stem, Christ should wear the flower, and faithful Christians should serve as members, that is branches, and wear the thorns. The narrator displays his wit also by ending this epigram with a pun on "members". Not only are the faithful Christians referred to, members in the physical sense of arms or legs, but they are also "members" of the body of the Church in Christ.

Just as the poem "In latus perfossum" (On the pierced side) was followed by an indignant poem describing the reviling of Jesus, so this poem on the crown of thorns is
followed by another angry epigram concerned generally with the taunting and the pain Jesus suffered: "In Arund. Spin. Genuflex. Purpur." (On the reed, thorns, bowing down, and scarlet). This is an unusual poem for this sequence in that it is spoken by Christ himself. It is similar to the "Reproaches" spoken by Christ in the medieval services for Good Friday, directed at mankind. Once again the instrument of the pain being inflicted upon Christ is the subject of a pun:

Pastorem semper Arundo decet.
Quam nihil illudis! cum quo magis angar acuto
Munere, Rex tanto verior inde prober.

The reed
Will always be the shepherd's,
The more acute the gift of pain,
The truer King it proves I am. (PD, 66-67)

Herbert is playing with the pastoral associations that are an integral part of the Biblical descriptions of Christ and his Church. The shepherd's reed, usually an oaten pipe in the pastoral poems of the Renaissance, here becomes an instrument of torture for Christ; but the unquestioned leader or King of the shepherds was usually he who could best play his reed, and Christ will prove he is king by the rejection of the pain which this reed causes him. The turn of thought at the end of the epigram involves the paradox basic to Christianity of life and death:
At non lusus erit, si quem tu laeta necasti
Viuat, & in mortem vita sit illa tuam.

But it won't be a game
If he whom you are glad to murder lives,
And that life turns out
To be your death. (PD, 66-67)

The striking thing about this poem which I shall be dealing with more closely in the following section is the familiarity and colloquiality of the voice of Christ the speaker, in comparison with the very stylized quality of "The Sacrifice" from The Temple.

The following two poems "In Alapas" (On the slaps) and "In Flagellum" (On the whip) both make use of the same kind of paradox as was apparent in "In Coronam spineam". I have mentioned "In Alapas" earlier, and noted its use of contrasting metaphors: the brutality of the soldiers slapping Christ and the gentle image of ointment being rubbed into the hand. "In Flagellum" has a much more individualized tone than the previous poem. It compares very well with Herbert's poem "Discipline" from The Temple in its desire for God's discipline and yet his love. In this poem, the metaphor of the whip, which was used against Christ before his Crucifixion, becomes mingled with the metaphor involving the "staff" of Christ which upholds weary pilgrims on the way. There is also the suggestion in the second and third lines of the punishment that flesh itself is to the soul:
Crimina cum turgent, & mea poena prope est,
Suauiter ad moueas notum tibi carne flagellum,

When accusations swell
And my punishment is near,
Make sweetly imminent the lash,
Which in the flesh you've known; (PD, pp. 68-69)

Christ suffered the torments of a literal whip; the
ordinary Christian suffers the temptations of the whiplash
which is the flesh. This is partly expressed by the conclusion
of the epigram:

Mitis agas: tenerae duplicant sibi verbera mentes,
Ipsaque sunt ferulae mollia corda suae.

Be gentle: tender minds
Compound the blows upon them
And meek hearts are whips
Unto themselves. (PD, pp. 68-69)

One more poem, "In Clauos" (On the nails), fits easily
into this particular image grouping, although it is actually
placed beyond the middle group of poems concerning Christ
on the cross. In this poem Herbert once again utilized
the pastoral metaphor. The whole tone of this poem is one
of delight, gratitude and also a kind of gloating
possession. By his tone the narrator, who implies that
he has forgotten the final reassertion of the "melior
natura" (the God-nature) of Christ, forces the reader to
remember it. The paradox lies in the fact that although we
retained the human side of Christ by pinning him on the
cross, that action did in fact bestow for all time the
"melior natura" upon us. The narrator, however, brings the
poem down to an intensely personal and possessive level by
his use of the pastoral metaphor:
Iam meus es: nunc Te teneo: Pastórque prehensus
Hoc ligno, his clauis est, quasi Falce suá.

Now you are mine, I hold you now:
By this wood the Shepherd has been seized,
And by these nails—as by his own
Pruning hook. (PD, pp. 72-73)

Once again the witty turn of thought at the conclusion of this epigram depends for its effectiveness upon the contrast between the gentleness of the shepherd and his tools and the cruelty with which Christ the shepherd is treated.

Of the three categories of poems which I outlined in the previous section the last group shows a particularly interesting pattern of images. It is interesting because it is a patterning which dominates most of the poems in and also the total structure of The Temple itself; it is essentially what one might call the "architectural" or architectonic metaphor in Herbert's work. This kind of image has already appeared in the earlier poems of this sequence, although I have not commented on it. For example, in the third poem "In eundem" (On the same), where Christ cannot keep a drop of his blood "at home"; or in "In sudorem sanguineum" where the sweat "lives" in the vein. This metaphor comes out much more clearly in a literal translation of the Latin: "venula, cella tua est" (the vein, that is your cell). The word "cella" could also mean the sanctuary of a temple.
The metaphor of "house" or "home" first occurs in the fifteenth poem "Inclinato capite, J O H. 19" (On the bowed head) where the homes of different creatures are considered in comparison with the cross as the home of Christ:

Vulpibus antra feris, nidique volucribus adsunt,
Quodque suum nouit strôma, cubile suum.

Caves belong to wild foxes, and nests to birds; Each thing knows its nook. (PD, pp. 72-73)

In the following poem "Ad Solem deficientem" (On the sun in eclipse), the basic metaphor running throughout the poem is that of the sun being, not the master of a house, as one might expect, but merely the porter. The real Sun is, of course, the "Son of God" who is the master of the house, of the world:

Quid hoc? & ipse deficis, Caeli gigas,
Almi choragus luminis?
Tu promis Orbem mane, condis vesperti,
Mundi fidelis clauiger:

What's this? You too gone out, Giant of heaven, master of light That fructifies? You unwrap your circle In the morning, and in the evening You cover it, faithful porter Of the world. (PD, pp. 72-73)

Our expectations, however, in the beginning of the poem until we reach the word "porter" are that the sun is the master of the universe. The darkness covering the land from the sixth to the ninth hour on Good Friday is caused, says the narrator, by the fact that both the "sun" and the "Son" are in eclipse:
Nempe Dominus aedium
Prodegit integrum penu...

For sure the Master of the house
Has wasted everything
From his store... (PD, pp. 72-73)

The tone of this poem is interesting because of its total optimism expressed with gentleness and hope, completely in terms of metaphors:

Tunc instruetur lautius radijs penu,
Tibi supererunt & mihi.

Then with the beams the store will be
(More lavish than before) filled up:
For you and me there will be
More than enough. (PD, pp. 74-75)

In "Monumenta aperta" (The opened tombs), the metaphor of house or dwelling place is used to foreshadow the placing of Christ's body in the sepulchre and the subsequent Resurrection:

Scilicet in tumulis Crucifixum quaerite, viuit:
Conuincunt vnam multa sepulcra Crucem.

Yes, seek the Crucified in tombs!
He lives! Many sepulchers
Negate this single cross, (PD, pp. 74-75)

Also, early in the poem, Herbert introduces the idea of Christ as a prisoner:

Proque vno vincto turba soluta fuit.

and by

Virtue of a single prisoner
Many have been loosed. (PD, pp. 74-75)
The end of the epigram uses the metaphor of the dead rising from their tombs like men leaving their homes, to accentuate the power of God to perpetuate life:

Sic, pro Maiestate, Deum, non perdere vitam
Quam tribuit, verum multiplicare decet.

Thus it is right
For God, because he is a king,
Not to waste the life he gave,
But make it grow. (PD, pp. 74-75)

The eighteenth poem, "Terrae-motus" (The movement of the earth), uses effectively the metaphor of an actual Biblical event, the destruction of the house of the Philistines by the Israelite, Samson, who though blind had regained his strength with the growth of his hair. The narrator compares Christ to Samson by comparing the palace which Samson pulled down to the earth which moved and trembled after the Crucifixion:

Te fixo vel Terra mouet: nam, cum Cruce, totam
Circumferre potes; Sampson vt ante fores.

With you nailed up, even
The earth moves: for with the cross
You move the whole thing to and fro
As Sampson moved the pillars long ago. (PD, pp. 76-77)

In "Velum scissum" (The ripped veil), the metaphor of the house or dwelling is greatly expanded. The narrator sees this phenomenon of the ripping of the veil as a sign of the omnipresence of God. A house or temple cannot keep him in or out:
Frustra, Verpe, tumes, propola cultus,
Et Templi parasite; namque velum
Diffissum reserat Deum latentem,
Et pomoeria terminosque sanctos
Non urbem facit unicum, sed Orbem.

You, Jew,
Huckster of worship, sponger
Of the Temple, you strut in vain,
For the ripped veil
Discloses the hidden God,
And makes the outer walls, and the sacred
Inner Temple grounds themselves,
Not one city only, but a world. (PD, pp. 76-77)

The metaphor moves from an inner sanctum to the outer walls,
to the grounds, to a city, to the world. The following
lines show a close similarity to the ideas in some of the
poems of The Temple, for instance "The Altar":

Et pro pectoribus recenset aras,
Dum cor omne suum sibi requirat
Structorem...

Instead of looking into hearts
As hearts, he looks for altars there,
Till every heart shall seek its maker... (PD, pp. 76-77)

The Christian heart becomes, in fact, the temple of the
Lord and accordingly has within it an altar to the Lord.
The final lines of the epigram reinforce the omnipresence
of God: God is everywhere; in the heart of the Christian
he is "Agnus, Ara, Flamen", the priest at his own altar.

The penultimate poem of the sequence, "Petrae scissae",
uses the architectural metaphor in a different fashion.
It is concerned with metaphors of building up and tearing
down. It begins with the raw material of Christianity:
the clay of Adam and Eve's creation:
Sanus Homo factus, vitiorum purus vterque;
At sibi collisit fictile Daemon opus.

Man was fashioned whole, Adam
And Eve unstained by vice.
But the Devil for his own
Sake broke the clay. (PD, pp. 78-79)

Each of the images in the poem is that of a building up
and a subsequent breaking down:

Post vbi Mosaicae repararent fragmina Leges,
Infectas tabulas facta iuuenca scidit.

When in after times
The Mosaic covenant
Fixed the pieces,
A brazen heifer broke
And wrecked the tablets. (PD, 78-79)

Here Herbert has achieved a very witty pun on the
adjective "Mosaicae", at least in the English sense of the
word, that is as mosaic on a floor or wall, built up of
tiny pieces of pottery or other material. In the Latin,
however, the sense remains restricted to Moses and the Ten
Commandments. The comparison is made with the death of
Christ when the "inaccessas dissiluisse petras" (unscaleable
crags collapsed). The comparison between Christ and Adam
is apt at this point, since Adam lost Paradise in much
the same way as man lost Christ, when the Passion was followed
by terrifying earthly phenomena. The wit of the epigram is
gained by the reversal in the last image. Hearts are not
broken by sin and error, they are ground to powder, reduced
to the least possible earthly substance and then they are
of some value to Christ:
Omnia, praeter corda, scelus confregit & error,
Quae contrita tamen caetera damna leuant.

Hearts,
However, when ground to powder lighten
All other losses. (PD, pp. 78-79)

The final poem in the sequence, "In Mundi sympathiam
cum Christo" (On the harmony of the world with Christ),
links the two ideas of the world as house or dwelling place
and the individual heart, once it is joined to Christ,
as being or/having the world within it:

vel tua mundum
Ne nimium vexet quaestio, pone meam.

Or, lest your inquiry
Distress the world too much,
Look for him [Christ] in me. (PD, pp. 78-79)

I have attempted to show as fully as possible the
major image groupings which prevail in Passio Discerpta.
This section can, at best, only stand as the very briefest
of introductions to the imagery of the volume, but I hope
it will be sufficient foundation for the final section
in this chapter on the narrative voice revealed in the
sequence.
III The Narrator as Mediator: the Voice in Passio Discerpta

As much as the imagery, it is the narrative voice in the sacred epigram which ensures the effect that the poem will have on the reader. I have dealt at previous points, both in the foregoing sections and in Chapter Two, with functions of the narrative voice in particular poems. In this section I shall analyze the effect of the position of the narrator between the reader and the event upon which the poem is based.

Although I have already said a great deal about the first poem in the sequence, "Ad Dominum morientem" (On the dying Lord), it does provide a very good example of the function of mediator that the narrator is to play in the following poems. As mentioned in Section II, the poem quickly passes from its single reference to the Crucifixion, in the word "wounding", to a detailed consideration of the narrator's response by means of the triple metaphor pattern of water (tears, repentance), blood (wounding, redemption), and ink (black, sin). The narrative voice presents an ameliorated kind of introduction to the whole of the volume: we are not immediately shown the
picture of the Crucifixion in all its personal horror. The horror is not presented directly to the reader, but is transmitted through the narrator who passes it to us by means of the metaphor which is an integral part of the epigrammatic technique. The emotional intensity with which we are presented is that of the narrator, not of the Christ-figure himself.

Throughout this volume the qualities of the epigram as a medium for religious themes and sacred subject-matter, stand out sharply. As a form, the epigram provides an ambiguous medium, in that it can both distance the reader from the material, and at the same time, bring him intensely close to the one, simple subject with which, on the surface, the epigram is usually concerned. The narrator in "Ad Dominum morientem" is not only mediator between the reader and his material, but, by his handling of the conclusion of the epigram, heralds the tenor of the rest of the volume. For example, the last line of the poem--"Et mea iam lacrymet culpa colore suo." (Let my sins, now tinted right, pour forth: their tears) -- contains the verb "lacrymet" in the subjunctive mood (in the English translation it is imperative), which tells the reader a great deal about the rest of the volume. On one level, Herbert obviously intends the volume of epigrams to stand as an expression of his own guilt
and sense of unworthiness, and in one way it does; on another, he is bewailing the sins of mankind in general for making necessary the events of the Passion.

The skilful rhetorical handling of the conclusion of the epigram is one of the most important aspects of the narrative voice in Herbert's sacred epigrams. This kind of skilful and often unexpected rhetoric is well displayed in the short poem "In vestes diuisas" (On the portioned garments):

Si, Christe, dum suffigeris, tuae vestes
Sunt hostium legata, non amicorum,
Vt postulat mos; quid tuis dabis? Teipsum.

If, Christ, while you are nailed,
Your garments are inheritance
To enemies and not to friends
As custom rules, what
Will you give your friends?
You yourself. (PD, pp. 68-69)

This poem at first glance is extremely simple, containing only one, at the most two, major ideas. However, Herbert's skill is apparent in the rhetorical dialogue which he has set up in the poem, and which allows him to make the simple acclamatio at the end of the poem: "Teipsum" (You yourself). Once again the wit in the epigram is gained from the brutal juxtaposition of two ideas. The metaphor of inheritance is applied to the portioned garments in the middle of the poem and the body of Christ himself in the acclamatio at the end. The whole associative aura around
the word "inheritance" is of peaceful death, mourning friends and relatives, an atmosphere of pity, gentleness and sorrow; all these ideas come into direct opposition with the actual events of the Crucifixion, when soldiers gambled for the clothes of the dying Christ. The rhetorical dialogue set up within the poem gains much of its effect from the conflict of ideas mentioned. The rhetorical question "quid tuis dabis?" (. . . what will you give your friends?), is asked by the narrator himself; the tone in the rest of the poem is indignant, almost bitter, but this tone merely gives the quiet reversal of the anticlimactic acclamatio more weight; for the narrator is here replying to his own question.

In the poem "In Christum crucem ascensurum" (To Christ about to ascend the cross), the ending of the poem also involves acclamatio, but it is not a reversal as in the previous poem so much as a rhetorical climax, prepared for and built up to throughout the whole poem. As explained in Section II, this poem relates metaphorically to the actual Crucifixion an incident which occurred before Good Friday. The narrative voice relates the two incidents and wittily draws a conclusion from the comparison:
Zacchaeus, vt Te cernat, arborem scandit:
Nunc ipse scandis, vt labore mutato
Nobis facilias cedat & tibi sudor.

Zacchaeus, that he might see you,
Climbed a tree: now you yourself
Climb up, so that, the work turned round,
Ease may be stored up for us,
And sweat for you. (PD, pp. 70-71)

The four poems which form this central section on the Crucifixion—"In pium Latronem", "In Christum crucem ascensurum", "Christum in cruce", and "In Clauos"—are all based on imagery of rising and falling. In "In pium Latronem" (On the good thief), the thief is going up to Christ, having stolen eternal life. Similarly, in this poem the analogy which Herbert is making between the Publican and sinner, Zacchaeus, and Jesus on the cross depends on the imagery of rising, and is linked by the tree in both cases: in the first, the "sycomore" which the "man of little stature" (St. Luke) climbed to see the Saviour, in the second, the tree on which Christ was crucified. In the original Latin, a simple ablative absolute construction "labore mutato" (the work turned round) expresses the complex idea which the rhetorical ease of the poem somewhat disguises; that is, that whereas Zacchaeus climbed a tree in order to see Christ, in this case Christ elevates himself in order to be seen. The wit in the conclusion of the epigram is based firmly upon this foundation image:
Sic omnibus videris ad modum visus.
Fides gigantem sola, vel facit nanum.

And so to each you seem
According to his way of seeing: faith
Alone makes a giant or a dwarf. (PD, pp. 70-71)

The narrator skilfully draws his acclamatio from the associations brought to mind by the previous lines of the poem. Until the last two lines, the reader's knowledge of the Bible is left to fill in the important characteristics of Zacchaeus: the fact that he is faithful and of small stature. Another association upon which the ending of the epigram draws is the reference in the Psalms to the giant who rejoices to run his course and was frequently glossed during the Renaissance as symbolizing Christ. Of course, the very fact that Christ was willing to accept the cup that his father gave him is sufficient to make him a giant from the point of view of faith. The point of the story of Zacchaeus in the Gospels is to show Christ "raising up" Zacchaeus from the contemptible position which he was considered to hold by the people of the town. The paradox upon which the acclamatio is based at the end of the poem is that although Zacchaeus was a small man, he was a giant by the standards of faith.

The imagery of rising and falling is also very distinct in "Christus in cruce" (Christ on the cross). In this poem,
the narrative voice becomes slightly more prominent
because of the obvious first person narration of the
poem and the emphasis upon the narrator's response:

Hic, vbi sanati stillant opobalsama mundi,
   Aduoluer madidae laetus hiânsque Crucii:
Pro lapsu stillarum abeunt peccata; nec acres
   Sanguinis insultus exanimata ferunt.

Here, where the healed world's
Smooth balm distilled,
I, joyous, and my mouth wide open,
Am driven to the drenched cross:
By the falling of that distillation,
Sins depart; dead things, they cannot bear
That blood's rigorous assaults. (PD, pp. 70-71)

The changes of tone in this poem provide one of the most
interesting aspects of the narrative voice. The poem begins
full of joy, optimism, and yearning, moves into a more contemplative
tone with a consideration of the power of the blood of God
(this middle section is slightly less optimistic, especially
since it comes after the word "healed" in the first line),
and finally ends with a tone of fear, doubt, and self-
recrimination:

Christe, fluas semper; ne, si tua flumina cessent,
   Culpa redux iugem te neget esse Deum.

Christ, keep welling up, for if your flooding stops,
Revived guilt will say you're not eternal God.
(PD, pp. 70-71)

The ending of this epigram does not present acclamatio,
reversal or wordplay, but a kind of rhetoric which
expresses a positive hope by means of a negative statement
and gives the resulting reversal in tone, if not in content.
There are a number of other interesting points that can be made in passing about the use of the voice in *Passio Discerpta*. One is Herbert's inclusion of just one poem whose narrator is Christ himself. It is curious that the ending of this particular epigram is in many ways less interesting than those of a number of others in the volume, but the poem does display an interesting variation on the "Reproaches" of the Good Friday services, in which Christ reproached mankind in general.

Herbert's narrative "persona" in this volume is that of a highly sensitive, and intellectually as well as emotionally intense spectator. One of his distinctive traits, which is also common to the "persona" in *The Temple*, is his familiar and colloquial tone, particularly in the openings of the poems. Consider, for example, the opening of "In Alapas" (On the slaps):

Ah! quam caederis hinc & inde palmis!

Ah! how with hands
You are on each side slapped! (*PD*, pp. 66-67)

Another good example is the highly colloquial opening of "Ad Solem deficientem" (On the sun in eclipse):

Quid hoc? & ipse deficis, Caeli gigas...

What's this? You too gone out,
Giant of heaven... (*PD*, pp. 72-73)
Such colloquial language is striking in contrast with the apparently schematised form and techniques of the epigram, and stands out much more clearly than it does in *The Temple* where Herbert's aim is largely to disguise any schema that might appear to control the poems. The narrative voice in this volume provides a tone which is sufficiently individual to make the subjects of each poem interesting in and for themselves, and yet convincing enough to make the point of view expressed that of any of his Christian readers. The rhetoric and display of wit are skilfully tempered by the expressively human response of Herbert's narrator.
In the following chapter on Lucus I shall deal with the poems under the same categories that I used in Chapter Four; that is, the arrangement of the poems within the volume as a whole, the imagery of the poems, and the narrative voice which Herbert uses. By maintaining these categories for the second volume some of the differences between it and Passio Discerpta are made more obvious; for instance, the breadth of subject-matter upon which Lucus draws, contrasted with the deliberately restricted range of Passio Discerpta. I hope also by maintaining this organization to demonstrate Herbert's skill in the use of various epigrammatic techniques applied to a wide variety of subject-matter in Lucus.
I The Arrangement of the Poems in Lucus

As in the case of Passio Discerpta, the arrangement of the thirty-five poems of Lucus in the Williams Manuscript has never been challenged nor have the poems been reordered by any editor. Since the poems are in Herbert's own handwriting with few corrections to the text, we must assume that this was the order in which Herbert intended to leave the poems; he made no subsequent major revisions in either diction or arrangement. In this section, therefore, I am not defending one stated theory of his arrangement against another, as much as pointing out some of the poetic advantages and disadvantages of the arrangement as it stands in the Williams Manuscript.

By giving his volume a title as vague and yet suggestive as Lucus (The Sacred Grove), Herbert allowed himself a great deal more freedom than he had scope for in the previous volume, Passio Discerpta (The Events of the Passion), where, even if he did not intend to follow chronologically the events as they are narrated in the Bible, his reader would naturally expect, from the title, such an arrangement. In Lucus, as in The Temple,
the grouping and arrangement are left to emerge in their own pattern as the reader proceeds through the volume, with no immediate superimpositions of associations or ideas. The volume is much more loosely grouped and arranged than is *Passio Discerpta*, however.

On a cursory reading, the poems seem to have few, if any, linking themes or images, and many of the titles and the subjects of the poems seem out of place in a volume with the title, "The Sacred Grove". One group of poems which seems alien to the rest of the volume as a whole is that concerned with various follies and vices of mankind; such poems as "Auaritia" (Avarice), "In Superbum" (On the proud man), "In κενόλογοι" (On vainglory), and "In Gulosum" (On the glutton). It is possibly the mixture of this kind of poem with epigrams on more directly sacred subjects that prompted McCloskey and Murphy in their bilingual edition to comment that:

. . . both the *Passio Discerpta* and the *Lucus* are largely didactic rather than devotional in the sense of many of his Herbert's later English poems . . . .

It must be admitted that they do appear at first glance to be scattered throughout the volume at random, but I believe that in many instances a reasonable case can be made for their deliberate and advantageous positioning in the manuscript.
Just as in *Passio Discerpta*, the poems do tend to fall into obvious groups. The best example of this is the four poems towards the end of the volume on Rome and Pope Urban VIII (who was holding the papal title at approximately the same time as Herbert was writing the volume). A similar grouping occurs near the middle of the volume with the poems on particular vices. However, the arrangement on the whole is not as systematic as in *Passio Discerpta*. For example, when one begins reading the volume, the first five poems appear to be linked both thematically and through their images, but the sixth poem "In pacem Britannicam" (On the British peace), breaks the sequence which is not resumed. This breaking of an apparently carefully constructed sequence occurs frequently.

One factor, though, tends to keep the reader mentally alert to the possibility of a deliberate and carefully thought out structure on Herbert's part, and that is the fact that the majority of poems, if they are not topical, are based on incidents from the New Testament; for example, "Tempestas Christo dormiente" (The storm, while Christ sleeps), "In Vmbram Petri" (On Peter's shadow), and "Martha: Maria" (Martha, Mary). The incidents do not seem to be arranged as they occur in the Gospels except by the most tenuous of links. For example, in St. Luke, Christ's meeting with
Martha and Mary is closely followed by his meeting at dinner with the Pharisee. It is possible that Herbert meant his poem "In Superbum" (On the proud man) to refer to this incident, and to contrast with both the preceding poems, "Martha: Maria" (Martha; Mary) and "Amor" (Love), but there is no definite reference in "In Superbum" to the meeting with the proud and sinful Pharisee.

As in Passio Discerpta, the scheme behind Herbert's arrangement depends largely upon his use of imagery, which links the poems in a way that is particularly noticeable in the opening of the volume. The first three poems "Homo, Statua" (Man the statue), "Patria" (Homeland), and "In Stephanum lapidatum" (On the stoning of Stephen), introduce in various ways two images, those of rock and fire, which Herbert uses separately and together in different contexts. In "Homo, Statua" (Man the statue), he uses the image of rock to signify sin and "improbitas" (impurity) in the human heart, which was so common as an emblem in the seventeenth century and was based on the same image in the Bible:

Sum, quis nescit, Imago Dei, sed saxea certè:  
Hanc mihi duritiem contulit improbitas.

I am, stupid, the  
Image of God but  
Surely rock. Impurity  
Put this hardness  
On me. (L, pp. 80-81)
The image of man as a statue links, in its classical associations, with the title, for the Romans sculpted statues of their Gods and Goddesses in order to worship them in temples or even possibly in sacred groves. Here, Herbert's narrator is in the image of God, but the statue does not denote beauty, grace and worship, but impurity and sinfulness. He conveys these negative connotations by using not the word "marmor" (marble), but the adjectival "saxea" (of rock, rocky). The beauty of the following lines leads into the final reference to marble; it does not harden like the scarlet corals, but weeps. Herbert's heart also must weep in order to prove that it is not harder than stone.

The imagery of fire is introduced in the next poem "Patria" (Homeland), and is combined with the image of rock, to comment upon the spiritual state of the narrator. A simile of fire is used to refer to the devotional state of the mind:

Ut tenuis flammae species caelum vsque minatur,
Igniculós legans, manserit ipsa licet;
Sic mucronatam reddunt suspiria mentem,
Votáque scintillae sunt animosa meae.

As the form of rarefied flame
Shooting off sparks leaps to the sky, though it
Stays back itself, so do sighs
Make sharp the mind, and fiery prayers
Are my sparks. (L, pp. 82-83)
The image of rock is juxtaposed, but subordinated to this, and used to refer to the body only at the end of the epigram. In the previous poem, the heart or the mind was only glanced at, since it was imprisoned in the rock that was the narrator's body. Here, the heart cannot only weep, but "Assiduo stimulo carnem ... lacescit" (beat the flesh with nagging pain), and "perterebrare" (tunnel through it). The word "perterebrare" (to bore through) obviously brings with it the image of rock.

The third poem, "In Stephanum lapidatum" (On the stoning of Stephen), combines the two images directly in two lines:

Qui silicem tundit, (mirum tamen) elicit ignem:  
At Caelum e saxis elicuit Stephanus.

How marvelous! Who  
Pounds rock gets fire.  
But Stephen from  
Stones got heaven. (L, pp. 82-83)

This poem is interesting because it refers in part to a very common emblem in the seventeenth century, the "silex scintillans" (flashing rock) as Vaughan chose to call it when he used the phrase as the title for his volume of poems in 1650. The emblem usually depicted a thunderbolt striking sparks from a rock in the shape of a heart, and from the heart issue one or two tears. These tears are definitely tears of repentance in the first poem. But
here, Stephen does not gain tears of repentance from the stones, but the next stage, Heaven. This point is also reinforced by the diction of the poem. Herbert uses the word "silex" for rock just as the emblem writers, as well as Vaughan, frequently did, and also he uses the verb "elicio" (to draw out) in the final line, and this verb has a particular meaning of "calling down a God".

The stoning of Stephen occurs in the Acts of the Apostles (Chapter VII, 56-60), and the incident with Simon the sorcerer occurs only a few verses later. The two poems obviously make a good contrast in theme: Stephen the faithful martyr, in whom the Holy Spirit was radiant, and Simon who believed that he could buy for money the power of the Holy Ghost:

\[
\text{Ecquid ernes Christum? pro nobis scilicet olim Venditus est Agnus, non tamen emptus erit.}
\]

Will you buy Christ?
No doubt long ago
The Lamb was sold for us; yet he will
Not be bought. (L, pp. 82-83)

This poem introduces the image of money which occurs in certain of the following poems; it also refers back to the "Imago Dei" (Image of God) mentioned in the first poem "Homo, Statua" (Man the statue):

\[
\text{Unicus est nummus, caelo Christóque petitus, Nempe in quo clarè lucet Imago Dei.}
\]
There's but one kind of coin
Looked for by Christ and heaven;
Truly the one in which
God's likeness gleams
Clearly etched. (L, pp. 84-85)

The fifth poem of this group, "In S. Scripturas"
(On the Sacred Scripture), uses, in a different context,
the fire imagery used in the earlier poems:

Heu, quis spiritus, igneusque turbo
Regnat visceribus, meaque versat
Imo pectore cogitationes?

O what spirit, what fiery whirlwind
Takes my bones and stirs
My deepest thoughts? (L, pp. 84-85)

However, the general importance of this poem is not of
imagery as much as theme. The Sacred Scripture to which
Herbert is referring is, of course, the New Testament, in
particular, the Acts of the Apostles. The implicit reference
in the first line with the word "spirit" would seem to be
to the Holy Ghost; the passage from Acts, Chapter Two,
reads:

2And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a
rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where
they were sitting.
3And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as
of fire, and it sat upon each of them.

The repeated imagery of "house", "lodging", "alleys", etc.
is already suggested by the Biblical passage; Herbert
merely individualizes it to refer to himself. However,
since he cannot claim to have received the Holy Spirit
as such, in his poem the "spirit" becomes the power of Sacred Scripture upon the human soul. This fifth poem links and summarises the previous four very effectively; but at this point, there is a break in the volume with "In pacem Britannicam".

This poem has for its witty ending a reference to the incident in the Gospels of Christ's walking upon the Sea of Galilee. It also has an implicit reference to the parting of the waters of the Red Sea for the children of Israel in their flight from the Egyptians: "Et quae corrumpit moenia, murus aqua est." (And water which wrecks walls, is itself a wall). The epigram possibly refers in general to the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) which was fought over religious beliefs. England, because of James I's pacific policies, did not become involved in this war:

Anglia cur solum fusos sine sanguine sicca est,  
Cum natet in tantis caetera terra malis?

Why is England dry  
(Not having poured her blood out),  
While all the earth wades Through tides of evil? (L, pp. 86-87)

This poem does contrast with the one before it in that Herbert is now referring to peace and enlightenment on a general, national level, whereas in "In S. Scripturas" he was concerned solely with the individual, personal response of the narrator.
The seventh poem "Auaritia" (Avarice), returns to the image of gold or tainted money introduced in "In Simonem Magum (On Simon Magus):

Aurum nocte videns, vidiese insomnia dicit:
Aurum luce videns, nulla videre putat.
O falsos homines! Vigilat, qui somniat aurum, 
Plúsque habet hic laetus, quàm vel Auarus habet.

Gold seen at night is said
To be a dream,
And in the light is thought
To be real. O vain
Men, he is awake who dreams
Of gold: he's got more gold than even
The avaricious man. (L, pp. 86-87)

The subject of this poem is secular rather than sacred, but the concision and witty turn of thought are admirable and completely typical of Herbert at his best.

The next group of poems from number eight to number twenty-four appears to be a heterogeneous and disparate group linked as much by associations as by definite themes or images. Their one common link is that they are largely based upon incidents taken from the Gospels, although within this group there is the collection of cautionary poems mentioned earlier, such as "In Gulosum" (On the glutton), "In Improbum disertum" (On the eloquence of the wicked), etc. "In Lotionem pedum Apostolorum" (On the washing of the apostles' feet) is based upon a passage in the Gospel of St. John:
After that he poureth water into a basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded. (13: v)

This poem is followed quite naturally by "In D. Lucan"

(On Luke the doctor), since Luke was one of the writers of the Gospel and filled with the Holy Ghost:

Cur Deus elegit Medicum, qui numine plenus
Diuina Christi scriberet acta manu?

Why did God a doctor pick,
That he, filled up with the Holy Spirit,
Might with his consecrated hand
Record the acts of Christ? (L, pp. 88-89)

"Papae titulus, Nec Deus Nec Homo" (The Pope's title [not God or man]) does not link with the poem previous to it, but with that following it, "Tributi solutio" (The payment of tribute). Both Mark and Luke record the question the Pharisees put to Jesus concerning payment of Tribute to Caesar. Herbert, by juxtaposing the two poems here, emphasizes the similarities in the positions of Caesar and the Pope. In the first poem, the Pope is not even allowed the dignity of being regarded as the AntiChrist, while in the second, the point is made that:

Quod omnibus tute imperes, nemo tibi.

For you of everyone
Are uncontested king,
While no one is of you. (L, pp. 88-87)

The power of Christ is referred to in the following poem, "Tempestas Christo dormiente" (The storm, while Christ sleeps), while humility is the subject of the
following poem "Bonus Ciuis" (The good citizen). The fifteenth and sixteenth poems "Martha: Maria" (Martha; Mary) and "Amor" (Love), are obviously linked in theme. The love of Martha and Mary for Christ as recorded in St. Luke, Chapter Ten, is expressed by the two women in different ways, and in the following poem Herbert expresses love itself and the state of love by means of various metaphors and similes.

With "In Superbum" (On the proud man), Herbert begins a short group of cautionary poems quite unlike the rest of the epigrams in subject or emphasis. "Afflictio" (Affliction) and "Consolatio" (Consolation), which are inserted in this group, are more obviously on sacred subjects, and "Afflictio" refers again to the incident of Christ's walking on the water. The links between the other poems, apart from the similarity of their subjects, are also forged by the imagery. For example, at the end of "In Ἰς ἀνάξιος ζεύγος λαός", an image of food is used to describe qualities of character and temperament:

Morosus, oxygala est: leuis, coagulum.
Moroseness has a curdlike thickness,
And giddiness is rennet-thin. (L, pp. 96-97)

This poem then leads into "In Gulosum" (On the glutton):
While you shovel food
In your swooping mouth
And pick clean whole trays,
You are weighted down within
And without with a flood
Of dirt. (L, pp. 96-67)

The final image of "In Gulosum" (On the glutton), is that of death and interment:

Te petet, ante diem quisquis obire cupid.

He will visit you
Who wants to be interred before his time. (L, pp. 98-99)

And the following poem "In Improbum disertum" (On the eloquence of the wicked), is also concerned with physical sin, the pleasures of the flesh and eventual death:

Aurea pro naulo lingua Charontis erit.

Your gilded talk will be Charon's passage money. (L, pp. 98-99)

"Consolatio" (Consolation) summarises this cautionary group by bringing to the reader's attention the Christian consolation for the fact of death on a general level:

Viuimus in praesens: hesternam viuere vitam
Nemo potest: hodie vita sepulta prior.

We live
For the present: no one can live
The life that was the day before. (L, pp. 98-99)
This Christian consolation moves, in the next poem, "In Angelos" (On angels), to an even higher sphere. Whereas the previous poem referred to the height that human beings could reach in death, this poem compares the nature of angels with the characteristics and physical limitations of the human being upon earth. This movement out of the group of cautionary poems onto a more philosophical level is not continued further than "In Angelos". The sequence here appears to break off and lead into a group of highly topical poems concerned with Pope Urban VIII. The twenty-fifth poem, "Roma. Anagr." (Rome: an anagram) serves as an introduction to three poems which are almost satiric rather than sacred epigrams, such is their topicality. The four poems form a logical sequence, seemingly complete in itself.

The seven remaining poems of the volume form another heterogeneous and disparate group. "\textit{Reasonable sacrifice}" (Reasonable sacrifice) and "In Thomam Didymum" (On Thomas Didymus) return to Christian rather than topical subjects, the latter referring to the well-known incident of Thomas the Doubter in the New Testament. "In Solarium" (On the sundial) returns, however, to a general consideration of the human condition, the human being's position upon earth, as a creature who "animaque & corpore constat" (hangs between body and a spirit). This is followed by the
very long and partially descriptive poem "Triumphus Mortis" (The triumph of Death), the ending of which is powerful but pessimistic. It is followed very fittingly by a much shorter epigram "Triumphus Christiani: in Mortem" (The Christian's triumph: against Death), which, in its simplicity and assurance, contrasts skilfully with the foregoing poem and prepares the way for "In Johannem\textsuperscript{\textepsilon\scriptsize{	extomicron\texttau\textomicron\textnu\textomicron\textomicron\textepsilon\textomicron\textnu}\textsuperscript{\textomicron}\texttextomega\texttextomicron\textomicron\textacute\textomega\textacute\textomicron\textacute\textomicron\textomega\textacute\textomicron\textacute\textomicron\textacute\textomicron\textomegaminor" (To John, leaning on the Lord's breast).

This poem and "Ad Dominum" (To the Lord), the last in the volume, reintroduce the personal and individualized tone of the narrator into the sequence. The narrator wittily reinterprets John's leaning on the Lord's breast as the act of a suckling child. This metaphor of a woman's life-giving breast for the open and wounded breast of Christ is continued in the opening of the following poem:

\begin{quote}
Christe, decus, dulcedo, & centum circiter Hyblae,  
Cordis apex, animae pugnaque paxque meae. . . .
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Christ, bright one, sweet one, more like  
A hundred fabled honey-bearing towns,  
Heart's highest seat, the war  
Of my spirit, and its peace...(L, pp. 120-121)
\end{quote}

The Christian metaphor is, of course, of Christ as the lover of the human soul, but the metaphor is heightened by the secular overtones of the method of address. This poem, the last in the sequence, expresses the final plea of the faithful Christian to see Christ:
Quin, sine, te cernam; quoties iam dixero, cernam;
Immoriárque oculis, o mea vita, tuis.

O let me see you! As often
As I say it, I will see you.
In your eyes, O my life, I will die. (L, pp. 120-121)

This emphasis at the end of the volume on the narrator's personal relationship with Christ contrasts with the concluding poems of Passio Discerpta, in that the emphasis there was on the more general and universal meaning of the Christian story rather than on the more personal and individual response of the narrator as it was at the beginning of the volume. Lucus, like Passio Discerpta, also moves from the general to specific and vice versa, but I believe that the movement is not as deliberate or as effective as it is in the latter volume. The title Lucus (The Sacred Grove) gave Herbert much more freedom than did the title Passio Discerpta. The poems in Lucus, as might be expected, are on a much greater variety of topics. Their arrangement seems at times perfectly understandable and extremely skilful, and at others merely puzzling. It is obvious that the arrangement and choice of subject-matter for many of the poems in the volume is dictated by the incidents in the Gospels, particularly in the Acts of the Apostles; but there are also many poems which appear to have little in common with the others in the volume, or even with the title "The Sacred Grove".
If the arrangement of the poems in the volume cannot be totally justified, the variety and use of the imagery which Herbert employed certainly can. I shall attempt to show in the following section a few of the aspects of his use of imagery and some of the major image patterns which he employs in the volume.
One of Herbert's most characteristic skills is his ability to use in a new and startling way an image that may be common or overworked. Thus, although the imagery of Lucus is often strikingly similar to that of Passio Discerpta, Herbert's use of that imagery and the contexts in which he places it are always varied. The imagery of Lucus is similar to that of Passio Discerpta not only in single images but in image groupings or clusters. A number of these groupings are immediately recognizable even on a cursory reading. A good example is the cluster of images right at the beginning of the volume involving rock and fire. In the very first poem, Herbert's ability to find a striking and beautiful image is displayed by his line on the red corals:

Durescunt proprijs euulsa corallia fundis,

Red corals,
Pulled out
Of their habitat
Harden. (L, pp. 80-81)

The epigram moves in a skilful progression of ideas and references to the actual substances which embody those ideas. The narrator begins by drawing immediate attention to himself, but as the poem moves on he moves
backward in time. The striking, inserted image of the corals amplifies not only the previous sentence describing the narrator's present condition, but also the following sentence using Adam's fate to explain the narrator's rock-like heart.

The poem moves through three substances: the unyielding rock, the coral slowly hardening and fading, and the marble, beautiful and softer than the other two in that it weeps. The address to God (who has only been mentioned obliquely so far), forms the climax of this meditative epigram and Herbert's wit is displayed in his introduction of a substance which is both beautiful and softer than the substance of his own heart. The ending of this poem is an acclamatio of an unusual kind in that it is a plea couched negatively in the form of an imperative or command:

Tu, qui cuncta creans docuisti marmora flere, Haud mihi cor saxo durius esse sinas.

You who Creating all things gave Marble the power to weep, Do not let my heart Be harder than stone. (L, pp. 80-81)

This epigram also gives a kind of parody of the original inscriptionsal form of the epigram, either engraved in a stone or building, or referring to it, when one remembers that the narrator is referring to himself as a statue. Also the vocative address reminds one of the injunction to the
passer-by in many epitaphs. The concluding turn of thought here depends partly upon surprise, for until the last line we are not told explicitly the relationship between the metaphors which Herbert is using, and the spiritual state of the narrator.

The imagery of fire in "Patria" (Homeland) is much more complex in its application to the idea which it expresses than is the imagery of rock in the above poem. There is a one to one correlation between the parts of the image as a simile and the idea it is describing, that is the form of the fire, the fire itself, and its sparks represent respectively the narrator's sighs, his mind, and his prayers. But it is the complexity and fierce intensity of the image that make the simile exciting and intellectually stimulating:

Ut tenuis flammæ species caelum vsque minatur,
Igniculos legans, manserit ipsa licet;
Sic mucronatam reddunt suspiria mentem,
Votáque scintillae sunt animosa meæ.

As the form of rarefied flame
Shooting off sparks leaps to the sky, though it
Stays back itself, so do sighs
Make sharp the mind, and fiery prayers
Are my sparks. (L, 82-83)

The complexity of the fire imagery here derives from its application to the narrator's mind at a period of spiritual striving. The image of "rarefied flame" is used as a description of the narrator's sighs, which in turn sharpen his mind as they are expressed. The rarefied
flame takes sparks up from the fire, just as the narrator's sighs carry up with them his prayers. The image here is deliberately expanded in the opening of the poem in order that it can be used to give greater weight to the starkness of the concluding acclamatio:

Assiduo stimulo carnem Mens vltam lascsset,  
Sedula si fuerit, perterebrare potest.

The mind beats the body all the time--
And if it perseveres,
Can tunnel through it. (L, pp. 82-83)

In contrast to the previous poem, the body here has become rock although this is only implicitly stated in the word "perterebrare" (to tunnel). The title of the poem is ambiguous; it could refer either to heaven, the homeland that the mind is striving to reach, or, in an ironic sense, to the body, which is home for the mind on earth but which must be left. The complexity of the imagery of fire in this poem forms a good contrast with the bare and simple statement of "In Stephanum lapidatum" (On the stoning of Stephen):

Qui silicem tundit, (mirum tamen) elicet ignem:  
At Caelum e saxis elicuit Stephanus.

How marvelous! Who
Pounds rock gets fire.
But Stephen from
Stones got heaven. (L, pp. 82-83)

Here, the wit depends upon this starkness of statement and the reader has already been prepared by the previous poem
for the link between fire, sparks, and a spiritual state. There is no suggestion, and indeed no space, for an emotional response on the part of the narrator to Stephen's martyrdom, the wit is derived from the play of the intellect around the bare facts of the incident. The simplicity of the imagery reflects the thought in the epigram.

The use of bare and unelaborated imagery is much more prevalent in Lucus than in Passio Discerpta; for example, its use in "Auaritia" (Avarice):

Aurum nocte videns, vidisse insomnia dicit:  
Aurum luce videns, nulla videre putat.

Gold seen at night is said  
To be a dream,  
And in the light is thought  
To be real. (L, 86-87)

Here the image is not expanded; it is there simply as a fact to provide the basis for the turn of thought at the end of the poem. The narrator is playing with the theme of illusion and reality, but in the body of the poem one is no more elaborated on than the other. They balance each other perfectly, and the conclusion sums both up with wit and irony, expressing the turn of thought appropriately in terms of possession:

Plúsque habet hic laetus, quàm vel Auarus habet.

he's got more gold than even  
The avaricious man. (L, pp. 86-87)
Of course, the point of the epigram is that gold is worthless; the man with gold has no more substance than the man who dreams of it. This short poem is in part an explanation of the theme of "In Simonem Magum" (On Simon Magus), where the concept of money and buying is linked to Christ's "buying back" mankind from sin:

Quin nos Ipse emit, precioso faenora soluens
Sanguine: nec precium merx emit vlla suum.

No,
He bought us, liquidating
Our debt with his Rich blood. (L, pp. 82-83)

During the middle ages religious lyrics frequently employed the pun on the "redemption" which is derived from the Latin "redimere", to buy back. For example, these lines from the fourteenth-century lyric "How Christ shall Come":

I come vram the chepyng as a Riche chapman, thet
Mankynde habbe ihouzt.
I come vram an vncouthe londe as a sely pylegryme, thet
ferr habbe i-souzt. 5

Herbert is obviously playing with the same pun in the imagery of "In Simonem Magum":

Ecquid emes Christum? pro nobis scilicet olim
Venditus est Agnus, non tamen emptus erit.

Will you buy Christ?
No doubt long ago
The Lamb was sold for us; yet he will
Not be bought. (L, pp. 82-83)

Simon's money was tainted, and the image at the end of the poem becomes a metaphor involving a contrast between "true" and "tainted" money:
Vnicus est nummus, caelo Christóque petitus, 
Nempe in quo clare lucet Imago Dei.

There's but one kind of coin
Looked by Christ and heaven;
Truly the one in which
God's likeness gleams
Clearly etched. (L, pp. 84-85)

Man is "forged" in the image of God, just as the coin is forged or minted, but if God's likeness is not to be seen on the "coin", it is worthless, tainted, counterfeit.

Thus, by the end of the poem, the narrator has wittily rendered Simon as tainted as his money. The image of the star mentioned earlier in the poem becomes a metaphor for Christ. Simon cannot offer enough money to buy this "star", whereas Christ paid the full price to "liquidate" our debt, and buy back mankind. I have already commented on the reappearance in this poem of the phrase "Imago Dei".

The star image also recurs in "In S. Scripturas":

Nunquid pro foribus sedendo nuper
Stellam vespere suxerim volantem,
Haec autem hospitio latere turpi
Prorsus nescia, cogitat recessum?

When I was resting
Near my door not long ago,
And it was evening, did I
Swallow a falling star? And is it
Trying to escape, not knowing how
In this disgraceful lodging to be hidden? (L, pp. 84-85)

Again, the "falling star" is synonymous with the divine force, Christ or the Holy Ghost.
This recurrence of images often a number of poems apart, is actually more frequent than clusters of similar images such as were to be found in Passio Discerpta. The overall theme of Lucus which the imagery is used to express is the appearance and presence of the Holy Ghost. Such is the arrangement of the poems that the volume seems to lend itself more easily to the effective use of images which recur irregularly but powerfully, rather than closely linked clusters of images in a number of poems. However, there are two major image groups linked fairly closely within Lucus. The first of these, which occurs directly after "Auaritia" (Avarice), is that of water, for defence, purification, and as a symbol of power and humility; the second involves architectural images of habitat or lodging.

In "In pacem Britannicam" (On the British peace), the image of the sea around an island is the basis of the epigram, and with this are linked fluid images of blood and "tides of evil". The poem also refers to the crossing of the Red Sea and Christ’s walking upon the waters. In this poem the sea is a metaphor either for peace or war; for England it means peace. The narrator opens the poem by putting a rhetorical question:

Anglia cur solium fusò sine sanguine sicca est,  
Cum natet in tantis caetera terra malis?

Why is England dry  
(Not having poured her blood out),  
While all the earth wades  
Through tides of evil? (L, pp. 86-87)
He then wittily uses the metaphor of the sea's ebbing and flowing to answer his own question:

Sit licet in pelago semper, sine fluctibus illa est,
Cùm qui plus terrae, plus habuere maris.

Though she is always in the sea,
She has no waves; at the same time,
They who have more land more sea possess. (L, pp. 86-87)

For other countries not at peace, war means possession:

Naufragij causa est alijs mare, roboris Anglo,

The sea is the cause of shipwreck to them;
To England, a source of strength-- (L, pp. 86-87)

The sea means shipwreck, the ship of state is lost in war.

But Britain, because she is at peace, is defended by her potentially destructive waters, and peace means the flourishing of Religion:

Nempe hic Religio Ffloret, regina quietis,
Tûque super nostras, Christe, moueris aquas.

For sure Religion flowers here, the Queen of Peace,
And you, Christ, move upon our waters. (L, pp. 86-87)

In this epigram a series of metaphoric images is used to build, with a variety of different meanings, towards the final statement. Like a jigsaw puzzle all the various pieces of the metaphor are fitted together--dryness, goodness, peace, still waters, weakness, protection, Religion--until the final logical step is reached, the presence of Christ. Herbert, admirer of James I's pacific policies towards Europe, must have been aware in this poem of the irony of the Thirty Years War. Although the Catholic and
Protestant European countries were struggling over religious beliefs, the only true upholders of religion were the countries at peace and free to worship and practise their religion. Religion is the "regina quietis" (the Queen of Peace).

Another in this group of poems using imagery of the sea is "In Lótiónem pedum Apostolorum" (On the washing of the apostles' feet). Again the imagery is extremely functional; there is only one adjective, "gelidis" (ice-cold) which describes "aquis". The juxtaposition of the myth with the Gospel incident is blunt and at first sight the two ideas are not completely integrated:

Solem ex Oceano Veteres exurgere fingunt
Postquam se gelidis nocte refecit aquis:
Veriüs hoc olim factum est, vbi, Christe, lauares
Illos, qui mundum circumiere, pedes.

The ancients believed the sun
Heaved up out of the sea
After he'd refreshed himself
At night in ice-cold water.
This was truer long ago
When you, Christ, bathed those feet
Which made their way around the world. (L, pp. 86-87)

However, in this case, the wit of the epigram derives exactly from this juxtaposition. The initial image is, in fact, a simile, although it is not implicitly stated as such. The contrast between the image and the explanation at the end of the epigram appears sharp and puzzling until the reader recognizes the similarities between the two ideas, and the application of the initial image to the
following incident. The pun, or double entendre on the word "sun" is revealed in the third line with direct mention of Christ. The sun renews himself in the sea overnight. Christ, on the other hand, renews or refreshes himself by using water to purify the feet of his apostles who will spread his word anew around the world. The last line with its idea of travelling links the images of both the sun and the sea which the poem has used, for the sun travels daily, returning to the sea at night when it sets.

The poem "Tempestas Christo dormiente" (The storm, while Christ sleeps), is a much simpler epigram than many others in the volume. The main image again is of the sea, although this two-line poem depends on implicit references to at least three Gospel incidents: the storm on Galilee while Christ slept, the Resurrection, and Christ's walking upon the waters:

Cum dormis, surgit pelagus: cùm, Christe, resurgis,
Dormitat pelagus: Quam bene fraena tenes!

While you sleep the sea arises:
When, Christ, you rise up again,
The sea slumbers. How well
You master things! (L, pp. 90-91)

The poem works upon a simple contrast and reversal. As in "In pacem Britannicam" (On the British peace), the sea again represents a force both peaceful and destructive, which Herbert sees closely linked to Christ's story.

The final phrase "Quam bene fraena tenes!" (How well you
master things!) links back to the previous poem "Tributi solutio" (On the payment of tribute), which also uses indirectly the image of the sea, with Christ's injunction to Peter to catch a fish, find money in its mouth and offer it for tribute (Matthew 17:27). The point of "Tributi solutio" is to prove that Christ is "uncontested king", and in the following poem his power is expressed by his command of natural forces, in this case the sea.

A final example of Herbert's use of sea and water imagery is in "Afflictio". Once again he is referring to two incidents. Explicitly, he is referring to Christ's walking on the waves in the New Testament, and to the crossing of the Red Sea by the children of Israel:

Quos tu calcasti fluctus, me, Christe, lacessunt, 
Transiliuntque caput, qui subiere pedes. 
Christe, super fluctus si non discurrere detur: 
Per fluctus saltem, fac, precor, ipse vadem.

Those waves you walked upon, 
My Lord, and which come up to 
Your feet, pound and leap above 
My head. Christ, if I can't go 
On top of the water, let me at least, 
I beg you, pass through the waves. (Lipp. 94-95)

In this poem the narrator's personal voice comes through very clearly, and the conclusion of the epigram depends upon this personal voice for the witty effect of its plea. The sharp and concise juxtaposition of ideas adds to the witty climax. The narrator is comparing Christ's act of walking on the water to the flight of the Israelites, and his spiritual condition is compared metaphorically
to the condition of a man about to drown. If he cannot walk
upon the water as Christ did, his plea is to reach the
Promised Land by passing unharmed through the waves.
The sea thus becomes a metaphor for the trials and
temptations of earthly life, which Christ has transcended,
the Israelites passed through, and which the narrator must
struggle with in order to reach spiritual peace.

This group of poems using sea or water imagery
does form a pattern of themes and references, even if the
poems are rather spread out and disparate. Since it
serves, in the epigrams where it appears, a largely
functional purpose, its effect is gained to a large extent
by the associations it brings with it, mainly involving
New Testament events. The same statement is true of the
second type of image which frequently recurs in this
sequence and is even more noticeable in the epigrams of
Passio Discerpta; this image involves metaphors of housing
or habitat.

The idea of habitat or lodging is hinted at in the
very first poem, "Homo, Statua". Here the image of the
hardening corals refers to the fact that they have been
pulled from their rightful habitat, just as Adam was sent
from his home, Paradise, into exile. In the next poem,
"Patria" (Homeland), the title itself provides an image
which reflects on the rest of the poem. Although in this
case the body is the "home" or "lodging" of the spirit, and the spirit continually tries to leave the body. The correct lodging of the spirit, as Herbert emphasizes, is not the human body of flesh, but the body of Christ; for instance, in the poem "In Thomam Didymum" (On Thomas Didymus), where Christ's body itself provides a shelter and a lodging in a spiritual sense.

In "In S. Scripturas" (On Sacred Scripture), the image of "lodging" is used in a variety of ways, and a series of images is built up on which to found the realization at the end of the epigram. The most concrete reference in the poem is to the narrator's dwelling:

Nunquid pro foribus sedendo nuper...

When I was resting
Near my door not long ago... (L, pp. 84-85)

But the "hospitio... turpi" (disgraceful lodging) referred to is not the house but the actual body of the narrator. The combined images of the lodging and the star are possibly meant to be associated in the reader's mind with the Nativity at Bethlehem. The star then becomes Christ himself who has taken as his own dwelling the human body, the "disgraceful lodging", which is his as well as the narrator's. In the second image the divine spirit of the Holy Writ becomes a bee whose "house" is Holy Scripture itself, a kind of honey-comb from which the thirsting Christian can suck the divine influence:
Nunquid mel comedens, apem comedi
Ipsā cum dominā domum vorando?

Have I in sipping honey
Consumed the bee, in eating up
The house eaten up the mistress of the house?  (L, pp. 84-85)

The final image is of the heart or body as a building:

Ah, quam docta perambulare calles
Maeandrosque plicasque, quam perita est!
Quae vis condidit, ipsa nouit aedes.

Ah, how wise and skilled you are
To slip through these paths, windings, knots.
The spirit that has reared the building
Knows it best.  (L, pp. 84-85)

The identical image is used in a different way in "Martha: Maria" (Martha; Mary). Here the imagery is domestic in the way so typical of Herbert's poetry, in The Temple. The familiar and colloquial diction of this homely dialogue make this poem stand out as unique in the collection:

Christus adest: crebris aedes percurrite scopis,
Excutite aulaea, & lucent igne focus.

"Christ is here.  Sweep up the rooms,
Shake out the curtains, let a fire
Light the hearth.  (L, pp. 92-93)

The quiet tone of Mary's rejoinder which makes up the emphatic ending of the epigram reinforces the wit of the metaphor. Martha is more concerned with the dust in her house than in her heart:
O cessatrices! eccum puluisculus illic!
Corde tuo forsan, caetera munda, SOROR.

Oh, slowpokes!
Look, there's still
Some fine dust here!"
"Perhaps in your heart, Sister.
All else is clean." (L, pp. 92-93)

The image of the body as a building or lodging is
also used in "In Gulosum" (On the glutton). Here the image
of the glutton's body is intentionally ugly and
cautionary:

... verum spelunca vocetur
Illa cauerna, in quâ tot coiere ferae.
Ipse fruare, licet, solus graueolente sepulcro;
Te petet, ante diem quisquis obire cupit.

Don't just call it belly now,
But cavern, in which so many
Fierce beasts have been packed together.
You alone can take pleasure
In a tomb's stench. He will visit you
Who wants to be interred before his time. (L, pp. 98-99)

The body here, however, is a lodging of a different kind;
it becomes a cavern and finally a tomb. The end of the
epigram warns off those who do not wish to go the same way
as the glutton.

The last two poems making use of this kind of image
are ΥαγοτκαΣωτά" (Reasonable sacrifice) and "In Thomam
Didymum" (On Thomas Didymus). In "ΥαγοτκαΣωτά" (Reasonable
sacrifice) the body becomes "viva ... Ara Dei" (the
living altar of God), a line which has obvious associations
with the idea of Church, Temple, or place of worship.
Man becomes a body which Christ can inhabit. "In Thomam Didymum" (On Thomas Didymus) takes the incident of Thomas the Doubter from St. John 20: 24-29, and uses a metaphor of Christ's body as a "hospitium torumque dulcem" (a shelter and sweet rest). At the end of the epigram this shelter and sweet rest becomes a "fida statione & arca certa" (a good inn and a strong fort), a much stronger image which in turn emphasizes the dangers of a "spissae fidei breuique menti" (a grudging faith and a narrow mind). The conclusion of the epigram is turned into a miniature Pilgrim's Progress. The good inn or strong fort is a powerful yet homely image characteristic of Herbert at his best in the epigram form.

Herbert's skill with his imagery could be demonstrated at much greater length; the incredible array of imagery used in Triumphus Mortis" (The triumph of Death), for example, or his brilliant use of various images to construct the ingenious anagram/epigram "Roma, Anagr." (Oram, Maro, Ramo, Armo, Mora, Amor).

However, the main function of his imagery in these epigrams is to give the concise epigrammatic form a foundation of ideas, associations, references, upon which to build towards the final effective conclusion. The imagery, as
I have pointed out, does fall into distinct and recognizable groups, but in each separate poem its use is determined by the kind of effective climax Herbert wished the narrator to reach and the voice in which he intended him to convey this climactic thought. In the following section I shall attempt briefly to identify some of the different voices Herbert's narrator utilizes.
III The Narrator as Informant: The Voice in Lucus

The much greater variety of subject-matter in Lucus than in Passio Discerpta naturally allows the narrative voice revealed in the various poems much greater freedom in the matter of tone, and particularly of climactic effect. Where the narrator in Passio Discerpta mediated between the events of Good Friday and the reader's perception of them in the sequence, the narrator in Lucus is freer to stimulate the reader intellectually through the epigrammatic form by juxtaposing ideas, images, and metaphors in order to create a new perspective within the poem. For example, where the narrator in "In Alapas" (On the slaps) from Passio Discerpta, will lead the metaphor of the healing ointment to its logical conclusion by making explicit, in a simple acclamatio, the comparison with Christ, the narrative voice in "In Stephanum lapidatum" from Lucus, will sharply juxtapose two images, and reveal not only his wit in the comparison, but also the underlying meaning of the incident as he has related it.

It would be a misrepresentation of Herbert's skill and versatility to attempt to draw the above distinction too finely. The epigrams in Lucus display a difference
In narrative voice mainly because their subject-matter is wider than that of *Passio Discerpta*; but studying the different types of narrative voice revealed in *Lucus* does show the narrator serving a slightly different purpose from that in *Passio Discerpta*: he serves less as a mediator and more as a stimulator, to surprise and frequently to shock the reader.

One of the most striking characteristics of the narrative voice in *Lucus* is its variety. Once again, the range of subject-matter is largely responsible. The poems range from strictly religious subject-matter and devotional expression, such as is found in the final poem of the sequence, "Ad Dominum" (To the Lord), to very topical, secular subjects, the treatment of which verges upon the satiric; for example, the series of poems on Rome and Pope Urban VIII. The variety of subject-matter allows the narrator a variety of images which in turn allow him a variety of tones. Consider, for example, the poem "In D. Lucam" (On Luke the doctor) and the poem which follows it, "Papae titulus, Nec Deus Nec Homo" (The Pope's title not God or man). The narrator in the former uses a technique common in Herbert's epigrams, the question answered by the narrator himself in the following line:
Cur Deus elegit Medicum, qui numine plenus
Diuinâ Christi scriberet acta manu?
Vt discat sibi quisque, quid vtile: nempe nocebat
Crudum olim pomum, tristis Adame, tibi.

Why did God a doctor pick,
That he, filled up with the Holy Spirit,
Might with his consecrated hand
Record the acts of Christ?
It was in order that each man
Might learn what's good for him,
Surely the unripened fruit of old
Was agony for you, unlucky Adam. (L, pp. 88-89)

The three separate sentences which form the poem are linked by the overall metaphor of Luke's dual profession.
In Colossians, Chapter 4, verse 14, he is "Luke, the beloved physician", a doctor of physical ills; here Herbert sees him as a spiritual doctor, and the wit of the metaphor is enhanced by the unexpected reference to Adam.

After the question from the narrator, and his own answer with its tone of assurance and subdued wit in the double meaning, both spiritual and physical, of the word "good", the tone of the final statement, which is phrased almost as a question, comes with abruptness and a certain wry humour. The direct address to "tristis Adame" (unlucky Adam) who has not yet been mentioned, combined with the immediacy and homeliness of the image, its play on the domestic qualities of Adam's situation, give a colloquial tone and yet underlying irony which make the reader immediately reflect upon his own situation: if Adam suffered so greatly for the apple he was tempted into taking, what of us who are knowledgeable and deliberate in our sin?
The subtlety of the narrative voice in "In D. Lucam" (On Luke the doctor) is equalled in the following poem "Papae titulus" (The Pope's title). Here Herbert's sense of epigrammatic concision gives in only two lines one of his best short poems. The tone of the poem is not the wry heartiness revealed in the previous poem, rather it is the tone of a man decrying assertively but not arrogantly, and supplying in full confidence, his own indubitably right answer:

Quisnam Antichristus cessemus quaerere; Papa
Nec Deus est nec Homo: Christus uterque fuit.

Let us not continue asking
Who is the Antichrist. The Pope is not
God or man: Christ was both. (L, pp. 88-89)

In its total diminution and virtual annihilation of its subject the poem verges upon satire. However, the tone is completely without bitterness. The calm assertion of the final sentence creates for the reader the ultimate sense of being completely above, in the sense of superior to, what is being discussed. Even the title of the poem is not concerned with the Pope himself, but with his title. By the end of the poem he is not even allowed the dignity of being regarded as the Antichrist; since he is not the opposite of Christ he cannot lay claim to that title. The very word "Pope" raises him above man but does not place him as high as God. Christ was
both God and man, therefore the Pope cannot be his direct opposite. The extreme concision of the idea and the simplicity of its expression appear to give the narrative voice only an explanatory function, but the structure of the negative imperative which opens the poem gives the narrator the combined tone of a religious controversialist and faithful, assured Christian.

One of the best examples of the use of homely imagery and variety of tone in the sequence is in "Martha: Maria" (Martha; Mary). The poem is in the form of a very unequal dialogue; the effectiveness of the end of the epigram depends upon the fact that Mary's part in the dialogue is minute but penetrating. The tone of Martha's speech beautifully conveys her character as Herbert has created it, for he fills in the personal insight into Martha's character which the Biblical account, in St. Luke, Chapter 10; does not attempt to do:

40But Martha was cumbered about much serving, and came to him, and said, Lord, dost thou not care that my sister hath left me to serve alone? bid her therefore that she help me.
41And Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things:
42But one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.

In Herbert's epigram we see behind the scenes in the household. Martha's general speech to her servants is a masterpiece of colloquiality and sensitive characterisation.
In Martha's world, though Christ is important, and he appears in the first line of her speech, his importance is only that of the guest who is subordinated to her superficial concerns with appearance. The short speech of Mary provides a contrast in tone, which not only halts the flow of Martha's dialogue, but reasserts with its calm irony the real importance of Christ which has been forgotten by her sister. This type of reversal of tone ends the epigram in a particularly effective way, because its understatement reinforces the power of what it represents. This technique is really a variation of the rhetorical figure, *acclamatio*, a simple assertion or revelation at the end of an epigram, rather than punning or word play. Herbert was extremely skilful in placing and wording his final *acclamatio*, so that the tone of the narrative voice became as striking in its contrast as what was actually said.

A good example of *acclamatio* used with a striking contrast of tone is found in the thirty-third poem of *Lucus* "Triumphus Christiani: in Mortem" (The Christian's triumph: against Death):

Gladius, Catapultasue teneam, quin neque

. . . no swords
Or cannons, indeed
No fists or battering rams?
What can I use against you?
The Lamb, the cross. (L, pp. 118-119)
In this particular poem the narrator serves the functions of both mediator, in a sense, and informant. The concluding acclamatio gains its effect and reversal of tone from the prominence of the narrator in the poem who is brought to the reader's attention by the fact that he is standing so obviously between the Christian Salvation and the force of Death. The mention by the narrator of the one instrument he has with which to defeat death, "Agnum & Crucem" (The Lamb, the cross), is the revelation which the whole of the epigram leads up to, and which reinforces the reader's implicit knowledge throughout that Christ is the only method of defence against death. However, the description at the opening of the poem of the power and notoriety of the personified figure of death (who is never named as such), and the catalogue of physical weapons which are useless against him, lead the reader to expect a similar description of the Christian's means of triumphing over death. The simple acclamation of two words is both an explanation, a cry of approval, and also a complete reversal of the reader's expectations throughout the poem in that Christ's power is underplayed in the quiet tone and simplicity of the concluding two words. Because the tone at the end of epigram only sounds like an anticlimax, it gives a sense of irony: the power of "The Lamb, the cross" does not need to be vaunted.
The voice in many of the poems in *Lucus* not on overtly religious subjects can range from the explanatory to the ironic and even sarcastic. Herbert can invest the apparently simple *acclamatio* with an astonishing range of tone. Consider, in contrast to "Triumphus Christiani" discussed above, the poem "In Superbum" (On the proud man). Throughout this poem the tone is interesting for its semi-satiric contempt:


You're a personage: so let it be. If by "bubble" you'll be called, I'll flatter you with that. To be sure, with personages I'm not accustomed to be saucy. Indeed, if I should be so, They'd still be with themselves Most vilely lenient. (L, pp. 94-95)

The final *acclamatio* or revelation shows the narrator as satiric informant; his final explanation completely diminishes and degrades the subject of the epigram:

Quin, mitte nugas; teque carnem & sanguinem Communem habere crede cum Cerdonibus: Illum volo, qui calceat lixam tuum.

Rather, let's Quit this nonsense: believe you're Blood-relative to cobblers-- I mean the kind who fit Shoes on your servants. (L, pp. 94-95)
Herbert is also very skilful with effective and witty word play and punning at the end of the epigram. In contrast to the above example of satiric acclamatio, the ending of "Vrbani VIII Pont. Respons." (The response of Pope Urbani VIII) gives a good illustration of Herbert's facility with the witty or ingenious ending for an epigram.

Hostibus haec etiam parcens imitatur Iesum. Inuertis nomen. Quid tibi dicit? AMOR.

Also, in forgiving her enemies, she imitates Jesus. Invert the name. What does it tell you? "I am loved." (L, pp. 104-105)

Once again, the simplicity of the sentence structure at the conclusion of the epigram gives a tone of calm assertion combined with witty explanation; and the simplicity of the anagram, changing the word "Rome" into "Love" effectively supports the total assertion which forms the epigram. Herbert, in this poem, has transformed his narrative voice into that of the Pope, but Herbert inevitably has the last word in this series of poems. In "Respons. ad Vrb. VIII" (Response to Urbani VIII), the pun of the Pope's name, Urban, and the Latin meaning of the adjective "urbanus" (witty), is referred to throughout the poem:

...
Non placet urbanus noster de nomine lusus
Romano, sed res seria Roma tibi est:

Our urbane game about the Roman name
Does not please you,
But Rome herself concerns you very much. (L, pp. 104-105)

The tone in this poem is playful and the latent irony
is not exploited as fully as it might be; this is partly
due to the form of the poem's address, in that it is
directed to the Pope himself and extremely colloquial
in expression:

Attamen VRBANI delecto nomine, constat
Quàm satur & suauis sit tibi Roma iocus.

Still, with Urban your chosen name, to you for sure
How rich and sweet a jest is Rome. (L, pp. 104-105)

The variety of different voices and moods in the
poems of Lucus ensures that the epigrams never become
boring or repetitive in their structure; their wit and
intellectual playfulness, their moving pleas and expressions
of spiritual faith and unrest never become overwhelmed
by the formulas of epigrammatic effectiveness. Herbert's
facility with different voices and tones allows him to
convey a much wider range of subject-matter and emotion
than was possible in Passio Discerpta. The efficacy
of his epigrams depend upon the witty and informing
voice of his narrator.
CHAPTER SIX--CONCLUSIONS

The basic premise upon which this study is founded is that *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus* are sacred epigrams and must be studied in that light if their true aesthetic value is to be appreciated, and their place in Herbert's canon recognized as necessary for an understanding of Herbert's entire literary career and the reflection it gives us of the period in which he lived.

The current critical neglect of Herbert's Anglo-Latin poetry is indicative of the general neglect of the English neo-Latin tradition as a whole, and has stemmed largely from the lack of adequate, accessible translations, and a certain fear on the part of English scholars that by studying neo-Latin poetry of any period they were trespassing beyond acknowledged boundaries. The gradual appearance of accurate, scholarly translations has made possible the study of a little of the extant Renaissance neo-Latin poetry. Herbert is among the first to have received the attention of translators, but as yet there is little critical attention based on these translations.
In order to conclude that Passio Discerpta and Lucus can be rightly described as sacred epigrams in both form and content, it was necessary for this study to outline the important aspects of the epigrammatic tradition which undoubtedly formed the basis of Herbert's Latin epigrams. The two basic uses of the epigram are to be found in the Latin epigrams of Martial and those later writers who used his epigrams as their model, and the Greek epigrams which are to be found in The Greek Anthology. The Greek epigram was often close in form to the original inscription from which it gradually developed. It was marked by simplicity of tone and expression which often verged on lyricism, and, although its emphasis was usually upon its conclusion, the writer of the Greek epigram was not concerned with displaying his wit or surprising the reader with a turn of thought. Martial's use of the epigram form, on the other hand, was characterised by his satiric intention, wordplay, wit, and his concern to emphasize his conclusion strongly by the use of a reversal or a turn of thought.

From the point of view of form, Passio Discerpta and Lucus demonstrate that Herbert had absorbed the conventions of the Latin and the Greek epigram, both of which were well known and practised during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In these two volumes Herbert
uses both the witty or ingenious conclusion of the Latin epigram, and the flatter, more assertive acclamatio or acclamation of a point already made in the epigram, which frequently concluded the Greek type.

The content of Herbert's Passio Discerpta and Lucus undoubtedly proclaims them as sacred epigrams, although Herbert did not specifically claim them as such in his titles as did many of his contemporaries. John Saltmarsh's Poemata Sacra, John Pyne's Epigrammata Religiosa, and Richard Crashaw's Epigrammata Sacra, for example, are titles which reveal that the poets of the period were concerned with the new use to which they were putting the epigrammatic form. The desire to incorporate Biblical material into literature in order to oppose the growing interest of Renaissance writers in secular and often erotic subject-matter is evident throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in men like Saltmarsh and Pyne the early stages of the integration of sacred subject-matter and secular literary forms are clearly demonstrated.

Although Herbert did not himself assert that the poems of Passio Discerpta and Lucus were sacred epigrams, a comparison of his work with that of his contemporaries clearly reveals his relationship to the sacred epigram tradition.
We can also gain a clearer view of the aims and achievements of the sacred epigram writer in general, and Herbert in particular, by recognizing the differences between the epigrammatist and the emblem writer. The moral purpose of the emblem writers, men like Andrew Willett or Robert Farley, is much more in evidence than it is in the work of the epigrammatists. Although some modern critics have regarded the emblem as merely another type of epigram, the two forms have marked differences, the most obvious of which is the fact that the written emblem is meant to accompany a picture and is not complete in itself, whereas the epigram is a total unit, meant to draw attention to its own artistic and rhetorical skill rather than illustrate that of another artistic work. A comparison of Herbert with a writer such as John Pyne, who had a tendency to mingle some of the techniques of the emblem with those of the epigram, reveals the stage of refinement that the epigram reached in the hands of Herbert, and the high degree of poetic skill he achieved while using it.

The brief critical study given in Chapter Three of some of the seventeenth-century writers who played a part in the development of the sacred epigram tradition revealed for the most part their relative inferiority in comparison with Herbert. However, a study of these poets in far
greater detail is vital to our understanding of the sacred epigram tradition, not only in its culmination in Herbert and Crashaw, but in writers such as James Duport who carried on the tradition in the seventeenth century as late as the Restoration.  

With the poets quoted in Chapter Three as a basis for comparison with Herbert, it is not difficult to conclude, even from the brief study in Chapters Four and Five, that Herbert's sacred epigrams in *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus* display considerable poetic skill, aesthetic value and knowledge of the epigrammatic conventions as they were practised during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Herbert's success with the sacred epigram is finally dependent not solely upon his skill in the handling of the conventions, the rhetorical voice, the verbal wit and wordplay, but upon the use of these conventions to express sincere religious feeling and to arouse the religious emotions of the reader. This conclusion as to Herbert's success is supported by the comparison of writers like Saltmarsh and Crashaw with Herbert. Saltmarsh was concerned directly about his use of Biblical material and the witty interpretation of that material which usually formed the conclusion of his epigram. The reader gains little or no sense of Saltmarsh's own personal religious involvement in the substance of the epigram.
Crashaw, on the other hand, is much more personally involved in his material, but his obvious religious sincerity loses much of its effect when he becomes caught up in the wit and skill of his own wordplay. Herbert stands ideally between the two, balancing his use of the conventions with his own religious emotion, allowing the conventions to gain their effect by expressing the paradoxes basic to Christianity which he feels deeply as a part of his own life.

The basic conclusion of this thesis is that the Anglo-Latin poetry of any period in English literature, but particularly during the Renaissance and seventeenth century, must not and cannot be ignored if English literary studies are to achieve their aim of understanding and appreciating fully the literature of particular men in particular periods. Until the eighteenth century, the large majority of the figures in English literature which are now most closely studied wrote both in Latin and in English. In Herbert's case, a knowledge of his Latin poetry as well as of his English works may possibly allow us to trace the influences of a variety of traditions upon his writing, and in turn to illuminate these traditions by studying his work within them.
Further, a study of Herbert's career including his Latin works can raise a number of interesting and as yet unanswered questions. For instance, why should a man like Herbert, skilled, competent in and obviously at ease writing Latin poetry begin writing poetry in English? Since the vernacular had been established a hundred years previously as the language of the Liturgy in the Anglican church, one of the answers to this question might be found in Herbert's chosen career, that of Anglican clergyman. It was natural and necessary that Herbert should employ English rather than Latin in The Temple which he professes to be basically concerned with the church, the festivals of the Christian year, and the average Christian's struggles with his own soul. It is necessary to have some knowledge of Herbert's religious poetry written in Latin before the connection between the language of The Temple and its purpose can be fully appreciated.

Even to be aware that the sacred epigram had its own developing tradition during the last few years of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century allows the scholar to link the use of the form with certain other movements of the time both literary and historical. For example, as was mentioned earlier, the desire among writers to incorporate Biblical literature into various secular literary forms was an important literary aspect
of the period, and was echoed by Anglican writers like Herbert, in the attempt to express by the actual form of their poetry, the Anglican sense of harmony, order, and ritual as the basis of religious life. The very definite conventions of the epigram imposed a form upon the writer, the necessary concision of which was eminently suited to the expression of the paradoxes which were the basis of Christianity.

An awareness of the tradition of the sacred epigram allows us to appreciate the poems in *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus* separately as sacred epigrams and, by comparison with the volumes of other contemporary writers, as artistic units in which the subject-matter for each poem has been carefully selected and the poems themselves carefully arranged to express a particular theme or concept. On the question of the arrangement of the poems in each volume, Herbert is very far in advance of his contemporaries, who are more concerned with each epigram as a single unit rather than with linking various groups of epigrams together by means of imagery and theme.

The arrangement of the epigrams in *Passio Discerpta*, for example, illustrates Herbert's concern to describe the events of the Crucifixion in such a way as to reinforce the general Christian meaning of Good Friday.
Both the imagery and the narrative voice in *Passio Discerpta* supplement the movement, as expressed by the arrangement of the poems, away from the actual details of the Crucifixion. Herbert's skilful use of recurring images is the result of his desire to weld each epigram into the total scheme of the volume. The narrative voice, particularly in *Passio Discerpta*, is also a part of the thematic unity of the volume, since it is through the narrative voice that Herbert leads the reader's attention away from the actual details of the Crucifixion and towards the more general meaning of the event for all Christians, and at the same time, within each individual epigram, reveals to the reader Herbert's witty perception and interpretation of the sacred subject he has chosen to write on.

Finally, a critical study of Herbert's religious poetry allows us not only to reach some conclusions about his mastery of the form he had chosen to use, but also to point forward to some discoveries that might be made in the future concerning Herbert's English works, based upon the techniques and style he used in his Latin poetry. It is impossible for a reader with prior knowledge of *The Temple* to read *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus* without being reminded at various points of the later English work. The argument in favour of knowing as much as possible of a writer's literary output before pronouncing
a judgement upon him is obvious and sound, but it becomes
even sounder when the lesser known works of an author
appear to reveal such striking similarities in poetic
technique and feeling with the major and recognized body
of poetry. Passio Discerpta and Lucus display such
similarities with The Temple. A comparison of the three
volumes under the three headings which were used to
comment upon the two Latin volumes, arrangement, imagery,
and narrative voice, illustrates clearly some of the
most important of these similarities.

The Temple reveals a very strong thematic arrangement
of its poems just as does Passio Discerpta (and to a
lesser extent Lucus). The Temple is divided into three
parts, "The Church-porch", "The Church" and "The Church
Militant", and Herbert, as an Anglican poet, is concerned
with the function of the Anglican Church, as a building,
as a body of Christians, and as an institution which uses
certain forms of worship to which he continually refers.
Herbert uses the festivals of the Christian year and
various rites of the Anglican church service, such as
Baptism and Communion, to plot the different stages of his
thematic and spiritual progress through the volume.
He begins with "the Sacrifice", which embodies the central
idea upon which Passio Discerpta is based, and ends the
volume with "Love" an allegorical description of Communion and its central meaning. *Passio Discerpta* also ends on the same universal level with "In Mundi sympathiam cum Christo" (On the harmony of the world with Christ).

Also many of the images or image clusters found in *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus* recur frequently and in similar contexts in *The Temple*. For example, the image of the sea used in a number of poems in *Lucus* is also found in the poem from *The Temple* "The Storm", where Herbert uses, in the same way as he did in *Lucus*, the metaphor of the stormy sea to describe his own mind, torn by guilt, sin, and temptation, still striving to reach a state of peace. One of the most striking similarities in imagery between the three volumes is Herbert's use of architectural metaphors of building or actual dwellings and the images of rock, stone and dust which usually accompany them. For example, the poem "Homo, Statua" (Man the statue) from *Lucus* uses imagery of stone as a metaphor for the spiritual condition of the narrator, in the same way as the image of the stone altar is used in "The Altar" from *The Temple*.

As F.E. Hutchinson points out in the commentary on the text of the Latin poems given in his edition,² many of the phrases and images from *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus* recur in practically identical form and in very similar contexts in *The Temple*. A good example is the reference
to Samson in the eighteenth poem of *Passio Discerpta*, "Sampson vt antè fores." (. . . Sampson moved the pillars long ago) which is repeated almost exactly in the seventh stanza of "Sunday" from *The Temple*. More important from the point of view of tracing the continuity in Herbert’s style, is his delight in the Latin poems in the same kind of homely and domestic images which he uses in *The Temple* and which are one of the most characteristic aspects of his imagery. For instance, the jars and buckets of "In Sputum et Conuicia" (On the spitting and mocking), the ointment rubbed in the hand in "In Alapas" (On the slaps), and the houseboy of "Ad Solem deficientem" (On the sun in eclipse) are typical of Herbert’s use of imagery in *The Temple*, where he uses the familiarity of common household things to convey his spiritual analogy.

The familiarity and homeliness of his imagery are echoed by the narrative voice he uses for his poems, which although it varies continually, is marked in both the Latin and the English poetry by colloquial diction and immediacy of address as if the reader had broken in on a conversation. Like Donne, Herbert is fond of the abrupt, startling, and often very colloquial opening for his poems. But the techniques he used in *The Temple* and which we associate only with his English poems can also be very well illustrated from *Passio Discerpta* and *Lucus*. 
He frequently opens an epigram with a question; for instance, in "In sudorem sanguineum" (On the bloody sweat) and "Ad Solem deficientem" (On the sun in eclipse). These poems can be compared with the opening lines of "The Church-floore" or "The Windows" in The Temple.

As I attempted to demonstrate in my critical study of Passio Discerpta and Lucus, Herbert's use of the narrative voice in his sacred epigrams must be seen as part of the conventions of the epigram form and its function in the epigram cannot be dissociated from the other poetic techniques used by the writer. Although Passio Discerpta and Lucus are rightly described as sacred epigrams and the poems of The Temple are usually agreed to be religious lyrics, a study of the various narrative voices within each volume might reveal not only some of the similarities between Herbert's Latin and English works, but also illuminate the particular functions of his narrative voice in all three volumes.

The major conclusions to be drawn from a study of Passio Discerpta and Lucus are first, that the poems, to be understood fully, must be judged by the conventions and standards of the sacred epigram and its tradition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and second, that once the sacred epigram tradition has been recognized and granted its own importance, Herbert's work can be
measured against it and clearly seen as one of the aesthetic landmarks of that tradition. The excellence of Herbert's sacred epigrams by comparison with those of his contemporaries points towards a new area of study involving not only Herbert's English works as has been the case up to now, but also his Latin poetry; a study of which might, by carefully assessing all of Herbert's Latin poetry, bring new insights to bear on his literary career in particular and seventeenth-century studies in general.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter One


2 Blunden, 29.

3 Blunden, 29.

4 Sister Mary E. Mason, "A Study of the Latin Poems of George Herbert, Passio Discerpta, Lucus, Memoriae Matris Sacrum, With a Prose Translation," unpublished doctoral dissertation from Loyola University, Chicago, 1966. Unfortunately, since Loyola University, Chicago, does not subscribe to Dissertation Abstracts I was unable to obtain a copy of this thesis or even its abstract. As far as I have been able to discover, it is the only major piece of work on Herbert's Latin poetry thus far attempted.

5 Arnold Stein, George Herbert's Lyrics (Baltimore, 1968).


10 Allen, 403.

11 Allen, 414.


13 Mathews, p. 3.

14 Allen, 416.

15 Allen, 416.


17 Mark McCloskey and Paul R. Murphy, trans. The Latin Poetry of George Herbert: A Bilingual Edition (Athens, Ohio, 1965). This edition will be used both for Latin and English throughout this thesis, and is the source, unless otherwise stated, of all subsequent references to Passio Discerpta and Lucus. The Latin text in this edition is from Hutchinson's The Works of George Herbert.

18 Hutchinson, p. xxiv.

19 McCloskey and Murphy, p. v.

20 McCloskey and Murphy, p. v.

21 McCloskey and Murphy, p. v.
All of Herbert's correspondence with and his adulatory poems dedicated to Bacon are in Latin. Blunden speculates usefully on this point: "The biographer of Francis Bacon . . . might with advantage glance at the friendship between him and Herbert, evidences of which Herbert's Latin letters and copies of verses both provide" (Blunden, p. 35).

Chapter Two


3 Puttenham, Book I, Chapter XXVIII, quoted by Hudson, p. 15.

5 Quoted by Hudson, p. 17.

6 Quoted by Nixon, p. 6.


8 Hudson, pp. 18-19.


10 This is the meaning that T.K. Whipple uses in his study of the epigram in "Martial and the English Epigram," *University of California Publications in Modern Philology, X* (Berkeley, 1925), 279-414.

11 Quoted by Hudson, p. 12.

12 Hudson, p. 4.

13 Quoted and translated by Hudson, p. 5.


15 Puttenham, quoted by Hudson, p. 5.

16 Quoted by Hudson, p. 5.
17 Quoted by Nixon, p. 9.

18 Martin, p. 89.

19 Quoted by Hudson, pp. 6-7 from Lord Neaves introduction to The Greek Anthology (London, 1874).

20 Quoted by Nixon, p. 15.

21 Quoted by Nixon, p. 15.

22 Quoted by Nixon, p. 15.


24 Allen, 403.

25 Sir Thomas More, Epigrammata (Basle, 1518).


27 Campbell, p. vii.


29 All subsequent quotations from McCloskey and Murphy will be followed by an abbreviated form of the title from which the poem is taken, e.g. MR (Musae Responsoriiæ), PD, (Passio Discerptæ), L (Lucus), and the page numbers upon which both Latin and English verses occur.

30 See Hudson, p. 33. See also Chapter Three, p. 54f.
This passage occurs in a letter translated by Woodward, Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education (Cambridge, 1904), p. 124. The passage is quoted by Hudson, p. 16.

Hudson, p. 17.

Part of Herbert's last message from his deathbed to his friend Nicholas Ferrar. See Marchette Chute, Two Gentle Men (New York, 1959), p. 148, and Hutchinson, p. xxxvii.


See Martz, pp. 25-34.


See Martz, Chapter VII.


Chapter Three

1 Timothe Kendall, Flowers of Epigrammes out of Sundrie the Most Singular Authors Selected ... (London, 1577). The quotation is from Kendall's dedication "To the right honourable, the Lorde Robert Dudley ..." and is on page 4 of the reprint of the original edition made for the Spenser Society, 1874.
2 Kendall, p. 139.

3 See Chapter Two, p. 23f. for a discussion of the differences between the Greek and Latin epigram.

4 Kendall, p. 255.

5 Kendall, p. 241.

6 Compare Herbert's "De Lupa lustri Vaticani" (On the she-wolf of the Vatican brothel) from Musae Responsoriae which uses the same metaphor.

7 Kendall, p. 189.

8 Bradner, Musae Anglicanae, p. 78.

9 Bradner, p. 91.

10 Bradner, p. 91.


12 Hudson, p. 33.

13 Andrew Willett, Sacrorum Emblematum Centuria Una . . . (Cambridge, 1596). Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms, no. 476, reel 553.


15 Freeman, p. 65.

16 Robert Farley, Kalendarium Humanae Vitae (London, 1638), Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms, no. 476, reel 790.
17 Freeman, p. 67.


19 Thynne, p. 64.

20 My translation.

21 My translation.

22 My translation.

23 My translation.

24 My translation. The poem is from John Saltmarsh, Poemata Sacra, Latinæ ac Anglice Scripta (Cambridge, 1636). Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms, no. 476, reel 1079.


26 My translation.


28 Saltmarsh, my translation.

29 My translation.

31
Pyne.

32
Pyne.


37 Wallerstein, p. 63.

38 Wallerstein, p. 60.

39 Martin, p. 88.

40 Wallerstein, p. 62. A good example of the kind of Roman Catholic sacred prose with which Crashaw would probably have been familiar is Fasciculus Myrrhae; or a Treatise of Our Saviours Passion (St. Omer, 1633) by John Falconer, S.J. Falconer was certainly interested in the physical details of Christ's life, but like Crashaw his concern was not for a literal narrative but a highly metaphorical description which would "affect" the reader and arouse his emotions:

His hands, bored through the tender palmes therof, were like two boles of warme bloud, sacrificed by our high Priest, & graciously prepared to cleanse, and sanctify faythfull soules afterwards with it.

This quotation occurs on p. 76 of the work on the University Microfilm from Ann Arbor, Michigan, no. 476, reel 790.
41 This is Wallerstein's translation of Crashaw's Latin, p. 62 of Richard Crashaw: A Study in Style and Poetic Development. For "In Vulnera Dei Pendentis" see Crashaw, ed. Martin, p. 27.

42 Crashaw, ed. Martin, p. 102.

43 Martin, pp. 96-97.

44 See Wallerstein, p. 63, and Bradner, p. 93.

45 Wallerstein, p. 61.

Chapter Four

1 The most obvious alternative interpretation to the one given here is to read "pathway" in the second line as referring not to the pathway actually made in Christ's side by the spear, but to a more vague spiritual journey upon which the heart must travel.


4 For a discussion of the medieval "Reproaches" or Improperia see Rosemary Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages, pp. 40-42.
5 My translation from the Latin.

6 This is noted by Helen Gardner and G.M. Story in their edition of The Sonnets of William Alabaster (Oxford, 1959), p. 46.

Chapter Five

1 McCloskey and Murphy, p. 179.

2 My translation.

3 My translation.

4 Professor de Bruyn has suggested a possible allusion to the myth of Prometheus. Prometheus brought fire down to man, Herbert sends fire up to God.


Chapter Six


2 See Hutchinson, pp. 590-594.
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