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**“All the Constellations of the Storie”: George Herbert's *Temple* and
English Seventeenth-Century Textual Common Places**

by

Paul Dyck



A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring 2000



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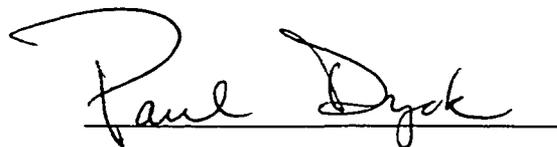
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A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Paul Dyck". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "P". A horizontal line is drawn underneath the signature.

11618-71 Street
Edmonton, AB
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December 17, 1999

The H. Scriptures.

II.

Oh that I knew how all thy lights combine,
And the configurations of their glorie!
Seeing not onely how each verse doth shine,
But all the constellations of the storie.
This verse marks that, and both do make a motion
Unto a third, that ten leaves off doth lie:
Then as dispersed herbs do watch a potion,
These three make up some Christians destinie:
Such are thy secrets, which my life makes good,
And comments on thee: for in ev'ry thing
Thy words do finde me out, & parallels bring,
And in another make me understood.
Starres are poore books, & oftentimes do misse:
This book of starres lights to eternall blisse.

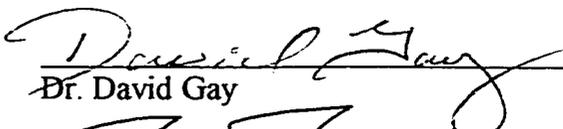
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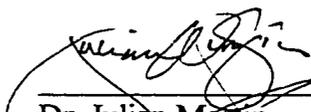
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Dr. Patricia A. Demers, Co-Supervisor


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Dr. Julian Martin


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December 3, 1999

In memory of the congregation that erected
Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Edmonton,
to the congregation that worships there now,
and to my most treasured companions there,
Sally and Kenji

Abstract

“‘All the Constellations of the Storie:’ George Herbert’s *Temple* and Early Modern English Textual Common Places,” examines some of the popular genres and textual habits that characterized the literary culture in which *The Temple* was produced and received. It specifically considers the technique of locating and storing ‘common places’--rich conceptual and stylistic fragments--for use in future writing or speaking. This technique spanned both reading and composition, framing texts as common material read to be used. Herbert invited such a reading, prompting readers to search out and collate textual place with place, and ultimately, to collate textual places with their own lives. The relationship between reader and text is both historically-rooted and dialogical, one in which reading consciousness is grounded in material practices. This study therefore examines the physical *Temple*, other books it physically resembles, and the reading practices that go along with those books, reading back onto Herbert’s work the reading context it first invoked. Humanist studies of literature have commonly moved from consideration of a text’s genre to consideration of the text itself; this study reverses the process, examining *The Temple* not first as belonging to a single genre (devotional lyric poetry), but as a material text overlapping in its structure with a multiplicity of genres. This study differs from most previous Herbert criticism in that it foregrounds not Herbert’s use of particular content, but rather his deliberate employment of common textual forms and their operations.

In particular this dissertation examines the reading practices associated with four popular genres or sites: harmonized gospels; the commonplace book (manuscript and printed); the emblem book; and the church building, which was ‘filled with text’ at the

time. Each of these offers important insights into Herbert's project and its likely reception. Early editions of *The Temple* carry features that connect it materially to these genres, particularly its alphabetical table and index, its striking typographical arrangements, and its invocation of architectural space. These features were not unusual to readers, but were surprising in a book of poetry, and they were key to establishing the book's interpretive context, framing it as an interactive engine, fully operating only when the reader actively set about configuring and reconfiguring its places.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank a number of people who contributed to the writing of this dissertation, starting with my supervisors, Patricia Demers and David Miall, both of whom expressed enthusiasm for this project in its early stages, continued encouraging and guiding me through its long middle, and have helped greatly in its final shaping. I thank David Gay for introducing me to printed commonplace books and I thank Rick Bowers for introducing me, more generally, to the short title catalogue and the wonders to be found there. My thanks also to Randall McLeod for both his careful reading of an early version of chapter four and to both Randall and Ron Cooley, for sharing their yet-to-be-published works with me. My thanks especially to Mathew Martin for his thoughtful comments on all of these chapters and for his help in explicitly articulating many formerly implicit points.

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Introduction: *The Temple* as a Seventeenth-Century Book

Because we understand *The Temple* today as a more-or-less self-contained sequence of particularly good poems (by this I mean well-crafted, but more importantly, original and visionary), the seventeenth-century *Temple* comes as a bit of a surprise. It is indeed well-crafted and visionary, and perhaps even original, but in a specifically early modern way. As I argue in the following chapters of this study, *The Temple* very much exemplifies the culture of the commonplace, overtly drawing upon and pointing to shared cultural materials--in particular, memorable articulations and renderings of received truths--as both authorities for and the objects of its meditations. Beyond this, I argue, *The Temple*, by its very poly-generic construction, encourages, perhaps even teaches, a kind of meta-reading, leading the reader not only into consideration of the poetry's subject, but also of the poetry's workings. This meta-reading might helpfully be termed a rhetoric of reading, one which employs skills more commonly assigned to composition and one which casts the reception of the text not so much as the receiving of meaning, but as the discovery of wisdom.

This conscious sharing of common materials forms an intricate intertextual web, wherein texts draw upon common language, ideas, and modes. Scholars have described in detail Herbert's use of particular content already familiar to readers from other texts. An example with a particular bearing on this study is that, as Richard Todd and Barbara Lewalski have both argued, Herbert took advantage of his and his readers' familiarity with the *Schola Cordis* emblem tradition when writing his own meditations on the heart. As Todd writes, "what Herbert found in the *Schola Cordis* literature was a language for

characterizing the heart's response to the events of Christ's passion" (124). In poems such as "Love Unknown" and "JESU," Herbert uses the central feature of the *Schola Cordis*, the material, allegorical human heart, which is acted upon by God. The emblems established a lexicon that Herbert could then use in abbreviated form. As Michael Riffaterre defines it, the emblems are an intertext to Herbert's 'heart' poems because they are "texts which the reader must know in order to understand a work of literature in terms of its overall significance" (3). In turn, both the *Schola Cordis* emblems and *The Temple* rely upon reader familiarity with the Bible throughout; they purposely act out and elaborate upon scriptural statements, consciously locating themselves within the Bible's divine narrative.

The intertextual relationship between *The Temple* and a wide range of contemporary texts has been well-established. Starting with Rosamund Tuve's situating the form and imagery of "The Sacrifice" within medieval liturgical tradition and Joseph Summers' unfolding of *The Temple* within a context including religious texts, rhetorical practices, hieroglyphics, and music, critics have worked to demonstrate (and counter-demonstrate) particular historical relationships. Lewalski has answered Tuve by identifying Herbert's context not as medieval Catholic but as new and Protestant, arguing that he composed within specifically Protestant variations on older modes. Richard Strier continues along the same lines by arguing that one must first understand the texts of Luther and Calvin in order to understand those of Herbert. He, following this path, finds Herbert radically-inclined. Stanley Stewart reclaims a more liturgically high Herbert by contextualizing him within the practices of Little Gidding. As his editor says, and which

could be applied to many other scholars here, “Stewart has uncovered new records and manuscript materials which he shows . . . to be instrumental in fashioning Herbert’s poems” (Stewart “Editor’s Note”). While Harold Toliver and Chana Bloch in their books have reaffirmed the profound dependency of *The Temple* on the Bible, Todd has furthered the project of reading Herbert in an Augustinian context, and Stanley Fish has contextualized *The Temple*’s title and method within catechistic literature. Christopher Hodgkins describes Herbert as looking back to the moderately-expressed Calvinism of the Elizabethan Settlement; Daniel Doerksen positions his work within the pastorally-minded *via media* of the Jacobean church.

Each of these scholars foregrounds particular texts as vital to understanding Herbert’s project; historicization has become standard in the area and has produced exciting and challenging readings. This study, which examines cultural materials (though it is not Cultural Materialist), differs from most of those above in that it foregrounds not Herbert’s use of particular content, such as the allegorical heart of the *Schola Cordis*, but rather his deliberate employment of common textual forms and their operations. In brief, I examine here not what Herbert says and then how he says it, but rather how he says it, then what he says. I do not by ‘how’ refer to his use of stanza forms, allegorical modes, persona or other matters of form internal to the poetry, but how all of these were framed, how he invited specific reading practices to deliver not only his materials but an experience of them. I wish to start with ink and paper objects themselves, to consider the early editions of *The Temple* and how they might have been received. The latter requires access not only to the now-archival objects but also to the broader range of texts that were

read at the same time as *The Temple* as well as to the historical record and to the work of literary historians in reading it. I will examine here the physical *Temple*, other books it physically resembles, and the reading practices that go along with those books, reading back onto Herbert's work the reading context it first invoked.

Humanist studies of literature have commonly moved from consideration of a text's genre to consideration of the text itself; in other words, one first establishes what genre a text belongs to, what conventions it holds to, then proceeds to examine it within those generic conventions. I attempt, in this study, to reverse this process, to allow myself to see *The Temple* not first as belonging to a single genre--a book of lyric and devotional poetry--but first as a material text overlapping in its structure with a multiplicity of genres. I foreground *The Temple*'s material specificity, one constructed by a writer, but also by an editor and a printer, and which draws upon a broad range of textual practices. As the title of the first of D. F. McKenzie's 1985 Panizzi Lectures suggests, the book itself is an expressive form, inseparable from the writing within it as a structure of meaning (1).¹ In early modern England, attention to this fact increasingly became the norm; as Leah Marcus writes,

In seventeenth-century England, there developed a new emphasis on the materiality of the text English writers increasingly engaged with print culture not as a form of shady contamination for their cherished thoughts, but as a form of legitimate embodiment for ideas that would otherwise, for practical

¹ "The book as an expressive form." In *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, p. 1.

purposes, not exist. (33)

Central to this study is Herbert's embrace of the book not as a neutral medium for his poetry, but as itself a textual tool of active devotion.

In attending carefully to the materiality of the early *Temple* I follow a developing angle of inquiry. Leah Marcus, in *Unediting the Renaissance*, points to the importance of material texts themselves, arguing that the early modern books we read are also nineteenth- and twentieth-century books, in that they have been deeply shaped by the editorial philosophies and practices of these latter times. She argues for a reconsideration of early texts as they first appeared. Such a reconsideration, she continues, should not be a permanent abandonment of the scholarship that has built up around texts, but a significant questioning of it, a realization that it too is a construction built on assumptions. I engage in this sort of reconsideration most directly in my chapter on the "Affliction" poems, which appear numbered in all editions since F. E. Hutchinson's 1941 *Works*, but that were never numbered until then. Such an editorial addition has made possible for critics easy reference to the poems, but changes the poems, I argue, in a vital way. One of the most direct inspirations for this study has been Randall McLeod's (or Random Cloud's) article on "Easter-wings," "Fiatflux." McLeod, more a bibliographer than a Herbert critic, precisely does 'unedit' the poem, or, as he reveals, the poems, removing layers of editorial intervention that do not at first even seem to be there at all. By the time he has finished, he has left us with a text that differs from the familiar one in number, shape, order, and gloss. As McLeod demonstrates, careful attention to early and later editions--bibliography--has everything to do with criticism. As McKenzie puts it

when discussing an example from Congreve, careful attention to editions

bears on the most obvious concerns of textual criticism--getting the right words in the right order; on the semiotics of print and the role of typography in forming meaning; on the critical theories of authorial intention and reader response; on the relation between the past meanings and present uses of verbal texts. (12-13)

For McLeod, letting the text stand in its original form introduces the possibility of its dangerous unpredictability (as opposed to the circumscribed texts of modern editions); the choice of which book or edition one reads is a crucial aspect of the critical act.

Beyond awareness of the material text, the critical method itself must resist closing the text's openings. As McLeod says when discussing the standard and smoothing gloss on a particularly troublesome word,

I want a criticism grounded in the paradoxical interaction of what we say and what we mean--grounded in surprise and open to contradiction. I want to know why criticism makes Herbert's poem as safe as its Meaning, rather than as dangerous as our experience of it--why, in explaining it, criticism explains it away. (131)

McLeod's situating of the experience and the meaning of poetry in tension with each other is particularly apt for *The Temple*, for the book is exactly the point of contact between doctrine and life. Not only does it record Herbert's own struggles and joys, but Herbert has also designed it as a staging area for the reader's encounter with the Divine. *The Temple* maps out not only Herbert's own spiritual terrain, but a larger, common landscape: one in which each reader must find a place. Toliver comments that Herbert's better poems are those "that tell us most about the relations of personal experience to the

global story” (9). Speaking to the issue of originality, Doerksen remarks “Herbert sought and found originality not in rejecting the standard theology of [his] time and country, but in testing and applying it at the level of experience” (26). I add that Herbert does not only tell about experience, he shapes it. Herbert’s book leads the reader through vicarious experiences, but also through material ones, always casting the reader as active participant, even explorer, discovering for the first time culturally common ground.

My approach calls for some contextualization within the broad field of reader-response theory. As is by now apparent, I am not practicing Wolfgang Iser’s “theory of aesthetic response,” which postulates an ahistorical reading consciousness structured by a stable text, positioning the text as external to the reading of it. I am arguing a historically-rooted dialogical relationship between reader and text, one in which reading consciousness is grounded in material practices. That these same material practices exert a deep influence in compositional consciousness is evident in the production of *The Temple*, in which Herbert consciously engaged the mental and material practices associated with both reading and writing, engaged them in order to transform them in a way that transforms both text and reader. Hans Robert Jauss’ “horizon of expectations” is suggestive here, particularly in the way that it situates reception within a historical moment. At the same time, Jauss’ dependency on the Formalist concept of ‘defamiliarization’ raises a central problem. In making the distance between the familiar and the unfamiliar the measure of literary value, his theory foregrounds negativity and neglects the role of the common ground shared by literary works in producing art (see Holub 62ff). This problem becomes especially acute when one applies the theory to the

early modern period, which, as I argue throughout this study, especially valued the writer's ability to work with common words and things. If Herbert defamiliarizes in his poetry, he does so only after extended familiarizing. He shaped *The Temple* precisely to appear and substantially to be common. It apparently did not so much stand out from the horizon of expectations, but quietly reworked that horizon from a position of conformity, as it were. I say that *The Temple* makes use of the material operations of different genres, understanding, after Tony Bennett, that genres themselves are "spheres of sociality," the product of material practices, as

being *inter-textually* constituted--that is, as being constituted in the particular socially organised sets of relations between texts, and between texts and readers, which obtain in particular circumstances in view of the reading formations and reading technologies which govern the relations between texts and readers. (105)

If genres are the product of material practices, they in turn also shape those same practices. As Bennett argues, genres are not simply generated by social conditions, but are "more appropriately regarded as themselves directly sets of social relations which, in structuring the sphere of reading practices, serve also to condition writing practices" (105). Returning with this formulation of genre to Jauss' notion of a 'horizon of expectations,' the horizon becomes not only one of reception but also one of composition. When Herbert composed, he imitated various practices across the broader textual field, appropriating and redeploying them in order to minister to the reading consciousness. The result was a compositionally eclectic but purposeful and artful book designed to draw readers deeply into its construction and thereby into their own reading habits.

In the first chapter of this study, I discuss the extant manuscripts and the first edition in light of Herbert's revisions and his choice of an editor, Nicholas Ferrar. Herbert and Ferrar shared a highly-developed approach to texts, particularly the biblical text, and this shared understanding both made Ferrar an appropriate choice as *The Temple's* 'midwife,' and also shaped *The Temple* itself in important ways. The harmonized gospels that Ferrar designed at Little Gidding (one of which Herbert apparently owned) provide a rich context for Herbert's work. Their complex linguistic and material interweaving corresponds illuminatingly with Herbert's directions on reading the Bible in *The Country Parson* and his descriptions of reading it in *The Temple*. 'Harmonizing'--the reorganizing of the four Gospels so that one can read them together--was a popular seventeenth-century form and highly suggestive of Herbert's work. More uniquely though, the 'Harmonies' of Little Gidding enacted a dynamic multi-sequentiality that encouraged highly individualized pathways through their material. As such, these books were textual engines, delivering not only Gospel verses, but also many ways to read them, simultaneously making readers aware that they have many reading choices. This awareness is key, for with it, the book teaches the reader to read. I argue that *The Temple* is likewise a reading engine, always foregrounding to readers their task of finding themselves within the text.

The second chapter deals with the commonplace book, both as a reading and compositional tool and as a printed sub-genre. As Anne Ferry has observed, *The Temple* resembles the latter, especially in the form of its titles and in its alphabetical index. I consider here the close tie between reading and composition in Renaissance rhetoric and

the role of the manuscript commonplace book as a material mediation point for the two activities. Spatially and topically organized, such books recorded the reading experiences of their users, mapping out the textual ‘field.’ The printed books offer the user something different yet closely related. Not the product of reading, these books still provide a comprehensive range of textual fragments, *sententiae*, to be applied to rhetorical end or simply for self-improvement. In either case, the books shape reading as the active seeking out of related fragments and the reassembly of those fragments into new wholes relevant to individual readers’ situations. The books encourage exploration and use. *The Temple* sets out the same kind of textual landscape, but ultimately turns the topography inward, filling out not the common places of books, but of the heart. Herbert’s “Affliction” poems in particular pose a problem to the reader, both materially and thematically. The poems must be collated with each other--a difficulty--but must also be collated with the reader’s understanding of affliction itself.

In the third chapter I reassess Herbert’s status as “the most emblematic of poets” (Huttar 59) in light of recent radical changes in emblem theory. Emblems have long been described as a lesser form characterized by arbitrary connections between word and image, connections the quality of which depend on the wit of the emblem maker. In this understanding of emblems, Herbert’s emblematic poems stand as superior to popular emblem books because of Herbert’s finer wit, his ability to create an arbitrary conceit so effective that it seems natural. The work of Hans Schöne, Peter Daly, and Michael Bath has done much to recuperate the emblem form, however. With their work, the emblem has emerged not as a witty form, but as a deeply culturally conservative one, relying for

the effectiveness of its connections between word and image upon accepted understanding of the natural world as the Book of Nature, God's revealing of himself through his creation. Individual emblems, then, figure common truths. Their various parts (inscription, picture, poem) each address those truths, any of them potentially commenting upon the others. The reader of the emblem must then approach it as a configuration of multiple representative and interpretive parts, working to understand them together. Herbert invokes this active reader in his own emblematic poems. As I mention above, I do not examine his many poems that carry emblematic themes, but rather his poems that, through their limited length and their typographical peculiarity, both present an image to be gazed at and a linguistic text to be read. These poems challenge the reader with provocatively configured layers of meaning waiting to be not only understood, but enacted.

Chapter four examines one of the most prominent non-book (and primarily non-linguistic) texts of early modern England, the parish church. While *The Temple* clearly draws upon the church building for its shaping metaphor, beyond this, it also makes use of and extends reading practices associated with the church. That the church building was not a doctrinally-neutral space was especially evident during the reformation, when groups took widely varying positions on the Protestant use of medieval and fundamentally Catholic buildings. George Herbert involved himself deeply in the restoring of churches at Leighton-Bromswold and Bemerton, indicating not only a belief in the appropriateness of beauty to a place of worship, but beyond that, a sensitivity to the building and its furniture as a complex structure of meaning. Within this architectural

textuality, a linguistic textuality also functioned. As the Canons of 1604 mandate and as Herbert prescribes in *The Country Parson*, the walls of churches--once the site of medieval images--were typically painted with scriptural texts, often arranged to correspond with the text of the building itself. Thus, verses on communion were often painted near the table, verses on preaching near or on the pulpit. I argue that this matrix of physical and linguistic texts provides a powerful model for *The Temple*, which itself prominently calls for a topological reading approach. Herbert urges readers to locate themselves *in the church*, the church here simultaneously the physical building, the poetic sequence at the center of *The Temple*, the living congregation, and the mystical body of all believers.

The last chapter makes an attempt at bringing this study of *The Temple* within early modern composition and reception practices full circle. Having begun with a consideration of the early manuscript history of Herbert's work in the first chapter, I here consider the later-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century editions of *The Temple*, inferring how the changes they introduced may have affected how they were read. Also in this final chapter, I consider a number of manuscript commonplace books whose owners read and copied lines and poems from Herbert. These books give an intimate look into what it could mean to find oneself in not only the poems of Herbert, but in the broad textual field. The writers of these books have, to varying degrees, gathered diverse fragments and recombined them into new wholes, wholes which speak their individual experiences. This discovery in the common of the intensely personal speaks back to *The Temple* in profound ways; though, as I argue, Herbert drew upon widely-practiced

methods in calling for readers to actively find themselves in the text, the pushing of this methodology to its ultimate use as spiritual self-discovery was central to his project.

George Herbert's *Temple*: Reflecting the "Book of Starres."

Of all the facts relating to the production and distribution of *The Temple*, probably the most remarkable is that Herbert, from early on, consciously designed a book--a book, as opposed to a collection of poems or even a sequence of poems, a conceptually and materially unified textual space, presenting itself as a structure for encountering text as much as a text to be encountered. The unusualness of this decision comes into focus when one considers the very different composition and publication mode taken by John Donne, with whom Herbert is often grouped because of social, devotional, and, most of all, poetic affinities. In short, Donne wrote and circulated his lyrics in the usual aristocratic or courtly way: he wrote poems which addressed specific occasions and aristocratic persons and published these poems in manuscript, giving them to other members of his courtly circle who often copied them and passed them on to others.² Notably, this sort of manuscript publication gave the writer a relatively high level of control over audience and circulation; while the writer could not physically control the passing of poems beyond their first recipients, the mode was at least semi-private. Such poems remained within aristocratic circles, retained for the eyes of a relative few. At the

² Harold Love, in his *Scribal Publication in the Seventeenth Century*, details the social structures and material practices that characterized the circulation of manuscripts at the time. The circulation of Donne's poems was considerable, with many readers also becoming transmitters of the texts. Though the line between private and public use of text blurs somewhat here, the extent of circulation warrants describing it as 'publication' (See Love 37-46, 79-83).

same time, manuscript publication offered the writer little control over the circulated text itself. The material exactness of the original document inevitably gave way to that of the copy, a replacement occurring repeatedly in some cases. One prominent example of the effect that such a method of circulation could have on a poem is the plasticity of titles. Janice Lull has addressed the communal authority for the titles of Donne's lyrics, arguing that his authorial self should be recognized as communally distributed (1994 54); titles of occasional poems provided perhaps the easiest transformational feature when it came time to apply the poem to another occasion. Donne's lyrics bear the marks of many such recontextualizations, many of them existing in different manuscripts under a variety of titles. This manuscript circulation with its shifting identification of lyrics came before they were printed (itself after Donne's death), so that the editing process was, in part, a judging of conflicting manuscript witnesses. Lyrics often circulated in manuscript with no title at all, particularly open to re-contextualization.³

One might well wonder how much more differently from Donne Herbert could have written and circulated his lyrics. Little evidence remains of manuscript circulation of Herbert's early poetry (though most of his Latin university poems would have been read only in manuscript--*Passio Discerpta* and *Lucas* were not printed until 1874), and

³ As Max Thomas points out, attribution of lyrics to particular authors was inconsistent as well; he argues--similarly to Lull--for the development of a model of poetic production that recognizes the particular "discursive conditions" under which these poems were written and rewritten (401).

there is no evidence of significant manuscript circulation of the poems of *The Temple*.⁴ This lack of manuscript publication together with the evidence of Herbert's own manuscript and the licencing copy strongly suggest that he consciously designed *The Temple* as a printed book of poems. In doing so, Herbert both exerted a high level of internal control over his text, largely determining its shape as a book, but also chose for his audience a relatively broad readership. Both existing manuscripts (that in Dr. William's Library, or *W*, and that at the Bodleian Library, or *B*) are notably not collections of loosely related verse, but are polished wholes, showing the features of published books.⁵ The earlier manuscript, *W*, while containing only sixty-nine of the 164 poems of the complete *Temple*, already has the poems divided into their various sections: "The Church porch," "The Church," and "The Church Militant."⁶ Even more significant

⁴ Mary Hobbs, in fact, finds it "remarkable" that Herbert (and later Milton) did not allow his "poems to circulate generally in manuscript verse miscellanies" (148).

Hutchinson records that, while some seventeenth-century commonplace books contain copies of *Temple* poems, all of these have been copied from printed editions, a practice I discuss more in Chapter Five.

⁵ Respectively, MS Jones B 62 and MS Tanner 307

⁶ See Hutchinson liii for the number of poems in *W* and in *1633*. As Hutchinson alludes to, the number of poems in *The Temple* is a vexed issue because of Herbert's numerous double poems, which themselves are not all of a consistent arrangement--164 is a somewhat contingent number (See also Shawcross 214).

In *W* "The Church militant," is separated from the end of "The Church" by five

for understanding the extent of Herbert's vision of his text as a completed book, he has employed running headers throughout the manuscript, after the names of the respective sections (Di Cesare XXXIV).⁷ Even in this early manuscript, then, the identity of the poems as a group always precedes the identity of any individual poem; when one looks at a poem, one always knows the larger structure to which the poem belongs and has, through the page number, an indication of this poem's position in the structure. *W* reflects an attention to publishing detail that strongly suggests the book's ultimate state as a printed publication.

W is the only copy of *The Temple* that bears Herbert's witness; both *B* and 1633 were made after his death. While Amy Charles and Mario Di Cesare have given ample attention to the publishing history of Herbert's work, some explanation of that history is necessary here.⁸ At various points in this study, I note variations between the manuscripts

blank leaves, suggesting perhaps some doubt on Herbert's part about its relationship to the first two sections. *B*, however, leaves no blank leaves before this final section, and all printed editions, of course, include it.

⁷ As Anne Ferry writes, "[i]t is very unusual in this period for a poet to have a large number of poems transcribed in a manuscript under running-titles at the top of each page and with individual titles for each poem. Even printed books in this period were not often so carefully arranged" (321).

⁸ Amy Charles, introduction to *The Williams Manuscript of George Herbert's Poems*, and Mario De Cesare, introduction to *George Herbert; The Temple. The Bodleian Manuscript*.

and 1633. In my emblem book study in particular, I rely in my argument upon features of 1633 not in the manuscripts. These were most likely added by Thomas Buck, the printer, after Herbert's death. The most complete copy of *The Temple* fully or partly in Herbert's hand--that given by him to Edmond Duncon to pass on to Nicholas Ferrar--is lost, and all there is to work with is an incomplete manuscript with Herbert's corrections (*W*), a licencing copy made by Ferrar based upon Herbert's lost complete manuscript (*B*), and 1633, likely prepared from *B*.⁹ While the importance of *B* cannot be denied, I am concerned with it here for what it tells us about 1633, and I am concerned primarily with 1633 because that is the only *Temple* that early readers of Herbert had. Early editions of *The Temple* were the only way by which Herbert became widely known and so to a great

⁹ J. Max Patrick and Richard Todd have argued that 1633 is authorial, based mainly upon the short amount of time between Herbert's death and its publication. Todd argues that there would not have been time, in so short a period, for copying, licencing, printing, and proofreading the text, and that Herbert must have been involved in the process in the months preceding his death, postulating instead that *B* may have been the book sent by Herbert to Ferrar for licencing and that Herbert had earlier sent another copy to the printer (201). One inescapable problem with this conjecture is that *B* clearly bears the calligraphic hand of the Little Gidding scribes. It was both produced by the Ferrars and most likely was the basis of 1633, as is strongly suggested by the fact that both *B* and 1633 omit line 40 of "The Size." Since *B* was the licencing copy, it likely preceded 1633; the line omission strongly suggests that, if *B* was not used by the printer, then, at the least, it was copied from the same (lost) manuscript as the supposed printer's copy (xlii).

extent constructed the public, posthumous Herbert--the widely-read spiritual authority. The task of sorting out Herbert's intentions from those of his editor and printer is very much a modern one, after the fact of centuries of reception. Readers primarily interested in establishing Herbert's intentions will want to give considerably more attention than I have here to the manuscripts, and will likely argue as does Di Cesare, that *1633* in some ways goes against Herbert's design. In fact, both *B* and *1633* give evidence that *The Temple* as it was received in the seventeenth century had been shaped in rather crucial ways--after leaving Herbert's hands. While *1633* bears obvious marks of editorial intervention (heavier, regularized punctuation; the rotation of "Easter wings"), *B*, too, introduces at least one major change: the addition of the book's title, not present in *W*. Since the title has been added to *B* in a different hand, one cannot use the manuscript as proof that the title *The Temple* was assigned to the book before it got to Buck. That said, Nicholas Ferrar seems the likely assigner (see Di Cesare xx-xxi). However, the participation of Ferrar and Buck in the production of *The Temple* need not be seen as unfortunate interference with Herbert's intentions. Not only was their intervention necessary to the publication of the book, but their methods were well-known to Herbert. Moreover, his choice of Ferrar, and by extension, Buck, gives at least a secondary intentionality to the edition which they created.

As Di Cesare points out, Walton's account of Herbert handing his manuscript to Duncon to take to Ferrar--to either print or burn, as Ferrar saw fit--must be treated with some skepticism because of Walton's "well-known tendency to improve a tale" (xl). Di Cesare continues, though, to corroborate the story with an earlier, independent source,

John Ferrar's *Life of Nicholas Ferrar*.¹⁰ This Ferrar writes:

And when M^r Herbert dy'd, he recommended only of all his Papers, that of his Divine Poems, & willed it to be delivered into the hands of his Brother N. F. appointing him to be the Midwife, to bring that piece into the world, If he so thought good of it, else to [burn it.] The w^{ch} when N. F. had many & many a time read over, & embraced & kissed again & again, he sayd, he could not sufficiently admire it, as a rich Jewell, & most worthy to be in y^e hands & hearts of all true Christians, that feared God, & loved the Church of England. (Blackstone, *The Ferrar Papers* 59)

Clearly, there was very little accidental about the way in which Herbert's book came to press. Herbert's close relationship with Ferrar (they had worked together to rebuild the Leighton church, discussed at length in chapter four) and his intimate knowledge of Ferrar's treatment of texts would have made Ferrar an obvious choice for "midwife." Further, Herbert most likely would have been pleased with Ferrar's choice of Buck and Cambridge as the printer; not only was the university highly familiar to him, but Buck was also widely regarded as one of the best printers available (see Charles, 1979 181). The evidence indicates that the process of publication that Herbert began from his deathbed was completed with the utmost care. This is not to suggest, however, that Ferrar and Buck saw their tasks as strictly limited to preserving Herbert's literal intent. Both *B* and *1633* demonstrate the highest art of their kinds, the manuscript with its beautiful

¹⁰ For earlier discussions of this passage and its bearing on the publication of *The Temple*, see Charles 182 n. 11 and Doerksen 1979-1980 23-24

calligraphic hand and expansive layout, the printed book with its care for details ranging from typography to organization. These posthumous editions of Herbert's work show every sign of great purposiveness, and, against whatever may have been lost in that Herbert did not see his work through the press, *B* and *1633* represent a process of communal authorship characterized by both a high respect for the original author and a serious undertaking of 'midwifery.'

We cannot know whether Herbert intended the posthumous publication of *The Temple*. On one hand, as a member of a fairly high-profile aristocratic family, he may have hesitated to print the book while he was alive, subjecting himself to the 'stigma of print.' As Marotti argues, however, posthumous publication of an aristocrat's work had become an accepted act, following the landmark publication of Sir Phillip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* in the early 1590s (228-9). Out of respect for his family, Herbert may have delayed publication until after his death. On the other hand (and the two are not mutually exclusive), the group of poems that became *The Temple* may simply not have been ready for publication any time before Herbert's final sickness. Hutchinson's list of *W*'s poems with their position in *B* shows a pattern suggesting two editing modes: the first half of *The Temple* includes a tight interweaving of *W* poems with newer poems; *W* poems are often re-ordered and renamed to fit into the larger body. The second half though, except for the final group of poems (which also end *W*) is mostly a large group of new poems: there are no *W* poems between the 77th poem, "Jordan" II (in *W*, "Invention") and the 156th poem, "The Elixer" (in *W*, "Perfection"). The first half suggests an intricate, time-consuming editing process; the second, in contrast, seems more the product of

contingency.

Did Herbert find himself with a half-revised manuscript and no more time in which to work? If so, his choice of Ferrar as literary midwife (the term is aptly broad in that his role included the tasks of transcriber, editor, and agent) would seem all the more crucial. In Ferrar, Herbert not only had a trusted friend and a producer of beautiful manuscripts, but someone with a deeply-felt and thoroughly worked-out theoretical and practical approach to texts, in fact an ideal editor for Herbert's very particular sort of book. The community that Nicholas Ferrar led at Little Gidding practiced, with intensity, a tight interweaving of textuality and life.¹¹ The daily routine was shaped by several services in which the members took turns reading aloud selections from the Psalms and the Little Gidding concordances. The rest of the day the members carried out tasks including reading and memory work, writing, needlework, book-binding, singing, and playing musical instruments (Blackstone 42-5). Importantly, these tasks had a twin emphasis on process and product, an emphasis performed with devotion to the highest standards of quality. All of these activities involve acts of interweaving, a mode that

¹¹ This discussion of the relationship between Little Gidding and *The Temple* is indebted to Stanley Stewart's chapter "Herbert and the 'Harmonies' of Little Gidding" in *George Herbert* (57-82). With this debt, though, I must also clarify that I am not arguing, as does Stewart, that Little Gidding in a doctrinally particular way represents "the audience for which Herbert wrote" (57). Rather, my discussion of the community focuses on textual practices that I see as a particularly revealing instance of early-modern textual practices in general.

received its highest expression in the creation of the concordances themselves. John Ferrar describes these as follows:

For the Booke conteyned 150: heads or Chapters, & there was so allotted to each houre of the days, so many heads to be sayd as that be[ginn]ing still at the first day of each Month, & so ending at the last day of the Month, all the heads were sayd over, in every Months time, w^{ch} was 12: times in the year. This Booke of the Concordance of the 4: Evangelists contrivement, was directed to be made in that manner by N.F. appointment & direction. N.F. having first spent Some time in the contrivance of the Work (w^{ch} was comonly an hour every Day) and having given his Nieces directions How & in what Manner they should do it, They with their Cizers cut out of each Evangelist such & such Verses, & layd them together, to make & perfect such & such a Head, or Chapter, which when they had first roughly done, then with their Knives & Cizers they neatly fitted each Verse So cutt out, to be pasted downe upon sheets of Paper, & So artificially they performed this new-found-out-way, as it were a new kind of Printing: For all that saw the Bookes when they were done, tooke them to be printed in y^e ordinary Way, So finely were y^e verses joyned together and with great Presses for that purpose pressed downe upon y^e white sheets of paper. This Concordance was a yeare in making. (Blackstone 42-3)

These concordances were constructed in a special room which had sentences of Scripture written on the walls--one selected by each member of the community--so that when those working there "at any time looked vp from there workes thes Sentences presented them

selves to there Eyes” (Blackstone 43).

The ‘Harmonies’ are a fascinating amalgam of manuscript and print practices and a remarkable materialization of collational reading and compositional habits, a concretization of rhetoric similar to the commonplace book, but carried out much further. Perhaps this “new kind of printing” could be called ‘manuprint,’ for each of the concordances bears witness to countless hours of hand-work: each one a unique gathering of thousands of literal fragments of mass-produced text. If anything, John Ferrar’s description of the concordances skims over their detail, for (in all their attractiveness) they confront the reader with an obviously complex configuration of columns containing both Roman and English (or Black) letter type as well as extensive marginalia. I have had opportunity to examine the concordance of Nicholas Ferrar’s niece, Mary Collet (BL C.23.e.2)¹², which, in its “Advertisements touching the ensuing Concordance,” lays out the

¹² The proper title of this volume follows (this title varies little from that of the other copy held by the BL):

The Actions Doctrine other Passadges touching Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ As they are Related by the Foure Evangelists Reduced into one Compleate body of History wherein that which is severally Related by them is Digested into Order And that which is Joyntly related by All or any of Them Is Extracted into one Cleare Context by way of Collection Yett soe whatsoever is Omitted in the Context is inserted by way of Supplement in an other Printe in such manner as all the Foure Evangelists may bee reade Severally From First to Last To which Are added Sundry Pictures Expressing either the Facts themselues or their Types and Figures or other Matters Appertayneing thereunto

ways in which it can be used. In short, the concordance contains all of the four gospels, but they are not set out in parallel (each with its own column) as in most Gospel harmonies. Instead, they are combined. To prevent confusing repetition, Ferrar chose the combination of verses (regardless of Gospel source) that provided the clearest narration; these verses were cut out of Bibles using Roman type, while all of the other verses were cut out of Bibles using English type. As well, running alongside the text is a column with the letters A, B, C, and D, indicating the Gospel from which each fragment has been taken. As the “Advertisements” make clear, one can read the book in three ways. If a reader wants a clear narrative, she reads only the Roman type; if she wants to compare accounts, she looks to the marginal letters and compares verses. Finally, if she wants to read any particular Gospel, she follows the given marginal letter and reads the verses through, regardless of their type face.

When the year-long process of harmonizing the Gospels (according to an intricate plan and with the utmost in craft) was finished, the process of harmonizing the Gospels was still just beginning. The concordance, in taking on the task of collating scripture, did not so much collate it as mark the importance and the extent of collational reading; it began a process that could only be completed by the reader, perhaps in the reader. The finished material product not only presents multiple methods of reading, but its very layout of scriptural verses with extensive marginal pointers implies that endless connections between and combinations of verses are not only possible, but the key to a deeper understanding of the Word. The cutting and pasting of fragments from printed Bibles presents a challenging material correlative to the conceptual reading practice here:

the violence done to the physical book makes a useful parallel to the extreme pressure put on the text.¹³ The Little Gidding concordances put thoroughly to the test the idea of the Bible as ultimately coherent and unified in that they, while maintaining the original context of a given verse, position it as one of many possible contexts. The concordance situates verses in multiple, but also always changing contexts, allowing relationships between verses to draw out meanings not apparent at first. The presence of physical fragments on the page powerfully suggests that the text there, by nature, is meant to be arranged and rearranged so that the reader can more fully discover its truth. As Stewart puts it, “The ‘Knives and Cizers’ were only tools to put together what belonged that way in the first place” (63).

Isaac Walton’s *Life of George Herbert* suggests a connection in Nicholas Ferrar’s mind between the Little Gidding ‘Harmonies’ and *The Temple*, recording him saying of the latter “that the whole Book, was such a harmony of holy passions, as would enrich the World with pleasure and piety” (109).¹⁴ ‘Harmony’ here carries its general meaning of multi-vocal coherence and beauty, but also, especially in connection with Ferrar, refers to the harmony of the Gospels. From 1674, when the *Life of George Herbert* was first

¹³ When I tell people about the cutting and pasting of Bible pages at Little Gidding, they usually respond with some variation on “can you do that?” One need only think of the piles of left-over disemboweled Bibles or Gospels to realize how jarring the practice would be to a modern sensibility. I have not yet found any indication of early modern responses to the practice.

¹⁴ All quotations from Walton from the 1927 Oxford edition.

published with *The Temple*, Herbert's book itself recorded its connection with Little Gidding and the textual practices there. Before Walton, though, there are better reasons for seeing a connection between the 'Harmonies' and *The Temple*. The 'Harmonies' provide an important context for *The Temple* because of Herbert's interaction with the community, an interaction which both led to him having his own copy of the concordance and led him to send his manuscript there. As Stewart argues, the making of concordances at Little Gidding and Herbert's own comments on reading Scripture parallel each other in both method and intent. In chapter four of *The Country Parson*, "The Parsons Knowledg," Herbert prescribes that the parson should make use of all knowledge, even what to him seemed the lowest sorts--knowledge of tillage and pastorage--because these serve well in teaching: "people by what they understand, are best led to what they understand not" (228).¹⁵ However, the "chief and top of his knowledge consists in the book of books, the storehouse and magazene of life and comfort, the holy Scriptures. There he sucks and lives." In Scripture, the parson finds "four things; Precepts for life, Doctrines for knowledge, Examples for illustration, and Promises for comfort: These he hath digested severally" (228). In a literary culture characterized by the circulation of commonplaces, the Bible is, for Herbert, the ultimate source and locus of life-giving texts, a 'storehouse' to which readers and writers can go to find the most important knowledge. At this mother-text, the reader 'sucks' and 'digests' to have life. Besides its metaphorical meaning, 'digests' also describes methodology, meaning "to dispose

¹⁵ All quotations from *The Country Parson* from *The Works of George Herbert*. F. E. Hutchinson, ed. Oxford UP. 1941.

methodically or according to a system,” but further, “to settle and arrange methodically in the mind; to consider, think or ponder over” (OED). Herbert goes on to spell out specifically the close intertwining of life and reading method that he describes here. Anyone can read the Bible, but understanding it requires more than intellectual tools. Herbert gives four interlocking ways to understand: first, to live a holy life, so that one may participate in the same Spirit that wrote the Scriptures; second, to pray, which is “necessary even in temporall things, how much more in things of another world, where the well is deep, and we have nothing of our selves to draw with?” (228-9); third, to collate Scripture with Scripture; the fourth, to refer to “Commenters and Fathers” for help with the third.

Herbert explains the third way of understanding, “diligent Collation of Scripture with Scripture,” in some detail:

For all Truth being consonant to itself, and all being penn'd by one and the self-same Spirit, it cannot be, but that an industrious, and judicious comparing of place with place must be a singular help for the right understanding of the Scriptures. To this may be added the consideration of any text with the coherence thereof, touching what goes before, and what follows after, as also the scope of the Holy Ghost. When the Apostles would have called down fire from Heaven, they were reprov'd, as ignorant of what spirit they were. For the Law required one thing, and the Gospel another: yet as diverse, not as repugnant: therefore the spirit of both is to be considered and weigh'd. (229)

Herbert's treatment of the Bible as a storehouse of 'places' needs to be differentiated

from a contemporary approach with surface similarity, the ‘bibliomancy’ in which the reader opened the Bible at random, believing that the Spirit would guide the process so that the first scripture the reader came to would be God’s message for that moment to that individual (see Haskin 21). While the two approaches both position the Bible as powerful for the individual, the method Herbert describes involves a rigorous process of weighing both the immediate and the broader contexts of scriptural places. Rather than isolating places for their immediate message, Herbert would have the reader see the place within an increasingly complex web of relationships. Herbert’s reference to Luke 9 illustrates the crucial importance of such careful collational reading. Christ’s disciples, witnessing a Samaritan town’s rejection of Christ, look to the story of Elijah for precedent for vengeful “fire from Heaven.” Christ, though, tells them “Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men’s lives, but to save them” (Luke 9: 55-56). The mistaken reading of Scripture can support action exactly opposite to the Spirit, a point that both calls for careful reading and recalls Herbert’s first two instructions for understanding the Bible.

Herbert’s approach to Scripture obviously informs his poetry, but how so, exactly? Chana Bloch, in *Spelling the Word*, writes that “[t]here is scarcely a poem in Herbert’s *Temple*--one might say scarcely a line--that does not refer us to the Bible,” and goes on to argue that Herbert’s poems “owe their distinctive character” to his “immersion in Scripture” (1, 4). I wholly agree with Bloch’s characterization of *The Temple*’s dependence for its language and technique upon Scripture, but wish to recast the question, asking what sort of reading experience *The Temple* encourages, and how that experience

comments back upon Bible reading, and beyond that to reading of a broader range of texts. In his poems “H. Scriptures I” and “II,” Herbert expresses many of the same ideas about Scripture as in “The Parson’s Knowledge:” the speaker of the first poem requests “let my heart / Suck ev’ry letter,” (1-2) for the Bible is “all health,” (5) a “masse / Of strange delights,” (6-7) “the thankfull glasse, / That mends the lookers eyes,” (8-9) and “heav’ns Lidger” (11). Indeed, for the humble, it offers access to the higher realm: “heav’n lies flat in thee / Subject to ev’ry mounters bended knee” (14). The second “H. Scriptures” poem (which I discuss in more detail in the next chapter) expresses both the specific nature of the scriptural text and the method for reading it within an astronomical metaphor. Verses are stars within the universe of the whole book, forming, in combination, a vast number of constellations. The poem foregrounds the immediacy and challenge of the interpretive task, beginning “Oh that I knew how all thy lights combine, / And the configurations of their glorie!” (1-2). In this “book of starres” (14) readers find their destinies, materially activating glorious configurations by collating, turning pages: “[t]his verse marks that, and both do make a motion / Unto a third, that ten leaves off doth lie” (5-6). As Bloch points out, the Bible, and particularly the New Testament, continually presents internal connections; for example, “[t]he Christ of the Gospels is Isaiah’s Suffering Servant . . . and he speaks in the voice of the psalmist” (78). In *The Temple*, Herbert imitates the Bible’s deeply allusive textual field, creating an extra-biblical layer full of pointers back to the biblical text, but also foregrounding the multiple connections between verses as well as the interpretive task of finding them. *The Temple* not only imitates the Bible, but does so in an heuristic way, leading the reader into a

highly active method of reading.

As both Bloch and Lull argue, Herbert used collation as a compositional tool and as a method of organization. In the first instance, he employed what Barbara Lewalski describes as a common compositional mode of the time, the exploration of “tensions arising from the various connotations carried by a given metaphor in different scriptural texts” and the joining of these figures “into complex networks and interconnected webs of reference” (86-7). Bloch illustrates Herbert’s use of this technique by pointing to the various scriptural associations with “stone” brought into play in the poem “Sepulcher,” which draws upon several biblical uses of the metaphorical vehicle (the stone of Christ’s tomb, the living stones of the church, God as a rock, Christ as a corner stone, and man’s stony heart) and plays upon their conflicting meanings (56-8). Beyond the level of the poem, though, collation can be seen as a guiding organizational method in *The Temple* as a whole. The one feature of the book that most clearly suggests the close comparison of poems is its repetition of titles; thirteen of *The Temple*’s titles identify more than one poem. As Lull writes, these repeated titles set a reading pattern that guides readers through the rest of the book: “[b]y giving two or more poems the same title, Herbert signaled his readers to be alert for all the other ways in which multiple utterances act in concert and in opposition to shape the song of “The Church” (1990 20). Lull’s study of Herbert’s revisions illustrates his intentionality in linking poems by title. Significantly, between *W* and *B* Herbert both unlinked some poems and newly linked others. The two poems titled “Passion” in *W* became the second half of “Good Friday” and “Redemption” in *B*. Likewise, *B* recasts one of *W*’s three “Prayer” poems as the second part of “H.

Communion.” On the other hand, he renamed “Invention” as “Jordan,” joining it to the “Jordan” already present in *W*. He also added to *W*’s two “Affliction” poems the second and the third of the final group and renamed “Tentation,” placing it as the fourth of *B*’s “Affliction” sequence. In the case of the final stanza of “H. Communion,” Herbert has changed the poem to fit the new title (the completely new stanza emphasizes “thy heav’nly bloud” (38) rather than *W*’s “Lett Prayer help our losses” (14)). With the others though, he made no such changes. Such revisions demonstrate Herbert’s awareness of the effect of context on meaning; notably, he did not think that he needed to change a poem’s words to adjust its meaning. Changing the title of a poem changes not only that poem, but also the other poems that share that title. Poems linked by title become irrevocably joined in a chorus or contest of meaning (or some combination of the two); as Lull points out, Herbert not only revised to foreground “resemblances, connections, and echoes,” but also revised to bring out differences (1990 15).

Herbert carefully constructed *The Temple*, then, as a textual space which both continually refers to itself and also continually refers to texts outside of itself. Recent theory about the culture of the book, or the ‘order’ of the book sheds some light on the specifics of Herbert’s book project. George Landow and Paul Delany identify the “three crucial aspects of book text” (by which they mean the printed book) as “linearity, demarcation, and fixity” (3). As Patrick Bazin argues, these features of the printed book are not at all neutral to the text, though they have been thoroughly naturalized in Western culture (158-160). The book as we have come to know it has a definite beginning and end, a clear identity as an individual ‘work,’ and precisely-set typography and pagination.

This idea of the book sheds light on the early *Temple*, both because Herbert's book does and does not conform to it. As I have suggested above and will demonstrate in the next chapter, early editions of *The Temple* deliberately contest the linearity that Delany and Landow describe. At the same time, these editions take advantage of the fixity of the page, with its typographical complexity, as well as the demarcation of the site of the text. The fixity of the page, as Bazin puts it, makes the book a "site of memory . . . perfectly adapted to a global and individual grasping of meaning, in the reader's moral and psychic depths" (159). In 1633, this fixity occurs within a larger fixity of the book. The book's title acts as the first strong suggestion that one is not only about to read a text, but about to enter into something more. In fact, entry becomes more and more evidently a key process metaphor as the reader continues. Within the book, one finds--after the biographical note and dedication--a section called "The Church-porch," divided from the following section ("The Church") by "Superliminare," which invites the reader further into the book's ongoing spatial metaphor.¹⁶

¹⁶ Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from *The Temple* are from the first edition, 1633. British Library shelfmark I.58.a.26, STC 13183, *Early English Books* microfilm reel 890. Extended quotations are images from this copy, produced by scanning the microcopy, with some cleaning in a image-editing program. Images used by permission of the British Library.

Superliminare.

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

AVoid profanenesse; come not here:
 Nothing but holy, pure, and cleare,
 Or that which groweth to be so,
 May at his perill further go.

Herbert's invocation of the book's physical presence could hardly be clearer; as Random Cloud points out, the turning of the physical page (a recto) acts out the opening of the door into the church.¹⁷ According to "Superliminare," one "approaches" and only "at his perill" will "further go." These verses make use of the book-as-object as a powerful material base for the poetry's structuring architectural metaphor, a use reinforced by the book's sections and running headers: turn anywhere in the book, and you will see at the top of the page an indication of where you are.

For all of *The Temple's* architectural demarcation though, entering into it did not remove its early readers from the wider textual field beyond its pages. Instead, it acted as

¹⁷ As Cloud puts it, Herbert's metaphor is "Reading into a Book as Entry into a Building" (4). Later editions of *The Temple* reinforce this metaphor by printing "Superliminare" within an engraving of a doorway. My thanks to Random Cloud, a.k.a. Randall McLeod, for generously sending me a proof copy of "Enter Reader" before its publication.

an intensely focused reading space, one which both foregrounded the interrelatedness of texts and taught the reader to actively seek such connections. To this end, *The Temple* varies in an important way from the sequentiality that denotes the order of the book. While Herbert's book has its own genesis ("The Church-porch" speaks to the beginnings of an individual's understanding of the Christian life) and its own apocalyptic end ("The Church Militant," with its prophetic voice, casts the life of the church in terms of 'final things'), its repetition of key words and themes as well as titles, and its alphabetical index all work persuasively against a front-to-back reading. Instead, the poems of *The Temple* combine and recombine as readers visit different places in varying orders. In an important way, the book presented a microcosm of the world. Within its walls, one encountered scriptural and natural revelation, and learned to read. The space was not insular, but rather exerts a centripetal force, pulling in both many kinds of knowledge and many of its forms. In the chapters that follow, I explore *The Temple* as the site of intense engagement of text with text, form with form, and reader with the broader textual field.

The Multi-linear *Temple*: discovering and recovering Herbert's common places

Each step to and through the temple and every building block is manifestly important. Each step and every building block is a poem of the sequence. Thus which poems are included and their arrangement is of prime importance.

John T. Shawcross, "Herbert's Double Poems," 212

it may not make much difference whether Herbert is resequenced! One wonders whether there is not something non-linear--even anti-linear--in Herbert's poetic.¹⁸

Random Cloud, "Enter Reader," 41

The two epigraphs above signal two seemingly contradictory yet apparently valid impressions of Herbert's *Temple*, that it presents a careful, even precise structure, and that at the same time, it presents a fluid set of places with innumerable configurations. I will argue in this chapter more to the second point, but in light of the first; in other words, not that *The Temple* is "anti-linear" as Cloud suggests, but that it is multi-linear. 'Multi-linearity' allows both for the sequencing to which Shawcross refers, that primary sequence which every reader encounters identically in the materiality of the book's pages

¹⁸ Cloud comments here on the reversal of the stanzas of "Superliminare" in the 1674 edition, which presented the poem as steps within an engraving of a church porch.

(“The Altar” precedes “The Sacrifice” in every copy of *The Temple*, for example), and for the unpredictable, unrepeatably play of intratextual (as well as intertextual) relationships that occurs in individual readings of the book. I hope to demonstrate that Herbert’s design of *The Temple* not only accommodates this second, highly individualized sequencing, but encourages it and even depends on it to invigorate the primary sequentiality of the book. I base this argument in a consideration both of early modern reading and composition methods and in an examination of early editions of *The Temple*. In particular, this reading of Herbert builds upon Anne Ferry’s 1993 article “Titles in George Herbert’s ‘little book;’” she argues there that *The Temple* was consciously designed to resemble the printed commonplace books of the period, and that Herbert’s book thereby explicitly draws upon reading habits which position the reader as actively acquiring knowledge for personal application. I further consider the way early editions of *The Temple* present their various poems and how such presentation(s) should be seen as deeply embedded in contemporary textual practices. To begin, I would like to examine an early edition particularly unfamiliar to modern eyes.

Flipping through the 1656 ‘seventh’ edition of George Herbert’s *Temple*, one notices an unusual textual feature, unusual at least in that we normally associate it with twentieth-century critical editions and not with seventeenth-century poetry books.¹⁹ One

¹⁹ The actual seventh edition (*STC* 1517) was printed without imprint or date. (Hutchinson argues that it was probably printed around 1647 without licence, due to the complications of the civil war.) The 1656 edition (*STC* 1518), then, is actually the eighth, but its title page states that it is the seventh.

could stop at any page; I'll use page thirty-eight. Here one finds the final six lines of a poem begun the page previous, then the first stanzas of a poem titled "Affliction":²⁰

38

The Church.

Blessings before hand, tyes of gratefulnes;
 The found of glory ringing in our ears:
 Without, our shame; within, our consciences;
 Angels and grace, eternal hopes and fears.
 Yet all these fences and their whole aray . . . 5
 One cunning tosom-sin blows quite away.

¶ Affliction.

When first thou didst entice to thee my heart,
 I thought the service brave:
 So many joys I writ down for my part.
 Besides what I might have . . . 10
 Out of my stock of natural delights,
 Augmented with thy gracious benefits.
 I looked on thy furniture so fine,
 And made it fine to me:
 Thy glorious household-stuff did me entwine, . . . 15
 And 'tice me unto thee.
 Such stars I counted mine: both heav'n and earth
 Paid me my wages in a world of mirth.
 What pleasures could I want, whose King I served,
 Where joys my fellows were? . . . 20
 Thus argu'd into hopes, my thoughts reserved
 No place for grief or fear.
 Therefore my sudden soul caught at the place,
 And made her youth and fierceness seek thy face.
 At first thou gav'st me milk and sweetnesses; . . . 25
 I had my with and way:
 My days were straw'd with flow'rs and happines;
 There was no moneth but *May*
 But with my years for now did twist and grow,
 And made a party unawares for wo:
 My

So far, this page is precisely identical to those in the editions before it, starting with the first in 1633. Unlike these previous pages however (and unlike those in any contemporary poetry collections I have seen), this page in its inside margin displays

²⁰ STC 1518, BL Shelfmark: 11626.a.26.(1.)

numbers: 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, set at intervals from top to bottom. As these numbers correspond with particular lines of poetry on the page, readers now will quickly recognize them as related to, perhaps the same as the lines assigned to poems in modern critical editions. But wait--these line numbers are not quite the same as their modern counterparts. In fact, though they look almost the same, their slight variance makes them really not the same at all. When one turns to the same text in F. E. Hutchinson's 1941 critical edition, this time on page 46, one coincidentally finds the same six lines of a preceding poem, then a poem titled "Affliction" (though this time, a roman numeral 'one' in parentheses follows the title). In this modern edition, as we would expect, the '5' appears next to the fifth line of "Affliction," so that the numbers in the margin are actually: 10, 5, 10, 15. These tell us, among other things, that the second line of poetry on the page is the tenth line of a poem that starts on the preceding page. That it is the second line of poetry on the page is irrelevant to this numbering system. In the 1656 edition, though, the fifth line of "Affliction" is not explicitly numbered at all, but, by implication, is line eleven. The line marked '5' is the thirteenth line of the poem beginning on the preceding page. Why this confusion? The pattern is obvious with a second glance at the page: it is not the poems that are broken down by these numbers, but the pages themselves. Hence, the first line of "Affliction" has an alternate identity in this early edition as the seventh line of page 38.

It would never occur to a modern editor to number lines in the manner that Philemon Stephens, the publisher of the 1656 *Temple* did. As for why he did it though, the immediate material reason lies at the back of the book, where the reader finds an

apparatus referred to on the title page as an “Alphabetical Table for ready finding out chief places.” This table, also appearing for the first time in the 1656 edition appears with no other explanation than that of the title page.²¹



A TABLE.

A.	
A Aron's garments should be still worn by Ministers	Page 168 Line 19
Abraham brought Religion with him from the East	184.19
Abstinence, how profitable	79.7
Abuse of things taketh not away their use	79.16
Abusiveness, the scum of wit	8.29 9.1
Account, see Rules	
Action. The glory of an action is, to do it for Gods glory	178.21
Active spirits onely live	12.19 71.3
Adoration of Saints, why unlawfull	70.1
Affliction succedeth prosperity 38.25, &c. it is not to be grieved for 164.11 or rather, grief for affliction is to be turned into grief for sin 164.17 how to carry our selves therein 40.7 it is advantage to a Christian 35.90.7 124.25 Afflictions caldron helpeth to supple the heart 122.17 — 29 123.1 affliction to Christians, like the pruning-knife to Trees 126.2 afflictions compared to Moles 119.1 all our afflictions, nothing to Christ's sufferings 53.26 Christ hath his part in our afflictions 64.27 65.7 89.28	
Alms, the most thriving trade 89.3 motives thereunto 13.20 &c. see Rules	
Altar, see Gods	

This table does not list poems as a regular table of contents would, but rather lists

²¹ STC 1518, BL Shelfmark: 11626.a.26.(1.)

contents of the book as if it were not broken into individual poems at all. If it were the case that entries referred only to a single textual place, then one could argue that this was simply another way of coming at individual poems. However, many of the entries list two or more places, and some are further divided into subcategories, many of which themselves refer to multiple places. Such is the case, following the example with which we began, with the heading “Affliction:”

Affliction succeedeth prosperity 38.25,&c. it is not to be grieved for 164.11 or rather, grief for affliction is to be turned into grief for sin 164.17 how to carry ourselves therein 40.7 it is advantage to a Christian 35.90.7 Afflictions caldron helpeth to supple the heart 122.17--29 123.1 affliction to Christians, like the pruning knife to Trees 126.2 afflictions compared to Moles 119.1 all our afflictions, nothing to Christ’s sufferings 53.26 Christ hath his part in our afflictions 64.27 65.7 89.28

This edition, like other early editions of *The Temple*, is a duodecimo, easily held in the hand. When using the table, one can easily keep a thumb in the back and flip back and forth between the table and the pages prescribed by it. The succession of topics under the heading “Affliction,” with their references to page and line number do not guide one to poems, but to lines or sections of lines that form a string of meditations alternate to that of the poems themselves. Given the size of the book and the easy referencing system, one can readily flip through from line to line, ignoring immediate contextual details such as titles and instead read the lines primarily in the context of the descriptions and other lines prescribed by the table. So, what transpires here? And why

does it matter?

Gerard Genette describes the textual productions that accompany a literary work as “paratexts.” (1) By this, he means everything from a dust jacket or cover, to the work’s title and the author’s name, to indexes and back-cover blurbs and advertisements.²² He argues that these features, typically understood as additions to the work, play an important role in presenting the work to the reader, shaping as it were, the reader’s reception of the work. The paratext occupies an undefined zone: a zone that is not part of the work, yet not apart from it either. As such, it is an interpretive threshold:

a zone not only of transition, but of *transaction*: a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that--whether well or poorly understood and achieved--is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it (more pertinent, of course, in the eyes of the author and his allies). (2)

Genette’s formulation is helpful in that it immediately points to several features of the table added to Herbert’s *Temple*. First, while cover design and even title and author designation usually play a subtle role in presenting a text, Stephens’ 1656 table is more forthright in its intent: while it contains no explanation as to its use, it clearly suggests a way of reading the work. In addition to this method, it also and more subtly, provides the

²² Genette further differentiates between *peritexts*, those paratexts materially joined to the literary work, such as I list above, and *epitexts*, those paratexts materially removed from the work, such as reviews and letters by the author which shape the way one understands the work. (5)

reader an interpretive framework. While it simply claims to point out “chief places,” it does so with an identifiable theological intent (the table’s first entry illustrates this nicely: many of Herbert’s readers would have made strong objection to the idea that “Aaron”’s meaning is that “Aaron’s garments should be still worn by ministers.”) As well, Stephens’ additions clearly do occupy a privileged strategic position in the text; not only does the table immediately follow the poems, implying that it shares authority with them, his numbering system in fact permeates the work, ever present to the reader.²³ Finally, Genette raises the issue of authorial intention itself. As with all editions of *The Temple*, the 1656 edition was posthumous. Hence, authority over the text is bound to be collaborative; in this case, the editor had a text inherited from Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel, the Cambridge University printers. Stephens introduced no changes to the text itself, adding only apparatus.

I wish to take up the relationship of Stephens’ apparatus to the text of *The Temple* itself, and the relationship of both to the literary culture which, in one sense, produced them. That is, I wish to pose the questions “In what ways is Stephens’ apparatus appropriate to Herbert’s text, if it is at all?” and “What were the cultural conditions in

²³ It must be noted here, though, that Stephens’ additions can only be used from the table to the text, and not vice versa, for there is no practical way of moving from a line in the text to the table and then to another line in the text, as a cross-referencing system would allow. The reader who starts with the text and not the table then, though aware of Stephens’ additions, is not constantly invited to refer to another, related, line somewhere else in the book.

which *The Temple* came into its 1656, and even its 1633 forms?" T. A. Birrell, in his brief discussion of the 1656 edition, argues that its table confirms that the work was not at that time "being read as poetry at all," but rather, as a prayerbook.²⁴ He says:

The reader who went to Herbert to find out about 'Anchorism, whence';
'Assurance assaulted by doubting . . . how cleared'; 'Beauty, how to be accounted
of'; 'Children, how to be educated'--to say nothing of Baths, Bats, and Bees--was
certainly not a reader interested in getting an aesthetic *frisson* out of metaphysical
conceits. (164)

Birrell's distinction between two kinds of reading, the practical and the aesthetic, seems to have been unimportant to Stephens. While the table does point to the practical rather excessively, it may not be the case that the table transforms the text from an aesthetic one to a practical one, as Birrell implies. Also, Birrell is right in arguing that pointing out references to Baths, Bats, and Bees does not serve a primarily aesthetic purpose, but on

²⁴ Birrell makes his argument based not only on the presence of the table, but also on *The Temple* having been bound with Christopher Harvey's *The Synagogue*. He argues, with justification, that Harvey's poetry is far inferior to Herbert's, and asks why the two were bound together, when, from an aesthetic perspective, such joining could only underscore Harvey's inferiority. His answer, that the purpose of the volume was not aesthetic at all, raises problems which the rest of this essay will attempt to address. To his observation that *The Synagogue* was included, though, one must also add that the table only refers to Herbert's work, and that *The Synagogue* is clearly a tribute to *The Temple*. So, while the two were joined, there is no doubt as to which is primary.

the other hand, this way of referring to a text also does not seem at home in a prayer book, as he argues, but rather, in a commonplace book, which, I will argue, is a useful first reference for what is going on in this early edition of *The Temple*.²⁵

In trying to understand the differences between early modern and modern ways of thinking about texts, there is probably no better material place to start than the commonplace book. These were chiefly private notebooks, instituted by the humanist educational model and used by intellectually trained people through their working lives, but there were also commercial printed versions. Essentially, the commonplace book was a collection of pieces of text, removed from their original contexts, and, in an atomized form, reorganized according to ‘place,’ or topic. While the commonplace book has been written about in detail elsewhere, I will here summarize the aspects of these books most relevant to my topic.

In his *De Ratione Studii*, the prototypal guide to humanist education, Erasmus prescribes that teachers should read widely, not limited to “the usual ten or twelve authors,” but ranging over “the proverbial ‘encyclopedia’” (672). The teacher should do this so that he can teach “only the best,” and to enhance this reading, he should “have at the ready some commonplace book of systems and topics, so that wherever something noteworthy occurs he may write it down in the appropriate column” (672). From the beginning then, the commonplace book was a tool for dealing with the wide range of texts, mostly Greek and Roman, but also including those of the Latin Church Fathers, that

²⁵ For a detailed consideration of the 1656 table’s organization, see Saad El-Gabalawy’s “A Seventeenth-Century Reading of George Herbert.”

made up the corpus of the humanist project. Clearly the memory, even highly trained, was unable to retain and organize the knowledge contained in these texts without some sort of external help. Organization is important here, because these books were not simply notebooks, filled starting from front to back with whatever seemed important to the reader, but rather, as Erasmus describes, books divided into “systems and topics” before any texts are copied into them. In *De Copia*, he gives a detailed account of how this should work:

Having made up your mind to cover the whole field of literature in your reading (and anyone who wishes to be thought educated must do this at least once in his life), first provide yourself with a full list of subjects. These will consist partly of the main types and subdivisions of vice and virtue, partly of the things of most prominence in human affairs which frequently occur when we have a case to put forward, and they should be arranged according to similars and opposites. (635-36)

Erasmus prescribes that the book should be split into a section for virtues and vices, a section for ‘examples,’ and a section for ‘commonplaces.’ In the first, section headings might include Faith, which would then break down into subsections of “Faith in God,” “Human Faith,” “Faithfulness to Friends,” and on. With this would come a heading for “Unfaithfulness,” followed by its constituent parts. ‘Examples’ would include headings such as “Remarkable Longevity,” “Sudden Death,” and “Remarkable Wealth.” Finally, the headings in the ‘commonplaces’ section are proverbial, such as “It matters what

company you keep,” or “He gives twice who gives readily.”²⁶

Once one has prepared such a book for note taking, one is ready to read, for “whatever you come across in any author, particularly if it is rather striking, you will be able to note down immediately in the proper place” (638). Erasmus argues that this practice produces the double effect of “fixing what you have read more firmly in your mind,” and “getting you into the habit of using the riches supplied by your reading” (638). The third effect is that, “whatever the occasion demands, you will have the materials for a speech ready to hand, as you have all the pigeonholes duly arranged so that you can extract just what you want from them” (638).

I would like to draw attention here first to the spatial metaphors and arrangement employed in the production and use of the commonplace book. Though the initial activity--reading--must occur in a fairly linear way, and likewise, the final activity--giving

²⁶ In his 1594 textbook on efficient Bible reading entitled *Ten Introductiones*, Edward Vaughan gave unusually specific instructions for the construction and use of commonplace books:

You must digest in a writing book of two quires, after the maner of common places: one of the same places or titles must be at the upper end of everie second leafe in Quarto; and be sure to place nothing underneath but such matter as the place and title requireth. And when you have so gone over and written all your booke, then cast it aside, and take another after the same order. . . . Thus do-e once more in another booke, and then you shall be able readily and roundly, to speak artificially and divinely of all things necessary to salvation. (K4^v-K5^r)

a speech--also must be linear and time-bound, the apparatus used to take material from the first activity and to prepare it for the last works in a multi-linear and spatially complex way. That is, many simultaneous lines of thought characterize the commonplace book; in fact, the more potential trajectories a reader can perceive in a passage, the more useful that passage can be: as Erasmus says, “[s]ome material can serve not only diverse but contrary uses, and for that reason, must be recorded in different places” (639). Passages, then, belong not to a single context, but potentially to many places in the grid of knowledge. The metaphors at use here reveal much: Erasmus calls the notebook a “hive” in which to store nectar gathered in reading. However, the spatial metaphor extends beyond the commonplace book to linear starting and finishing points of the process; the student will “flit like a busy bee through the entire garden of literature, will light on every blossom” in collecting the nectar (639). Erasmus’s reference to “the whole field of literature,” then, implies more than literature as a discipline, but instead, literature as a unified whole, to be read and organized according to commonly recognized and useful “places.”²⁷ Likewise, the rhetorically successful speech, necessarily delivered in a particular context in a particular way, still has at its organizational foundation a spatial metaphor: before speaking, the speaker must have his “pigeonholes . . . duly arranged” so

²⁷ Writers commonly referred to literary “fields:” Thomas Farnaby, in his *Index Rhetoricus*, argues that the student should not read only Cicero, and be “confined only to one very beautiful field. But as he matures, I would have him wander more freely through the fertile fields of the authors and, as an adult, I would have him rejoicing in open horizons.” (Nadeau 173)

that his material may be easily “extracted.”

The deep structure of the humanist commonplace book lies in its use as a rhetorical tool. As Cicero outlined, rhetoric has five parts: *inventio* (excogitating true things), *dispositio* (ordering these things), *elocutio* (accommodating words to these things), *memoria* (developing a firm perception in the soul of these things and words), and *pronunciatio* (moderating of voice and body to suit these things and words) (*De Oratore* I. xxxi 142). Of these, the commonplace book most closely ties to the first three, which involve the assembling and ordering of ideas and words. In particular, the notion of “invention” explains much about the commonplace book. While we now use ‘invent’ in a way akin to ‘create,’ Francis Bacon argued that the word properly meant ‘to discover what we know not’ (147), and even to rediscover: “out of the knowledge whereof our mind is already possessed, to draw forth or call before us that which may be pertinent to the purpose which we take into our consideration” (410). To invent then, was not to create new matter, but to call to mind the formerly learned ‘true things,’ or commonplaces, that best serve the immediate rhetorical purpose. A full, well-organized notebook helps greatly here, for it gives its owner a wide range of matter from which to choose.

When Erasmus writes that “knowledge as a whole seems to be of two kinds, of things and words,” (666) he refers to the ancient distinction between *res* and *verba*, also implied in the distinction between invention and elocution. He argues that, while things are more important than words, words must be given as much attention, for “things are learnt only by the sounds we attach to them” (666). Elocution brings the process full

circle, for if things are only learnt by sounds, then they are also only communicated by them. For Erasmus, then, while the commonplace book is primarily a storehouse of things, it must also store words. Hence, one should copy texts which strike one: those texts which contain truth and which transmit it in a stylistically advanced way. The sententious fragment links to a space where *verba* and *res* meet (see Mary Crane 23). The entries in a commonplace book, then, were expected to fulfil both the functions of teaching content and teaching style, to serve both as the matter of a speech and as models for the speech to imitate stylistically.

Before stylistics came into play in the constructing of a speech though, the matter had to be ordered. This meant organizing one's chosen commonplaces so that they would flow together as a unified speech--parts reassembled to form a continuous whole. As Crane describes it, writers "framed" the commonplaces to suit their purpose. It bears repeating that fragments could be used in any number of ways. William Sherman writes that John Dee, like most of his contemporaries, "did not just read texts to learn from them in a disinterested process of self-edification: he read them to use them" (60). Sherman continues by saying that this method of reading "is not so much a question of cracking the code of a text as determining its relevance and applicability in contexts often very different from that in which it was produced" (61). Erasmus illustrates the flexibility of meaning of a given commonplace using the example of the death of Socrates:

This same incident can be turned to Socrates' praise or blame. He deserves praise for showing such a courageous contempt for death when condemned for no fault of his own but purely out of animosity; he is to be blamed, inasmuch as by his

useless pursuit of philosophy and disregard of accepted standards he caused bitter grief to his friends, disaster to his wife, and destruction to himself. (639)

Whether one wrote a political speech, a courtly love poem, a sermon, a play, or a devotional meditation, success depended on skillful manipulation of previously read texts.²⁸

So then, the common reading and composition practices of early modern England used a method whereby texts were “sifted, sorted, and interpreted” (Sherman 60) before being reassembled, anew, to suit some present need. This system centered on the collection of a potentially vast number of atomized texts, bits of meaning for use as construction blocks for larger structures, able to be combined in an exponentially larger number of ways.²⁹ Present needs, of course, varied, and so did the range of texts available

²⁸ Or heard. Linda Woodbridge, in her article “Patchwork: Piecing the Early Modern Mind in England’s First Century of Print Culture” argues that the oral tradition played an important role in supplying material for the stage.

²⁹ This describes the mechanics of the commonplace, but good writing, then as now, was not simply mechanical. Contemporary criticisms of commonplace usage often focused precisely on those writers or speakers who did treat composition as the simple connection of authoritative places. Schoolmaster Thomas Farnaby implored:

Let us not be among those who lay up provisions more of axioms of others, rather than be distributors of our own ideas. For the pen must be dipped in our mental powers, and an advisory council must be called in the heart; in that way, our mode of expression is to be sharpened. And those things which you read should not only

to the user. Two recent studies demonstrate something of this range. Crane, in her *Framing Authority* shows how humanist education became a route to political power, particularly with the development of the role of the courtly advisor, exemplified by William Cecil, Lord Burghley (116-35). One could advance in court beyond one's birth by drawing on the range of classical and Christian wisdom absorbed within legal training and applying it usefully to current problems, thus winning the trust of the monarch and consequently a position of power. Often at the other end of the political, economic, and educational spectrum lies the Puritan reading milieu described by Dayton Haskin. While the reading practices of court were those of a highly-trained elite, Puritan reading practices were shared by a heterogeneous population: from formally-trained scholars like Milton to the self-educated like Bunyan. The uses of Puritan reading, while engaged with

be entered on the leaves of books, or even in the frail memory, as if on the leaves of the mind: care should be taken that they become a part of our very nature.

Indeed, let the writing instrument be more freely, and more often, dipped in the vessel of natural ability than in that of the memory. (Nadeau 175)

For Farnaby, the key to the composing of texts lies in the internalization of the commonplace. The more deeply a writer digests the texts s/he reads, the more s/he is able to control those ideas and to bring them to bear on that writer's own argument.

Shakespeare's clowns often demonstrate the folly of one who has a surface grasp of many bits of wisdom, but no deeper understanding with which to apply them. (See *As You Like It*, in which Rosalind describes Touchstone as having a "great heap of knowledge" I.ii.64)

the political and social, were ultimately theological and devotional. Hence, the text of most interest was the Bible, accompanied perhaps by some supporting theological or devotional texts. With this decreased range though, came opportunity for a more intensive study of the text. The habits exercised in the commonplace book, particularly the isolating of textual places from immediate context, followed by the relation of these places to one another, parallel common devotional practice. As Maxine Hancock has demonstrated, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* enacts this: its marginalia, references to scriptural places, refer back to the passages that the narrative recasts. Bunyan has often listed multiple references; their meaning develops as they are read in the context of each other, this context itself within the context of Pilgrim's story.

The keeping of commonplace books was eventually augmented by the production of printed, commercially available collections, similar to the student's notebook in that they contained a wide range of textual fragments organized under common headings. The organizational principles, sources, and stated purposes of these printed commonplace books differ one from another, but all are generally alike in that they collect pithy fragments of wisdom and deliver them within a topical model of knowledge which erases their original contexts. *Palladis Tamia; Wit's Treasury* (1598) is one such book.³⁰ Its compiler, Francis Meres, took as his task the organization of classical and contemporary

³⁰ According to Crawford, the first of these books in English was Thomas Elyot's *The Blanket of Sapience gathered oute of dyvers and many godlye authores*, 1539 (xiii). This book was reprinted over the next two decades and was likely known to later compilers, at least one of whom--John Bodenham--who quotes from it (xiv).

wisdom into a chain-of-being series of places. This begins with the topic “Of God,” after which many sub-topics--“God is invisible and incomprehensible,” “God is not the Authour of Sinne” and on--follow. The next major heading is “Christ,” and after that, “The Holy Ghost,” followed by “Heaven.” The sequence works down through the levels of being to deal with earthly matters from virtues and vices to law and debt, and ends with “Death,” “The Devill,” and “Hell.” The sources of the material under these heads are mostly Greek and Roman, but also include Latin Church Fathers and a significant number of English writers, including Phillip Sidney, John Foxe, and Richard Hakluyt. Meres’ purpose in juxtaposing the words of classical and current writers becomes evident in one of the later headings: “A comparative discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets,” under which he compares, point by point, the classical and Italian literary tradition with the England tradition he is helping to form. (An example: “As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines: so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage” (282).) To guide the reader through these 665 pages of wisdom, Meres provided two tables. The first comes just after the title page and is itself titled “The Authours both sacred and profane, out of which these similitudes are for the most part gathered.” Meres set this list into alphabetical order, using letters as headings so that authors whose names begin with the same letter are grouped and set apart on the page. This table does not help readers find their way physically through the material, though, because it includes no page references. Rather, it establishes from the outset the authority on which the work is based, tacitly also claiming the status of English sources as being of the same authority as

the older.

A second table, found at the back of the book, does help readers actually find things. It too is alphabetical, and is titled “A Table of the Commonplaces into which these Similitudes are digested.” Unlike the order of the places in the book, which must start with the most important topic, God, this table begins with “Abdication,” “Abstinence,” and so on, pointing back to the book’s headings and giving page numbers for easy locating. Meres, then, has ordered his material itself in a way that reflects his cosmology; the book models the universe, and one could experience this modeling by reading the book from front to back. This ordering poses a problem though, in that a book of commonplaces must ultimately serve individual readers’ uses. Meres dealt with this by providing the second table, which effectively maps the places so that they can be found, not in relation with, or chained to each other, but as free-standing sets of fragments. The first table maps the material differently again, this time into a topography of received and new sources of authority. Meres then, provided three ways of seeing his material and the reader encounters them in order from general to specific, from doctrinally and philosophically important to physically important.

Another commonplace book similar in organization is John Bodenham’s *Belvedere, Or the Garden of the Muses* (1600). Bodenham, as Meres, placed his heads in order of cosmological significance: God, Heaven, Conscience, Religion, Truth, Virtue and on (though not with Meres’ consistency; Bodenham occasionally breaks the chain to deal with an opposite, as in Hope, Love, Hate, Chastitie). He also listed his sources at the beginning of the book, only here they are all English—except for James, king of

Scotland—and he listed them according to social rank.³¹ Bodenham also included an alphabetical table at the end of the book, and this as well differs suggestively from Meres'; while Meres' table refers to the book's headings, Bodenham's table refers to things mentioned within and across sections. For example, both tables list "Affliction" and indicate where the topic can be found. In *Palladis Tamia*, the reference is to page 183, where one finds the heading "Affliction" followed by roughly three pages of text on the topic. *Belvedere*, though, lists three page numbers for "Affliction:" 12, 20, and 74. Page twelve continues the topic "Of Religion," and one finds there, among many other sentences, "Religion comforts all afflictions." Page twenty continues the topic "Of Vertue" and yields up "As spices in their bruising savor most,/ So vertue in affliction best is seene." Finally, seventy-four, "Of Councell" contains "Councell confoundeth doubts, dissolves denials./ Afflicted hearts, all counsels do deferre." A given topic, then, can be found within a group of other topics with no other apparent connection.

Bodenham's pointing to places within places suggests a truly relational text, a

³¹ As Charles Crawford observes in his modern introduction to *Englands Parnassus*, this list of sources is "a most misleading document, names being mentioned that have no right to be in it, and many others omitted which should have been set down" (xv). The misattribution of fragments in these books is common, though varies of course, with the care taken by the compiler and printer. *Paladis Tamia* and *Englands Parnassus* typically give quotations of about four to eight sentences and also state the author for each. *Belvedere*, on the other hand, contains 4,482 quotations of no more than two lines each and gives no specific attributions (count by Crawford xv).

collection of things that can be read in the given order and the given categories, or not. While Meres' table of places does allow the reader to move to a particular place, it reinforces the main chain-of-being structure by pointing only to individual headings. Bodenham's table, on the other hand, treats the text as a database from which one can pull related bits rather than just pre-existing sections. Meres' table acts as a simple tool whose influence ends when one ceases to use it; Bodenham's, in contrast, suggests a way of reading of which it is itself the example. As Bodenham wrote in his explanation on how to use his book, "[t]he walkes, alleys, and passages in this Garden, are almost infinite; every where a turning, on all sides such windings in and out: yet all extending both to pleasure and profit" ("To the Reader"). Paths criss-cross in this garden, many passing any one place. Yet the immediate meaning of that place depends upon which path one follows. While Bodenham's headings clearly form the main walks of the garden, one may choose some other alley or set of passages and move across the walks. This individual meaning-making does not trespass because all paths, whether well-marked or hidden, move through a single garden, a united whole filled with a variety of flowers carefully chosen and "right precious" (To the Reader). Free movement activates this expansive space of truth, revealing its nuances, its wisdom for the individual reader's situation. This free movement, though, depends on the reader's understanding of and respect for the wisdom of the text. Bodenham tells the reader to "[l]et thy behaviour then (while thou art here) answer thy great fortune, and make use of the time as so rich a treasure requireth." He instructs the reader not to "trample" on any of the flowers in the garden, but to allow their healing and delighting powers to work. Transgression in this

garden then, is not figured as movement out-of-order, but as resistance to the authority of the text (or particular textual places), figured as vandalism. The invitation to multi-linear reading is not a licence to do as one pleases, but rather, occurs within a tightly circumscribed authorizing frame. Multi-linearity here does not demonstrate the contingency of meaning, but instead exercises the idea that apparent contingencies make manifest the ultimate unity of the textual field. If readers perversely choose to read against the unity and authority of this field, they, of course, cannot benefit from its truth.³²

The compilers of two other commonplace books, also published in 1600, forego the chain-of-being organization altogether and instead, alphabetize the headings. Robert Allot, in *Englands Parnassus* (hastily compiled to compete with *Belvedere*) groups headings by their initial letter, though within these groupings alphabetical order does not necessarily hold (angels, ambition, affection, affliction, art, and avarice make up the first headings). Allot also provides an alphabetical table at the front of his book that refers to the heads rather than to all of the contents, in the same way as Meres' second table. A much more thorough table is that of Robert Cawdray's *A Treasury or Storehouse of Similies*. While its headings follow each other alphabetically, the table at the back refers readers not only to those headings, but also to related content under other headings. While Allot's table gives a single location for "Affliction," Cawdray's lists fifteen:

³² The eloquence of Bodenham's expression of the unity of the textual field owes something to his overt commodification of it, in the form of his book. Presumably there were those who agreed with the idea if not that *Belvedere* was the perfect expression of it.

Table One: References to “Affliction” in the table of Robert Cawdray’s <i>A Treasury or Storehouse of Similies</i>		
Page #	Heading	Number of Similies
4	“Affliction”	75
38	“Affliction is profitable”	17
131	“Comforts for the afflicted”	23
192	“Why God afflicteth his Children	1
200	“Crosses are the badge of a Christian”	1
244	“Men Distressed do seek after God”	1
326	“God the Author of men’s afflictions”	1
337	“God chastiseth his of very love and mercy”	18
395	“The Lord Humbleth us in this world, that he may exalt us in the world to come”	1
735	“Sinne the cause of affliction”	1
753	“Trouble and afflictions, doo further us to the right knowledge of our sinnes”	1
754	“Christians through Trouble and adversitie, are made bold and hearty”	1
	“Troubles and afflictions are means to trie us with all”	7
756	“Trouble and adversity, giveth us occasion to pray unto God”	1
	“Trouble and adversity, do further us to vertue and godliness”	11
758	“Trouble and sorrow doo helpe and further us toward the feare and love of God”	2
759	“Trouble is good and profitable to teach men patience”	6

As the above chart demonstrates, Cawdray’s table points to the topic of affliction under seventeen different heads, and these heads together contain 168 similes. Most of these

similes use the word “affliction,” in fact, in the similes under the heading “Affliction,” the word “affliction” appears in italics. The similes that do not actually use the word, though, are joined by heading to the others, so that links between “affliction” the word spread out into links to “affliction” the thing, then connecting to other things closely related, such as “trouble” and “sorrow.” Though all of these textual places fall within the same orthodox theological constraints, their number nonetheless presents meaning as highly nuanced--readers can profit from multiple expressions of the same topic. The tendency for links to spread beyond the main heading and into others also suggests the permeability of the categories, including the presence of many topics in any one topic and *vice versa*. Further, as Bodenham’s introduction says, and as Cawdray’s table makes manifest, the multiplying overt and potential links in these texts form not a prescribed course of reading, but a textual field containing an exponentially huge number of possible readings. In other words, though each reading finds aspects of the same truth, no two readings can be alike. The nuances of meaning, then, reveal themselves only to the individual reader, who picks places and makes connections according to his or her inclination, or leading.

Herbert’s *Temple* relates to these commonplace books both in layout and in the reading practices it suggests, though I will argue that Herbert invokes the commonplace not just to lead the reader into a known sort of text and reading, but also to trouble the very commonness found there. I have already described in detail the editorial additions to the 1656 edition of *The Temple*, and to those additions I will eventually return. Before that, though, the first edition bears some examination. As I alluded to earlier, the

Hutchinson edition of 1941 numbers poems with shared or repeated titles, hence, the familiar “Love (III).” Under this self-explanatory system, the five poems titled “Affliction” become “Affliction (I),” “Affliction (II),” “Affliction (III),” “Affliction (IV),” and “Affliction (V).” In the 1633 edition, as in the extant manuscripts and every edition until Hutchinson, though, these poems are not numbered or otherwise differentiated in any way; they simply have the same title. How would readers have encountered these poems? Presumably, there were those who set out to read the book from its beginning through to its end--the book itself encourages such an approach, presenting one with “The Church Porch,” followed by “The Church;” Herbert’s structuring metaphor itself strongly suggests a certain linearity. Once in “The Church,” one encounters a relatively long, autobiographical poem titled “Affliction.” From here, one reads on until reaching another poem, also titled “Affliction.” The title is not unusual, so one may not notice that it has occurred before, but as one continues, the title keeps repeating, so that the chances of one noticing these repetitions grow higher. In fact, all five “Affliction” poems occur within fifty-eight poems and within fifty-two pages. What happens when readers notice the repetition? At the very least, they will likely flip back in the book to check if they are right--and yes, they are; the titles do repeat. From here though, they may also ask why the titles repeat, and to answer this, they will likely look to the poems themselves, referring one to another. The catch here is that, because the titles occur so many times, so frequently (almost one “Affliction” per ten pages where they occur at all), when readers flip back to find the previous instance, they may easily miss it and find the one previous to that. As they return to textual and physical places and then move on to new ones, the

pattern repeats: further “Affliction” poems invite repeated reflection upon those already read. The progress promised by the initial features of the book (a porch, a church door) is radically redefined here as movement back and forth. In fact, since many “Affliction”s exist and because they can be read in many different orders, any reader’s “progress” through the text becomes multi-linear and recursive.

While the title “Affliction” repeats the most, many other titles repeat as well. 1633, like 1656, though, contains a paratext that offers an approach to these poems other than that just described. While *The Temple*’s division into parts suggests linearity, the book also has a table which suggests multi-linearity:

The titles of the severall poems
contained in this book.

A		C	
A Aron	168	The Call	158
Affliction.	38. 53.	Charms and knots	88
	64. 82. 89.	Christmas	72
Agonie	29	Church-floore	58
Altar	18	Church-lock and key	57
Anagram of the Virgin		Church-Militant	184
Marie	69	Church-monuments	56
To all Angels and Saints		Church-musick	57
ibid.		Church-porch	1
The Answer	163	Church-rents & schismes	134
A Dialogue-Anthems		Church-windows	59
	164	Clasping of hands	151
Antiphon	45. 85	The Collar	147
Artillerie	132	Coloss. 3. 3. Our life, &c.	77
Affurance.	149	H. Communion	43
Avarice	69	Complaining	137
		Self-Condernnation	165
		Confession	118
B		Conscience	98
The Bag	145	Constancie	63
The Banquet	175	Content	60
Baptisme	36	The Crosse.	158
Bitter-sweet	155		
The British Church	102		
The Bunch of Grapes	120		
Burlesque	105		
		I	The

It may have been possible for a reader to miss this table at first, in that such a table was unusual for a book of poetry.³³ Unusual in that it was there at all, but also in that it lists

³³ A quick survey of some of the poetry most closely related to Herbert's bears this out. Donne's *Poems*, published the same year as *The Temple*, has no apparatus beyond a fairly simple title page. Thomas Carew's *Poems* (1640) and Henry Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans* (1650) likewise have no listing of titles. Richard Crawshaw's *Steps to the Temple* (1646, bound with *Delights of the Muses*) bears the closest resemblance to *The Temple*, in that it has a table at the back which lists all of the titles with pages numbers,

titles in alphabetical order. Here one finds

Aaron	168
Affliction	38. 53. 64. 82. 89.

And so on. The other entries with multiple pages are

Antiphon	45. 85
Easter-Wings	34, 35
Employment	49. 70
Jordan	48. 95
Justice	88. 135
Love	45, 46. 183
Praise	53. 140. 151
Prayer	43. 95
Sinne	37. 55
The Temper	46, 47
Vanitie	77. 104 ³⁴

but this table gives the titles in the order that they appear, rather than alphabetically.

³⁴ This list may surprise, in that it does not include some repeated poems, namely “H. Baptism” and “H. Scriptures.” It also includes as two poems “Easter-Wings,” which Hutchinson represents as one. The first two, like the first and second “Love” poems, “Easter-Wings,” and “The Temper” are alike in that the second instance immediately follows the first. With the first two, though, the two poems fall on the same page; with the others, the second poem begins on the following page. This seems to be the reason

The resemblance between this table and that of the commonplace books discussed above is striking, and as I argue, purposeful. At first glance, it seems simply to provide a way to read the poems linearly, one after the other in a sure order. At the very least, though, the table provides an alternate way to see the text, in this case, a way to isolate the “Affliction” poems from the poems around them. Beyond this, however, the table allows an increased reading intensity to be brought to the text. Though some may read the poems one after the other and be done, the table also allows one, keeping a finger in the back of the book, to flip around its pages, find all of the “Affliction” poems and to carefully compare them, notably, in any order that seems interesting. The poems may be

the first two are not listed in the table as having double occurrences (the accuracy of the table lies in its helping readers to locate poems, not in its categorization of those poems). The table also treats as identical paired poems otherwise differentiated by Herbert’s naming conventions. In the case of “H. Baptism,” “Easter-Wings,” and “The Temper,” Herbert repeats the title for the second poem, while with the other two sets, “H. Scriptures” and “Love,” he gives the first poem as “(title) I” and the second simply as “II” (this is the case not only in *1633* and *B*, but also in *W*, the only extant authorized version of *The Temple*). The naming variation corresponds with the form of the pair; Herbert repeated the title when the two poems had different forms, and numbered them when he repeated the form. These nuanced variations Herbert’s repeated titles become distorted by modern editions, which, following Hutchinson, add numbers to all repeated titles, except for the case of “Easter-Wings,” which, unaccountably, Hutchinson treats as a single poem with two stanzas.

read as a series, but they may as easily be read as an unordered group. Likewise, the entries in the table may be read as poem titles, but “Affliction” can also be read as a topic with many entries. In other words, the table, given its configuration as an alphabetical index, does not prioritize certain poems over others, but gives a means of finding a variety of places and collating them.

The method of reading suggested by Herbert’s repeated titles and by the alphabetical table of early editions resembles closely the reading method described in Herbert’s “H. Scriptures II.” Here, Herbert figures the biblical text as universe, the text’s verses as stars. The metaphor aptly gets at both the fundamental unity of the biblical text and the reader’s need to discover this unity. Herbert says “O that I knew how all thy lights combine, / And the configurations of their glory! / Seeing not only how each verse doth shine, / But all the constellations of the story” (1-4). Herbert sees God’s story as singular, with a limited number of constellations, but, like the galaxy, it can hardly be charted by the human reader. Humans may only glimpse the totality through particular apprehended connections, necessitating a constant search for different configurations. Remarkably, Herbert demonstrates this theory of reading by referring to the materiality of the text, by describing the pages of the book: “This verse marks that, and both do make a motion / Unto a third, that ten leaves off doth lie” (5-6). The word “marks” resonates deeply in humanist reading practice, where its physical sense (of making a mark on paper) and its metaphorical sense (of giving attention to) were never far apart. In this poem, the text activates itself, pointing out--marking, motioning to--its internal relationships. This textual movement finishes only when the verses complete their message to their particular

reader: “Then as dispersed herbs do watch a potion, / These three do make up some Christian’s destiny” (7-8). The message of the biblical text, then, relates to the individual reader in that that reader must discover it, or have it revealed, every time he picks up the book. While the Bible presents a unified message, common to all readers, this message configures itself to the particular. Notably, it does so by causing the reader to flip around in its pages, to read out-of-order, to read verses in the context of other distant verses as well as to those close at hand. The material book remains the same for all readers, except when it is read multi-linearly; when this happens, the pages of the book serve up a differently selected and differently ordered text to each reader.

“H. Scriptures II,” in its references to the selection and ordering of textual places by and/or for the individual reader, appears to draw on rhetorical activities, particularly those of *inventio* and *dispositio*. When casting these activities in the context of personal devotional reading, Herbert takes care to make a distinction between rhetorical and devotional uses of the text; in particular, he reframes the acts so that the text has the agency, not primarily being read, but reading the reader: “Such are thy secrets, which my life makes good, / And comments on thee: for in ev’rything / Thy words do find me out, and parallels bring, / And in another make me understood” (9-12). The reader begins by collating scripture with scripture, but ultimately the scriptural text collates with the text of the reader’s life; Herbert figures the “secrets” of the Bible as the central text and his own life as both proof and commentary to it. In reconfiguring rhetoric in these terms, Herbert continues the sorts of explanations given by Bodenham and Cawdray as to the usefulness of their books not only for argument, but also personal enrichment. Cawdray claims that

his book not only will benefit those who work with words, such as lawyers, preachers, and counsellors, but because it is “good to further godliness,” it is “apt and profitable for all men” (Epistle Dedicatorie). In his wealth of similitudes, Cawdray gives ample material so that right doctrine may be understood and practised. Bodenham goes further by describing the experience of the text as personal; the individual reader explores the garden, finding herbs to heal the wounded conscience, flowers to comfort fearful doubts (To the Reader). Neither, however, makes Herbert’s claim that the text will lay bare the reader to himself.

Herbert’s devotional reading practice reverses the common rhetorical end of reading; rather than the reader marking the text, the text marks the reader. One must still ask what relationship exists between Herbert’s description of reading the Bible (in “H. Scriptures II”) and how he might have one read *The Temple*. The poem plays out the Bible passage saying that “the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart” (Hebrews 4:12), and so does not refer to texts as active in general, but rather, to the particular qualities of the Bible. Herbert, though, shapes the Bible’s activeness as operating in a multi-linear way and the multi-linearity of *The Temple* materializes this method. It is as if Herbert (with the editing of Ferrar and Buck) designed his book to teach the reader to read in a certain way and to carry that method over to its ultimate end, the Bible. If so, Herbert’s pastoral calling was continued through this poetry collection, even its material form.

This brings us back to the 1656 edition and its concordance. The concordance resembles not anything in a commonplace book, but rather, a bible-study apparatus; for example, it is very close in appearance and structure to the concordance of the Geneva Bible, which grew considerably from its first publication in 1560 to its last in 1615. Robert F. Herrey, the compiler of this concordance, wrote a preface explaining its use, saying that he designed it to conduce to “the finding out of the most fittest sentences, and best common places, tending to the prouing or verifying of any article and doctrine, concerning our Christian faith & religion, or belonging to any other godly or necessary instruction” (A2^r). The concordance actualizes the ability of the Bible to speak to any spiritual or moral issue, from theological complexities to day-to-day practice; for this to happen, the reader must “resort alphabetically” to the concordance

with the chief word or sentence of any comon place therein mentioned, which thou art most affected vnto, or desirest to be satisfied of: and by that meanes in euery of them shalt thou by Gods grace, without faile be conduced, and to thy great ease directed, and as it were, ledde by the hand, euen to the Booke, Chapter and Verse, where the same . . . is to bee found out most readily. (A2^v)

Herrey’s preface bears striking resemblances to Herbert’s “H. Scriptures II,” particularly in his description of the physicality of the spiritual power of the text--as in Herbert’s poem, the reader makes the text dynamic by turning the book’s pages.

The association of the concordance with active, collating reading goes back to its invention in the thirteenth century. As Richard and Mary Rouse observe, the concordance was developed first for the Bible, and particularly as an aid to the newly

emphasized activity of preaching (6-7). Concordances made manifest and proliferated a change in attitude toward written authority; whereas twelfth-century biblical aids smoothed the text through assimilation, organization, and glossing, the concordance and other thirteenth-century tools render the text afresh by allowing the reader to search it and find new relationships, to bring intense analytical pressure to bear on it (4). The making of meaning was transferred from the writer of the biblical aid to preachers, who could use the concordance to form chains of scriptural authority according to their purposes. It is not difficult to see that this sort of tool would appeal to the Protestant reformers, who would lay the scriptures bare for every believer to read, and the concordances in Tyndale's Bible and the Geneva version bear this out. When Philemon Stephens published the 1656 *Temple* the concordance was familiar biblical aid, and while other sorts of books (from herbals to legal texts) did make use of indices, *The Temple's* concordance invokes a biblical sense. In attaching a concordance to it, Stephens treated *The Temple* as he would the Bible, at least so far in that it contained spiritual wisdom worth delineating. It was no aesthetic object, but a book for use. Raymond Williams' distinction between rhetoric and aesthetics sheds light here. While reading has become the act of consuming cultural property, in the seventeenth century, it was largely still a rhetorical act, one of production (Williams 149). Stephens' dissection of *The Temple* makes no sense if the poetry is to be understood as cultural property; however, it is appropriate if the text is to be read for application to a range of possible situations.³⁵

³⁵ John Guillory points out that as aesthetic motives replaced rhetorical ones, the anthology replaced the commonplace book. One can neatly see the coexistence of the

Stephens' addition of a concordance to Herbert's poetry, while an unusual treatment of a book of poems, is not out of the ordinary way people read texts in the seventeenth century, and reflects an attitude of devotional intensity that Herbert probably would have found desirable. The concordance extends the multi-linearity Herbert wrote into *The Temple*, formalizing and foregrounding it to readers. This is not to say though that there are no problems with the concordance, for its very formalizing of multi-linearity suggests a particular way to read, layers a meaning onto an otherwise undulating text. Concordances generally enable searching and thereby, active reading; this one promises to, but stops short for two reasons. One, it lists occurrences not exhaustively, but selectively. Two, it gives interpretive sentences and groups references under these headings. Stephens' selection and framing of Herbert's poetical places serves to restrict them to a safe and sanitized meaning; the headings suggest none of the range of emotions of the poems and the references guide the reader away from exactly these parts. The extent of the prescription of meaning becomes clear when one follows the references to find that Stephens has at times pointed not to occurrences of the word "affliction," but to related ideas, such as grief. At the same time, he has, amazingly, passed over the fourth "Affliction" altogether. The concordance, rather than extending the remarkable flexibility of the poetry, enacts a kind of *dispositio*, placing order on a text that I will argue was

two forms in two books published by John Bodenham in 1600, one already discussed, *Belvedere: Or the Garden of the Muses*, and the other *England's Helicon*. The latter's editor clearly designed it to display the beauty of its poems as poems. It functions as a monument, an end to itself, rather than as a rhetorical medium (Guillory 9).

designed to resist exactly such attempts.

How might one read in an unrestricted way--a way that assumes multi-linearity and the ultimate usefulness of confusion? I will start by considering the way the poems appeared in the earliest editions, that is, with nothing to differentiate them except the bodies of the poems themselves and accidental page numbers. The "Affliction" poems present the most promising texts for experiment, because they occur the most times of any of the repeated titles. Looking closely at this one set, though, may have useful implications for our understanding of Herbert's repeated titles in general. To begin with, I will reverse Hutchinson's decision to number the poems--reverse it, that is, physically; getting the numbers out of one's mind is a far more difficult manner. Even so, just the physical presentation of the poems without the numbers presents a conundrum. Herbert scholarship has adopted Hutchinson's additions so thoroughly, I think, because they are so very useful for studying the poems; the numbers eliminate any referential ambiguity. Because it is precisely this ambiguity that I am trying to recover, though, I now jump out of the frying pan and into the fire. How should one call these poems? In the end, my point is this question itself, that we should always come to *The Temple* asking it. For this study, I will label them in an admittedly clumsy way, but the only way that readers of the first editions found them labelled: by page number (38, 53, 64, 82, 89). In addition to being accurate to the first edition, this way strikes a balance between the linear and the multi-linear. Clearly, the poems do occur in an order, but beyond this, the relationship between the poems is unclear. One title, five poems may mean that the writer has given us five versions of one poem. In the case of the "Affliction" poems and Herbert's other

repeated titles, however, each poem asserts its uniqueness. The repeated titles may also mean that the poems have no more in common than their topic. In this case, they may contain five different voices, or may speak to five different aspects of the topic. If so, the relationship between them is additive and complementary; the poems would together present a range of ideas and emotions and their order would play a minimal role in the production of meaning. Alternately, five such poems could represent a process--a single voice, growing in understanding of the topic; in this case, order is essential to meaning. I am not sure though, that one can say that the "Affliction" poems fit easily into either category. I would like instead to change the focus of the question from 'what does it mean to have five poems with one title?' to 'how might one read five poems with one title?'

Notably, this question has been answered in a variety of ways. Hermine J. Van Nuis sees in these poems a "pilgrim's progress," a five-part drama in which the first two poems enact mounting tension, the middle poem expressing the series climax, and the last two effecting resolution (7). She writes that while all the poems "ultimately arrive at the same solutions," their progression also points to a larger movement in *The Temple* from discontent and rebelliousness to submissiveness (7). Bill Smithson, publishing in the same year (1975), finds the idea of steady progress in the poems so problematic that he proposes reordering them (125). Noting the thematic similarity and identical stanza structure of the first and fifth poems, he argues that they should come before the others (130-1). As evidence of the more mature perspective of the middle three poems, Smithson argues that while his new first pair presents pleasure and pain as possible 'baits'

for God's use, the others see only pain as God's method for drawing the individual to himself. In fitting the poems to this theological construct, Smithson neglects helpful manuscript evidence. The first and fifth poems go together well because Herbert probably wrote them first; they are both in *W* while the others are not. At the same time, it seems most unlikely that the sequence of *B* is accidental. To begin, the "Affliction" poems of *W* do not sit together, but are forty-third and sixtieth of seventy-four poems. More importantly, all of *B*'s "Affliction" poems occur in the first half of the manuscript, the half in which the poems of *W* have been interspaced with newer poems in an apparently careful and intricate way. That the same "Affliction" poem comes last in both manuscripts speaks convincingly against moving it to position two of five. At the same time, though, Smithson does point to the flexibility of "Affliction"'s order; his mistake is that, once he has the poems mobile, he immediately wants to permanently position them again.

Daniel Rubey, writing in 1980, argues against trying to find a better order for the poems, and suggests seeing them as representing "two alternating states of mind," each implied in the other (106). He argues that the five poems move from the perspective of the first poem--autonomous, individual, and biographical--to that of the last: communal, historical, and typological. In this movement, he sees a pattern that also fits *The Temple* as a whole as it moves from "The Church porch" with its instructions to the individual to ultimately end with "The Church Militant"'s broad view of the corporate and mystical church. As well, he argues that the "Affliction" poems develop a conscious poetic, that God uses affliction to "wring" from the poet the poetry that proves the relationship

between God and poet is working (107). Anne C. Fowler, also writing in 1980 (why is it that articles on “Affliction” seem to come in pairs?), moves in the same direction as Rubey’s “alternating states,” but stops short of his claim to the poems’ coherence as a group. Fowler, instead, reads the first and fourth poems as spoken by an immature, disturbed, and partial self, and the others as spoken by a mature, theologically-responsible self (129-31). Unlike the other readers, Fowler does not press for a progression in this combination of voices, but sees the differences between them as irreconcilable in any immediate way. If the immature voices are fragmented (136), then they also “express emotional realities unavailable to the wiser voices” (144). The mature voices have intellect, dignity, and an appreciation of “the redeeming possibilities of affliction,” but do not indicate “authentic movements of the heart” (136). For Fowler, ironically, evidence of spiritual growth can be found more readily in the emotionally-intense poems than in the doctrinally-controlled ones.

These critics make many valid and insightful points regarding the relationship between the “Affliction” poems. What I am as interested in, though, are the possible variations that they as a group exhibit in configuring the poems. Each one must deal with the question of the poems’ order; if the order does not indicate a progression, then subgroups must be formed. While variety in interpretation is a quality of all literary reading, in this case there are compelling material reasons to consider that Herbert designed the “Affliction” poems precisely to generate the problems that the above critics have tried to answer. In other words, while I will go on also to attempt an answer to the problem, I will also propose that much of the answer is the problem itself; Herbert

purposely has given his readers a problem.

When one turns a page and finds a poem, one encounters both a physical and conceptual space. If one is reading in the main body of a text, the physical space of the page with its paper and ink is probably much like those around it. In the case of *The Temple*, one sees a running header (either “The Church-Porch” or “The Church”) and consistent lay-out, type, and so on. Conceptually, though, the space of the page is determined by the claims of its content. The architectural design of *The Temple* exemplifies this; one “enters” the book as though it were a building, an effect added to by later editions in which the “Superliminare” dividing the “Porch” from the “Church” proper appears within an engraving of a door frame. A less obvious example of such a conceptual claim, though, is the claim of any title to label not only the text following it, but the physical space it occupies--not so much a conscious claim, but an experienced one: as soon as one puts a finger in a book to mark a verse, such a claim is enacted. Poems have locations; in addition to their textual relations to the poems around them, they occupy specific places, places both topological and topographical. Conventionally, then, writers use a given title once, to mark a particular textual place, and in the book, this title also functions to mark that given physical place. As when breaking any convention, a writer’s repetition of titles counters readers’ expectations; the resulting disorientation concerns the identity of a poem, but also the particularity of place. The second occurrence of “Affliction” claims the space that the first occupied, (and so on) and readers must make recourse to the book, rather than the text, to reorient themselves. These poems, then, draw attention to their own occurrence in time. Each occurrence

claims the space titled “Affliction,” and, while a reader is there, interprets the others; that is, while any one occurs, the others are relegated to memory, and their meanings are recast through the one (literally) at hand. The poems layer and re-layer meanings which can be refreshed or displaced with any new reading, though, once the poems have all been read, “new” readings must always already be informed by the group; no one poem can then ever be completely extracted for consideration as a single unit.

The “Affliction” poems themselves contain many shared elements besides title that serve to connect them, including particular recurring themes, motifs, phrases and words. Not surprisingly, the word “grief” occurs at a higher rate in these poems than in *The Temple* as a whole: seven times in these five poems, 101 times in the 160 poems as a whole (proportionately, making up 0.66% and 0.26% of the words used, respectively).³⁶ Less predictable, though, are seven occurrences of “life,” a word which appears only sixty-four times in the whole sequence (0.16% of the words used). These two are the most often occurring nouns in the poems, and they and their variants (such as “lived” and “grieved”) make a revealing study. In “Affliction,” (38) the speaker tells of his poor health, saying “I scarce beleaved,/ Till grief did tell me roundly, that I lived.” The close proximity of grief and life here follows a common pattern in the poems, but even more so, the two here characterize each other, so that grief marks life, and life means grief. Thus, while the speaker of “Affliction” (82) echoes a devotional commonplace by calling God “my life,” the speaker of “Affliction” (53) says “Thou art my grief alone.” Again,

³⁶ These statistics were produced by analyzing an ASCII version of the 1633 text with *Monoconc for Windows*, version 1.2.

the speaker of "Affliction" (64) says of Christ "Thy life on earth was grief." While all these statements have a common vocabulary, their sentiments range from commonplace to shocking.

Beside grieving, these poems also associate life with breaking, wounding, and especially death. In "Affliction" (82) we find

My thoughts are all a case of knives,
Wounding my heart
With scatter'd smart,
As watering pots give flowers their lives.
Nothing their furie can controll,
While they do wound and prick my soul.

37

Herbert's insertion of a "watering pot" simile in the middle of his fierce "case of knives" metaphor jars so much that one is tempted simply to read over it. The movement from a nightmare vision of animated, impersonal, yet furious knives attacking the speaker to a pleasant garden scene shocks. Herbert frames the giving of life here as made possible only by wounding and torment. This casting of flower watering as having a dark side seems over-extended within the context of this poem alone, but takes on frightful resonance when read alongside the innocence that begins "Affliction" (38), where we find the speaker in complete enjoyment, his days "straw'd with flow'rs and happiness." The experience of "Affliction" (82) shows just how much was taken for granted in early life, that even the flowers so luxuriously spread out are bought dearly.

³⁷ *B* reads "pink," *W* reads "pinke," Buck has substituted "prick." The meaning is not far off, "pink" associated with fencing (see Hutchinson's note).

Table Two identifies some of these more prominent phrases and images which connect the poems. For instance, at the beginning of “Affliction” (82), we find the speaker begging, “Broken in pieces all asunder,/ Lord, hunt me not,” a plea that resonates with that of “Affliction” (53), “Kill me not ev’ry day,/ Thou Lord of life.” Here the speaker expresses the extreme contradiction of his affliction, that he perceives the very source of his life acting also as the cause of his suffering, fear, and potential death. The very repetition of the plea, especially if read some poems later, adds to the sense of a wounded and hunted person; the plea has not worked before and must become more desperate when repeated. Likewise, the tree images which occur in both “Affliction” (38) and “Affliction” (89) inform each other in important ways. While the speaker of thirty-eight wishes to be a tree, that of eighty-nine confirms that “we are the trees.” As opposed to the “hunt/kill me not” repetition, which heightens anxiety, this repetition brings resolution. The difference is one of perspective; in thirty-eight, the speaker contrasts the tree, rooted, growing, and useful to “at least some bird” with himself, agonized, purposeless, and without use. He sees in the tree a vision of calm fruitfulness, contrasting later in the poem with another repeated idea, that of stormy wind. He says “a blunted knife/ Was of more use than I. Thus thinne and lean without fence or friend,/ I was blown through with ev’ry storm and winde” (33-36). The motif of wind comes up again in a third poem, “Affliction” (64), when the speaker says “if some years with it escape,/ The sigh then onely is/ A gale to bring me sooner to my blisse” (10-12). Meaning shifts here in that the wind brings progress, yet this positive message should not be overstated; the speaker remains passive, able only to sigh, and perhaps, shorten his earthly life. That

he can mention bliss may signal a redemptive perspective, but may also signal an escapist attitude, an attempt to justify disengagement via the facile application of a theological commonplace. In eighty-nine, Herbert breaks the pattern of thirty-eight and brings together the two images of the tree and the wind:

Affliction then is ours;
 We are the trees, whom shaking fastens more,
 While blustering windes destroy the wanton bowres,
 And ruffle all their curious knots and store.
 My God, so temper joy and wo,
 That thy bright beams may tame thy bow. (20-22)

Herbert resolves the images of the tree and the wind precisely not by having the speaker of thirty-eight become tree-like, but by changing perspective to see that the speaker is already tree-like, and that the winds that blow him through do not destroy him, but rather “wanton bowres” of his life, the temporal things that distract him from God.

Table Two: Repeated images and words in the “Affliction” poems				
“Affliction” 38	“Affliction” 53	“Affliction” 64	“Affliction” 82	“Affliction” 89
	1 “kill me not”		2 “hunt me not”	
15-16 “My thoughts reserved/ No place for grief or fear”			7 “My thoughts are all a case of knives”	
	11 “Thou art my grief alone”	2 “thou wast in the grief”	21-22 “thee/ Who art my life”	
21 “my dayes were straw’d with flow’rs			10 “wating pots give flowers their lives”	
19 “At first thou gave me milk and sweetness”				7 “At first we lived in pleasure”
		18 “dying dayly”	27 “day by day”	
	14 “Thy crosse took up in one”	17 “They who lament one crosse”		
36 “I was blown through with ev’ry storm and winde”		12 “A gale to bring me sooner to my bliss”		21 “While blustering windes destroy the wanton bowres”
57 “I wish I were a tree”				20 “We are the trees”

This brings us to an important point: while the repeated titles, words, phrases, images, and ideas of these poems prescribe multi-linearity, the order of the poems is also suggestive--what if the reader keeps a finger in the index and reads the five poems as a sequence, indicative of spiritual progress? The first of the poems, "Affliction" (38), presents an autobiography, moving from early days ("At first thou gav'st me milk and sweetnesses" (19)) marked by happy innocence, to a first discovery of pain ("But with my yeares sorrow did twist and grow" (23)), to an adult misery ("Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me/ None of my books will show" (55-56)). The poem ends in the middle of the speaker's pain and confusion, with no resolution apparent. Compare this with the last of the poems, "Affliction" (89), which takes, instead of the first poem's highly personalized perspective, a mediated divine view. The speaker reads, in a Bible or in a related book--the poem does not say--that

**planted Paradise was not so firm,
As was and is thy floating Ark; whose stay
And anchor thou art onely, to confirm
And strengthen it in ev'ry age,
When waves do rise, and tempests rage. (2-6)**

The speaker takes a large, mythological view of human existence, one in which the assumed meanings of the earlier poem's experiences are reversed. Here, one abides safely within the ark in the tempest, whereas Paradise poses danger, implying that the speaker of the first poem was closer to trouble in his innocent youth than in his tormented present. In fact, we find that his experience recapitulates the history of humankind; his "At first" echoes/anticipates the "At first" of the race:

At first we liv'd in pleasure ;
 Thine own delights thou didst to us impart:
 When we grew wanton, thou didst use displeasure
 To make us thine: yet that we might not part,
 As we at first did board with thee,
 Now thou wouldst taste our miserie. (7-12)

Within the framework of this macro narrative, the experienced narrative of “Affliction” (38) begins to make sense. The pleasure of Paradise leads us to trust in ourselves and to forget God; the affliction of the ark makes us aware of our own helplessness and of God’s saving power. Moreover, God uses grief as a “bait” (17) to draw us to him--the limbo that the speaker of thirty-eight feels is actually God moving us toward himself.

The problem here lies in the gap between the two views, the one despairing and self-occupied, the other assured and taking the long view. The two poems clearly relate in terms of topic and construction, and so suggest a fairly straightforward collation. Yet, when one attempts such a collation, frictions emerge. In particular, when the long view of the last poem renders as purposeful the sufferings of the first poem, it strips from those sufferings any validity of complaint and any sense of unanswerability. Figuring affliction as a wind which blows “wanton bowres” from trees hardly explains the real losses recorded in thirty-eight. Nowhere does this poem discuss pleasure as wanton, for in fact, the pleasures the speaker experiences only serve to draw him to God:

I look'd on thy furniture so fine,
 And made it fine to me:
 Thy glorious household-stuffe did me entwine,
 And 'tice me unto thee.
 Such starres I counted mine: both heav'n and earth
 Payd me my wages in a world of mirth. . . (7-12)

The innocence of this paradise breaks not as the result of the speaker's disobedience, but unaccountably, when illness strikes him and "My flesh began unto my soul in pain" (25).

Now

**Sickness cleave my bones ;
Consuming agues dwell in ev'ry vein,
And tune my breath to groans. (26-28)**

The speaker is caught in an unpredictable spin of affliction; when he regains his health, worse pains await: "When I got health, thou took'st away my life,/ And more; for my friends die" (31-32). The problems that face the speaker are not completely irresolvable, but the resolution posed by eighty-nine is made facile by its own tidiness; it does not admit the complexity of human suffering described in the first poem.

The three poems placed in between the two discussed above each attempt to resolve affliction into some sensible, positive state and do so with varying levels of realism or theological tightness, but those inversely. The poems have in common a beginning statement of personal suffering and an ending justification for it within the larger saving work of Christ. The "Kill me not" of fifty-three comes as a logical plea for an end to suffering, for "thy one death for me/ Is more then all my deaths can be" (2-3). The violence of the initial line reflects more of a rhetorical purpose than direct experience, a purpose carried through the poem to its conclusion,

**Thou art my grief alone,
Thou Lord conceal it not : and as thou art
All my delight, so all my smart:
Thy crosse took up in mee
By way of imprecit, all my future mone.**

(11-15)

The speaker desires to be set free from affliction, and turns a theological commonplace to a witty argument: if Christ has died for our transgressions, then he should actualize this by taking away the speaker's present suffering.

The speaker of "Affliction" (64) displays a more mature Christian understanding of suffering, identifying his own grief with that of Christ: "Thy life on earth was grief, and thou art still / Constant unto it, making it to be / A point of honour, now to grieve in me, / And in thy members suffer ill. (13-16) Like the speaker of fifty-three, though, the speaker here still asserts himself, if not now arguing with the divine, then casting his suffering as a matter of honour, an external sign of his special status as follower of Christ. This formulation of affliction disembodies suffering to the extent that the speaker can in the next line turn to an attack on his theological opponents: "They who lament one crosse,/ Thou dying dayly, praise thee to thy losse" (17-18).

If boldness and suffering superiority characterize the speakers so far, all such pretence disappears in "Affliction" (82), where the speaker begs

¶ Affliction.

Broken in pieces all asunder,
 Lord, hunt me not,
 A thing forgot,
 Once a poore creature, now a wonder,
 A wonder tortur'd in the space
 Betwixt this world and that of grace.

(1-6)

With brutal suddenness, the poem returns to the visceral suffering of "Affliction" (38), even intensifying it. Broken, hunted, tortured, the speaker can only cry out for help. As

Anne C. Fowler argues, the self of the speaker here is fragmented and incomplete (136-37). He turns wildly from perceiving God as his enemy to asking God to save him (and himself) from his attendants, who are plotting to destroy them both. Affliction enwraps him so totally as to twist even his perception of it, devastating his ability to devise the formulations of the two previous poems. By the end of the poem, though, he achieves enough clarity to ask God to make “those powers, which work for grief,/ Enter thy pay” (25-26). Notably, the speaker does not ask for removal of pain, but more urgently, that the pain will not destroy him, and in turn, that it will somehow strengthen him.

“Affliction” (89), then, returns to the stasis and unknowing of “Affliction” (38). The speaker is left unable to engage in earthly life with any joy, yet also unable to experience the goodness of God’s grace. How do these poems, marked by discomposure and paralysis, relate to the other three, which all at least attempt control and progress? If one reads the poems in the order they fall in the book looking for a simple progression in the understanding of affliction, one will not find it; in such a linear reading, each poem would explain the one before and further the subject, until the final poem completed the progress. While the final poem of this sequence does achieve some resolution, it is still spoken from the midst of the storm, and the way there is anything but straight. Whether a reader happens upon these poems and flips back and forth to determine their relationship, or uses the index to read through them ‘in order,’ their recursiveness and indeterminacy stand out. Despair and resolution echo in these poems, the former reappearing to undermine, if not destroy, the latter. Entering the textual space of “Affliction” means not knowing what will come next: just when one expects resolution, despair; when madness

threatens, relief. At the same time, the space acts as a palimpsest: present words inscribed over the memory of those there before. Hence, despair and relief must always be read through the other. Terence Cave describes the effect of the repetition of a *topos* in different contexts:

The repetition of the *topos* in successive texts causes a replacement or displacement of the meanings produced by that same *topos* in other contexts. The consideration of the *topos* as a fragment in its own right dislocates the text in which it is sited, loosens the apparent coherence and unity which a contextual reading would seek to impose. (xix)

Herbert makes use of precisely this textual dynamic by repeating the place called “Affliction” in contradictory contexts and playing upon the very loss of coherence that such repetition brings about.

How do the identical titles and staggered placement of the “Affliction” poems enact Herbert’s subject matter and poetic? These poems show affliction as unpredictable, paradoxical, and recursive. It apparently prevents forward growth, yet ultimately brings us to God. While these poems could hardly be said to afflict readers, they certainly may confound and irritate with their multiple, contradictory occurrences. Anyone caught up in them must read back, then forth, then back again--the poems do not encourage a smooth progress through their book. A reading of the “Affliction” poems, then, takes on some of the characteristics ascribed to affliction in the poems. One also must ask why Herbert (in his titles) and his editors (in the table) invoked the printed commonplace book; I answer that Herbert does it one better. Books such as Cawdray’s and Bodenham’s suggest an

open relational way of reading text, but the text they provide is itself strictly limited in its scope. Cawdray's 168 similes on affliction bear remarkable similarity, perhaps not surprising since Cawdray intended them to drive home their point to the sure knowledge of the believer. In 168 ways, he either tells his reader that affliction results from sin or that God also uses affliction to correct sin and cleanse the sufferer. Cawdray at all points smooths the places, rendering a doctrinally simple discourse unproblematic by human experience. While the book invites collation, it also prescribes that collation as like to like. Notably, while Herbert's text resembles books like Cawdray's, it forces a different kind of reading. Readers do not have to search for tension (if they desire to find it at all) between these common places, for Herbert foregrounds it, making it inescapable. In fact, what makes this selection of places uncommon is their very commonness: he dares utter the desperation that sends people looking for relief in the first place. The "Affliction" poems do not deliver easy reassurance, but rather confront with the difficulty not only of collating text with text, but of collating earthly suffering with divine love. In this way, the poems fit into the pattern of another of Herbert's pastoral activities, catechising. In "The Parson Catechising," he points out that "many say the Catechism by rote, as parrots, without ever piercing into the sense of it" (256). While he does not suggest changing the order of the catechism, he does instruct catechists to vary the questions themselves, posing them in unfamiliar ways, so that the catechumen will be forced to think about his or her answer. In this way, the catechist "will draw out of ignorant and silly souls, even the dark and deep points of religion" (256). Herbert placed great value on shifting the mode of the content from the familiar to the unfamiliar in order to engage the audience

deeply for their spiritual development.

Finally, there is also a relationship between the titling and placement of these poems and Herbert's poetic mode itself. A. J. Smith points out that relating unlike things formed the basis of metaphysical wit and wit in general in the Renaissance. The unlikeness of things was broadly defined by Aristotle, whose categories made up the basis for much of Renaissance thought. Erasmus and others developed the commonplace book as a tool for categorization, and therefore, as a rich storehouse for invention. In short, they designed the commonplace book to assist in the process of rhetoric, a process resulting in a product, whether speech, sermon, or poem. The printed commonplace books of the time bend the tool into a sort of genre; the user does not need to categorize anything, and finds ample material already gathered for most topics. Why did Herbert, then, invoke this newly formed, intellectually suspect genre? Why did he frame his "Affliction" poems, already apparently finished pieces in themselves, as commonplace entries, yet to be related and ordered? Smith goes on to define metaphysical wit as producing "the shock of metaphysical predicaments apprehended in the senses," (151) and argues that *The Temple* amounts to a continual testing of the presumption that we participate in the working of two seemingly unlike orders of being whose relationship stands in question" (151). Herbert's scattering of "Affliction" poems adds a physical dynamic to the experience of the poems, a sensual problem of relating pages that accompanies the conceptual problems of relating the poems themselves. In an important way, the five poems are one poem, a single unpredictable and confounding expression of affliction. Their placement invokes the physicality of the commonplace book as well as

the task of relating the unlike--readers must step back and forth between earthly and heavenly orders as they read these poems. Herbert leaves the task of making their meaning overtly open and up to the reader, and in this way, reinvigorates the printed commonplace with the workings of the manuscript.

Herbert's Emblematics: Learning to Read Through Signs

A man that looks on glasse,
On it may stay his eye,
Or if he please, through it passe,
And then the heav'n espie.

--"The Elixer"

In the previous chapter, I continued the project of problematizing modern readings of Herbert (rather than problematizing Herbert's project itself) by re-reading the "Affliction" poems as they appeared in early editions. I continue the project in this chapter by again casting the *Temple* back into its original and ordinary context, in which it marks itself as a *common* book rather than as an exalted piece of artistic accomplishment, a book marking out common literary and cultural territory, counting on reader familiarity, but also challenging that same familiarity. In particular, I will now consider Herbert's *Temple* along with the emblem-form, and especially the emblem book. Emblem books held a common place among early modern books and the form would have been well-known to readers of Herbert. In considering *The Temple* in light of the emblem, then, I frame the poetry as participating in the mode(s) of reading associated with and even produced by the emblem. While I take into account the relevance of emblem content to Herbert's poetry, I do so in service to the larger question of how emblematics function in *The Temple*. I pose the problem as one of defining a reading environment and identifying the cross-overs of reading practices within it, as opposed to the sort of study which attempts to identify an author's particular sources. I argue that

Herbert's poetry often creates a verbal and sometimes also a visual effect that parallels that of the emblem and that this parallel invokes a particular manner of reading, an emblematic reception designed to serve *The Temple's* pastoral and devotional purpose. Taking up Peter Daly's implication that a study of a writer and emblematics should lead to a reassessment of the writer in question, I will consider how an awareness of early modern European emblematics may lead us to reconceive the nature of Herbert's project within its original literary culture (Daly 1998 preface to 2nd ed).

What is an emblem? As Daly summarizes, it is usually a three-part form, consisting of a short motto, or *inscriptio*; an image, or *pictura*; and a longer piece of poetry or prose, the *subscriptio* (7). He goes on to offer a minimal and neutral working definition of the emblem, saying that "emblems are composed of pictures and words; a meaningful relationship between the two is intended; the manner of communication is connotative rather than denotative" (8). Beyond this starting point, though, many questions come into play. The emblem's relationship with the broad categories of symbol, allegory, and metaphor remains a subject of debate. This larger question of the ontology of the emblem also closely relates to questions of its internal functioning: Daly foregrounds questions concerning the *pictura* ("what is its content and origin; what is its relation to reality, if any?"); concerning the content, origin, and purpose of the *inscriptio* and *subscriptio*; and concerning the relationship of image and word ("What functional relationship exists between *pictura* and *scriptura*, i.e., between thing (pictured) and meaning (expressed in words)? How is the synthesis effected?") (7-8). Twentieth-century critics have addressed these questions in a variety of ways, so that the body of emblem

theory presents differing conceptions of how emblems function.

Michael Bath summarizes twentieth-century theories about early modern emblems into two broad groups. The first includes the theories of critics such as Mario Praz and Rosemary Freeman, as well as that of William Heckscher and August Wirth, proposed by them in 1959. The latter define the emblem (in Bath's words) as "a pictorial enigma whose relation to a sententious motto is resolved by the epigram that follows" (Bath 4). This theory understands the emblem as having a normative three-part structure which is apprehended by the reader in a temporal sequence: one views the image and reads the motto and thus experiences the enigma, then reads for resolution in the epigram. As Bath points out, those taking this approach to the emblem usually treat it as a type of visual conceit, using the same witty techniques characterizing Petrarchan love poetry, Mannerist and Baroque *agudeza*, and Metaphysical conceits.

Albrecht Schöne, on the other hand, theorizes the emblem around its functions of representation and interpretation. He responds to Heckscher and Wirth by writing that

One is probably more likely to do justice to the variety of forms if one characterizes the emblem in the direction that its three-part structure corresponds to a dual function of representation and interpretation, description and explanation. Inasmuch as the *inscriptio* appears only as an object-oriented title, it can contribute to the representational function of the *pictura* as can the *subscriptio*—if part of the epigram merely describes the picture or depicts more exhaustively what is presented by the *pictura*. On the other hand, the *inscriptio* can also participate in the interpretive function of the *subscriptio*, or that part of

the *subscriptio* directed towards interpretation; through its sententious abbreviation the *inscriptio* can, in relation to the *pictura*, take on the character of an enigma that requires a solution in the *subscriptio*. Finally, in isolated instances the *pictura* itself can contribute to the epigram's interpretation of that which is depicted, when, for example, an action in the background of the picture with the same meaning helps to explain the sense of action in the foreground. (quoted in Daly 1998 43)³⁸

Here, Schöne considerably loosens the formulation of how emblems work, allowing for the many variations within the form.³⁹

³⁸ All quotations from Schöne and Jöns are from Daly, who has translated them from German. They are otherwise unavailable in English; Daly addresses this problem in part by translating extended pieces from them.

³⁹ As Daly and Michael Bath both point out, such compositions of words and pictures were not limited in range to the emblem book, but circulated widely in many forms. This wide circulation was itself tied closely to the way in which emblems drew on pre-existing and deeply-established forms. In short, the emblem, to begin with, a hybrid of visual and verbal forms, was also very much an amalgam of varied cultural practices; finally, it was also rather protean in its appearances, an ubiquitous cultural presence. Daly lists as the emblem's forerunners (supplying form, content, or both) the Greek epigram; classical mythology; the Tablet of Cebes (an allegory of life in the form of a series of concentric circles); Renaissance collections of '*loci communes*' or commonplaces; Egyptian hieroglyphics (via Horapollo's collection in Greek, and as

He also separates the emblem from the general category of metaphor by arguing that emblems moralize “actual properties of objects in the real world, and that they thus depend, in ways that not all metaphor does, on a belief shared by author and reader in the reality of their symbolic object and its properties” (Bath 4). This perceived reality Schöne refers to as the emblem’s ‘facticity.’ Bath uses the stag as an example: if the reader is to accept the emblemist’s depiction of the stag as a figure for swiftness, the reader must first believe along with the writer that stags are in fact swift. In early modern Europe, however, many emblems depicted ‘facts’ then open to doubt: Augustine and others had alluded to the fact that stags never move so fast as when they have just eaten a snake and are running to water to quench the venom’s heat, but in the seventeenth-century popular belief in this and many other traditional ideas about nature had begun to waver. Henri Estienne addresses this problem in his *Art of Making of Devises*, saying

that it is lawfull to use the propriety of a naturall subject, be it animal, plant, fruit, or other thing, according to the generall approbation or received opinion of ancient Authors, though the Modernes have lately discovered it to be false, because the comparison which is grounded upon a quality, reputed true by the generality, though indeed it be false, shall be more universally received, and better understood, than if it were grounded upon a true property, which neverthesse were held false, and which were altogether unknowne to the greater part of the

interpreted by Renaissance readers, that is, as ideograms, in ignorance of the phonetic system also present); *impresa*; commemorative medals; heraldry; medieval nature symbolism; Biblical exegesis; and the arts of memory (Daly 1998 9-41).

learned. (46)

To account for this continued use of emblems referring to ideas beginning to be outmoded, Schöne uses the term ‘potential-facticity.’ This term allows for the ability of received opinion to lend credibility where evidence was lacking. Schöne’s theory frames emblematics not as the creation of witty conceits, but as readings of the book of nature, identified more with medieval typology and exegesis than with Mannerist conceits, the latter being arbitrary connections produced by the individual artist, the former understood as readings of divine order.

Schöne and Dietrich Jöns carried out the first significant revaluations of the emblem, countering the negative attitudes of earlier critics toward it. These negative criticisms characterized the emblem as “the capricious imposition of meaning on objects and pictures” (Daly 1988 42). As Daly writes, Jöns

emphasizes that with its allegorical roots in the Middle Ages the emblem is an instrument of knowledge, a way of interpreting reality, the basis of which is the Christian medieval belief in the significance of the qualities of things. If the cosmos is a system of correspondences and analogies in which each object carries meaning imprinted in its very qualities by God at creation, then the interpretation of reality--the meanings read out of individual objects--is not capricious and accidental; it is not an invention of the poet, but a recognition of an inherent meaning. (57-8)

Charges of the emblem’s capriciousness aim particularly at the relationship between picture and text; they assume that the text creates the picture’s meaning, that the image is

open to any number of arbitrary interpretations. By locating the basis for the emblem in the book of nature, though, Schöne revalues the *pictura*; instead of considering it as a semiotic blank slate inscribed with meaning by the accompanying text, he positions it as the primary source of meaning: “the emblem places the picture to be interpreted ahead of the interpretation deriving from the *subscriptio* and requires the reader and viewer to accept the priority of the picture” (quoted in Daly 1998 45). The picture not only presents an image, but refers to broadly-accepted truth. The emblem’s text must make its interpretation within the culturally understood range of possibilities called upon by the image. This said, this range may be unexpectedly broad for the modern reader. As Daly points out, the idea that emblems are necessarily contrived often results from the observation that the same natural object can be used to carry very different meanings: the lion, for instance, could signify Christ or could signify the devil, depending on those qualities of the lion which the emblematicist chose to emphasize. This way of interpreting nature, though, reflects the observation that both good and evil qualities can be found in it, even in particular creatures.

Schöne argues that the medieval sense which took “everything created as an indication of the Creator” (quoted in Daly 1998 48) still operated widely in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Germany. This view of nature was exercised in the emblem form, which also foregrounded one particular sense of the four-fold patristic and scholastic exegetical model, the *sensus tropologicus*, which “refers to the significance of things and facts for the individual and his destiny, for his path to salvation and his conduct in the world” (quoted in Daly 1998 48). Such a mode of reading places great importance on

both the writer's and the reader's understanding of the natural sign. Meanings of objects must be based on their essential and not accidental qualities. As well, as Daly points out, even though an emblem draws on an object's essential qualities, it still cannot always fully communicate the meaning to be derived from those qualities. Hence, the reader must come to the emblem already understanding the nature of the things depicted there. This follows Augustine's concern that the analogies of scripture not be obscured by inadequate understanding on the part of the reader. He explains that Christ's potentially confusing command that his followers should be 'as wise as snakes' depends upon the knowledge that "a serpent exposes its whole body, rather than its head, to those attacking it." He applies the command, in light of this knowledge of the natural thing, by saying that we (followers of Christ) should "expose our body to persecutors, rather than our head, which is Christ. Thus, the Christian faith, the head so to speak, may not be killed in us, as it would if, preserving our body, we were to reject God" (quoted in Daly 1998 49). The reader participates actively in the emblem tradition and its precedents, bringing acquired common knowledge to the text, using that knowledge to unlock the meaning of the text, and finally applying that newly-realized meaning to her earthly moral conduct and possibly also her understanding of her spiritual journey. In an important way, then, engagement with the emblem begins and ends with the reader away from the emblem. If the emblem requires much of the reader, it is because the stakes are so high.

Within Schöne's broadly enabling and flexible theory of the emblem, however, problems have been noted. Both Daly and Bath note and build on previous challenges to Schöne's dependence on the necessary 'facticity' or 'potential-facticity' of an emblem.

On one hand, modern readers must accept that many common emblem motifs that now seem obviously to be fantastic (such as the unicorn or the phoenix) could be considered natural in a culture that was only beginning to move from discursive epistemology to an observational one. At the same time, however, the position that all emblem material necessarily reflected commonly believed facts puts an unsustainable pressure on that material. Bath agrees with Schöne that emblem material including the natural (either verifiable by observation or not), classical history, and biblical information would likely have been taken as factual by most readers. However, the idea that most readers took classical mythology, legend, and allegory, as well as hieroglyphics not based in reality as fact requires much more of a stretch. Daly argues that

Schöne's theory must be amended and limited. 'Potential' facticity should be abandoned. 'Facticity' should be limited to those motifs where the ontological status, the documentary character of the emblem, is beyond doubt, that is to say, limited to those motifs where we can assume that the contemporary writer and reader were convinced that they were dealing with facts. Where no such facticity exists we should abandon the expectation and recognize that allegorical structures are also appropriate to the neutral form of the emblem. In like manner, we should accept hieroglyphic materials, whether as individual motifs--say, the headless woman or handless judge--or strange combinations, such as the dolphin and anchor, recognizing that they lay no claim to facticity, but as visual constructions bear symbolic meaning and are thus also appropriate to the emblem form. (62)

The book of nature remains the fundamental informing idea of emblematic thought, but

not every emblem reads this book literally, as it were. I would add that, in the cases of the dolphin and the anchor, or the handless judge, it may be useful to distinguish between the elements and their configuration. The elements do appeal directly to the book of nature--the swiftness of the dolphin, the slowness of the anchor, but the configuration does not. Its very unnaturalness signals that the natural meanings of the elements must be read in combination for a specific aphoristic meaning: 'make haste slowly.'

Bath also argues against Schöne's categorization of emblems as factual, saying that the problem with using 'facticity' to distinguish the emblem from metaphor is that classical authority and received opinion hold influence over metaphor generally, that witty conceits still operate within a reading culture and must in some way reckon with the beliefs that characterize that culture. To distinguish the emblem from the conceit, Bath recommends instead understanding the emblem within a theory of *topos*. As Bath points out, the classical distinction between rhetoric and logic was that rhetoric was the art of arguing based on *probability* rather than on discursive fact. Rhetorical commonplaces were, then, the chief source of probabilities available to the orator. Bath finds a useful modern theorization of the operation of *topoi* in the Structuralist idea of the *vraisemblable*, which is that body of "maxims and *topoi* which contribute to an approximate logic of human actions which enables the orator, for example, to argue from action to motive or from appearance to reality" (Culler 142). This body of commonplaces and the discursive mode in which they are deployed are culturally specific, yet they depend for their efficacy on their appearance of universality; they operate as a mode of representing and interpreting the world because they are held in common, a completely

naturalized structure of knowledge. As Bath argues, such a theory of topos is appropriate to the study of emblematic signs because such signs “make constant appeals to commonplace assumptions, proverbial expressions, and the citation of authorities” in order to justify their analogies' basis in nature (6). Estienne's directions on using commonly-held beliefs as the basis for devises certainly bears out the appropriateness of Bath's application of topos theory to emblematics.

The significant recent developments in emblem theory demand a reassessment of George Herbert's poetry, since he has been commonly considered for some time a highly emblematic poet. First, one must ask what it means to say that Herbert wrote poems in an emblematic fashion. Rosemary Freeman, in her 1948 book *English Emblem Books*, answers this question in a way very different from more recent critics. For Freeman, it

cannot be too strongly emphasised that Herbert's images remain emblems and at no time encroach upon the wider provinces of the symbol. There is no necessary and essential resemblance between the church floor and the human heart, between stained glass windows and preachers, or between two cabinets filled with treasure and the Trinity and the Incarnation. His method is always to create meaning by creating likenesses: the likenesses are rarely inherent in the imagery chosen nor can they often be seen from the outset. But by the end of the poem the reader always understands and accepts them, for the emblematic image is made wholly convincing as a symbol through the completeness with which the relation is established between it and the ideas it embodies. (163)

Freeman differentiates the symbol and the emblem along the lines of inherent connection between vehicle and tenor; the emblem joins an image and an idea that have no inherent connection, the symbol, by implication, expresses a universally understood and inherent relationship. Herbert's achievement, then, was to join images and ideas in unfamiliar, unnatural ways and to make such joinings seem natural. Freeman's statement poses problems on a number of levels. First, when she characterizes the emblem as arbitrary as against the symbol, which is not, she places an impossible weight upon the latter, a weight that ultimately negates the distinction. Symbols only ever appear natural because they have an audience that will interpret them as such; both the production of the symbol and its consistent reception are themselves operations of culture, which is itself specific to particular groups of people in particular times and places. The distinction becomes negated with the realization that the emblem, far from being an arbitrary form, worked by continually drawing on the commonplaces of early modern European culture, and that compositional and interpretive freedom is possible with the form only because of its overt cultural grounding.

The problem of Freeman's characterization of the emblem affects considerably her statements about Herbert. In Freeman's formulation, Herbert takes an implicitly inferior form, the emblem, and makes it work as if it were a superior form, the symbol. He accomplishes, then, a poetic sleight-of-hand. (I will argue, instead, that Herbert's employment of emblematics accomplishes much more.) If Herbert 'creates meaning by creating likenesses,' then, to the extent that he does so, he is not writing emblems. As well, Freeman's statement that Herbert's images always remain emblems restricts

unnecessarily. To support her statement, she chooses three of Herbert's metaphors that seem to her most artificial: the floor as heart, the window as preacher, and the cabinets as the Trinity and the incarnation. To these we could add other unusual images, such as "The Pulley's" "glasse of blessings" (2). But whether these images seem artificial to us cannot be the criteria for determining their emblematic status. If, as Schöne and others argue, the emblem is an overtly culturally rooted form, then the measure of the arbitrariness, or better put, the individuality of these images can only be found in contemporary materials. Further, though, many of Herbert's images do not seem so strange as those listed by Freeman. Throughout *The Temple*, Herbert uses dust as an image of death, trees as images of fruitfulness, and stones as images of hard hearts, to list only a few examples. These image/idea combinations were in common use at the time and are as well today. If we, understanding something very different by 'the emblem mode' than Freeman did, still agree with her that Herbert did work in that mode, then there remains figuring out to do.

The reason that scholars with completely different understandings of the emblem can claim that Herbert wrote in that tradition involves an obvious continuity between *The Temple* and the emblem books, a continuity attested to by a wide range of articles and books that address the relationship. The question I address here, then, is not so much 'does *The Temple* include in its operations emblematic operations?' but rather 'what are emblematic operations, how do such operations function in Herbert's poetry, and what is the implication of these operations for our understanding of early readings of Herbert's poetry?' The first of these questions I have already addressed by turning to the recent

work of Daly and Bath. The next two I will address in the rest of this chapter.

Recent emblem theory (from Schöne and Jöns to Daly and Bath) repositions the emblem, recognizing in it a validity and integrity that it has previously been denied. This repositioning also requires a re-estimation of Herbert as a poet employing emblematics. The pressure evident in the work of Freeman and those following her is to fit together three ideas: the first, that the emblem is a lesser form based on capricious connections; the second, that Herbert drew on it; and third, that Herbert was a great poet. Hence, Herbert must always be positioned simultaneously in opposition to and working from the emblem. While such a model is possible, it no longer seems necessary. More productively, one might think of emblematics and poetics as sets of practices defining composition and reception occurring within a broad literary field (to use a common early modern metaphor). The field also contains many different literary forms, each of which corresponds with certain practices. The field metaphor, though, foregrounds the circulation of form and practice. *The Temple* draws widely on forms and thereby suggests that a variety of practices be brought to it. One of these practices is the emblematic. Emblem books themselves, though they typically do not blend forms as conspicuously as *The Temple*, draw on forms as widely varied as heraldry and devotional meditations, and so individually participate in practices far beyond what a simple generic tag suggests. In this context, I argue, one can most fairly see *The Temple* participating in emblematics, not to supersede them, but to make use of the particular reading power that they allow.

Herbert did not write an emblem book, or even a book including emblems in any tight formal sense. Herbert's poems do use important aspects of the emblem form. More

productively, I argue, one can consider Herbert's poetry in light of the emblem not only as a prescribed literary form, but also as a set of cultural practices, a way, or ways, of thinking, composing, reading, and performing. Within this broader notion of emblematics, the critic has much more room to move; a given poem can be seen to participate in an emblematic mode without itself having to clearly be or not be an emblem. The problem is particularly acute in Herbert's poetry because it so often presents an emblematic image, but continues on where a formal emblem leaves off, frequently introducing multiple images to be understood in combination, or directly tackling issues of interpretation; Herbert uses emblems and emblematics not only as a mode but also as a subject of his poetry. With this in mind, I wish to explore here how *The Temple* consciously engages popular emblematics, pushing and pulling on the mode, sometimes relying on it and other times troubling it, always pushing the audience to increased consciousness of its reading practices and to an active reading stance.

Considerable work has been done in identifying poems in *The Temple* that draw on emblematic content and/or emblematic method. Barbara Lewalski finds among Herbert's poems many that allude in particular to the 'school of the heart' emblems of Daniel Cramer and George Wither.⁴⁰ In these emblems a traditionally-shaped heart

⁴⁰ Lewalski argues that these Protestant emblem writers developed an emblematics different from that of Catholic writers. She argues in particular that Catholic emblem books portray an even progress to salvation and that Protestant reworkings of these sequences undermined this order to match a reformed theology. She says of Francis Quarles' reworking of Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria* that Quarles changed the order of

becomes the subject of various activities, allegorizing the workings of God to shape a person. Cramer's emblems include, for example, a heart alternately being hammered, written on, shot through with arrows, or placed in an oven. Herbert's poem "JESU," which I discuss below, depicts a heart written with Christ's name. Likewise, Lewalski identifies Herbert's pivotal use of the heart emblem tradition in "Love unknown." Here the speaker recounts to a friend how, having taken his heart to his lord on a platter with fruit, he has been mistreated. The lord has his servant throw the heart into a font full of blood, where it "was dipt and dy'd,/ And washt, and wrung" (16-17). After he has recovered, the speaker goes abroad, where he meets a man with a massive, intensely hot

the emblems, selected them to fit a doctrinal position, and modified the pictures in doctrinally significant ways (192-3). To this Bath replies:

All these claims are false. The truth is that Quarles did not make any changes to the order of the emblems in his sources; though he draws selectively from *Typus mundi*, he uses every one of the forty-five emblems in *Pia Desideria* in exactly the same order as the original, and of the twenty alterations he makes to the sixty-eight pictures in his *Emblemes*, none has any doctrinal--that is to say sectarian--significance. (201)

Peter Daly and Mary Silcox (40-47) summarize the various arguments for a specifically Protestant emblematics, showing that generalizations about the differences in the ways in which Protestants and Catholics employ emblematics are ill-founded. On the whole, it seems that the wide circulation of books by writers of varying doctrinal positions makes unlikely any reliable rules of difference.

furnace inscribed “AFFLICTION” and with a boiling caldron on top. The speaker offers livestock as a sacrifice, but instead of taking it, the man grabs the speaker’s heart and throws it in the caldron. After another time of healing, the speaker returns home to rest, but finds that his bed has been stuffed with thoughts, or thorns. While the speaker interprets all of these actions as mistreatment, his friend sees them as necessary spiritual correctives, and responds to him at each turn that his heart was foul, hard, and dull, conditions cured by the harsh treatments. Lewalski points to analogues for these actions made upon the heart in emblem books. Notably, as well as drawing on the familiar material of these emblem books, the poem also foregrounds the importance of accurate interpretation. The violence of the acts against the heart can be seen as constructive only within the context of a larger narrative, one in which the soul encounters afflictions as a necessary course to the experience of divine love. This graceful violence can only be understood as such by someone familiar with the larger workings of salvation.⁴¹

In his 1987 article “Herbert and Emblematic Tradition,” Charles Huttar summarizes past critical work which has identified in *The Temple* emblematic elements, including images, abstractions personified in a typically emblematic way, phrases that function like emblematic mottos, emblematic titles, and poems having emblematic

⁴¹ A similar allegorical sequence occurs in *Fairie Queene* 1.10 when the Red Crosse Knight suffers tortures which transform him to Holiness. Penance whips him, Remorse pricks and nips his heart, and Repentance washes his wounds with salt water (stanza 27). Red Crosse understands the purpose of the tortures as they are happening while the speaker of “Love Unknown” does not.

elements of form (poems shaped to match their content). I would like to add to this work by specifically considering poems in *The Temple* that materially resemble emblems, presenting both textual and visual information. These poems fit onto a single page and so can be viewed as a whole with little trouble. As well, they contain typographical features that are seen before they are read and that, at the least, suggest alternate ways of reading their text, but that even--in the case of Herbert's pattern poems--present pictures that carry meaning regardless of their constitutive text. These poems carry a special weight in the study of Herbert's emblematics because they most strongly invoke the reading practices of the emblem. One does not have to read them in order to mentally create an emblematic image; rather, they confront one with a presence both visual and verbal, demanding that the two senses be reckoned together. As such, they exercise the functions of emblematic picture and script as Schöne describes them: the picture does not merely illustrate the text or even present an enigma that the text interprets. Instead, picture and text converse, each potentially representing and interpreting. In these poems, what one sees is as important as what one reads; the text never solves the image. Instead, the two hold each other in an active balance.

Herbert's poem "Love-Joy" dramatizes the process of emblem reading, and in particular, the tension between common meanings and individual interpretation:

¶ Love-joy.

AS on a window late I cast mine eye,
 I saw a vine drop grapes with *J* and *C*
 Anncal'd on every bunch. One standing by
 Ask'd what it meant. I (who am never loth
 To spend my iudgement) said, It seem'd to me
 To be the bodie and the letters both
 Of *Joy* and *Charitie*. Sir, you have not miss'd,
 The man reply'd ; It figures *JESUS CHRIST*.

Here we have a case in practical emblematics; the speaker reads a natural figure which contains its own enigmatic motto. To be precise, the figure does not take the form of an emblem, but rather that of a device. As Peter Daly explains, the former typically has three parts: a motto, a picture, and an epigram, and is aimed at a common readership (7). It is enigmatic enough to require interpretive work, but ultimately meant to be understood by anyone, its three parts together providing ample representative and interpretive material for meaning-making. The device, on the other hand, was a private form, most often the personal sign of a nobleman. It had only a motto and a picture, these together meant only to be understood by a small, inside group. The speaker here encounters what he first takes to be a general allegorical sign, but which turns out to be a personal device of Jesus Christ. The generic difference is instructive; there was much cross-over between the two closely-related forms, but at the same time, this is one personal device not meant for a limited audience, instead a common sign of the common man, the son of man.⁴²

⁴² Emblem books by Henry Peacham and Sir Henry Godyere contain devices and heraldry along with emblems, demonstrating that the forms were considered at least closely related and that they were at times read as such.

Schöne argues that the emblem carries the dual function of representation and interpretation (he uses the terms *res picta* and *res significans*) (Bath 4). The speaker of “Love-Joy” finds both functions in the poem’s window, reading it as “the bodie and letters both/ Of *Joy* and *Charitie*” (6-7). Here image and text blend, each physically and conceptually part of the other. The vine’s body, its stem, also becomes the text which describes it. The two together then also embody the ideas, Joy and Charity. Notably, the text is pictorial, itself a memorable visual image, inseparable from the picture around it. Also, as with all emblems, the meanings of the text and the image have no direction without the other; together, though, they interpret each other, and by so doing, direct the reader’s interpretation of the whole. So how does the speaker arrive at the meanings ‘Joy’ and ‘Charitie?’ The poem does not say, but the two ideas do parallel the two parts of the image, the grapes and the vine. Grapes, via their close connection with wine, commonly figured merry-making and/or its negative results, but also, in Eucharistic iconography, traditionally represented the sacrifice of Christ’s blood. The speaker draws on the first of the possibilities, the celebratory nature of the fruit. The speaker also seems to read the vine for its quality of drawing together its fruit. While this quality was not specifically interpreted in contemporary English emblem books as charity, the interpretation does not require an imaginative leap, and certainly operates within common uses of the vine as a figure for binding and encircling (Diehl 111). The wide variety of interpretive possibilities of both the figure (the grapes and vine) and the motto (the J and the C) are limited when the two are taken together, and the speaker has chosen one of the possibilities that has sifted down.

As the poem foregrounds, for all the commonness of the emblematic material, interpretation remains necessary. The received tradition of meanings constrains that interpretation, but, for the image in “Love-Joy” at least, various readings can apply. Or, perhaps they cannot. What exactly happens in the poem’s conversation? All we know of the speaker is that he is “never loth to spend [his] judgement” (4-5); he pronounces freely and spontaneously on the matter at hand. The questioner could be seeking knowledge, but as it turns out, he knows the answer already. His question, then, is for the benefit of the speaker. Unlike what we might expect, the question ‘what does it mean?’ has both multiple answers and a single answer; the speaker’s impromptu offering of ‘Joy’ and ‘Charitie’ is not fully correct, but also not incorrect. On what does meaning depend here, and how is it constructed? The poem unmistakably presents the questioner’s answer as most satisfactory, but on what is the answer’s dependability based? We know little else about the questioner, nothing that would give a social register of his authority. Part of the answer lies in the form of the discussion: Stanley Fish points out that the question and answer mode assumed here is catechistic, and in important ways this discursive mode itself enacts the questioner’s authority. At the same time though, this conversation does not follow a book, has not been rehearsed, and does it occur in an institutional setting. Any claims to the authority of the interlocutor and any enactment of that authority must ultimately rest on the quality of his ultimate answer and its impromptu presentation.

As reviewed above, emblem theory follows a split between those who have seen the emblem as a witty conceit and those, after Schöne, who see it as deriving from a common cultural understanding. The final answer of “Love-joy” depends not on the wit

of the interlocutor, but on his understanding of the figure's deep history and particularly its association with the wine press of the Passion (See Rosamond Tuve 112-13 and Fish 28). The complex discussion of the figure's meaning, though, demonstrates that the emblem as a culturally rooted genre requires as much versatility of thought as any witty conceit, though of a different kind. The interlocutor's hermeneutic requires both an expansive knowledge and a charitable spirit. He does not rely on a formulaic, literalistic rendering of J C as Jesus Christ, but rather reads back the qualities of the signified into the sign. While negative associations of the grapes and vine, such as drunkenness and entrapment (see Whitney 133) do not fit this emblem's ultimate meaning, the interlocutor recognizes that other associations do. The emblem's figures and text can be unfolded as Joy and Charitie precisely because they fold back into Jesus Christ. The speaker may not see all there is to see, but, because of the interlocutor's full grasp of the emblem's layers and direction, no rebuff is necessary. The interlocutor's reaction itself figures joy and charity, the speaker both encouraged in present ability and challenged to greater understanding. As such, the focus of the conversation becomes not the interlocutor's wit, but the ultimate commonplace, Jesus Christ. Neither emblem nor reading point to their own art, but provide a way to and are enriched by that which they signify.

Appropriately, "Love-joy," Herbert's poem about emblematics, itself employs emblematics. Though it is not itself an emblem, it works in important ways within the emblem mode. Fish argues that the poem presents the reader (whom I will refer to as female for clarity) with a number of surprises: first, that, while the obvious answer to the question is Jesus Christ, the speaker answers 'Joy' and 'Charitie.' Second, that the

interlocutor responds by telling the speaker that he is correct, and third, that the interlocutor then provides a different answer as proof. Fish argues that the reader becomes engaged by the poem's interpretive interplay, surprised first by the speaker's wrong answer, surprised next to find that her own answer is wrong, then finally, surprised to find that her original answer is indeed the right one. Fish grounds his reading in Herbert's comments in 'The Parson Catechizing' chapter of *The Country Parson*, (also discussed in chapter two of this study) in which he instructs that the catechist should reword the standard questions in order to puzzle the catechist, with the result that the catechist should seriously consider the questions and reply, not by rote, but with 'delight,' finding "even the dark and deep points of religion" (256). Fish's application of catechistical method to "Love-joy" is certainly helpful, but his reading overlooks the poem's emblematics. The chief problems here are Fish's certainty of the reader's mind and his insistence on a straight-forward series of reading events. Fish claims that "the obvious answer" to the question of line four "is, of course, Jesus Christ" (28), especially because of common typological associations between Christ and grapes/wine. The claim, I will argue, is almost correct, but even then, not for the reasons Fish gives. In the first place, one simply cannot generalize about what all readers thought when they encountered the poem. More importantly, though, Fish ignores the roles of the poem's title as well as the poem's typographical features in framing readers' interpretations. The title, "Love-joy," asserts a combination of virtues that the poem can be expected to figure forth, operating in much the same way as the motto of an emblem. This expectation is quickly rewarded with the immediate realization that the poem itself presents a verbal

picture, a window containing a vine with bunches of grapes, and the letters J and C. In fact, so far the poem presents not only a picture, but a two-level puzzle: it not only asks the reader, along with the speaker, to read the picture, but also presents an additional puzzle to the reader alone, that is, to reconcile the image and its letters with the poem's title. 'J' and 'C' may 'obviously' stand for Jesus Christ, except that 'Love' and 'Joy' are also now in the mix, and in fact have been given interpretive priority because of their position in the title. Of course, 'J' does match with 'Joy,' so the reader may make that connection before any other. That would leave the 'C' and 'Love,' which do not literally match, but whose connection becomes clear with the speaker's answer; 'Charitie,' of course, is a verbal substitute for and a theological amplification of the word 'Love.'

Just in case this reading of the influence of the title becomes a little too comfortable, though, one also needs to consider the poem's typographical features, its visual appearance on the page. Here the title has prominence (it is roughly one-and-a-half times the size of the lettering of most of the poem). Also impossible to miss are the various letters and words either italicized or italicized and capitalized. Of these, the most obvious are the words that Fish relies upon the reader to encounter last, the final words of the poem, *JESUS CHRIST*, both capitalized and in italics. Next most obvious are the capitalized and italicized letters *J* and *C* and the italicized words *Joy* and *Charitie*. So then, the page presents the reader with a counter-balanced pair, "Love-joy" and "Jesus Christ," in between which she finds *J* and *C* and *Joy* and *Charitie*. The appearance of the poem seriously undermines Fish's sequence of reading, and I suggest a different likely sequence: that the reader cannot help but scan first, in this eight-line poem, the words I

identify above. Like the letters the speaker finds annealed in the window, these words which the reader encounters function both as text and as image; their appearance makes them memorable and projects them beyond the rest of the text. Other than the single letters J and C, the typographically unusual words all correlate with common emblematic figures (Biblical and/or allegorical). The reader confronts first a configuration of densely meaningful figures, a configuration which invites interpretive speculation, but which can only be explained by the text in which it is embedded.

The typography at use here may be elucidated by John Willis's contemporary manual, *The Art of Memory* (1621). Here, Willis specifically includes the emblem as a model for the memory image, for only through visualization can ideas become memorable. Specifically relevant here, though, is Willis's consideration of "Scriptile Ideas," words rather than images to be recorded in memory. Notably, if one is to lodge words themselves in memory, they must be at least a foot high, with "a great Romane capitall letter . . . For by this meanes they are more easily attracted by the visuall facultie, and transferred to the memory" (35). For Willis, also, emblems are combinations of visual and scriptile images. "Love-joy," with its verbal images and crafted text, engages in this art of memory. While Willis discusses the 'scriptile idea' as an internal method for making words memorable, the poem presents us with script already fashioned to remain with us. These specially scripted words and letters stand out when the reader gazes at the poem, to be remembered as she then turns to read it. When she remembers the poem, these words and letters and the puzzle they form will likely stand out in memory and trigger the rehearsing of the narrative which binds and solves them.

A few other poems in *The Temple* bear similarity to “Love-joy,” particularly in their appearance on the page; these include “Coloss. 3. 3.,” “JESU,” “ANAMARY/ARMY-gram,” “Paradise,” and “The Water-course,” each of which is short enough to be quickly taken in as a whole, contains typographical features that disrupt the regular process of reading text, and describes an emblematic image, the interpretation of which brings spiritual insight. The first of these, “Coloss. 3. 3.,” describes the “double motion” of the sun using a text that itself must be read with a double motion:

Coloff. 3. 3.

our life is hid with Christ in God.

MY words & thoughts do both expresse this notion,
 That Life hath with the sun a double motion.
 The first *is* straight, and our diurnall friend,
 The other *Hid*, and doth obliquely bend.
 One life is wrapt *In* flesh, and tends to earth.
 The other winds towards *Him*, whose happie birth
 Taught me to live here *so*, *That* still one eye
 Should aim and shoot at that which *is* on high:
 Quitting with daily labour all *My* pleasure,
 To gain at harvest an eternall *Treasure*.

The third chapter of Colossians begins by urging readers to enact their status as ‘being risen with Christ,’ telling them to “Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God” (3: 2-3). The first line of the title serves to anchor the poem to the biblical text, identifying it as commentary or explication on it. The sub-title presents the second part of the third verse much as an emblematic motto; it is a tightly worded, self-contained statement of a mysterious truth, providing ample material for the other parts of the emblem/poem to unfold. In the poem

itself, the speaker turns for commentary on the book of revelation to the book of nature. Unlike most emblems dealing with the motion of the sun, this verbal image does not stop at its obvious characteristics--rising and setting, constancy, etc.--but incorporates a newer, scientific knowledge of the sun that goes beyond what can easily be observed. As Thomas Browne explains in his *Pseudodoxia*, the sun does not move around the earth on the same poles as those of the earth, but “upon the poles of the Zodiack, distant from these of the world 23 degrees and an halfe: Thus may we discern the necessity of its obliquity, and how inconvenient its motion had been upon a circle parallel to the Æquator, or upon the Æquator it selfe” (vi. v. 466). This angular movement allows for the passing of seasons and an equitable distribution of light to the whole earth.

To see the full providence of God working in the movement of the sun, one must not only see its daily orbit, but also seek out its hidden, annual movement, a course that cannot be observed except over an extended period and by careful study. Herbert moves from this reading of the book of nature to a human application by introducing a second image paralleling the sun’s double motion (lines 7-8). The earthly life and the heavenly destiny are balanced in the image of the human on earth, but always with one eye aimed ‘on high.’ A double motion, then, requires a double vision, one simultaneously able to read seemingly contrary messages in the same text. The poem’s structure itself portrays double motion, with its somewhat hidden message inscribed obliquely across the otherwise normal textual layout. This message forces the reader to understand a word from each line as part of two sentences. In fact, the italicizing and initial capitalizing of the words makes the ‘hidden’ message impossible to miss, so that this aspect of the poem

acts less as a puzzle and more as a key, an illustration of ‘double motion.’ Finally, the message itself loosely repeats the sub-title, but with an important fulfilling addition, bringing home to the reader in a pithy way that the speaker’s ultimate treasure is in heaven.

“JESU” begins with the bold statement “JESU is in my heart” and proceeds to illustrate the statement, literalizing it after the established pattern of the *schola cordis*, or school of the heart, emblem books:

¶ J E S U .

J E S U is in my heart, his sacred name
 Is deeply carved there : but th’other week
 A great affliction broke the little frame,
 Even all to pieces: which I went to seek:
 And first I found the corner, where was J,
 After, where E S, and next where U was graved.
 When I had got these parcels, instantly
 I sat me down to spell them, and perceived
 That to my broken heart he was I ease you,
 And to my whole is J E S U.

As Lewalski points out, the poem has a particularly strong connection to an emblem from Daniel Cramer’s *Emblemata Sacra* (Frankfurt, 1624), which shows the hand of God reaching down out of the clouds and writing on a heart the word JESU (Decas III, Emblema XXIII; see Lewalski 205). To further the inscription metaphor, the heart lies on top of a book. Herbert’s poem pushes this sort of metaphorical work further, engaging the reader in a multi-layered interpretive game. To begin, we find that the Lord’s name has been carved on the speaker’s heart, identifying the heart, and by extension the

speaker, unalterably with Christ. In fact, though, this very unalterability is put to the test when the heart breaks into pieces, also breaking the word into its typographical parts, a rendering that separates the physicality of the word from its concept: once the word has been unspelled, the letters no longer belong to it and can be spelled again for any purpose. The speaker seems anxious about just this problem; when the heart breaks, both the speaker's identity and that of his lord are dispelled. The speaker therefore carefully seeks out and gathers the various parts of his heart, and with a sense of urgency, sits down to spell them "instantly." As it turns out, though, his anxiety is quickly relieved with the realization that these letters do retain their conceptual significance, that they continue to spell out his salvation. In fact, their very brokenness does not destabilize their meaning, but instead allows a plasticity of meanings within the identity of Christ, in this case, a message exactly appropriate to, and created by the speaker's affliction.

The speaker looking at pieces of his own heart and the reader looking at typographically distinct letters scattered through a block of text both learn the same immediate lesson: that script can be understood in more ways than one. The newly-discovered meaning of the letters, *I ease you*, requires the reader to stop viewing the letters as the building-blocks of words and to consider them as free-standing signifiers in themselves,. In the case of *I//J*, the separated letter can readily be seen as either part of a word or itself a word. The others, though, require more reading agility; one must read them not as parts of morphemes, but as phonemes standing for same-sounding words. The physical text stands in for and marks the way to spiritual significance; the name of Jesus itself fleshes out that which it represents.

Notably, Herbert's word-as-object play, while it may appear contrived or capricious to modern sensibilities, holds true to its message. The word breaks because it has been written on a human heart; because the heart and the word break, the healing power of the word is found out. The emblematic image makes parallel with reason and restraint the word and the Word, and the details of the image, when carefully considered, reveal the poem's ultimately Eucharistic theme. The breaking of Christ, which was the result of his identification with humanity, could only be understood by his followers as loss of identity, but was in fact the way by which identity was ultimately discovered and conferred. The breaking and distribution of Christ's body in communion leads back to a binding of the Christian to Christ, and through that bond, to other Christians.

Other poems presenting both image and word include "Ana-MARY/ARMY-gram," "Paradise," and "The Water-course." The first of these stands out from the other poems discussed here in that, in emblematic terms, rather than having the body double as both picture and epigram, the title serves as both motto and picture:

Ana- } MARY } gram.
} ARMY }

How well her name an *Army* doth present,
 In whom the *Lord of hosts* did pitch his tent

As Huttar points out, the title "typographically provides [the] picture, the image of enclosure on which the epigram wittily comments" (74). As in "JESU," Herbert works with the mobility of the letter, the potential for type to be reordered in order to produce copious meaning. With these two poems as well as with "Paradise," the letters in play are

all capitalized, emphasizing in striking visual way each one's equality with the others and the potential for any to stand in the initial position, or even as an independent sign (as in the "I" and "U" of "JESU").

In "Paradise" the visual effect of the paring of the ends of the lines operates on the level of the stanza rather than as the combined visual effect of the whole poem. I say this because the poem has been broken up over two pages, and not across the opening, but over the leaf. As well, the right-hand column, down which the pared words extend, has not been lined up across stanzas, but only within them. This is the only poem of those I discuss here to be intersected by a page break, but I include it in this group because the visual effect works in each stanza--no recourse to the verso is necessary to see what is happening, except that, in the fourth stanza, the connection between the image and the text becomes clear:

When thou dost greater judgements **S P A R E**;
 And with thy knife but prune and **P A R E**;
 Ev'n fruitfull trees more fruitfull **A R E**.

(10-12)

The reduction in letters, which, again, threatens to reduce the word to a meaningless set of letters, parallels the effects of affliction on the speaker's life; in the end, the speaker recognizes and the reader can see that, paradoxically, the reducing produces a copia of spirit and meaning:

Such sharpnes shows the sweetest **F R E N D**;
 Such cuttings rather heal then **R E N D**;
 And such beginnings touch their **E N D**.

(13-15)

“The Water-course” also uses an agricultural metaphor, this time, of irrigation:

¶ The Water-course.

THou who dost dwell and linger here below,
 Since the condition of this world is frail,
 Where of all plants afflictions soonest grow;
 If troubles overtake thee, do not wail:

For who can look for lesse, that loveth. } Life.
 } Strife.

But rather turn the pipe, and waters course
 To serve thy sinnes, and furnish thee with store
 Of foyraigne tears, springing from true remorse:
 That so in purencie thou mayst him adore,

Who giveth to man, as he sees fit } Salvation.
 } Damnation.

Ron Cooley has investigated Herbert's interest in new agricultural techniques, particularly the 'water-meadow,' an irrigation model.⁴³ In this poem, Herbert draws on the technology of the water-meadow to create a double-layered metaphor. First, the speaker tells readers not to cry over their afflictions, but rather, to “turn the pipe, and waters course/ To serve thy sinnes” (6-7). Doing so allows one a suitable focus on the Almighty, who himself directs his own water-course, deciding the ultimate condition of humans. The images in the poem, which direct text through water-courses, foreground troubling aspects of the subject at hand. First, the two pairs of words at the end of the course hardly comfort: “Life” with “Strife” and “Salvation” with “Damnation.” Clearly, the terms of the poem are the most serious possible. To add to this, the selection of one or the other depends upon the turn of the pipe; in either pair the two options are perilously close.

⁴³ From a paper delivered at the 1996 Pacific Northwest Renaissance Conference, Seattle, WA.

Also, if the reader looks to the title and the last line of each stanza before reading the poem through, then these first elements frame the poem in a dreadful way. In the poem as text, the human action precedes the divine, giving the impression that the first could, depending on one's theological position, either influence the second or at least manifest it. In the poem as image, though, the human activity takes place inside of divine activity. The water-course tended by the human clearly is no match for that of the Divine, but rather, palely shadows it. Notably, the poem does not name the Divine, describing him rather by his actions; the giving of salvation/damnation transcends and defines all human activity.

Of Herbert's short, typographically-complex poems, the best known are his two pattern poems, the outlines of which are themselves complete images. Modern readers of Herbert often consider his "Altar" and "Easter wings" poems 'ahead of his time' because of their resemblance to modern concrete poetry. This view reveals a poetic bias of our time and a fundamental misunderstanding of Herbert: we value innovation in form in a way that Herbert and his contemporaries did not. Herbert did invent forms to match his message, but in the old sense of the word (*inventio*); he drew upon his knowledge of common materials and chose appropriate forms which he then reinvigorated for his immediate purpose. Herbert modeled these most emblematic of his poems on six shaped poems found at the end of the *Greek Anthology*: two poems in the shape of altars and single poems shaped as a pair of wings, a double-sided axe (with handle), an egg, and shepherd's pipes. When Herbert wrote his pattern poems, though, the tradition was already well established, if somewhat ill-regarded, in English. The first pattern poem in

English (by Stephen Hawes) was published in 1509 (Roberts 75). In 1589, George Puttenham in his *Arte of English Poesie* wrote that “poems yielding an ocular representation” were “fittest for the poetic amourets in court” (91). Perhaps not surprisingly, the pattern poem did not often rise above its own cleverness; shape usually acted as ornament, only loosely connected to the matter of the poem. Against this background, Herbert’s achievement in these poems is considerable, for he does not include them in *The Temple* as curiosities or exercises in witty composition, but rather, places them--to work within his architectural metaphor--in keystone positions. The poems occur early in the book, “The Altar” at the beginning of “The Church,” the “Easter wings” pair soon after. The first establishes no less than the theme and framework of the “churches mysticall repast,” as promised in “Superliminare” (4); the second completes the Easter sequence, relating the glory of Christ’s rising to the condition of the human sinner and so providing a transition into the “H. Baptism” poems. Herbert’s placement of these poems is justified precisely because their shape is by no means accidental to their text. Neither does the shape simply illustrate the text. Instead, the text and its shape work much as an emblem according to Schöne’s formulation: image and text each represent and also interpret the other. These shaped poems fully participate in *The Temple*’s devotional project because they function as emblems, not fanciful play with words, but productive engagement of image and text.

I will discuss “The Altar” at length in the next chapter, and here limit my discussion of the pattern poems to the “Easter wings” pair:

† Easter wings.

Lord, who createdt man in wealth and florey,
 Though foolishly he lost the fame,
 Decaying more and more,
 Till he became
 Most poore:
 With thee
 O let me rise
 As larks, harmoniously,
 And sing this day thy victories:
 Then shall we fall further the flight in mee.

† Easter wings.

My tender age in sorrow did beginne,
 And full with sickleles and flame,
 Thou didst so punish sinne,
 That I became
 Most thinne,
 With thee
 Let me combine,
 And feel this day thy victorie:
 For, if I imp my wing on thine,
 Affliction shall advance the flight in mee.

The poems' shape is appropriate to their verbal content on many levels, from line-length and stanza development to the relationship between wings and resurrection and wings and Christ. First, both poems refer to flying: "Easter wings" (page 34) says "let me rise/ as larks" (7-8), "Easter wings" (page 35) says "if I imp my wing on thine,/ Affliction shall advance the flight in me" (9-10).⁴⁴ Following logically from these lines, one can see that the poems are also representations of birds flying, which in turn represent victory over sin, freedom from self, and communion with Christ. At the same time, the line-lengths bear an obvious relation to their verbal content, particularly in page 35, line five: "most thinne." As Paul Stanwood has argued, "afflict" and "flight" have what may seem a

⁴⁴ This discussion of these poems comes after reading Random Cloud's "FIATFLUX," which examines their editing history and important differences between the poem as we have come to know it and the poems as the first edition presents them.

contradictory relationship, but in this poem operate in tandem: flight is not escape from affliction; rather, flight occurs via affliction. This is so because affliction punishes sin, assisting in victory over it. He writes “flight is born in a kind of inevitable combination; for Herbert defines affliction in terms of divine providence, that is, afflictions are a form of providence, the design by which man comes to know God, and himself in God. So affliction and flight--or conflict and resolution--are not two movements but one only (2). The image bears out affliction-as-flight, in that the spiritual thinning that allows flight parallels the verbal and typographical thinning that allows wings to take shape. The poems address sin and redemption from both theological and personal perspectives, the first poem beginning with the creation and fall of humanity, the second echoing it with the arrival of the speaker in a world of suffering. Notably, though, salvation in both poems comes to the speaker alone, not to the church or the world; the first halves of the two poems establish both the doctrinal and the experienced need for salvation. The poems end with similar images, though: the speaker in flight. Even here, the flight images correspond to the appearance of the poems, particularly the image of birds flying side-by-side. While the first poem gives a general image of larks flying “harmoniously” (8), the second poem presents a more exact picture: that of two birds flying cooperatively: “With thee/ Let me combine” and “if I imp my wing on thine,/ Affliction shall advance the flight in me” (6-7, 9-10). The *O.E.D.* defines “imp” as a falconry term: “to engraft feathers in the wing of a bird, so as to make good losses or deficiencies, and thus restore or improve the powers of flight.” Random Cloud has pointed out that many commentators explain these lines as meaning that the speaker’s wing is repaired, but that

this reading does not reflect the literal meaning of the poem. Rather, the speaker's wing is impeded onto God's. Herbert's diction "leads to incredulous questions" about whether God's wing is damaged (perhaps by the crucifixion), whether the sinner is to audaciously use himself to impede God, and how such an impeding would advance the sinner's own flight (1994 129-30). Cloud notes biblical precedent for the image in Paul's statement that "in my flesh I complete what is lacking in Christ's afflictions" (Colossians 1:24) and finds in both instances a "paradoxical interaction" between what is said and what is meant, between an experience of the text and the doctrine which constrains its meaning (131). When, in the poem, a wing is impeded onto another wing, we have something physically impossible, but metaphorically potent. The image draws on the healing sense of "imp," but in a secondary and general way. More importantly, it invokes the bonding described by the word; only when the speaker's wing is grafted into God's wing can the speaker fly. The physicality of the image points to connection between speaker and God so profoundly intimate that it cannot be described except paradoxically. The poems, of course, do not overlap, but they still strongly suggest the power of community, and by extension, of communion with God.

The "Easter wings" poems occur at the end of *The Temple's* Easter sequence and immediately following "Sepulchre" and "Easter." When readers turn to the page 35-35 opening, they see the titles "Easter wings" and two poems, text vertical rather than horizontal, both in the shape of a pair of wings. The wings, though, do not seem particularly bird-like, and in their Easter context, could easily be taken for a pair of angels. In fact, this interpretation does lead into the poem's numerical structure: C. C.

Brown and W. P. Ingoldsby point out that, while Herbert got the poems' shape from *The Greek Anthology*, he gave it Hebrew dimensions; the two pairs of wings, five lines in each wing, and ten syllables in the longest lines parallel the two cherubim in Solomon's temple, which were each ten cubits tall with each wing five cubits wide (136-7). To read the poems, though, one needs to turn the book sideways. Now the wings no longer stand perpendicular to the ground, and as one reads, one can see that they represent birds. To again refer back to Cloud's observations, one can now see that the order of the two poems has changed, that the one on page 35 now precedes that on 34 (1994 35-6). What is most important about the relationship between the two poems is that they are a pair; as with affliction and flight in the poems themselves, one does not supersede the other. Rather, the two must be held in balance. Cloud goes one step further: his article's final illustration portrays the book itself, opened to "Easter wings," suggesting a set of wings (1994 151). This is not fanciful, considering the way that the poems' layout evokes the book's physicality. Notably, one needs to manipulate the book in order to read the poems, and when one does manipulate the book, the poems change (in portrayal, in order). Hence, these poems push emblematics beyond the normal conceptual space of the page and out into the physical book, finally (potentially) turning even the book itself into an emblem. Appropriately, the book that Herbert said contained "a picture of the many spiritual Conflicts that have past betwixt God and my Soul" (Walton 314) itself figures flight.

Huttar concludes his landmark article on Herbert and emblems by arguing that, for

all Herbert's participation in "the emblematic spirit," he is not "essentially in harmony with that spirit" (79). The two reasons Huttar gives for this conclusion are that Herbert tends not to structure an entire poem around an emblem, and that he continuously subjects his images to critique at the same time that he uses them. In this conclusion, Huttar returns to the characterization of the poet and the emblem established in Herbert studies by Freeman: that the poet uses the materials of a lesser mode in the service of a higher one, through greater vision and art. In Huttar's argument, the 'emblem spirit' uses witty didacticism to deliver an unchallenged truth, conveying "a distillation of achieved wisdom rather than the experience of achieving it" (85). This representation of the emblem, though, places it in all-too-tight a category. If one can talk about an 'emblematic spirit' at all, then it is a very diffuse one. Herbert made use of emblematics in his lyric poetry; as with any fusion of different forms, the result does not exactly conform to the borrowed-from model. At the same time, what Herbert made use of in emblematics should not be weighed against the questions he raises about the mode. That he could write a poem such as "Love unknown," which uses many emblematic images, depends completely on the pervasiveness of emblematics as a cultural mode. That he pushes his readers to engage with emblematic images, unfolding their meanings to the soul, may mean that *The Temple* accomplished more than many emblem books did, but that hardly subverts emblematics. *The Temple* acts as a commentary on emblems, or, a guide for reading them--not one for the beginning reader, but for the practiced reader who needs to be led beyond basic emblem literacy and into the emblematics of the heart. In a literary culture of the commonplace, it was likely all-too-easy to be satisfied with the

ability to recognize and employ signs in a superficial way. In *The Temple*, though, the common ground of the emblem is not a place for readers to end, but to begin--to begin reading their own spiritual destinies, to begin encountering Christ.

The Textual Church and George Herbert's *Temple*

“consecrate vs and this place Wee pray thee as holy temples to thine own use”

--from the consecration of St. John's, Leeds, 1634

So far, we have been exploring some of the textual and literary contexts of *The Temple*. Gospel harmonies, commonplace books, and emblem books all lend shape to Herbert's book. Notably, they each appeal to the idea of microcosm, each encompassing a totality of knowledge within their covers: the 'Harmonies' of Little Gidding flesh out the life of Christ to its textual fullest, commonplace books map the entire textual “field,” and by extension, the universe (whether from A-Z or from “God” to “Satan”), and emblem books do likewise with the book of nature--revealing the alphabet of God's creative language. While *The Temple* appeals to all of these models in its own microcosmic representation of the encounter between humanity and God, by far its most explicit model is not of paper and type, but of wood and stone, the parish church. Churches acted as ubiquitous inspirational and instructional sites, shaping individual and corporate experiences of doctrine. As I will elaborate next, church buildings were (and remain) profoundly textual, designed to reflect a Divine architecture, and in reformed England, these buildings became a particularly hot zone of activity. In drawing upon the rich textual space of church buildings, Herbert invoked a common literacy; in doing so, he both reaffirmed its validity and pushed it to fullness.

Though his major poetry sequence uses a structuring architectural metaphor,

surprisingly little has been written about Herbert's concern with church buildings themselves. Though he was a priest, and though he named parts of a church throughout *The Temple*, critics have typically make little attempt to relate his written work to the physical structures in which he ministered and which, in a number of cases, he helped rebuild and even redesign. Recently this has begun to change, with Esther Gilman Richey's article on the political design of *The Temple* and with Daniel Doerksen's consideration of the churches (both buildings and congregations) in which Herbert worshipped. As these writers note, Herbert wrote at a time when the arranging of church interiors was anything but irrelevant. The English Reformation opened the church building to fundamental questions of nature and use; long-standing hierarchical and mystical conceptions of sacred space were challenged by a new imperative to demystify and to share that space. The Edwardian *Book of Common Prayer* demanded a new level of commonality within the church building itself, opening notions of the church building and its uses to questioning through to the 1630s, when Herbert ministered, and beyond, as the conflict between Laudians and Puritans came to a head. In short, Herbert wrote about the church building at a time when it was most in question, in the midst of what could be termed a crisis of sacred space. Positions here ranged from moves to reestablish the medieval sense of awe and power of the church to the demands of radical reformers that all 'Romish' churches should be ripped down. I argue that Herbert's achievement was in asserting the church building as a positive teaching space, rather than allowing prevailing controversy to turn the church into an arena of doctrinal conflict. Herbert taught readers to find their own stories in the gospel message of the church building, much as he taught

readers to find their own stories in Scripture and in his poetry itself. I will argue that, in treating it as a text to be read, Herbert built on reading practices inherent in the building itself, for it was both figuratively and literally textual, and that Herbert makes use of the dialectic between material and spiritual temples of the sort found in early seventeenth-century church consecration rites. In short, Herbert's *Temple* frames the church building itself as a common place full of common places, places to be read and within which to discover oneself.

The first consideration of any study of church architecture in the English Reformation must necessarily be that very few churches were built during this time (though by the early seventeenth century, many were being restored (Legg lii-liii)). As John Summerson notes in his major study *Architecture in Britain: 1530 to 1830*,

After the last great Gothic wave of building and rebuilding in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, England's vast stock of churches hardly admitted of expansion, and with the dissolution of colleges, chantries, and free chapels in 1545 almost the last source of church-building initiative was destroyed. (99)

Significantly, and to the dismay of some, the reforming church worshipped in medieval buildings. As a result, the church had to manipulate an architecture designed to communicate a very different understanding of Christianity than it now wished to propagate. The adapting of the medieval buildings by the reformed church for new uses relied upon an understanding of the church building as a system of signs which could be rearranged and reread to produce new meanings.⁴⁵ This understanding, however, was

⁴⁵ I am interested here in more than 'architecture' as the design of a building's

certainly not universal, and those who resisted assigning new meanings to old buildings came from the ranks of both the opponents and the embracers of reform.

G. W. O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, in *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* introduce the issue of medieval architecture and reformation worship:

In 1559 the Elizabethan authorities found themselves faced with the possession of buildings which, however beautiful they may have been, were to a considerable extent unsuited to the liturgical ideas of the Prayer Book. The Prayer Book conceives of each service in the liturgy as the work of the whole body of the faithful; medieval churches with their screens separating clergy and laity, and the laity from the altar, tended to make the faithful largely onlookers and the liturgy the peculiar and exclusive work of the clergy. It was clearly impossible to pull down the churches and build others more suitable, and the authorities instead took

structure. Following John Renard, I will also consider in this study the ritual objects, or liturgical furniture, that go along with the structure and the ornamentation of the structure. The reformation church inherited all three from its medieval past, but had much more control over the second and third than over the first. The manipulation of partitions or screens was the closest reformers came to changing the structures of churches themselves. On the other hand, ritual objects, including furniture and clothing, could be manipulated. Altars were replaced by tables in many churches, and vestments were simplified. Ornament too plays a central role here; Renard defines it as “all the modes of enhancing the meaning as well as appearance of everything from the grandest monument of architecture to the humblest set of prayer beads” (105).

the course of rearranging our churches for the congregational liturgical worship of the Prayer Book. (22)

At the center of the conflict lie the ideas of mystery and commonality. The design of the medieval church produces a sense of mystery; if you will, it is a text that teaches one about separations: between God and humanity, between ranks of people. Like a Great Chain of Being, the medieval church connected all people, but imposed a strict hierarchy upon them. To this end, screens divide the church into separate, and largely self-contained rooms, including nave, transepts, chantry chapels, and chancel. This succession of rooms seemingly stretches “into infinity: there is a gradual unveiling of its character till at last the high altar is reached at the east end” (Addleshaw, 16). Between the church door and the high altar one progresses through increasingly sacred space. As one moves farther into the church and as the rooms become less accessible to the common person, a sense of mystery compounds itself. In this way, the church building functions as much as a spectacle of holiness as it does a place for the gathering of the common people. The design of these buildings reflects the importance of this first function; their chancels, the domain of the clergy alone, were often one half or two thirds the length of the nave, where the people stood.

The notion of the congregation worshipping separated from the liturgical service by a screen, unable to see or often, to hear what was going on, ran directly contrary to the new Prayer Book of the English church. As Addleshaw and Etchells point out, this Prayer Book “conceives of each service in the liturgy as the work of the whole body of the faithful.” To this end, much of the mystery of the service must give way to

commonality. The new Prayer Book replaced otherworldly Latin with English, mandating that “all thynges shalbe read and songe in the Churche in the Engliyshe tongue, to the end that the congregacion maye be thereby edified” (*The First and Second Prayer Book of King Edward the Sixth*, 323). As well, all ceremonies used in the church must be clearly understandable: “[a]nd moreover they be neither darke nor dombe ceremonies: but are so sette forth, that euery man may understand what they doe mean, and to what use thei do serve” (326). Further, the minister’s words must be audible: “the minister shal turn him, as ye people maye best heare” (347). Worship centered around the people themselves, not on hidden mysteries. The term “congregation” itself became more important; the congregation participated in the liturgy along with the priest, under the guidance of the Prayer Book.⁴⁶ On the surface, the Prayer Book did not address architecture; however, once the principles of the new liturgy were practised, the implications for architecture could not be avoided. The text of the church building had to be re-read in order to make the new liturgy work. The prayer book’s emphasis on a new oral/aural protocol fundamentally shifted the use of the building; the new liturgy employed words as the primary method for its edification project, the building up of the congregation.

⁴⁶ Tindale translated *Ekklesia* as “congregation,” as he explained to More, because the clergy “had appropriat vnto themselues the terme [Church] that of right is common vnto all the whole congregacion of them that beleue in Christ” (OED: Cf. 1529 More Dyaloge iii. viii. 97 b. 1530). This way of placing emphasis on all believers rather than on the church hierarchy became popular with English reformers of the sixteenth century.

Changes in use of church buildings were subject to on-going social negotiations. If the church hierarchy was satisfied with reforming the medieval building, many dissenters were not. Henry Barrow, the Elizabethan separatist, argued that existing church buildings were inextricably tied to the idolatrous rituals of the Roman church. In his *Brief Discovery of the False Church*, Barrow objected to the design of the church, which to him copied the design of the Jewish temple with its holy of holies, a design superseded by Christ's once-and-for-all sacrifice:

They have also their holiest of al, or chauncel, which peculiarly belongeth to the priest and quire They have their roodloft as a partition betweene their holie and holiest of all. The priest also hath a peculiar dore into his chancel, through which none might pass but himself. (467)

He also objected to the rituals consecrating the building itself, from the sprinkling of the cornerstone and parts of the church such as the bells, to the naming of the church after a particular patron saint, who would then be expected to guard the building against dangers spiritual and material.⁴⁷ Even the windows and walls, he notes, contain an "armie of saintes and angels" to protect the building.

To the "allegation" that Roman churches could be purged of "idols and idolatrie," Barrow answers:

how then doe they still stand in their old idolatrous shapes, with their auncient

⁴⁷ Barrow objects here to the common practice of consecrating church bells in order to protect their church from lightning; demons were thought to cause lightning and ringing consecrated bells was believed to drive those spirits away. (Thomas 34)

appurtinances, with their courts, cells, aisles, chancel, belles, *etc.*? Can these remaine, and al idolatrous shapes and relickes be purged from them? Which are so inseperably inherent unto the whole building, as it can never be clensed of this fretting leprosie, until it be desolate, laid on heaps, as their yonger sisters, the abbaies and monasteries are. (468)

Corresponding with the notion that medieval churches were idolatrous was the belief that God could be worshipped as well outside as in a church; Keith Thomas lists several instances of nonconformists stating such convictions before authorities (67). Such denials of the appropriateness of worshipping in churches once Catholic led Richard Hooker to address the subject at length in the fifth book of his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.⁴⁸ He carefully reconstructs a history of the church building, claiming righteous

⁴⁸ Barrow's desire to destroy churches by no means represented a general position among those uneasy with the English church, but rather a vocal fringe. Barrow's position is obviously problematic in that, to justify such a violent attack on the superstition of the Roman church, he must also acknowledge its efficacy. While the devil could be seen to be powerful, perhaps Barrow's view went too much against the experience of most who might otherwise be sympathetic: the buildings in which they regularly worshiped may not have passed easily as demonic structures. Still a problem to Hooker in any case, the prominent non-conformist position on church buildings seems to have been more of disinterest than opposition. An example tied into Hooker's own history involves his short-lived co-ministry with Walter Travers (who later edited the Scottish Church's *Book of Discipline*) at Temple Church, London. Travers was a well-established reader in the

precedent for the consecrated artful place of worship through the full range of biblical and church history, from Adam's use of a specific place in paradise to present himself before God, to the building of the temple, to the dedication of churches by Constantine and Athanasius (37-40). Hooker deflects nonconformist concerns with the status of the church building itself, and focuses instead on the use of the building, writing that when we sanctify or hallow churches, that which we do is only to testify that we make them places of public resort, that we invest God himself with them, that we sever them from common uses. In which action, other solemnities than such as are decent and fit for that purpose we approve none. (44)

Hooker's reformed theology of consecration claims to impart no miraculous significance to the building; rather, it grants importance to the building because of what

church and had had the freedom to preach his Presbyterian theology. When Hooker was appointed as master, conflict arose: Hooker preached his episcopal message in the morning, Travers refuted him in the afternoon. This lasted only three Sundays, until Bishop Whitgift revoked Travers' licence to preach. Travers stayed on as a parishioner, however, and created enough resistance that Hooker eventually asked for a quieter appointment, where he made his ultimate answer to Travers by writing *Ecclesiastical Polity* (Knox 70-88). Notable for this study though, Travers in his condemnation of Catholic practices in the English church never challenged the legitimacy of the once-Catholic church building, and the *Book of Discipline* does not comment on the place of worship at all.

will be done there.⁴⁹ In that the church is the socially recognized place of worship, it guards against “privy conventicles, which covered with pretence of religion may serve unto dangerous practices” (41). In that the church is beautiful, “it serveth as a sensible help to stir up devotion, and *in that respect* no doubt *bettereth* even our holiest and best actions in this kind” (52). Here the ecclesiastical role of the church is inseparable from its political one, also suggesting the broader context of nonconformist protest. The church service, as opposed to the house meeting of the radicals, served to contain religious and political expression within a public space. At the same time, while the inspirational qualities of the church building which Hooker describes do act as a kind of social control, they serve a devotional purpose in their own right. Hooker always returns to the reformation concern with an internalized spirituality, a personal understanding of the gospel. He does not argue that worship must happen in church, but that there is no place ‘so good’ as the church. The locus of worship remains the believer’s heart; the church serves to encourage and enhance.

Under Edward VI, a movement began to remove the screens from churches, creating a larger, open space. This modification of the building, however, was not to remain for long. After the reign of Mary, in which many screens were rebuilt, the Elizabethan Settlement mandated that screens be rebuilt in all churches which lacked them, and that no existing screens be destroyed.⁵⁰ Significantly, the Royal Order refers to

⁴⁹ As Hooker writes later in Book Five, “Churches receive as every thing else their chief perfection from the end whereunto they serve” (51).

⁵⁰ Nigel Yates notes that Archbishop Parker’s directions of 1566 mandated that

the screens as “partitions,” a term that shifts the meaning of these structures. Whereas in the medieval church the screen separated ranks of people, the partitions of the Elizabethan church now designated specific spaces for different parts of the liturgical service. No longer did the clergy and the laity occupy different spaces within the church building. They now shared the same spaces, moving from one part of the church to another as the liturgy suggested. The partition divided the church into two main areas, the nave and the chancel. Most of the activity in the church occurred in the nave, where the pulpit, reading pew, and font were located. Accordingly, preaching, prayers, and baptising all took place here, the first two making up the largest portion of the normal church experience. In the chancel stood the high altar or communion table, the site of the Eucharist, the marriage ceremony, and the churching of women. When communion was to be received, the congregation would move into the chancel, in which they could celebrate the Eucharist without distractions.

In the Reformation Church in England, then, priest and laity joined together. The minister sat in the nave during most services, and the congregation joined him in the chancel for communion. This joining of clergy and laity accomplished the mandate of the Prayer Book, to have a liturgy with the full participation of all present. Space shared in common could not be defined as sacred by the church leadership as easily as that of the strictly demarcated medieval church. In this historical moment of a new commonality, two distinct, possibly contradistinct forces emerged. One was the authoritative power of _____

screens be kept, but that the figures of Christ, Mary, and St. John on them be replaced with the Royal Arms (31).

individual interpretation of sacred space, validated by the rightful place of each believer within all parts of the church. The other was the need for the church hierarchy to circumscribe individual interpretation within certain limits, to reinscribe an authoritative version of sacred space. With opening the church as common space came chaotic possibilities. When parishes began to replace stone altars with wooden communion tables, the destruction of the altars often became riotous. It seems that the laity took to the task of reforming the church space with an unholy enthusiasm. In response, the Elizabethan Settlement mandated that no altar be removed “except under the supervision of the parish priest and at least one churchwarden” (Addleshaw, 33). The contest over altars acts as an extreme example of the crisis of sacred space that characterized this time.

As Terry Sherwood writes, “Herbert’s commitment to the physical church and its furnishings is striking” (95). The value Herbert places on architecture in his poetry is borne out in his re-building of actual churches. As Amy Charles points out, he rebuilt three churches during his life. Of these, the best known is the stone cruciform church of Leighton Bromswold. Herbert became prebend of Leighton Ecclesia in 1626, at which time the church had not been in use for almost twenty years. Instead, services were being held in the manor hall of the Duke of Lennox. As Charles puts it, for Herbert “with his sense of what was fitting and proper in everything related to the worship of God,” it was “intolerable for a church to remain in this state” (128). Herbert’s treatment of this actual church building suggests the importance to him of the church building as sacred text. His passionate belief that the church had to be rebuilt tells us that for him, the place that the

congregation gathered had utmost importance. As Izaak Walton records in his biography of Herbert, Herbert's mother tried to persuade him not to try to rebuild Leighton Bromswold, saying "George, it is not for your weak body and empty purse to undertake to build churches" (279). Herbert went on to fight against failing health and to raise money from his many well-placed friends in order to see the church rebuilding begun. Walton writes that he began the rebuilding and

made it so much his whole business that he became restless, till he saw it finished as it now stands; being, for the workmanship, a costly *Mosaick*; for the form, an *exact Cross*; and for the decency and beauty, I am assured it is the most remarkable parish church that this nation affords. (278)

In rebuilding the church of Leighton Bromswold, Herbert consciously wrote sacred space, producing a building of expensive workmanship which the congregation could read according to the mode of *The Temple*, learning about themselves in God. Herbert's intentionality in writing sacred space surfaces in his design for the pulpit and the reading pew of the church. Usually, the reading pew took its place below the level of the pulpit, indicating a hierarchy of importance between the functions performed at the two places. Herbert, apparently, did not prefer this arrangement. Walton writes that

by his order, the Reading Pew and Pulpit were a little distant from each other and both of an equal height; for he would often say, 'They should neither have a precedence or priority of the other, but that *Prayer* and *Preaching*, being equally useful, might agree like Brethren and have an equal honour and estimation' (283)

Herbert consciously shapes the church building according to his philosophy of liturgy,

constructing with it a message meant to be seen and understood by the congregation, striking a balance between the positions of those who desired a more ritualized service and those who desired a plainer one. As Doerksen points out, the Jacobean church successfully accommodated people with a wide range preferences in worship style, from the emerging Laudians (Sacrament-centred, ceremonialist) to non-conforming Puritans (opposed to non-scriptural rites) (22). While Herbert expressed fairly specific views on worship style, he did so within the inclusive spirit of the Jacobean *via media*. As Richey argues, Herbert questions the exclusionary attitudes of both extremes (80). Perhaps the pulpit and reading pew of Leighton-Bromswold best suggest Herbert's ideas about doctrine and the church building. Traditionally, the reading pew (from which the priest read lessons and prayers) was located behind the screen, in the nave. In Herbert's time, the reading pew was placed in a variety of ways in order to make services audible, but most often it was placed somewhere near the pulpit. As Addleshaw and Etchells note, Herbert's reading pew forces the minister to face the congregation at all times. In this way, it would have satisfied Puritans, who at the Savoy Conference argued that the minister should face the congregation when in prayer; the Bishops replied that, when the minister was speaking to the congregation, he should face it, but that, when he was praying, he should turn to the altar (77-78). On a symbolic level, Herbert's arrangement gives preaching, emphasized by the Puritans, and prayer, emphasized by the Laudians, equal prominence. In addition to the twin pulpits, Herbert also had the church fit with a very low screen, minimizing the separation of the nave and chancel. Walton's noting of the form of the church ('an exact cross') is further explained by comments from John

Betjeman, who notes that Herbert had the late-medieval aisles of the church torn down and restored the outer walls to their original position, allowing the transepts to stand alone.⁵¹ Betjeman writes that Herbert “married his new nave to the medieval transepts, which perform their proper function in giving a wonderful breadth and freedom to the whole design. The church has, in fact, become a true Protestant ‘preaching space’” (114).

Herbert’s rebuilding of the Leighton church reformed that building, reducing the hierarchical separation between nave and chancel, and omitting the aisles, so that everyone could hear and see the minister clearly. However, this reformation happened only as part of a restoration, making it difficult to comfortably associate Herbert with Puritan thinking. Had he been inclined away from traditional worship forms, he would not have rebuilt the church at all, the manor hall already in use. Having decided to rebuild, he did not simply make the church useable, but instead made it quietly lavish, as Walton says, ‘a costly mosaic.’ Clearly, his goal was not to produce a place only where the congregation could meet, but a place suitable to the worship of God. His treatment of the communion table also indicates his desire for inclusion and balance. Though guides on the church at Leighton-Bromswold do not mention the communion table there, we do have a reliable indication of Herbert’s thinking on the arrangement of the communion table: his own advice for priests in *The Country Parson*. Throughout this period, the question of the altar versus the table remained open. During the reign of Edward the

⁵¹ The original design was cross-shaped. Typically medieval churches were expanded by adding on to the sides of the nave to the width of the transepts, thus creating aisles and changing the form of the building as a whole.

Sixth, many stone altars were smashed and replaced with the wooden “Lord’s Board.” Stone altars did remain in some churches, however. Furthermore, different approaches were taken toward the wood table. Some positioned it table-wise, placing it lengthwise in the aisle of the chancel so that the congregation could sit around it (in what are now used as choir stalls) during communion. Later, Laudian reforms placed it altar-wise, surrounding it with rails and returning it to the altar’s traditional place, flush to the eastern wall of the church.

While Herbert nowhere mentions a preference for positioning of the table, the 1646 charges against Thomas Laurence, Herbert’s successor at Bemerton, by the Committee for Sequestrations are suggestive. Among them was the charge that he “hath bin a great Inovato^r in his church at Bem[er]ton in [par]ticular hee caused the Comunion Table (callinge itt the blessed bord to be turned Aulter wise) and raised the ground vnder itt, and Rayl’d itt” (Charles 228). While Charles argues that Herbert, not Laurence, may have made the changes, the charge is clear about Laurence being the ‘innovator.’ Herbert does, in ‘The Parson in Sacraments,’ address posture:

The Feast indeed requires sitting, because it is a Feast; but man’s unpreparednesse asks kneeling. Hee that comes to the Sacrament, hath the confidence of a Guest, and hee that kneels, confesseth himself an unworthy one, and therefore differs from other Feasters: but hee that sits, or lies, puts up to an Apostle:

Contentiousnesse in a feast of Charity is more scandal than any posture. (259)

Though Herbert’s instructions went against Puritan practice (the Genevan prayer book prescribed sitting as the proper posture for receiving communion), they do concede the

Puritan point before arguing a more ceremonialist one--as Doerksen points out, Herbert's instructions are tolerant and gently persuasive, always holding inner attitude more important than outer posture. Herbert's church, like his poetry, is eclectic, retaining elements of tradition and incorporating elements of reform in an innovative blend. The rule seems not to be alignment with a particular doctrinal set, but instead, the production of a space in which people can find God. Herbert's preferences on worship style give way to his conviction that 'contentiousnesse' does not belong at a feast of charity. In its total, Herbert's church marks out a middle ground between conflicting doctrinal forces; it is a text not of human politics, but of divine salvation.

In chapter thirteen of *A Priest to the Temple*, entitled "The Parson's Church," Herbert sets out rules giving further details on the establishment of sacred space. He says that the "country parson hath a speciall care of his Church, that all things there be decent and befitting his Name by which it is called" (246). To this end, he gives four rules; first, that "all things be in good repair," second, "that the Church be swept and kept clean . . . and at great festivalls strawed, and stuck with boughs, and perfumed with incense," and forth, that all books "appointed by authority" be kept there in good condition, that the communion cloth be linen and "fitting and sightly," and that a poor-man's box be conveniently located within the church (246).

Herbert's third rule, though, is most relevant to us here: that there "be fit, and proper texts of Scripture every where painted, and that all the painting be grave and reverend, not with light colours or foolish anticks" (246). So far, I have been reading Herbert's church metaphorically, through its architecture and furniture. However, this

discussion of the language of design now comes to its ultimate point: the function of text in the church building. One must also read this church literally, for it is filled with text. Though seventeenth-century verses no longer occupy the walls of Leighton-Bromswold or Bemerton, enough is known from the few churches in which they survive to generalize about the interior of Herbert's churches and more broadly about the churches known to Herbert's readers. Significantly, Herbert's order to paint scripture on the walls was not out of personal preference, but a reiteration of canon law: Canon LXXXII of 1604, following the orders of 1560 and 1561⁵², prescribes that "the Ten Commandments be set up on the East end of every Church and Chapel, where the people may best see and read the same, and other chosen sentences written upon the walls of the said Churches and Chapels, in places convenient."⁵³ Remarkably, at least from a twentieth-century perspective, when Herbert's readers worshipped in church, they were surrounded by text. When they picked up *The Temple*, they left a church inscribed with text and entered a church constructed of it.

The continuity between concrete and metaphorical churches is striking. At the very least, one must think that it would have seemed natural to associate the church building and scripture: the church building made up of physical places occupied by places

⁵² See Addleshaw and Etchells, 102

⁵³ "Insuper statutum at decretum sit, ut decalogus pingatur in orientali cujusque ecclesiae et capellae parte, unde a populo commodissime cerni et legi possit, ac aliae selectae scripturarum sententiae in earundem parietibus passim in locis opportunis describantur" (Bullard 86-7).

scriptural, a public, concrete memory theatre.⁵⁴ Having weekly walked into such a structure, the reader must have been uniquely able to respond to Herbert's invitation to enter, through the "Church-Porch," into an architecture constructed in the mind through revisiting scriptural, liturgical, architectural places.⁵⁵ If the text-filled church acts as a context for *The Temple*, we must ask how the text in the church functions: why was it put there? How and where was it put? Henry Barrow made the challenge that those who would continue to use Roman churches must "justifie these . . . by the word of God" (469), and the placing of scriptures on the walls and furniture literally did this. Medieval paintings were limewashed, and the texts which replaced them, often warning against idolatry, were in black letter--as Herbert says, "grave and reverend."⁵⁶ These texts, placed on the walls, started with the Ten Commandments and, often, the Lord's Prayer on either side of the communion table. The side walls were filled with admonitions, reminding readers of key doctrinal and moral precepts. While these sentences served a general instructional and meditative purpose, the scriptures on or near the furniture were

⁵⁴ When Willis describes "scriptile" ideas--those written on the walls of the mental memory theater--he uses the example of the script painted in churches (36).

⁵⁵ See Random Cloud's "Enter Reader" for a detailed examination of how the opening poems of *The Temple* act on the collection's architectural metaphor by inviting entry. As Cloud puts it, Herbert's metaphor is "*Reading as Entry*; it is *Reading as Entry into a Book*; it is *Reading into a Book as Entry into a Building*" (4)

⁵⁶ See Gerald Randall, *Church Furnishing in England and Wales* (148) and Betjeman (36)

specifically interpretive: as Addleshaw and Etchells explain, these sentences made “each part of the church intelligible in terms of scripture”(106). The font, reading pew, and pulpit were marked with texts that pointed to the liturgical significance of the exercises done there: in case one was tempted to place authority on the priest, the pulpit at Yaxley, Suffolk proclaims “Necessity is laid upon me, ye woe is me if I preach not the Gospel.” Another, at Gordby by Manwood, Leics. reads “Here the Word of God,” a sentence, through spelling, both topographical and topological. The church at Sherrington, Wiltshire, has at the table “For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye proclaim the Lord’s death till he come” (I Cor. 11:26) and near the font “Suffer little children to come unto Me” (Matt. 19:4) and “Come children hearken unto me and I will teach you the fear of the Lord” (Ps. 34:11).⁵⁷ Doorways were also generally inscribed to remind the “worshipper what should be his attitude of mind on entering or leaving church” (Addleshaw and Etchells 106). In some cases, texts other than scriptural were painted on the walls; notably, St. Martin’s, Windermere remains inscribed with questions from an Elizabethan catechism on the sacraments (106 n3).

The inscription of scriptural sentences on church walls and furniture answers the charges of those such as Barrow in two ways. First, it overwrites the alleged object of idolatry with the same sacred text Barrow would use to condemn it, thus closely associating the medieval physical structure with the sole authority of Reformation thought: the Bible. Second, the inscription claims the church not as in itself holy, but as a suitable carrier for the gospel. Here the church attracts attention not as a terminus, but as

⁵⁷ All quotations from Yule, 190.

a sign, pointing beyond its physical presence to a metaphysical and subsuming reality. Lest one tarry on the beauty of the font, for instance, the object itself will remind you that it is merely a sign, a guide to understanding the far greater truth. In “The Parson’s Church,” Herbert makes clear that his treatment of the church building is not intended to “put a holiness in things” (246), rather he has a precise sense of what the building should communicate to those in it. For him, doing things in order and doing things to the edification of all are foundational rules of worship, which “excellently *score out* the way, and fully and exactly contain, even in external and indifferent things, what course is to be taken, and put them to great shame who deny the Scripture to be perfect” (246-47, italics mine). The purpose of the edifice, then, is to edify: the principles of scripture are scored out, written in the architecture of the church, guiding the congregation into truth.

When Herbert’s readers move from a church filled with text to one made of text, they encounter similarities. In both churches there is a struggle to move beyond the material, informed by a Reformation suspicion of sacred places, on one hand, and poetry, on the other. In both, one finds language pointing to the inexpressible, the word pointing to the Word. Beyond the apparent continuity though, significant differences between the concrete and metaphorical textual churches remain. The sentences that filled church buildings were precisely not playful, but rather sober and sobering: they prescribed ways of thinking and acting, indoctrinating the reader. The church building, then, was a consciously disciplinary space, producing conformity, not only to set doctrine, but to broader social and political patterns. The features that mark *The Temple*, its multivocality and strange conceits, its doctrinal eccentricity, its deep unease with political

constructs, its plain vexedness with the spiritual life, were not only absent from the church building and service, but would have been considered improper there, including by Herbert himself.

As priest, Herbert's construction of sacred space did not stop with the restructuring and redecorating of the building and its furniture, but extended to his behaviour and that of the congregation. The commonality of the Prayer Book's reformed worship, while giving the congregation access to the whole service, also demands that it participate in that service, in a disciplined manner, acting out the liturgy together with the clergy. In "The Parson Praying," he asks that the priest,

having often instructed his people how to carry themselves in divine service, exacts of them all possible reverence, by no means enduring either talking, or sleeping, or gazing, or leaning, or halfe-kneeling, or any undutifull behaviour in them, but causing them, when they sit, or stand, or kneel, to do all in a strait and steady posture, as attending to what is done in the Church, and every one, man and child, answering aloud both Amen and all other answers, which are on the Clerk's and people's part to answer; which answers are not to be done in a huddling or slubbering fashion, gaping, or scratching the head, or spitting even in the midst of their answer, but gently and pauseably, thinking what they say; so that while they answer . . . they meditate as they speak. (231)

The common space of the church was not at all a free space, as this listing of appropriate and inappropriate manners illustrates. If the congregation has been empowered by

reform, such empowerment has not allowed individual or even majority interpretive or behavioural freedom. Rather, the congregation has been given a new role, much more active, to play. The common worship layed out by the Prayer Book, as with the more overtly hierarchical worship layed out by the medieval church before it, is still taught to the laity, enforced by the clergy.

Herbert both defines and is defined by the sacred space of the church, reflecting a central concern of his writing: the paradoxical position of the priest as both a servant and a leader. In the common space of the reformation church, the building alone apparently cannot sufficiently communicate the sacredness of its purpose, and so the priest must himself actualize this sense, himself produce a living spectacle of holiness. In the priest's behaviour, something of the awe-inspiring mysteriousness of the medieval church is created. Earlier in "The Parson Praying," Herbert writes:

The country parson, when he is to read divine services, composeth himself to all possible reverence, lifting up his heart and hands and eyes, and using all other gestures which may express a hearty and unfeigned devotion. This he doth, first, as being truly touched and amazed with the Majesty of God, before whom he then presents himself; yet not as himself alone, but as presenting with himself the whole congregation, whose sins he then bears and brings with his own to the heavenly altar to be bathed and washed in the sacred laver of Christ's blood. Secondly, as this is the true reason of his inward fear, so he is content to express this outwardly to the utmost of his power; that being first affected himself, he may also affect his people, knowing that no sermon moves them so much to a

reverence, which they forget again when they come to pray, as a devout behaviour in the very act of praying. (231)

Herbert describes here a kind of holy theatre, in which the insight of the priest must be dramatically displayed in order to inspire in the congregation an emotional understanding of the doctrine being communicated. In the medieval church, reverence was produced in that the congregation did not see the priest pray; now that the priest and congregation are praying together, reverence must be produced by the priest himself.

Herbert's intent in this production of reverence is clearly that of a good priest. His actions flow out of his love for God and out of his desire that his congregation understand God in the same way as he does. It also seems reasonable to assume that, in leading worship in this way, that Herbert as priest would be fulfilling the expectations and in some cases the desires of his congregation. However, as Michael Schoenfeldt observes, Herbert nonetheless exercises control over his congregation:

The parson's act of self-composure, like the poet's act of composition, is a creative and coercive gesture. Profoundly aware at once of the effect of his divine auditor upon him and of the effect his conduct has upon his congregation, the parson, like the devotional poet, addresses two very different audiences involving opposite political situations. Moved by the one and moving the other, parson and devotional poet must submit and control, amaze and be amazed, simultaneously. (1)

The priest's coercive actions problematize the commonality of Prayer Book worship, or

at least redefine it. Though every believer must depend individually upon Christ for salvation, the church must still mediate that relationship, guiding the individual in the interpretation of holy scripture, and, as with Herbert, in the interpretation of sacred space. Here then, is what I referred to earlier as a crisis of sacred space, that even as authorities open the church building to a new commonality, they feel compelled to circumscribe that commonality. As Herbert encourages his parishioners to participate fully in the sacred, he also must control that participation. If Herbert's role in church is prominent, to enforce discipline while inspiring, his presence in *The Temple* is much harder to pin down. Yet, through the variety of voices and forms, he maintains a pastoral presence, guiding the reader into deeper spiritual things.

So how does the architectural poetics of *The Temple* relate to the textual church? I have suggested that, for their homologies, they are very different interpretive spaces. The application of scriptural sentences to the church building provides a "simple and direct" religion (Addleshaw and Etchells 106); the field of interpretation here is circumscribed tightly to include only those interpretive possibilities authorized by church and state. This overtly disciplinary use of text contrasts with the free, personal movement of texts in *The Temple*, a religion neither simple nor direct. I will argue, though, that, for Herbert, the two modes are not oppositional, but progressive, that the language system of the church provides the basis for Herbert's textual temple. Though texts on walls constrained interpretive range, they encouraged interpretive depth, teaching the congregation to see not only a font or a door, but beyond to a spiritual reality: rather than simply viewing it, one learned to read the building. As Herbert writes

in “The Elixir,” “A man that looks on glasse,/ On it may stay his eye;/ Or if he pleaseth, through it passe,/ And then the heav’n espie” (184). Further, one learned to understand scripture spatially as well as sequentially. As attention moved from place to place in the church, attention also moved from scriptural place to scriptural place, so that original context, including author, genre, and historical situation was replaced by an architectural, liturgical context, one that marked out the present life of the church. Here, key Biblical truths were taken out of time and arranged so that they could be experienced by the congregation: scriptures were literally ordered around the congregation and its need to learn its salvation.

In *The Temple*, Herbert builds on these reading habits taught by the church building, teaching readers to go beyond its communal guidance and to search out their individual destinies. This is most apparent in “H. Scriptures II,” a poem describing his individual, devotional hermeneutic. Though this hermeneutic certainly preceded and motivated the painting of scriptures in churches, for anyone moving from the church to Herbert’s poetry, it would have recapitulated those scriptures, the chief difference being that while those scriptures were selected by authorities, the scriptures of personal devotion are chosen by the reader, as moved by the scriptures themselves. Dayton Haskin calls the method described in the poem typically Protestant; in it, “interpretive discovery is presented in a topographical language that suggests a conception of the Book as a vast field, or set of fields, filled with ‘places’ that bear potential relations to one another.” (2) The ultimate goal of this type of reading is to find oneself through collating textual places; in this way, the Bible becomes not just God’s Word to the

Church, but God's Word to the individual believer. In reading the Bible, Herbert finally reads himself; he understands scripture in a highly personal way, saying "[t]hy words do find me out." Notably, he finds in his reading an astrological sense of mystery: the Bible holds "secrets" of "destiny," unlocked when read by the individual Christian.

Clearly, the Bible is the chief text to be read by the believer. Herbert, though, invokes the language of church architecture as an interpretive framework. In his poem "The Church-Floor," Herbert gathers physical places, collating them into a personal message in a way that parallels his reading of scripture. As opposed to Barrow, who finds that the "idolatrous shape so cleaveth to every stone, as it by no means can be severed from them whiles there is a stone left standing upon a stone" (478), in the stones, Herbert sees wisdom, and ultimately the gospel:

¶ The Church-floore.

Mark you the floore? that square & speckled stone
Which looks so firm and strong,
Is *Patience* :

And th'other black and grave, wherewith each one
Is checker'd all along,
Is *Humilitie* :

The gentle rising, which on either hand
Leads to the Quire above,
Is *Confidence* :

But the sweet cement, which in one sure band
Ties the whole frame, is *Love*
And *Charitie* .

Hither sometimes Sinne steals, and stains
The marbles neat and curious veins :
But all is cleansed when the marble weeps.
Sometimes Death, puffing at the doore,
Blows all the dust about the floore:
But while he thinks to spoil the room, he sweeps.
Blest be the *Architect*, whose art
Could build so strong in a weak heart.

As Stanley Fish argues, in "The Church-Floor," the objects of the poem are "first distinguished (from each other and from the reader) and then brought together, as the architectural metaphor becomes alive and is finally interiorized." He goes on to say that "the strategy succeeds when the reader is no longer trying to make these distinctions, but discovers himself signified by each and every one of them (he discovers what he is)" (78-79). The similarity between the way that Herbert reads the Bible and the way he reads the church building is striking. He approaches both with a confident, self-authorizing reading which mediates the link between himself and God. Fish argues that Herbert de-emphasizes the material in favour of the spiritual, and Richard Strier goes

further, arguing that the poem's ultimate topic, the heart, eliminates the possibility that the poem is about literal church floors at all. He writes "[w]hat we are left contemplating is not the capacity of a physical structure to suggest spiritual meanings but the unique ability of God to create imperishable spiritual values in the human heart" (149). Strier assumes, as Guibbory puts it, "a necessary opposition between external and internal," an opposition that would have also been assumed by non-conforming Puritans, but that does not at all seem to have been assumed by Herbert (244). While the poem can be read productively from a non-conforming point-of-view (it nowhere demands ritual), it more readily fits a liturgical mind, which would see no contradiction between buildings suggesting spiritual meanings and God-created spiritual values, believing that "the contemplation of . . . outward, material things can lead the observer to spiritual truth (Guibbory 71). Herbert's choice of material text is neither arbitrary nor unimportant. Herbert reads the church building and its liturgical environment along with the Book of Scripture and the Book of Nature; for him, it acts as an important physical space in which the revealed Word is enacted. The church building, then, is a common space, in which the individual may experience the "mystical repast" of "Superliminare." As the Bible and the liturgy have been translated into the "Engliyshe tongue, to the end that the congregacion maye be thereby edified," (BCP 323) Herbert too opens up the church building to common understanding, teaching his readership to find themselves in it, upon their own meditation.

Herbert finds in the church floor signs of the most profound Christian truths. The final eclipsing of the earthly architect by the heavenly one should be understood not

as a minimalizing of the earthly architect, but instead, as the raising of the architect and architecture to a sacramental level. In the design of the church, with its incorporation of differing elements, Herbert sees a model of the great design. Significantly, Herbert does not consider technical or learned aspects of architecture. Rather, like his poetry itself, his presentation of architecture is decidedly plain. As Fish argues, Herbert writes as a country parson, leading people without formal education into spiritual growth. His architectural language is one that any parishioner could understand: pointing to this stone, to the next stone, to the cement that joins them. In its simplicity, however, Herbert's description of the materiality of the church opens the mind, investing the floor that all walk on every Sunday with an expansive spiritual significance.

Martin Bucer argued in his *Scripta Anglicana* of 1577 that the prayers, psalms, and lessons read in church must be presented so that they "may by all present be apprehended abundantly and to the effective establishment of faith" (quoted in translation in Addleshaw, 245). Fundamental to this argument is the idea that the "establishment of faith" lies in the heart of each person in the congregation, and not in the church hierarchy. This change in the service changed the notion of responsibility in the church. The minister was now responsible to instruct clearly, so that the lay person could fulfil his or her own responsibility to understand and to act on the gospel. No longer could the layperson simply do what the priest says to do; the layperson must internalize the theology of the church, must develop an individual understanding of his or her faith. In his line "Mark you the floor?", Herbert acts on his responsibility to raise the consciousness of his readers. He demands that readers look at what they have always

looked at, but in a new way. He teaches them to find themselves in the church building, and, by doing so, to find themselves in the church.

Herbert models his way of reading the church building in his poem “The Windows,” in which he addresses the paradoxical position of himself as a preacher, fallibly human, yet presenting the word of God. He writes:

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

(1-5)

The preacher, to begin with a “glass,” perhaps suggesting a self-reflecting mirror, and also “crazy,” flawed to the point of uselessness, becomes transformed when God affords him a place in the temple. On his own, he is cracked and ready to fall to pieces; however, when God “anneals in glasse [his] storie,” (6) the preacher becomes a glorious window. The very infirmity of the preacher provides the material for transcendence, a transcendence accomplished, as the extreme heat of annealing suggests, by God’s absolute, interventionist agency. Again, Herbert takes a physical place in the church, in this case a window, and reads it as sacred text, finding a place for the reader within it. God transforms the preacher by using him as a window, making His “life to shine within / The holy Preacher’s (l. 7-8); Herbert’s act of reading the preacher into the architecture of the church is also a transforming act: the preacher first recognizes himself in the church window, then recognizes Christ within himself. Herbert, in effect, claims the church as a text he as an individual believer can read, and then finds a place in it. By

extension, he teaches his reader to treat the church building as a personal space, a place that every believer can read and understand for him or herself through the Holy Spirit's empowering. Notably, Herbert writes not about a particular window, but about any annealed church window, for he does not comment on its contents, but on its construction. By doing so, he teaches a way of seeing which the reader does not have to transfer in order to use; the poem is ultimately not about a window, or even windows, but is about considering them as an act of personal devotion.

In "Church-monuments," the first of the "Church-" sequence, Herbert establishes the practice of applying church places to the person in a most probing way, by reading his own body through the church furniture. Invoking the soul/body split, Herbert subjects himself to the church building, participating in the story it tells, in this case, that all must die. While his soul is at devotion, he "intombes" his flesh, "that it betimes/ May take acquaintance of this heap of dust" (the church monument) (2-3). As in the poems above, the difference between active message and indifferent material is a matter of learning to read. Here, Herbert subjects his body to the monument/school: "I gladly trust/ My bodie to this school, that it may learn/ To spell his elements, and finde his birth/ Written in dustie heraldrie and lines; which dissolution sure doth best discern,/ Comparing dust with dust, and earth with earth" (6-11). As with the "Windows," the reading is not literalistic; in fact, one reads past the literal text and symbolism in order to understand the larger, but also personal, message. While the aristocratic Herbert could certainly have found monuments which did trace his own family's history, he emphasizes in this poem the lineage that all grave monuments commonly testify to: that

of humanity's mortality. The actual text on the monument only hints at what this school can teach; Herbert's poem replaces the literal text of the monument, telling of a great person, with another text, Herbert's own body. Through 'reading' the monument, the body learns to read itself. As in "The Church-floore," Herbert's use of 'mark' in the context of a reading metaphor hints at a commonality between the monument and texts in which important passages were literally marked: "Mark here below/ How tame these ashes are, how free from lust,/ That thou mayst fit thy self against thy fall" (22-24). The reader moves from alertness to an important text, to interpretation of the general lesson of that text, to personal application. The monument signifying another's death has become a warning against 'thy/my fall.'

The interpretive movement from the architectural to the personal, the interiorizing of public sacred space, happens most strikingly in the opening poem of "The Church," Herbert's famous "Altar." Here the shape of the most uncommon piece of church furniture becomes also the shape of the first person singular:

The Altar.

A broken ALTAR, Lord, thy servant rears;
 Made of a heart, and cemented with teares;
 Whose parts are as thy hand did frame;
 No workmans tool hath touch'd the same.

A HEART alone
 Is such a stone,
 As nothing but
 Thy power doth cut.
 Wherefore each part
 Of my hard heart
 Meets in this frame,
 To praise thy name:

That if I chance to hold my peace;
 These stones to praise thee may not cease.

O let thy blessed SACRIFICE be mine;
 And sanctifie this ALTAR to be thine. ⁵⁸

Unlike “The Church-floore” and “Church-monuments,” “The Altar” does not move from a meditation on the physical object through interpretation to application. Rather, as with “The Windows,” the poem immediately presents the reader with an equation: preacher=glass, heart=altar. Even with the prominence of the metaphor, though, “The Altar” remains a multi-layered architectural poem. Within the context of *The Temple*, this altar is most obviously that of a church: the reader moves through the “Church-porch,” through the “Superliminare,” and into the presence of an altar. However, while the poem’s title may fit into an English church, its shape does not: rather than finding a

⁵⁸ This image from second edition, STC 13185, BL Shelf mark 1076.i.25.

Christian altar, the readers find an unfamiliar shape, as it turns out, a classical altar, for Herbert has modelled his poem on the altar poem of *The Greek Anthology* (Hutchinson 484). This displacement of shape is further developed in the first line of the poem, where we find that a servant “rears” this altar.⁵⁹ This image of the individual building a sacrificial place clearly cannot refer to the altars found in churches; instead, one must think back to a time before the established church with its authorized, communal forms, to the primal faith, primal form of the early Hebrews, even the earliest: that of Abram. When the Lord appears to Abram, Abram responds by building an altar; after, when Abram calls on the Lord, he does so at an altar.⁶⁰ The poem’s first line invokes the deep history of biblical worship, in which the altar precedes and gives shape to all other liturgical development.

Before we meditate much on the physical altar(s) raised by the shape and the beginning of the poem, however, Herbert again shifts our interpretive framework, for in the second line we learn that this altar is apparently not physical at all, but spiritual, “made of a heart.” Beyond the power of human workmanship, the Lord has broken the speaker’s heart, making it possible for the speaker to reconstruct it, “cemented with tears,” not as a sacrifice, but as a sacred location for one. In this case, the sacrifice is not those of the communion service, a “sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving” offered by the congregation or the congregation presenting itself, “our souls and bodies, to be a

⁵⁹ Tobin notes that “Old Testament altars were often portrayed in classical form, as in the illustrations to the Geneva Bible” (332).

⁶⁰ See Genesis 12: 7-8, 13:4

reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto Thee” (390). Rather, the speaker offers an exchange that really is not: “O let thy blessed Sacrifice be mine,/ And sanctify this Altar to be thine” (15-16). The heart becomes a locale for Christ’s sacrifice, fit for this purpose only when sanctified by the sacrifice itself. Nothing is traded here because the speaker has nothing of worth to give; by making his heart not the sacrifice, but the altar, he acknowledges this. The most he can give is his assent to receive. By the end of the poem, the heart is an altar, and the shape of the altar has also become the shape of the self, an ‘I’ raised only through the breaking of the self.

Richard Strier argues that “The Altar” “does not in any way refer to the Eucharist,” and that the poem is “artistically complex *because* it is religiously ‘low’” (191). Strier is right in reading the poem as fundamentally Protestant, for the mystical transformation happens not in bread and wine, but in the speaker himself. This said, Strier’s attempt to limit the poem only to its theology places it in an interpretive straightjacket. Herbert did not write, nor was he read, apart from an experience of communion, so the very use of the words ‘altar’ and ‘sacrifice’ which infuse both the poem and the communion service enable a basic intertextuality. The poem does not refer primarily to the Eucharistic service, but the poem and the service both do refer to the same thing: Christ’s sacrifice and its transformation of the believer. Herbert starts with the common architectural location, the altar, and looks deeply into it, reading there a history not of a sacred object, but of a point of communion between the individual and God. Herbert fulfills Abram’s art of altar-building as personal devotion by creating, through and for Christ’s ultimate sacrifice, an altar that is himself. “The Altar” does refer

to the Eucharist, but, more importantly, refers beyond it. The poem does not exist separately from the ceremony, but rather transforms it, teaching readers its “mystical repast.”

Critics such as Fish and Strier work to separate Herbert’s architectural poems from their literal referents, arguing that we repeatedly find in these poems that Herbert talks not about a literal church at all. This aversion to the literal troubles though, especially when one considers that the churches Herbert and his readers worshipped in were arranged to move the worshippers’ attention past the material and to the spiritual in much the same way that Fish and Strier describe Herbert’s poetry doing. When Herbert restored the churches at Leighton-Bromswold and Bemerton, he participated in an activity frowned upon by radicals, but by no means contrary to Reformation theology, and in fact, much in line with normal Jacobean church practice. Rather than seeing the medieval church building as inherently idolatrous, Herbert followed the view widely held in the English Church that that building could spell out the interiorization reformed theology required. Fish demonstrates that the title of Herbert’s book resonated with the catechistic literature of the time, that “The Temple” would have reminded readers of the temple of the Holy Spirit, the individual Christian. He quotes the introductory prayer to John Mayer’s catechism (1603): “Thou which art the Master-builder of thine owne house, settle me as one of thy living stones upon the right foundation, Jesus Christ; in whom I may daily grow up, till that all the building coupled together, groweth to an holy Temple in the Lord” (55). The reader discovers, in Fish’s argument, that the architectural metaphor of *The Temple* ultimately becomes internal, that this structure “is built up in the

heart of the reader who enters the poem in search of significances . . . and finds in the end that he himself is their repository (55). While I do not wish to dispute Fish's reading, I will augment it, for the temples of early modern England were not only metaphorical, "temple" also commonly, if not usually, referring to church buildings.⁶¹

The early seventeenth century saw a significant number of church restorations, and though the Prayer Book did not include a consecration service, bishops frequently wrote their own to reconsecrate or reconcile the newly restored buildings. These consecrations were common enough for Hooker to feel he needed to defend them (Leggix), and seem to have attempted to balance the ancient need to set aside a place of worship as special along with maintaining a reformed theology. Though many were alarmed that such practices were Romish (hence Hooker's defence), the rites themselves differ significantly from their medieval models. Rather than focussing on the church as having spiritual qualities of its own, these reformed rituals concentrate on the activities and people contained within. To this end, key elements of the Roman rite, such as the burial of holy relics beneath the church, were dropped. Instead, the church was dedicated to holy service. This shift is evident in the prayers made over specific pieces of furniture, such as the pulpit: "Grant that thy holy word, which from this place shall bee preached may be the savour of life vnto life, and as good seede sown in good ground take roote and

⁶¹ In addition to consecration ceremonies which refer to the church as a temple, another witness to churches as 'temples' is the title of a book of 1638 by one R.T.: *De Templis, a treatise on Temples: Wherein is discovered the Ancient manner of Building, Consecrating, and Adorning of Churches.*

fructifie in the hearts of all such as shall heare the same,” or the communion table: “Grant that all they which shall at any time partake at this table the highest of blessings of all thy holy Communion may be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction and may to their greate and endlesse comfort obtayne remission of their sinns /and all other benefits of thy passion” (From Dr. Richard Neile’s consecration of St. John’s, Leeds in Legg 194).

Though these prayers begin with a specific physical place, they quickly move to the activity to take place there, and from there to their ultimate concern, the people taking part in the activity. The furniture, like the building containing it, acts as a liturgical sign, a reminder of a spiritual dynamic located not in itself, but in the beholder.

In these consecration services, the building is frequently referred to as a ‘temple’ alongside the Pauline precept of the believer as temple (I Cor. 3:16, 6:19). Bishop William Barlow’s consecration of a private chapel at Langley, July 26, 1607, asks for cleane thoughtes, pure hartes, bodies undefiled, and mindes sanctified” so that “we may present unto thee both our Soules and Bodies, as Holy Temples of thy Spiritt, within this litle Temple, to the glory of thy Name” (Legg 2). Likewise, Lancelot Andrewes’ form asks: “Graunt that those thy servants, which shall come into this thy holy Temple, may themselves be the Temples of the Holy Ghost, eschewing all things which be contrarie to their profession, and following all such things as be agreeable to the same” (Legg 60).⁶² Rather than creating a symbolic system in which the material gives way to the spiritual and is ultimately declared irrelevant, these consecration services shape the relationship

⁶² The forms of Barlow and Andrewes were the most important consecration rites, with that of Andrewes having the most influence. (x1)

between the material and physical as a dialectic: the material temple provides the model for the construction of the consecrated and subsequently consecrating self. (The material temple and the consecrated self are analogous, rather than one being metaphorical of the other, and mutually informing modes of order.) The physical temple is made holy by (and/or for) holy use, a use which can only be performed by those who themselves are holy temples. The juxtaposing of material temple and spiritual temple in the ceremonies above becomes even tighter in the consecration of St. John's, Leeds (quoted in part in the epigraph):

Most blessed Saviour who by thy bodilie presence at the Feast of the dedication of the Temple at Jerusalem didst approve and honour such devout and religious service as this which we now performe. Present wee beseech thee thy selfe at this time also vnto us by the blessed assistance of thy holy spirit sanctifieinge vs and this place now and evermore. Amen.

And because that holiness becometh thy house for ever consecrate vs and this place Wee pray thee as holy temples to thyne own vse that they dwelling in our hearts by Faith and pouring downe vpon vs the plentiful graces of thy spirit we may bee cleansed from all carnall and prophane affections and devoutly given to serve thee in all good workes through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour.

Amen. (196)

The physical temple acts as a master form for those temples which are individual believers, serving as a sanctified space in which carnal affections have been cleansed away, and where God dwells. By invoking the Saviour's *bodily* presence at the ancient

consecration festival, the rite claims validity of the material realm. To recognize that God sanctifies buildings is here a natural extension of incarnational theology.

Perhaps the thinking of George Herbert (and those of his contemporaries who remained committed to the reformed liturgical practices of the Elizabethan Settlement) regarding the relationship between material and spiritual temples can be usefully connected with a mode of reading prevalent in the Christian church from its early centuries through to the early modern period, the method of reading for allegorical levels. As Fredric Jameson observes, the originality of this reading method was in its treatment of the literal level. Unlike rationalistic Hellenic readings of Homeric epic, which dissolved literality into mere symbolism, Christian readings of the Old Testament treated it as historical fact, but at the same time, a divine text containing a system of figures which could be read to comment on the life of Christ, the individual believer, and the future of the church (29). Here the literal is the starting point, the foundation of subsequent readings which, though they move farther and farther away, do so only with the understanding of the literal. To read on one level does not require dismissal of other levels; instead, respecting all levels allows the continuous interplay that makes the reading system so rich. If the material altar before you every Sunday is also both an Abrahamic altar and your own heart, the handiwork of Christ, then you have a powerful meditative object.

Strier argues, because Herbert's architectural and liturgical poems ultimately make reference to the personal, that "'The Windows' . . . could have been written by an iconoclast," "Aaron" "could have been written by an antivestiarian" (150). They could

have, but they were not. Instead, they were written by a priest deeply involved in shaping and maintaining the materiality of the church. In ultimately looking to heaven, Herbert need not have wished for a material change in earthly worship, for it is one thing to say that the true church is the mystical body of Christ, being all believers, and then to rip down the false church, being a building. It is another to proclaim the mystical church and also to rebuild a material one. With the exception of non-conformist readers, the poem's first audience was continually surrounded by the material referents of those poems.⁶³ For Lancelot Andrews, the connection between the material church and the mystical one could be spelled out: in that the church was the site of holy activities, it became "the very gate of heaven upon earth" (Legg 57), an image also used by Herbert (though less immediately tied to the church building itself): "On Sunday heavens gate stands ope" ("Sunday" 33). Significantly, the architecture of *The Temple* also acts as a gateway. We start by entering a church porch, and then entering, through a doorway, into a church

⁶³ Strier's non-conformist reading of Herbert is valid enough, for *The Temple* became popular in non-conformist circles and remained so for a century, and even beyond in the hymns of John Wesley. This said, during the same period, Herbert was also popular in the established church, and the inclusion of Christopher Harvey's *The Synagogue* with editions of Herbert's poetry from 1770 on only increased the poems' rootedness in the context of church architecture. Strier is wrong not in claiming that his non-conformist reading is possible and even productive, but in claiming that it is necessary. While Strier powerfully situates *The Temple* in the context of non-conformist theology, he does not fully take into account the context of Herbert's life and ministry.

where we see an altar. After this, however, the interpretive horizon eventually shifts, so that we are not in a church building at all. When we finally do reach the end, where we should find a communion table, we instead find communion. Beyond that lies the borderlessness of the church mystical and triumphant. Each time we read, though, entry into this temple is through a church door.

The Temple as Store-house: Reading Some of Herbert's Readers

As much as Herbert's book drew upon cultural commonplaces for its compositional material and form, it also became itself a storehouse and model for those who followed. While this is most obvious in the works of other well-known poets such as Richard Crawshaw, with his *Steps to the Temple*, and Edward Vaughan (as well as in other, lesser known works, such as Christopher Harvey's *Synagogue*), it is also evident in the record left by many others. I am particularly interested here in the reception of *The Temple* as witnessed by personal commonplace books, notebooks which record not only what the owner read but also how that person integrated those texts with each other and with his life. I will argue that these books reflect deeply their larger literary culture and that they bring this study as a whole full circle, demonstrating the ways in which readers looked to *The Temple* for guiding places and combinations of places, and beyond the borders of *The Temple*, to how they recombined Herbertian places with those of scripture and other texts. Following the advice of Robert Darnton to "[search] the record for readers"⁽⁵⁾, I look to these texts as the most immediate indication of seventeenth-century readings of Herbert, having no seventeenth-century reader to consult.

As I have argued in chapter four, Herbert negotiated a middle way between the contending extremes within the English church. A measure of the success of this project is that, even in the much wider confessional range and considerably heated religious environment of the English church(es) after James (and after Herbert himself), *The Temple* held strong attraction for readers across the religious spectrum. As Achsah Guibbory notes, Herbert was claimed as a high church poet by Isaak Walton, Christopher

Harvey, and others; and as low church by Richard Baxter and by the compilers and users of the 1697 non-conformist hymnal *Select Hymns from George Herbert's Temple* (44). While Herbert would doubtless have been horrified by the “rents and schismes” that characterized religious practice in the mid and later century, it seems reasonable to speculate that he would have been satisfied that his ministry remained common in such times.⁶⁴ Such common appeal becomes evident in the notebooks I examine here, whose passionate owners include both a Scottish Presbyterian and a royalist conformist. Before considering the notebooks, though, I want to give some attention to *The Temple* as a seventeenth and early eighteenth-century book.

In the first chapter of this study, I invoked Delany and Landow’s description of the ‘order of the book.’ Notably, this order includes both the text’s fixity and its demarcation from other texts. As we will see, such fixity and demarcation in *The Temple* are functionally reversed when readers copy verses from it into their notebooks; the copying recasts the verses as pieces of new composites, composites made up of texts from widely ranging sources. This re-composition of materials in manuscript notebooks should not surprise because it characterizes manuscript culture in general—one of the

⁶⁴ Tessa Watt comments that the popular print--ballads, woodcuts, chapbooks--of 1550-1640 typically did not discuss disputed religious matters such as “double predestination, ecclesiastical vestments, the position of the altar, or the prerequisites for communion” (8). Notably, Herbert did not avoid disputed matters, only dispute. His poems drive through thorny issues, reconfiguring the sites of political and doctrinal conflict as interior testing places of the soul before God.

textual orders from which Delany and Landow seek to differentiate the book. However, what may come as more surprising, the early history of the printed *Temple* reflects a literary culture with a significantly different understanding of the book from ours. In fact, early editions of *The Temple* witness a kind of accumulative force, a building-up of material with Herbert's work at its core, that suggests the collecting methodology of manuscript culture. These early editions reflect an evolving literary culture that incorporated old and new technological modes; they demonstrate that the early printed book formed a substantially different conceptual construct from the printed book of our time.

The first edition of *The Temple* includes two substantial additions to the text of the Bodleian manuscript. One of these is the alphabetical table at the book's end, already discussed at length in chapter two. The other is the introductory text, "The Printers to the Reader." This text serves both to introduce the author through a short biography and to explain the transmission of the text from the author to the reader. From the outset, this introduction shapes *The Temple* as no ordinary book; it is neither dedicated to any earthly patron, nor inspired by the muses, but is a work of devotion to "the *Divine Majesty* onely," and has been "inspired by a diviner breath then flows from *Helicon*." As Daniel Doerksen has discovered, this dedication was no superficial rhetoric, but the result of a serious interchange between Nicholas Ferrar, who had intended to dedicate the book to Herbert's older brother, Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and Arthur Woodnoth, who argued insistently for the book to be free from elitism inherent in such a dedication, and rather, that the book be clearly marked as for both a Divine and a common audience

(1979 25-27). *The Temple*, then, presented itself first as a communication between George Herbert and his divine master. Apparently the writer of “The Printers to the Reader” (likely Nicholas Ferrar) thought that such a presentation required both some explanation of the book’s publication and the authority given the text by the author’s life. In the first case, Ferrar makes clear that the editing and printing process has not interfered with the divinely inspired text, but that the world

shall receive it in that naked simplicitie, with which he left it, without any addition either of support or ornament, more then is included in it self. We leave it free and unforestalled to every mans judgement, and to the benefit that he shall finde by perusall.

However (and apart from actions on the text by Ferrar and Buck that they took to be neutral but which we now see as interventions), such a claim to non-mediation is itself a powerful framing mediation. Ferrar goes on to claim Herbert’s place as a “companion to the primitive Saints, and a pattern or more for the age he lived in,” a position justified by Herbert’s love for God, a love borne out in his rejection of “worldly preferment” for service at “God’s Altar.” Ferrar’s text argues, in effect, that Herbert’s dedication to God, acted out through his love for the Bible and his conformity to church discipline, justifies and invites a devotional reading. Herbert’s holiness may replicate itself in the reader’s life, through his divinely-inspired poems.

As Hutchinson records, the second through fifth editions of *The Temple* (1633, ‘34, ‘35, and ‘38) were all printed by Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel, and vary little from the first edition with the exception of minor textual alterations. With the sixth

edition (1641), though, began a notable change, not in the text of *The Temple* itself, but in its packaging: some copies were bound with *The Synagogue, or The Shadow of the Temple . . . In imitation of Mr. George Herbert*, a poetic sequence by Christopher Harvey, but with no name on the title page. After this, the printing of *The Temple* moved to London, done for Philemon Stevens. Stevens, publisher of *The Synagogue*, continued to sell the two texts together; he also added the concordance-like “Alphabetical table” discussed in chapter two. Between the ninth edition of 1667 and the tenth of 1674 came the publication of Isaac Walton’s *Lives* in 1670. The 1674 edition (printed by W. Godbid for R. S.) incorporates from this volume both Walton’s biography of Herbert and R. White’s now well-known portrait of Herbert.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Interestingly, the portrait has been added to a Huntington Library copy of the first edition of *The Temple*, on the verso of the page before the title page. Both Stewart (overleaf verso) and Marotti (249) display the opening without comment on the addition, framing this unique arrangement as representative.

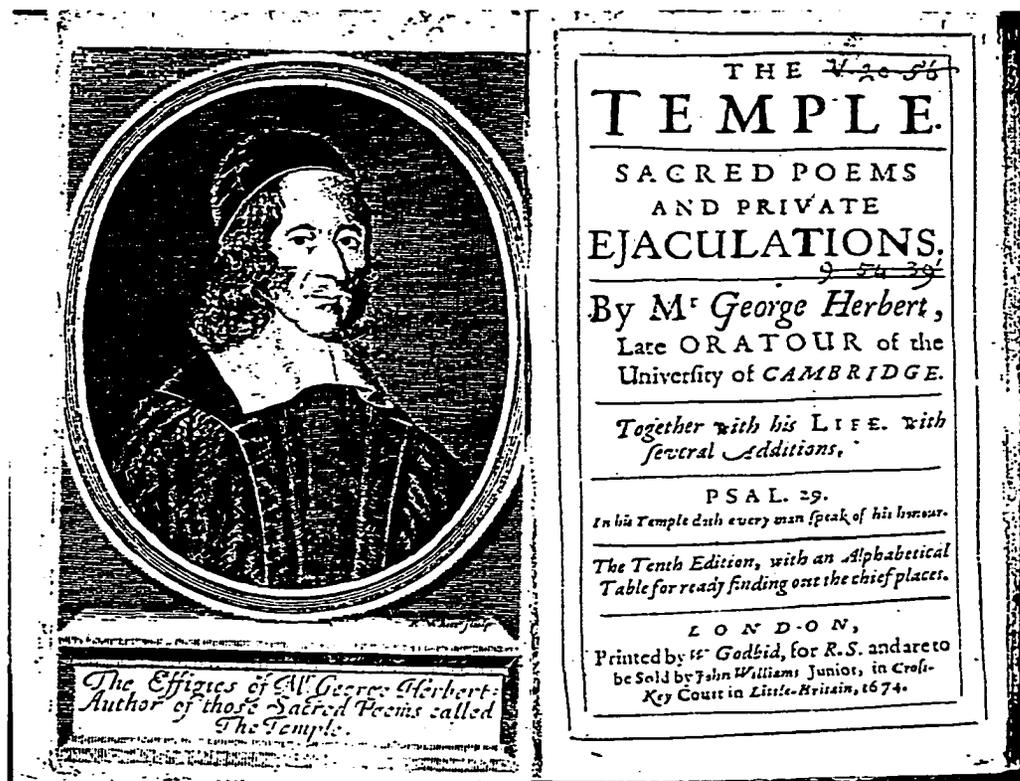


Figure One: Frontispiece and title page of the tenth edition of *The Temple*, 1674. STC 1521, BL Shelfmark 11623.b.7.

This edition also adds three poems: “A Memorial to the Honorable George Herbert,” “An Epitaph upon the Honorable George Herbert” (by P.D. *Esq*), and “The Church Militant,” or “Adversus Impia,” a new poem in heroic couplets, and engraved settings for “Superliminare” and “The Altar.” The four remaining early editions (up to 1709) introduced only minor changes, and retain the many previous additions.

With these additions, *The Temple* in a material way signals its growing reputation and the authority of it and its author to speak on spiritual matters. The binding of *The Synagogue* along with *The Temple* indicates not only the recognition of a Herbertian mode, but an inclination to extend the body of text making up that mode. As Birrell

(164) and Wilcox (203) have found, early readers did not necessarily distinguish between the two texts, but read freely across their boundaries. In such cases, the physical book effectively rules the texts' reception; their co-presentation makes a powerful, if transparent, argument for the later, poetically-inferior, text's claim as an extension of the first. The addition of Harvey's work underscores how little *The Temple* was received as an art-object, and how much it was a working object, a site of reader's engagement in the devotional task. The book's growth with imitation strongly suggests that Herbert's poetry is not only an accomplished artistic product, but also--and perhaps more so--a process that is continued by the reader and/or imitator, also suggested and aided by the tables. Imitation here not only indicates the quality of the original, but joins in and furthers the original project; in the case of Harvey's *Synagogue*, the imitation provides material seemingly as devotionally valid, if not poetically appealing, as that of *The Temple* itself.

In light of the addition of *The Synagogue*, what role does the increasing emphasis in the later editions on Herbert's biography play? Herbert the man became much more a presence in the tenth edition and following, where both a detailed life and a physical semblance provided context for the poetry. It seems safe to say that this authorial presence would not have been welcomed by Herbert, at the least, because of his customary humility, but also because of his design of *The Temple* as a common text rather than one associated with a particular personality. However, the close association of biography and poetry in these editions does suggest again a tight collation of text and life, both of *The Temple* and Herbert, but by extension, of *The Temple* (with additions) and the reader. These editions set Herbert's poetry within the context of his life, encouraging

biographical readings, but also set his life within the context of a devotional work, framing it also as an inspirational text to be read and copied. As discussed in the first chapter of this study, for Herbert the quality of reading only ever follows the quality of life.

Other than from early editions, the personal notebooks of individual readers provide significant information on *The Temple's* early reception. I specifically mean notebooks into which readers have copied lines or poems from Herbert. Strong similarities of method characterize the several personal books which I have had occasion to read; their methodology generally follows contemporary commonplace book practices, practices I have argued Herbert consciously engaged, and which provide a powerful framework for the reception of texts. Because the commonplace methodology so closely associates reading and writing by positioning them both as active components in a larger compositional process, the commonplace book provides useful insight into the ways in which individuals read particular texts and worked them into relation with other texts as well as the events in their lives. The books I have read each employ small pieces of text from Herbert and other writers, usually including themselves, and rework these many fragments into new wholes.⁶⁶ The books of Sir John Gibson and John Fleming in

⁶⁶ The personal reworking of common texts did not have to involve the reassembly of fragments as such. As Margaret P. Hannay and Beth Wynne Fisker have both argued, Mary Sidney's metrical Psalms deeply engage the biblical text with matter immediate to Sidney's life. Not only does Sidney write the Psalms as emotionally intimate and intense, but she also expands passages dealing specifically with women's concerns (Fisker 26ff,

particular consciously shape these fragments into reflections of and monuments to their experiences, weaving others' words into autobiographical expressions meant to be passed on to other readers. The book of a late seventeenth-century doctor, in some contrast, was written less for any audience and functions more as a record of daily concerns (though Gibson's book certainly has much of this as well). Finally, Anne Castell's personal liturgical companion communicates no details of outer life, but rather a rich, if formal, account of the inner life.

Sir John Gibson wrote his commonplace book (BL Additional MS 37719) while imprisoned in Durham gaol from 1653-1660 for debt; his royalist position had left him vulnerable after the Civil War to land confiscation, which, when combined with the war debt for which he was accountable, left him in acute financial difficulty. The shocking transition from wealthy land-owner to prisoner, combined with the death of his wife and one of his sons in the early 1650s forms the basis for his book as a record of suffering. His imprisonment itself permeates the text; as Kathleen Patrick--Gibson's modern editor--notes, "[a]lmost every one of the 602 entries provides a direct or oblique comment on the imprisonment. They seek to defy, to avenge, to justify, to inspire, to cheer, to console, to mourn. They reflect the ever-changing psyche of a long-imprisoned man" (2). His entries cover a remarkable range of forms and sources as well as emotion, including Bible passages, lyrics, ballads, elegies, epitaphs, sermons, essays, remedies, lists, and woodcuts (138). This collection of textual pieces becomes coherent in the context of Gibson's life; he has configured them to address the peculiarities of his position. While he draws from

Hannay 51 ff).

Herbert in relatively few entries, these employments in their new contexts provide striking instances of Herbert's reader as compiler and collator of personal texts.

One of Gibson's groupings which contains a fragment of Herbert's *Temple* begins with a fragment from Quarles' *Divine Fancies* titled "On our blessed Saviour": "We often reade our blessed Saviour wept; / But never laught, and seldome that he slept: / Ah, sure his heavy eyes did wake, and weepe / For us that sin, so oft, in Mirth and Sleepe" (fol. 180^v). He follows this with a poem (which Patrick lists as author unidentified) that continues the contrast between the weeping Christ and mirthful sinners. Titled "Jesus Wept. St. John: 11.v.35," it begins "And did my Saviour weepe? and shall ~~shall~~ I laugh, / And with the Bacchinalians drinke and quaffe?" (fol. 180^v 1-2). The progress from one poem to the next heightens the theme's personal application, extending it to the sharp contrast between the weeping of the true God, and the wanton participation by the speaker in the religion of Bacchus, "him, that damneth Soules" (4). The speaker then unfolds the scriptural theme of the poem and that before it by rehearsing elements of Christ's passion, and addressing the self to use the passion as motivation to holy life:

Unto thy Saviours sufferings hav an eye,

O doe not them forgett; but rather dye.

Let his temptations; make thee flye from sinne.

His fastinge; abstinence in thee beginne.

His watching's; teach thee both to watch and pray

His scourging's; that thou never goe astraye.

His Garden-sweatinge for thee dropps of blood;

O let it draw from thee, of teares a floud.
 O thinke on Judas, his betrayinge trust,
 How justice made his bowels forth to burst.
 And let it make in thee a Loyall heart,
 From thy deare Saviour never to depart. (7-18)

The attentive self will learn from Christ's suffering an attitude of obedience, one that will eventually allow Christ to work upon the heart. This theme, common to *The Temple*, recurs and builds a few lines later, when the speaker says "A broken heart, inamel'd all with greife / To thee I give, in hope to have releife" (25-26). The similarity in imagery to poems such as "The Altar" and "JESU" is apparently no coincidence, for in the margin Gibson wrote "O my deare God, though I am cleane forgot, / Let mee not love thee, if I lov the not." These lines, the closing couplet of *The Temple's* first "Affliction" poem, both comment on the "Jesus Wept" poem and recast it--perhaps subconsciously on Gibson's part--within "Affliction's" account of personal suffering, hence bringing the meditation on the suffering Christ back full circle to the suffering writer. The marginal lines bear an obvious relevance to "Jesus Wept" in that they imply the appropriateness of an all-or-nothing response to Christ's sacrifice. Gibson did not indicate the lines' source as he does elsewhere with Herbert, so whether he remembered at the time of writing which writer or poem they were from itself implies a loaded compositional moment; if he did not, he also did not need to. Herbert's lines in effect fulfil their original context by transcending it; rather than the title "Affliction" pointing to the lines, the lines point back to the title. Gibson, in his affliction, remembered and rewrote the very lines of Herbert's

affliction. That the lines are from the poem “Affliction” and lead back there provides an important textual link. While meditation on the passion leads to a holy flood of tears, the seemingly undeserved suffering that Gibson feels and that “Affliction” describes strikes most immediately and at the heart. Gibson’s relating of disparate texts here connects the two kinds of suffering, opening a way for him to treat his imprisonment as a redemptive occasion for understanding and experiencing Christ’s passion.

Another compelling sequence that makes use of Herbert’s verse occurs later in the book, beginning at leaf 271^v.⁶⁷ On this page, Gibson has gathered short lines addressing a common theme:

Hee with a witsse doth his sinns repent,
who without a witsse doth in heart relent.

⁶⁷ Between the two sequences I discuss above, Gibson also copied Herbert’s “Peace” and “Confession.” The two come in sequence in *The Temple*, but Gibson separated them with a stridently Royalist poem beginning “Touch me not Traytor! for I have a Sting,” a sharp contrast to the interior striving of the Herbert poems. Notably, Gibson both paid great attention to the original and also felt free to make adjustments; with both poems, he copied line spacing and stanza form. At the same time, he retitled “Confession” as “Grief,” presumably feeling that this title more effectively addressed the poem to his concerns. Also, apparently due to lack of space on the leaf (which was pasted into the book later), he left off most of the last three stanzas of “Peace,” giving a summary instead, and also the last two stanzas of “Confession.”

O that the Lord would favoure my request,
 And send my soule to her eternal rest.

Cupio dissolvi et esse cum

Christo [I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ (Patrick 820)]

It is enough, now O Lord take away my life:
 for I am not better then my fathers. 1 King:19.4.

In the house of Aphrah roll thy selfe in the dust.
 Micak:1.10.

To his Booke.

Go. Hide thy selfe, and lie alone.
 under the Phylosophers stone,
 And There Thou shalt be safe: not feare,
 Zoilus carps, nor hands that teare.

For a Flux

Take the howile end of a marrowe bone \or two or three/ and burne them
 well in the fire to ashes, then take off the white ashes
 till you come to the black in the middle of it, then

take that and beate it to powder, and sift it; then
 take your powder and mixt it with conserve of Roses,
 and take a little quantitie of it when you goe to
 bed, and it will stay your loosenesse.

The first five fragments form a catena on final dissolution, one with a particular sense of the solitary speaker reconciling his heart to God.⁶⁸ The lines repeat the idea of the perishing body and of the soul's union with Christ, but with an emphasis on the futility of earthly life rather than on the glories of future life, an emphasis made in the Old Testament fragments. After these contemplations of an earthly end, Gibson's verse to his book appears as a concern for posterity; once he is gone, his book--with his inmost thoughts--will be his representation to the living. He seems keenly aware that the political conditions leading to his imprisonment could also "teare" it. As Patrick points out, Gibson, in his reference to the "Phylosophers stone," may be thinking of Herbert's "Elixer," which likens the stone to Christ (820). The placement of the following text--the treatment for flux, or dysentery--after verses on mortality may jar the modern aesthetic sensibility, but reflects the concerns of Gibson's daily life. Notably, this particular ailment of Gibson's must have seemed like the beginnings of the bodily dissolution he addresses above.

On the leaf following the treatment of "Flux," Gibson copied "JESU," (272) followed by another verse "To his Booke." On the verso, he copied the first verse of

⁶⁸ For an example of a catena polished for print publication, see the opening verses of Henry Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans*, 1655 edition (101-102 in *Selected Poems*).

Psalm 63 “O God, thou art my God: early will I seek thee”), followed by one of his own poems (“Immured though I am my Soul is free . . .”), a verse from the Apocrypha (“Wee must prevent the Sunne to give thee thanks, and at the day-spring pray unto thee. Wisedome: 16.v.28”), Herbert’s “Bitter-sweet,” and Psalm 19: 14 (Let the words of my mouth, and the meditations of my heart, be alwaies acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, my strength, and my Redeemer”). On the next leaf he began his fifteen-page “Amara dulcis,” an account of the sufferings of fifty-one godly people, all biblical except for Charles I. Gibson’s use of “JESU” recalls and completes his earlier Herbertian borrowing, showing the authorial connection between the lines from “Affliction” and the image of the broken heart. As well, the juxtaposition of the cure for flux and “JESU” indicates again a continuity between physical and spiritual suffering; in this context, the poem addresses immediate need, as necessary to life as recipes for physical health. That “JESU” uses a metaphor of the broken body to signify the broken spirit becomes all the more poignant in Gibson’s book. Gibson’s use of “Bitter-sweet” also carries an intense immediacy; the paradoxes it explores map out Gibson’s experience, the range of emotion expressed in his book, and even his larger understanding of the world (as in “Amara dulcis,” his work of the same title):

Ah my deare angrie Lord!
 Since thou dost love, yet strike;
 Cast down, yet help afford;
 Sure I will do the like.

I will complaine, yet praise;

I will bewail, approve:

And all my sowre-sweet dayes

I will lament, and love.⁶⁹

The poem provides a necessary logic to the conflicting reactions of the suffering believer, framing complaints not as rebellion against God so much as a natural correlative to the afflictions of life. While Herbert's speaker seems over-bold in claiming to imitate God's inconsistency, his final statements undeniably position him as a loyal, if conflicted, servant. By finding such bitter-sweet experience the mark of holy lives in "Amara dulcis," Gibson locates in his very suffering the promise of communion with God. As well, for Gibson, his book itself follows in the tradition of the books from which he has copied; as they have been to him a guide through life's troubles, he also wishes that his book might guide his son, to whom he left it: "I bequeath this booke to you my only sonne, as the trophie of my sufferings, which I have obtained by my phansie and my penn. And to shew you, that my afflictions were not quite lost unto mee, but did worke some good effect" (5^v).⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Quoted from Gibson. The only substantive change he makes to the printed text is the substitution of an exclamation mark for a comma in line one.

⁷⁰ Gibson was not unusual in bequeathing his book to his son; as Peter Beal writes, such compilations "were not merely ephemeral productions but were seriously valued by their owners, regarded as monuments to their personal taste and learning, and bequeathed to others as sources of both pleasure and usefulness" (134).

Robert Fleming's book (MS Rawl. Poet. 213), in contrast to Gibson's, records not imprisonment but youth. The son of a Scottish divine and later himself a minister, Fleming kept this book, as he writes, from the time he was nine years old until after he had turned twenty-four (DNB 7:284-86; Fleming 30^v).⁷¹ His book consists mostly of various lists (including desirable spiritual qualities, miracles, and other devotional materials); doctrinal points with accompanying scriptural passages; and a variety of poems, including many of his own. After he had filled a considerable portion of the book he seems to have become aware that it may have future readers, and made an attempt to clarify the order of the contents. To do this, he added "An Advertisement" that lists and numbers the poems which he composed. The rest, he wrote, is "collected chiefly out of Cowley, Herbert, and Quarles" (82^r). At another point he explains "In this ms. there is a confused casting together of several misc. things. Yet there is something here to denote many or most of the years of my youth" (30^v). In his understanding at least, the use of the book to other readers was its charting out of his development, particularly his development as a minister, having sensed his calling from the age of thirteen (DNB 7: 285).

Fleming's book ranges from earlier entries giving spiritual instruction to later wrestling with and rejoicing in God's will. He listed "Some signs & characters of a true

⁷¹ It seems likely that the owner of the book is the same Robert Fleming (the younger) listed in the Dictionary of National Biography: the birth dates roughly correspond (the DNB gives the date as circa 1660, Fleming gives 16 May 1661), as do Fleming's travels and extended stays at Ormiston, Scotland and Utrecht.

Christian” (13^v), which include both interior signs, such as the clear conviction of sin, as well as external signs such as keeping God’s commandments. Likewise, he listed “My most sanctifying thoughts” (22^v). Not surprisingly, the more openly doctrinal entries follow the Presbyterian norm, attentive to both Anabaptist and Episcopal error; he listed biblical proof-texts for various positions including that ministers must be ordained in order to administer sacraments, and supporting infant baptism (81^v). In his poem “The portraiture of religion,” (65^v) he attacked bishops. Fleming filled most of his book, though, not with overtly doctrinal material, but with devotional poems of the inner life. As with Gibson, his first source of material was the Bible, but unlike Gibson, Fleming was not inclined to copy individual verses so much as entire biblical poems, thus using the Bible not only as a model for content, but also as one for form. He copied out in full the songs of Moses (Exodus 15), Deborah and Barak (Judges 5), Hannah (I Samuel 2), Habakuk (Hab 3), and Mary (Luke 1). He also copied an extended passage from Lamentations, and paraphrased Psalms in a variety of meters. He also seems to follow other poetic models. Later in his book, Fleming copied poems from *The Temple* during what was apparently a trying time.⁷² The book does not indicate the cause of the grief, but certainly indicates its depth. In a selection of verses and images fascinatingly similar to that of Gibson, Fleming copied out Herbert’s “Bitter-sweet” followed by stanzas 1, 11, and 12 of “Home.” He followed this with two of his own poems, “Adumbration of

⁷² Another close association of Herbert’s poem and the Psalms can be found in MS Rawl. Poet. 60, dated 10 June 1660. The owner, Fra. Knollys, first copied Herbert’s “Constancy” and “A True Hymn,” then filled the book with metrical psalms.

Eternity,” and “Dissolution Desirable” (56^v-57^v), titles which strongly indicate his frame of mind. The lines of “Home,” particularly “Oh loose this frame, this knot of man intie! (61), introduce the idea of dissolution expanded on in Fleming’s own poem.

Of his own poems, his “Meditation on a suddain alteration of mind & disposition to the better” (62^r) bears an obvious likeness to Herbert’s poetic in theme, image, word choice, meter, and stanza form. The poem reflects on the spiritual awakening of the poet by God, who has “set my mind on fire” (9) and

Who with a smart
Doth wound my heart
And make me grieve for sin
A smart yet, which
Containeth much
Of sweet to me therin

Who doth incline
Without repine
My will, & makes me love
What I of late
So much did hate;
And ill doth far remove. (25-36)

Herbert’s speakers frequently feel a ‘smart’ in the heart; of the six times Herbert uses ‘smart’ he rhymes it with ‘heart’ five times, so ‘smart’ in *The Temple* becomes a pointer

to interior suffering. Moreover, that suffering is particularly God-induced. For Herbert, smarting is a call from God. Fleming echoes this Herbertian usage here, and answers in lines 31-33 the problem posed by God in Herbert's "Dialogue:" "That is all, if that I could / Get without repining; / And my clay my creature would / Follow my resigning" (25-28).

Gibson and Fleming demonstrate the commonalities of method and devotional inclination possible in spite of confessional differences. Some later readers indicate the range of use to which *The Temple* could be put. MS Sloane 3796, a book of 23 leaves dated 1695, was apparently kept by a doctor, for it consists mostly of medical receipts and recipes for cures. However, the compiler has interspersed among these a range of other materials, including instructions for curing tobacco and making beer and cider, an account of a criminal trial, computations on the age of the world, dates of important events (including both Noah's flood and Edward III's war in France), and various poems. The doctor's concerns, as reflected in the book, were mostly secular, and unlike Gibson and Fleming, when he did turn to matters of religion, he seems to have been mostly occupied with externals; the book does not map out the interior life. In fact, the doctor seems to have had a considerable skeptical vein, as reflected in this untitled poem:

As wind in the Hypochondries pent
 Is but a blast if downward sent
 But, if it upwards chance to fly
 Becomes new light & prophecy

But he that hang's or beat's out's brains

The Devil's in him if he fains
 Shut both his Eyes & Stopt his Breath
 And to the life outacted Death (9^v)

Obviously, when the doctor went to Herbert, he found nothing with quite that tone. However, he did find Herbert's prophetic voice satisfying. On leaf 17, he copied the lines from "The Church Militant" that had made the licensors wary in 1633, "Religion stands a Tip-toe in our Land, / Reddy to pass to the American Strand"⁷³ Over the leaf, he copied "Avarice" in its entirety, in which Herbert employs as much as ever a satirical voice; addressing Money, he says "Man calleth thee his wealth, who made thee rich; / And while he digs out thee, falls in the ditch" (13-14).⁷⁴ On the same page, he copied stanzas 58 and 53 from "The Church-porch"

Slight not the smallest losse, whether it be
 In love or honour: take account of all;
 Shine like the sunne in every corner: see

⁷³ These are lines 235-36 in *The Temple*, however, the doctor apparently copied them out of Walton, who gave "on tip-toe" as "a Tip-toe" (Hutchinson 196). The doctor noted that he used the 1678 edition of *The Temple*, an edition that contained Walton's *Life of George Herbert*, as discussed above.

⁷⁴ Another, more overtly political, use of this poem can be found in MS Rawl. D. 924. The manuscript contains a essay of Sir Charles Sedley, titled "Reflections on Our Late and Present Proceedings in England," which argues for the exclusion from England of "popery." Following this, the copiest added "The Priesthood" and "Avarice."

Whether thy stock of credit swell, or fall.

Who say, I care not, those I give for lost;

And to instruct them, 'twill not quit the cost.

and

Calmesse is great advantage: he that lets

Another chafe, may warm him at his fire:

Mark all his wandrings, and enjoy his frets;

As cunning fencers suffer heat to tire.

Truth dwels not in the clouds: the bow that's there,

Doth often aim at, never hit the sphere.

The doctor's selection of the conduct advice of "The Church-porch" and the political commentary of "The Church Militant" parallels his choice of a satirical poem from "The Church." His verses from Herbert suggest that he was primarily concerned with negotiating his place in an unreliable world. The inward spiritual struggles of "The Church" do not emerge here; rather, the self appears as an exertion of moral principles and social strategy in the external world.

Anne Castell's book, dated 1725, stands in contrast to the social and political awareness reflected in the doctor's book. The book lays out a private prayer scheme to parallel the Eucharistic service, giving prayers to be said at all points in the service, including before the service begins, before the sermon, after the sermon, before the consecration of the bread and wine, after the consecration, before receiving, immediately before receiving, at receiving, and after the cup. Her prose in these prayers draws from

Scripture and liturgy continuously and freely, but is highly affectively engaged, using repetition and cadence to invoke emotional intimacy. For example, she asks “that we all may love thee & serve thee & delight in thee & praise thee more fervently more incessantly than ever we have done heretofore. Amen. Amen” (20^v). Interestingly, Castell did not copy any of Herbert’s eucharistic poems into her prayers, which all seem to be her own work. Rather, she invoked Herbert’s sense of entry and of holy place by copying stanzas sixty-five to seventy-four of “The Church-porch,” all of which deal with conduct in church. As these stanzas lead up to entry into Herbert’s “Church” they also provide the foundation for the emotional intensity of Castell’s prayers. They instruct “When once thy foot enters the church, be bare. / God is more there, then thou” (403-4) and “In time of service seal up both thine eies, / And send them to thy heart” (415-16). Castell’s opening prayer acts out this entry into both physical and spiritual space:

As for me I will come into thy house even upon the multitude of thy mercy, in thy fear, will I worship toward thy Holy Temple. O Lord hear the voice of my humble petitions which I cry unto Thee. When I hold up my hands toward the Mercy Seat of thy Holy Temple: We wait for thy Loving kindness, O God, in the midst of thy Temple. (1^v)

Here the house of God (the physical church) becomes the house of God (the mystical Holy Temple), for she does not describe the features of an early eighteenth-century English church (no matter how ‘high’ this one may have been in its ritual), but the Old Testament temple with its mercy seat, the center of the holy of holies. This holy place, with mercy at its center becomes, under the new covenant, a powerful metaphor for

spiritual communion with God. Notably, Castell moves from worshipping “toward thy Holy Temple” to waiting upon God “in the midst” of it. For her, it would seem, Herbert’s book provided not only wise words, but a structure for a powerful, deeply devotional interiority.

The commonplace books I have discussed here take *The Temple* full circle, not only as a material text going from manuscript to print to manuscript again, but more importantly, as a devotional text conceived from George Herbert’s day-to-day “spiritual conflicts,” made into a “costly mosaic,” and then turned back into the moment-by-moment spiritual journeys of his readers. If, as I have suggested throughout, Herbert designed *The Temple* as an extension of his pastoral vocation, then that design sees its culmination in these books of individual lives. These readers have looked (with varying effect) into Herbert’s book and have found stars in their own constellations; they have read themselves there.

Conclusion: Re-reading *The Temple*

In 1962, T. S. Eliot wrote

With the appreciation of Herbert's poems, as with all poetry, enjoyment is the beginning as well as the end. We must enjoy the poetry before we attempt to penetrate the poet's mind; we must enjoy it before we understand it, if the attempt to understand it is to be worth the trouble. (25)

Likewise, I would write amiss to imply that the historical book precedes in importance the text that readers still come to and find themselves in, regardless of their knowledge of early modern England. What makes a historical inquiry like this one worthwhile is that ahistorical readings reward so well, that Herbert continues to engage and even pastor readers through the text. Simone Weil was one such reader; in 1938 she visited a Benedictine monastery in Solesmes, where a young Englishman introduced her to Donne, Crawshaw, and Herbert, and particularly the poem "Love," about which she later wrote: "I used to think I was merely reciting it as a beautiful poem, but without my knowing it the recitation had the virtue of a prayer. It was during one of those recitations that, as I told you, Christ himself came down and took possession of me" (35). Without her knowing it, Weil's engagement with Herbert's text was in fact prayer itself; the historical words now both breathed into by the speaker and in turn breathing the Spirit's life back into the speaker. The words now again fleshing out the experience of the Divine.

The book Eliot read was the still relatively-recent Hutchinson edition; Weil may have read any of a number of editions, but it was presumably a twentieth-century one, perhaps late-nineteenth century at the oldest. I have gone to some length to argue here

that the first editions of *The Temple* matter--that their matter was part of the text, not merely its container. How then does the historical *Temple* relate to the present one (whatever 'present' that may be)? McKenzie describes two concepts of 'text,' one "authorially sanctioned, contained, and historically definable," the other "always incomplete, and therefore open, unstable, subject to a perpetual re-making by its readers, performers, or audience" (45). That these two contrasting concepts of text both hold true is evident in the history of *The Temple*. While it was never exactly "authorially sanctioned," at least not as usually understood, its first existence as a published book provides recourse for thinking about its original reception; the first edition of Herbert's book was a historical event. On the other hand, so were each of the other editions, right up to John Tobin's Penguin edition of 1991 and beyond. As we have seen, many of the early editions introduced significant changes and modern scholarly editions--themselves conscious attempts to give access to a historical text (however constructed, whether intended or actual)--inevitably create a new text, one more in a chain of re-makings. Even an exact replica of 1633 published now must still be a re-making, for it cannot communicate the cultural relationships I have pointed out here and the countless others that made that first edition what it was in its historical moment. Perhaps the historical editions of the future may be construed not so much as free-standing books, but as points in a cultural web, presenting books within a wide-ranging context of other books and historical cultural information. I am thinking here particularly of the publication options made possible by the electronic medium, a medium very good at presenting objects in terms of their relationships with other objects. In all likelihood, the future will bring

more editions of *The Temple* well-suited to scholarly reading and also editions designed for simply reading. These, like those before them, will be mediations specific to their culture, mediations that attempt to bridge the distance between the reader and the original object, its author, and its readers, a distance that can never quite be bridged, but that, even in the process itself, remains worth the effort.

The advent of electronic publication may provide an especially appropriate moment for the reconsideration of early modern texts and rhetorical practices. As Richard Lanham suggests in *The Electronic Word*, a change in textual technology brings up questions of what the old one was all about (7-8). As he characterizes it, the new textuality has already rewritten the textual surface as bi-stable, always looked *at* before looked *through*. In particular, word-processing with its WYSIWYG⁷⁵ interface and its delivery of control of all typographical and layout details to the writer encourages and enables a raised consciousness about the how of print: “[T]he textual surface is now a malleable and self-conscious one. All kinds of production decisions have now become authorial ones” (5). Lanham goes on to argue that this bi-stability, the essential dynamism of the electronic text “has been the fundamental premise of rhetorical education from the Greeks onward” (16). In electronic media, reception once again takes place largely informed by the ability to use, and here the early modern and the postmodern have striking resemblances. This study began by discussing cutting-and-pasting at Little Gidding, an unusual manifestation of a common rhetorical habit. While the material practice would have seemed highly unusual even two decades ago, today’s

⁷⁵ A contraction of “What you see is what you get.”

writer cuts-and-pastes regularly. Copying has again become a normal reading and compositional habit. Having the ability to reuse material has influenced the way we write; we can fragment and reassemble existing text and, for whatever reason, we do. I am not suggesting here that we do it because we can, for there are any number of things that we can do but do not. But I am observing that, given the opportunity, we seem as ready to play with pieces of text as were the early modern Europeans.

A striking example of how a rhetorical sensibility is reentering popular culture can be seen in the rise of the disk jockey as celebrity. For most of this century, the D.J. has been largely an entertainer, delivering the artistic product from the musician to the listener. Even then, of course, the traditional D.J. has exercised skills of discovery, ordering, and delivery, but always occupying a low position on the cultural ladder. In the last few years, however, the D.J. has become an artist, at least those D.J.s who perform live. In a *Billboard* article entitled "The Modern Age," Carrie Bell reports Norman Cook, one time guitar player for the Housemartins, has turned to spinning records under the alias "Fat Boy Slim." Notably, such D.J.s "sample" records to find fragments for use in new compositions, songs composed completely of samples. Fat Boy Slim not only plays records, he plays them to play something new. He alters samples so that they will fit their new purpose and combines them. His most successful song when the article was published, called "Going out of my head," makes prominent use of samples from Yvonne Elliman's cover of The Who's "I can't explain." There it is: a work of art made of pieces of other works, the most obvious being a rendition of an earlier, 'original' work. As well, the creative work is occasional; though D.J.s have become recording artists themselves,

their compositions flow out of live sessions. As Fat Boy Slim says “I didn’t get turned on by guitar solos, but I get intense satisfaction out of my work now. It’s about going to clubs and watching how tunes affect dancing. That’s where my inspiration comes from” (87).

When cultural icons become known for their ability to deploy fragments of pre-existing artistic works in new wholes to address specific situations, then perhaps the time is right for an emphasis on homologous activities of the artists of the past. Yes, George Herbert and Fat Boy Slim are worlds apart, occupying cultures with a great deal of difference from each other. At the same time, the cultural practices witnessed in the latter shape this generation’s understanding of the former. George Herbert’s artistic project and achievement were on a much larger scale than those of today’s D.J.s, but Herbert too was skilled at sampling and he too had the common touch. Courses on Herbert and his contemporaries may do well to foreground the compositional methods of their time, perhaps, as Lanham has suggested, making connections between that rhetorical mode and the emerging rhetoric of electronic media. Along these lines of thought, I have developed an electronic companion to this dissertation, and particularly to chapter four, called “Entering the Church: Herbert’s *Temple* and Seventeenth-Century English Churches” <www.humanities.ualberta.ca/Herbert>. In this hypertextual presentation, I explore much of the same material as I do in the print chapter, but with the addition of images of the churches Herbert worked on or in, as well as images of other representative churches. The aim of the hypertext goes beyond the presentation of these images to the presentation of physical and textual places within a spatial framework. Rather than the usual linear

presentation of argument, I have here organized my materials around church floorplans, locating Herbert's poems in architectural, perhaps architextual places. In doing this, I recast the modern edition in a postmodern technological mode, intending to rediscover something of the early modern text. For me, such recasting is only appropriate, for much of my re-reading of *The Temple* and the other works I have discussed here has been informed by the reading protocols of electronic publishing. The indexes of early modern books and the associated drive to find 'places' come alive for me in the new prominence that 'searching' has in electronic texts. The densely woven connections of the Little Gidding 'Harmonies' seem intuitive to those familiar with hypertextual links—particularly the hierarchy of links possible in Standard Generalized Mark-up Language (SGML). If one must see Herbert as a nice but devotionally straight-jacketed poet, then such recasting may offend. If however, we recognize Herbert's tendency to seize upon technological innovations, then electronic treatments of his poetry can be regenerative. As a professor known for his appreciation of shock value once said to me on the topic, "if Herbert could have made the wings flap, he would have."⁷⁶

⁷⁶ My thanks to Robert Wilson for this conjecture.

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