MOTIONS OF THE SOUL: A POETICS OF RELIGIOUS DESIRE IN EARLY MODERN METRICAL PSALMS

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"Motions of the Soul" argues that the passion of desire was integral to religious faith in early modern England and traces the role that metrical psalms played in articulating and shaping people's theology and experience of desire for God. Scholars studying the history of emotion in the early modern period have often contended that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Christians denounced human passions as deleterious to the Christian life and sought to follow a Stoic path of renouncing and suppressing the passions. They suggest that, if early modern Christians encouraged the cultivation of any passions, it was negative ones such as sorrow, fear, and even despair. Such interpretations, although they correctly identify some strands of early modern Christianity, neglect the ways in which early modern religious discourses also foreground the central role of the passions in the Christian faith and the importance, in particular, of desire. Drawing on medieval theologians such as Augustine and Aquinas, early modern people defined desire as the liminal passion between love and joy, the striving toward that which is loved in order to enjoy it. They viewed the pinnacle of the Christian life as coming to desire God more and more as the "greatest good," who alone can perfectly fulfill people's desires and bring them true joy. My research traces how early modern poets used the biblical book of Psalms to grapple with the challenges of human desire and to express and cultivate desire for God. As Matthew Parker writes in his 1567 book, *The Whole Psalter Translated into English Metre*, "In the bookes of the Psalmes . . . euery one may see and perceiue the motions and affections of his owne

hart and soule" and "learne how he may heale these his affections and passions, by worde and by deede."

This dissertation contributes to the growing attention to the history of emotion in the field of early modern literature and shows how metrical paraphrases of the Psalms served as an important site for both the conceptualization and expression of the passion of desire. In the 1530s, English poets began creating metrical psalms, which were poetic paraphrases of the biblical Psalms in English verse, and some of the most renowned poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries wrote psalm paraphrases. Each chapter of this dissertation centers on significant examples in the literary tradition of psalm paraphrases. I examine how poets used the genre of metrical psalms to contribute to the development of a poetics of religious desire in early modern lyric poetry. My research traces how English poets combined biblical and secular poetic traditions in order to respond to and participate in early modern theological and cultural discourses on desire. I argue that, in using and adapting secular poetics of desire in their metrical psalms to grapple with the tensions and complexities of desiring God, poets transformed the content and form of the Psalms and contributed to the creation of a new poetics of religious desire. The four chapters of this dissertation reveal how early modern metrical psalms shape a poetics of desire for God that, while it draws on the common discourses of the biblical Psalms and the Petrarchan and Ovidian literary traditions, is heterogeneous in its portrayal of experiences of religious desire and in its expression of this desire in English verse.

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Introduction

It is fairly noncontroversial to assert, as many scholars have done, that love is the "preeminent subject" and "over-riding theme" of early modern English literature.[1] Comparing early modern lyric poetry to poetry of later time periods, William Kerrigan and Gordon Braden note that "in no subsequent period will love be the dominant preoccupation of lyric poetry, or would-be poets feel compelled, as a public demonstration of their seriousness, to animate the conventions of literary love."[2] Shakespeare himself writes in his sonnet 76, "O, know, sweet love, I always write of you, / And you and love are still my argument."[3] Yet what is meant by "love" in these assertions of its prominence in early modern English literature? What kind of love do early modern literary texts express and depict? As Helen Wilcox explains, the love portrayed in early modern literature is often love "longed-for," frustrated, and unrequited, not love delighted in, reciprocated, and satisfied.[4] I would contend that the early modern term more appropriate for this experience is not love but desire, which the poet Robert Southwell aptly defines as "loue yet not inioyde."[5] As I will explain later, early modern people understood desire as the motion of people's souls towards what they love, the passion of anticipating and pursuing the fulfillment of their love. In literary texts, desire is frequently the inciting and driving force of the plot, the dynamism and tension needed for the text to continue. With regards to poetry specifically, Lisa Klein explains that

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[1] Summers and Pebworth, *Renaissance Discourses of Desire* 1; and Wilcox, "Sacred and Secular Love" 613.

[2] Summers and Pebworth, *Renaissance Discourses of Desire* 1.

[3] Shakespeare 1857.

[4] Wilcox, "Sacred and Secular Love" 613 and 616.

[5] Southwell 60.

"unfulfilled desire is . . . essential to the Petrarchan poet's art. Once desire is satiated, its expression ceases, and the poet's voice must fall silent."[6]

Often the desire depicted in early modern poetry is erotic desire for a human beloved. As Astrophil professes in Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella,* "Stella, the onely Planet of my light, / Light of my life, and life of my desire."[7] The sonnet sequence depicts Astrophil's afflicted passion for Stella as he longs for her to requite his love, a longing epitomized in his desire for "a sugred kisse."[8] Much early modern scholarship on desire has concentrated on literary representations of erotic desire and has analyzed early modern erotic desire using theoretical approaches such as psychoanalysis, new historicism, and queer theory.[9] Yet this dissertation posits that erotic desire is not the only kind of desire frequently portrayed in early modern literature and culture. The passion of desire is equally central to early modern religious literature, in which the object of desire is not a human beloved but God.[10] Desire for God is written about in theological treatises, sermons, devotional texts, and religious poetry. For example, in Sir Thomas Wyatt's poetic paraphrase of Psalm 38, he writes:

> O Lord, thou know'st the inward contemplation
> Of my desire. Thou know'st my sighs and plaints.
> Thou know'st the tears of my lamentation

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[6] Klein 76.

[7] Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* 200, sonnet 68, lines 1-2.

[8] Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* 203, sonnet 73, line 5.

[9] See *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage* (1992); Judith Haber's *Desire in the Renaissance: Psychoanalysis and Literature* (1994); *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West* (1996); *Same-Sex Desire in the English Renaissance* (2003); Christine Varnado's *The Shapes of Fancy: Reading for Queer Desire in Early Modern Literature* (2020); and Ari Friedlander's *Rogue Sexuality in Early Modern English Literature: Desire, Status, Biopolitics* (2022).

[10] Wilcox, "Sacred and Secular "Love" 616.

Cannot express my heart's inward restraints.

My heart panteth. My force I feel it quail.

My sight, my eyes, my look decays and faints.[11]

In these lines Wyatt draws upon common Petrarchan tropes for describing the physical manifestations of desire: the speaker's sighs, plaints, and tears; his heart's panting; and his vision failing him. If you omitted the phrase "O Lord," the rest of these lines could easily refer to a person rather than to God. Yet Wyatt's psalmist is not expressing erotic desire for a human beloved but a plaintive longing for God and his mercy. How do we understand this kind of desire? What does poetry like Wyatt's reveal about the nature of the desire that early modern people experienced and expressed in relation to God? And additionally, what is the significance of the poetic conventions with which poets like Wyatt portray this desire? How does the use of secular poetic traditions alter representations of religious desire, and how do poets transform Petrarchan and Ovidian poetics in order to depict desire for God?

This dissertation explores and analyzes moments in the development of what I will call an early modern poetics of religious desire. By "religious desire" I mean desire that has God as its referent.[12] This poetics of religious desire builds upon but also departs from and transforms early modern Petrarchan and Ovidian poetics of secular erotic desire. In particular, this dissertation will examine the poetics of religious desire in sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century metrical psalms, which are verse paraphrases of the lyric prayers that constitute the biblical book of Psalms. While much critical attention has been paid to seventeenth-century religious lyric poetry and its

[11] Wyatt, *The Complete Poems* 205, lines 358-63.

[12] In this understanding of "religious" I draw upon Roberts, who writes, "In the first section of this article, we have assumed diversity among the types of emotion that might be called "religious." Joy, compassion, remorse, and so forth, are different emotion types. The unity we find among them, in contradistinction from "secular" emotions, is their theological reference or "content."" (Roberts, "Emotions in the Christian Tradition" n.p.).

engagement with and response to contemporary secular love lyric traditions, much less attention has been paid to metrical psalms, which were the predominant form of religious poetry in the sixteenth century and, some have argued, the parent to the religious lyric poetry that flowered in the seventeenth century.[13] Poetic paraphrases of and meditations on the Psalms were extremely popular in the early modern period; the writing of metrical psalms was on par with the fad of writing sonnets and sonnet sequences toward the end of the sixteenth century.[14] Two traditions of metrical psalms developed in sixteenth-century England: verse paraphrases meant for congregational singing, and those intended to be read as lyric poetry. Wyatt's paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms is representative of this second tradition of what Hannibal Hamlin terms "literary" metrical psalms, which draw not only upon the biblical aesthetics of the Psalms but also upon secular poetic traditions in order to paraphrase the Psalms in sophisticated, innovative, and consciously literary ways.[15] Many of these literary psalm paraphrases also modify and expand upon the content of the original Psalms, dramatizing and amplifying the Psalms' expression of emotions and affective states.[16] This dissertation will examine select sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century literary metrical psalms by Sir

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[13] Barbara Lewalski asserts that biblical lyric poetry, especially the Psalms and sixteenth-century metrical versions of the Psalms, is the "precept" and "model" for seventeenth-century religious lyric poetry (Lewalski 31 and 39-42).

[14] Hamlin, *Psalm Culture* 1. Freer writes, "In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, metrical psalms were one of the most popular genres in English and European poetry and were central to services in nearly all Reformed churches. In Europe the translation of the Book of Psalms into vernacular poetry was as widespread as the practice of formal meditation in poetry, and the two were frequently combined; in England, metrical versions of the psalter were printed in more editions than any other poems between 1550 and 1650" (Freer 1-2).

[15] Hamlin, *Psalm Culture* 14. See also chapters 3 and 4 in *Psalm Culture* and Quitslund, "Teaching Us How to Sing." Although the metrical psalms used in congregational singing draw upon the folk ballad tradition for their common meter and ballad rhyme scheme, Greene argues for the "translucency" and "naive immediacy of Sternhold's common meter version," whose form was so familiar to early modern Christians that they equated it with the biblical poetics of the Psalms (Greene, "Sir Philip Sidney's Psalms" 26 and 31).

[16] Hamlin, *Psalm Culture* 123; and Quitslund, "Teaching Us How to Sing" 87-88.

Thomas Wyatt, Anne Locke, Sir Philip Sidney, and George Herbert, exploring and demonstrating how these psalm paraphrases provide a window into understanding important aspects of early modern English culture's conception, experience, and expression of desire for God. In these verse paraphrases of the Psalms, the poets bring together the poetics of secular love poetry with contemporary theological and philosophical discourses on desire in order to develop a poetics of religious desire that illustrates and addresses the affective interests and concerns of early modern English Christians.

The study of desire in early modern scholarship is part of a larger "affective turn" since the 1990s that originated in the field of psychology but has spread to humanities disciplines and interdisciplinary fields such as cultural studies.[17] One branch of affect theory was spearheaded by the psychologist Silven Tompkins, who used the term "affect" to signify prepersonal, preconscious processes that manifest themselves in facial expressions, bodily postures, and movements: "a body's hard-wired neurochemical responses to external stimuli."[18] Tompkins theorized a taxonomy of nine basic affects such as joy, distress, anger, and fear and asserted that these affects are universal (i.e. transcultural and transhistorical) because they are biologically rooted.[19] Other affect theorists, employing cognitive psychology and a phenomenological approach, have used the term "emotion" to signify conscious affective processes that are "prompted or formed by cognitions."[20] Brian Massumi, who influentially distinguished between affect and emotion, asserts that "affect is raw intensity, and emotion is affect taken up into

[17] McLemee, n.p.

[18] Paster, *Reading the Early Modern Passions* 4. See also Corrigan, *Feeling Religion* 9.

[19] Tompkins' six basic affects are interest-excitement, enjoyment-joy, surprise-startle, distress-anguish, anger-rage, and fear-terror. He later adds on shame-humiliation, dissmell, and disgust.

[20] Corrigan, *Feeling Religion* 9.

consciousness, language, culture: emotion is affect given shape and meaning."[21] In contrast to non-cognitive and pre-discursive affects, emotions are cognitive judgments that can be verbally articulated and that are dependent on people's beliefs.[22] While affects are universal, many theorists of emotion assert that emotions are culturally and historically specific because they are, at least in part, socially constructed. As Steven Mullaney explains, "Emotions would seem to be hard-wired into us as potentialities, but they are unlocked, learned, calibrated, developed, and modified in specific times, places, and spaces, in dynamic interaction and even experimentation or play with others."[23]

While scholarship on emotion acknowledges transcultural and transhistorical similarities in emotions, it emphasizes the need to understand and honor the differences observed in emotional experience and expression across different cultures and time periods.[24] The most influential theorists on the history of emotion, including William Reddy and Barbara Rosenwein, have grounded their studies in the analysis of written texts, viewing these as significant primary sources for understanding emotions in other cultures and time periods.[25] According to Rosenwein, "emotional communities" are often "textual communities," groups of people who, through the reading of certain texts, develop and encourage shared emotional practices, language, and goals.[26] Early

[21] Robinson 213.

[22] Leys 438.

[23] Mullaney 17.

[24] Paster writes, "While there is important evidence . . . that the emotions have broad similarities across both cultures and time periods, historical narratives of the kind provided here are obliged to explain difference by focusing on what is particular to any given moment in time – including representations of salient emotions" (Paster, *Reading the Early Modern Passions* 2).

[25] William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: a Framework for the History of Emotions* (2001); Barbara Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: a History of Emotions, 600-1700* (2016); Meek and Sullivan 20.

[26] Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (2006). In *Generations of Feeling*, Rosenwein looks at several genres, especially sermons and autobiographies, to investigate how emotions were cultivated, performed, and interiorized in and through "emotional communities" in medieval and early modern England and France.

modern studies has tended to participate in this latter branch of affect theory and to concentrate on the history of emotion in the early modern period as it is expressed in social, political, and cultural discourses.[27] Early modern scholars such as Steven Mullaney, Benedict Robinson, and Erin Sullivan have asserted that literary texts (i.e. drama, prose narrative, and poetry) are an important primary source for analyzing and interpreting the history of emotion in the early modern period.[28] These critics examine not only the content of early modern literature but also literary methods, modes, and forms – "the distinctive literary strategies writers use to depict, describe, and indeed induce passions among their readers."[29] This dissertation will take a similar cultural historicist and formalist approach to the study of emotion in early modern English literature, seeking, by this means, to contribute to our understanding of how people in early modern England conceptualized, experienced, and represented the emotion of desire.

However, even calling desire an "emotion" needs historicizing since people today do not usually think of desire in this way and since the word "emotion" itself was not used in the modern sense of "any strong mental or instinctive feeling" until 1660.[30] Rather than "emotion," "passion" and "affection" were the terms most commonly used in the

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[27] "Since the turn of the twenty-first century we might say that there has been a 'Renaissance of emotion' in the field, with scholars across various disciplines turning their attention to the centrality of emotion (or passion, or affect – more of which to follow) in all aspects of early modern literary, dramatic, cultural and political life" (Meek and Sullivan 3). "The passions have occupied a central space in recent innovations in early modern studies. This has taken place both in the field of intellectual history and of literary studies, prompting some to speak of an 'affective turn'" (Sierhuis and Cummings 1).

[28] Robinson writes, "The main way in which I engage the history of emotion is by thinking more widely about the place of literature within it. Literature clearly should be part of the history of emotion: literary texts can readily be mined for culturally and historically inflected conceptions of either emotion in general or some specific emotion, correlating that with evidence drawn from other kinds of texts or documents" (Robinson 18). See also Mullaney 23-25; Sullivan 5.

[29] Sullivan 5.

[30] *OED* "emotion" n. Thorley 4.

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The religious associations of passions and affections distinguish them from emotions: passions and affections were understood to be "motions" of the embodied soul, an idea that originated in classical Greek theories of the passions and was adopted by Christian theologians.[31] The word "passion" comes from the Latin *passio* (plural *passiones*), which means "affliction" or "suffering," and which refers more broadly to the "condition of being acted upon."[32] This word derives from the Greek *patho*s (plural *pathe*), which also originally signified "suffering" but which Plato and Aristotle used to connote responses of the embodied soul to external influences.[33] The word "affection" stems from the Latin root *afficio/afficere,* which means to influence or affect. Some authors, in using the term "affection," sought to emphasize that the soul is not just passive and receptive, but rather that the soul's passions are within people's active control and influence. Yet other early modern authors used the word "passion" in the more active sense in which some used the term "affection," and many authors used the terms interchangeably.[34] The important point is that passions and affections are cognitive value judgments, not just physiological responses.[35] Thus, even though "passion" and "affection" are not the same as "emotion," Robinson explains that, "in the terms given by that distinction [between affect and emotion], early modern concepts of passion lie firmly on the side of emotion."[36]

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[31] Dixon 4-5. See also Roberts, "Emotions in the Christian Tradition" n.p.

[32] *OED* "passion" n.

[33] Schmitter, n.p.

[34] Corrigan, "Introduction: The Study of Religion and Emotion."

[35] "From antiquity to the Renaissance, passion was defined as an embodied judgment or appraisal. It is felt in the body; it entails a relationship to both sensory experience and humoral physiology; but it is not identical with either sensation or humorology, and what differentiates one passion from another is invariably stated in cognitive terms. A passion is a thought, a judgment, a value-laden perception, an act of imagination" (Robinson 214).

[36] Robinson 214.

Two scholars whose work has played a significant role in the trajectory of early modern scholarship on the passions are Gail Kern Paster and Michael Schoenfeldt, who analyze early modern passions in the context of Neostoicism and Galenic humoral theory.[37] Many early modern authors drew upon these conceptual frameworks in their depiction and assessment of human passions. The Stoics viewed the passions as false judgments and evaluative responses that, because they are false, lead to suffering.[38] In the case of desire, which Stoics saw as one of the four primary passions, it is the false judgment that something in the future is good and can bring a person to a state of virtue and happiness (*eudaimonia*). The Stoics encouraged those wanting to pursue a virtuous and happy (*eudaimonistic*) life to strive to eradicate their passions through mental discipline. The Greek physician and medical theorist Galen adopted the Stoic conception of the passions and integrated it with the Hippocratic medical theory of bodily humors. According to this theory, four vital fluids exist within the body's organs (blood, yellow bile, phlegm, and black bile), and Galen associated each of these fluids with a different passion (happiness, anger, calmness, and melancholy).[39] Galen theorized that the passions, especially excessive and extreme ones, are diseases caused by imbalances in a person's bodily humors. Those subscribing to a Stoic and Galenic conception of the passions frequently described the passions as "perturbations" that, more often than not, cause emotional and physical suffering.

Paster and Schoenfeldt interpret early modern literary representations of the passions through the lens of Galenic humoralism and Neostoicism and assert that these

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[37] Meek and Sullivan 4. See Michael's Schoenfeldt's *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England* (1999); Paster's *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (1993), *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (2004), and *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (2004).

[38] Knuuttila, n.p. Schmitter, n.p.

[39] Schmitter, n.p.

theories predominated early modern discourses on the passions. Through the influence of their Galenic and Neostoic reading of early modern passions, early modern studies has tended to focus on the negative effects of passions on "the suffering body" and on the passions of sadness, grief, pain, melancholy, and fear.[40] Much scholarship on early modern religion has tended to see early modern Christianity, and especially Protestantism, as holding a Stoic view of the passions: that the passions are inherently dangerous and lead to suffering and sin. Some scholars have argued that early modern Christians encouraged an ascetic eradication of passions as a goal of the Christian life. Others have asserted that early modern Christianity led to and even encouraged the experience and cultivation of religious guilt, melancholy, and terror.

However, Paster herself acknowledges that "the critical questions we ask about emotions – even the emotions we select as objects of study – are themselves coded expressions, scripted by normative attitudes."[41] Since the early 2000s, other scholars have stressed the need to explore additional influential early modern conceptual frameworks for theorizing and expressing the passions, in order to more fully understand the meanings and functions of the passions in early modern culture.[42] Meek and Sullivan write that, "given the centrality of religion in Renaissance and Reformation

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[40] Sierhuis and Cummings 4-5. "Perhaps the most influential study to adopt this approach has been Gail Kern Paster's *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (2004), which emphasises the ways in which early modern passions were inseparable from physiological experiences" (Meek and Sullivan 3). See also Douglas Trevor, *The Poetics of Melancholy in Early Modern England* (2004); Angus Gowland, *The World of Renaissance Melancholy: Robert Burton in Context* (2006); Drew Daniel, *The Melancholy Assemblage: Affect and Epistemology in the English Renaissance* (2013); ed. Cummings and Sierhuis, *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture* (2013); and Bradley Irish, *Emotion in the Tudor Court: Literature, History, and Early Modern Feeling* (2018). Irish admits that his recent book "overwhelmingly dwells on the negative, a feature that aligns it with the preexisting bias of current scholarship on early modern emotion" (Irish 16).

[41] Paster *Reading the Early Modern Passions* 13.

[42] Meek and Sullivan 5. See Richard Strier's *The Unrepentant Renaissance* (2011) and Bridget Escolme's *Emotional Excess on the Shakespearean Stage: Passion's Slaves* (2014).

culture, it should come as little surprise that theology and devotion played a central role in the experience of a wide variety of emotions."[43] In scholarship on early modern religion and literature, scholars such as Alec Ryrie have shown that early modern Christians as a whole, including both Catholic humanists such as Erasmus and prominent Reformers like Luther and Calvin, did not support Stoicism and instead defended "the validity and even the desirability of ordinary human emotions and passions."[44] Richard Strier writes, "Like Luther, Calvin notes that 'among the Christians there are also new Stoics, who count it depraved not only to groan and weep but also to be sad and care-ridden.' Calvin's rejection of this is as strong as Luther's: 'we have nothing to do with this iron philosophy.'"[45] Recent scholarship has also argued for the prominent place of joy in early modern theology and religious culture and that these passions are just as integral to Christianity as afflicted passions like sorrow.[46]

Rather than emphasizing a Stoic view of the passions, early modern Christian theologians and authors drew primarily on an Aristotelian conception of the passions, inflected through Augustinian and especially Thomistic theology. This framework for theorizing the passions is expressed in both early modern theological treatises and

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[43] Meek and Sullivan 7. "Andy Kesson and Emma Smith have recently estimated that, of the nearly eleven thousand books and papers published in the Elizabethan period, about 40 per cent were religious in nature. If we take seriously the role that printed material plays in the shaping of cultural beliefs, practices and ways of feeling (and almost all major histories of emotion to date rely on such a precept), then we must acknowledge the deep influence that religious doctrine and guidance had on the understanding of emotion" (Meek and Sullivan 7).

[44] Strier 32. See Alec Ryrie's *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (2013); Susan Karant-Nunn's *The Reformation of Feeling* (2010); Jan Frans van Dijkhuize's *Pain and Compassion in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (2012); Femke Molecamp's *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (2013); Sierhuis and Cummings' *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture* (2013); and Meek and Sullivan's *The Renaissance of Emotion* (2015).

[45] Strier 32.

[46] For example, Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (2013) and Bryn Roberts, *Puritanism and the Pursuit of Happiness: The Ministry and Theology of Ralph Venning, 1621-1674* (2015).

treatises solely on the passions, a discourse that proliferated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[47] Almost all early modern treatises on the passions copy and build upon Aquinas's theory and taxonomy, which follows Aristotle in seeing desire as the underlying motive force of all of the passions. Like Aristotle, Aquinas equates the passions with "desire" or "appetite" in general and describes them as located in and expressed by the appetitive faculty of the soul, which is also sometimes called the appetite or the will. Aquinas expands on earlier theories of the passions to assert that the appetitive faculty of the soul has and expresses two kinds of powers. The first is the power of desiring or coveting (i.e. *eros*), which is expressed by the six concupiscible passions of love, desire, pleasure/joy/delight, hatred, aversion, and pain/sorrow/sadness. In this taxonomy, Aquinas also categorizes desire as a specific concupiscible passion. Aquinas, like Augustine, sees the three passions of love, desire, and joy as interrelated: "Love which strains after the possession of the loved object is desire; and the love which possesses and enjoys that object is joy."[48] In this sense, desire is the liminal passion between love and joy, the striving toward that which is loved in order to enjoy it.

However, Aquinas asserts that all six specific concupiscible passions express the overarching power of desire in that they all stem from the soul's attraction to what is good or beneficial and the soul's concomitant disinclination toward what is evil or harmful.[49] The concupiscible passions react to what seems good or evil by moving toward (i.e. desiring) or moving away from (i.e. not desiring) that thing. In other words, desire is integral to all of the passions and is the fundamental motivating force behind

[47] "The early modern period saw the rise of a whole discourse on "the passions" – free-standing books on the passions were written and produced in the period on a scale not seen since antiquity (Robinson 213).

[48] Augustine, City of God 14.7. Translation from Schmitter, n.p.

[49] Coeffeteau writes in *A Table of Humane Passions with their Causes and Effects*, "Desire taken absolutely is a general Passion, which regards the object of good."

them. Early modern authors sometimes use the word “affection” instead of “passion” to signify the overarching function of desire in all of the passions of the soul since the word “affection” also stems from the Latin noun *affectus,* which can mean “desire,” and the verb *affecto/affectare,* which means to desire or strive after. Thomas Wright explains that the reason these motions are called affections is “because the soule by them, either affecteth some good, or for the affection of some good, detesteth some ill.”[50] Thus, in early modern thought, the affections are both people’s desires and the cause of people’s desires: “those manifold passions of the mind which are the fuell to our desires, & bellowes there unto.”[51] According to Aquinas, the second power of the appetitive faculty of the soul is the power of anger, invading, or spiritedness (i.e. *thymos*), which is expressed by the five irascible passions of hope, despair, fear, courage/boldness, and anger. Aquinas understands these five specific passions to all express different aspects or modes of the “fight or flight” response: the soul’s internal motions when facing difficulty in attaining its desires and the motions that help the soul to act on its desires when it seems arduous to do so.[52]

Unlike the Stoics, Aristotle and Aquinas assert that passions are not inherently dangerous and deleterious but instead have the potential to greatly benefit a person. They distinguish between moderate passions, governed by the soul’s rational faculty, and excessive and extreme passions, which are not. According to Aquinas, the appetitive faculty of the soul is meant to work in coordination with the soul’s rational

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[50] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde.*

[51] Cooper, *The Mysterie of the Holy Government of our Affections.*

[52] “Wherefore prouident Nature . . . hath giuen vnto the Sensitiue soule two Appetites, that is to say, the Concupiscible and the Irascible; whereof this last, when as any difficulty ariseth and opposeth it selfe to the desire of the Concupiscible, comes presently to succour it; and inflaming the blood, excites Choler, Hope, Courage, or some other like Passion destinated and ordained to make him surmount the difficulties which crosse the contentment of the Soule” (Coeffeteau, *A Table of Humane Passions with their Causes and Effects*).

faculty, which is often called the mind, intellect, understanding, or reason. The first function of the rational faculty is to use its power of reason to discern whether something is good or evil, i.e. whether something should be desired or not. The second function of the rational faculty is to affirm or reject that thing and to pass that judgment on to the appetitive faculty of the soul. In other words, the role of the rational faculty is to direct and guide the appetitive faculty in what it should desire and not desire (i.e. what it should move toward or away from). The ideal function of the appetitive faculty is to desire and pursue that which the rational faculty says is good and to have an aversion toward and eschew that which the rational faculty says is evil. Thus, according to Aquinas, appropriate and moderate passions are essential to human flourishing and to the goal of happiness (*eudaimonia*).[53] In Aquinas's teleology of the passions, the pinnacle of the Christian life is to come to desire God more and more as the "greatest good" (*summum bonum*) because he alone can perfectly fulfill people's desires and bring them true and lasting joy. Therefore, the goal is to have one's desire for God guide the appetitive faculty and the rest of one's desires.

Early modern religious discourses on the passions follow Aristotle and Aquinas in advocating for the cultivation and training, rather than the eradication, of the passions so that they benefit a person rather than becoming excessive and directed toward objects or ends that are detrimental. These texts acknowledge that people often desire other

[53] "Aristotle took the excellence of the excellent human to consist partly in experiencing pathē in the right way, to the right extent, and on the right occasions. Indeed, the cultivation of character is largely a matter of cultivating the disposition for appropriate experience of the pathē, which is as important as developing our abilities for deliberative reason. . . . In any case, the truly excellent person will not only reason well about what to do in particular situations, but will feel the appropriate desires and pathē in those situations" (Schmitter, n.p.). Some authors use the term "passion" when they want to emphasize that the appetitive faculty is acting in ways that are excessive or out of control, or when they think that the appetitive faculty is desiring something that is actually evil or harmful. Sometimes authors use the term "affection" when they want to emphasize that the appetitive faculty is acting in ways that are moderate and properly guided by the rational faculty, and when they see that the appetitive faculty desires what is truly good and beneficial. However, many other authors do not associate the words "passion" and "affection" with specific value judgments.

things more than God, and they describe the internal tension that people experience between their desire for God and their desire for these other things. Yet, in line with Aristotle and Aquinas, these texts are grounded in the underlying presupposition that passions can be cultivated, moderated, and trained. Although most early modern Christians believed that good and true desires, especially the desire for God, could come only from God, they believed that this "did not absolve Christians from responsibility" for managing their passions and stirring up in themselves godly and virtuous desires.[54] Early modern devotional texts and treatises on the passions thus instruct readers in what they can do to influence their passions and to cultivate in themselves a greater desire for God. As scholars such as Susan Karant-Nunn and Alec Ryrie have shown, early modern Christian communities sought to cultivate in themselves a greater desire for God and an increase in godly affections through listening to sermons, reciting corporate liturgies, praying and meditating, reading theological and devotional texts, and reading, reciting, and singing the words of Scripture.[55] While some of these texts – such as sermons and devotional works – draw upon early modern rhetorical theory and strategies, other textual practices are not engaged so much in seeking to persuade others and shape others' passions, but rather seeking to appeal to and cultivate one's own affections.

In particular, early modern Christianity stressed the role of Scripture in expressing, appealing to, and stirring up one's own affection for God. The preface to the 1549 edition of the Book of Common Prayer asserts that one of the principle reasons for reciting Scripture is "that the people (by daily hearyng of holy scripture read in the Churche) should [. . .] bee the more inflamed with the love of [God's] true religion."[56]

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[54] Ryrie 67.

[55] Ryrie 68-69. Karant-Nunn 49-50.

[56] Cummings 4.

Similarly, Cranmer's homily on Scripture explains that the goal of reading the Bible is to "minish" affection for worldly things and to increase "the great desyre of heavenly thynges."[57] Early modern Christians deemed the Psalms to be the book of the Bible most conducive to cultivating and shaping one's desires, firstly because they saw it as the biblical book that most emphasizes the expression and depiction of human passions.[58] Calvin calls the Psalms "'An Anatomy of all the Parts of the Soul;' for there is not an emotion of which any one can be conscious that is not here represented as in a mirror." He explains that he esteems the Psalms for their example to people of "laying open all their inmost thoughts and affections" to God."[59] Calvin and other early modern theologians recognized that the Psalms provide what Anna Wierzbicka calls an "emotion script," a common language with which to express, evaluate, and train one's passions.[60] As Matthew Parker writes in his 1567 book, *The Whole Psalter Translated into English Metre*, "In the bookes of the Psalmes . . . euery one may see and perceiue the motions and affections of his owne hart and soule" and "learne how he may heale these his affections and passions, by worde and by deede." Early modern Christians also viewed the Psalms as playing an important role in resonating with and appealing to people's passions because of their form as lyric prayers. Calvin writes that the Psalms "haue

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[57] Karant-Nunn 49.

[58] Zim succinctly describes Psalms as "vehicles for the expression of human feeling" (ix). She writes, "In the Psalms the personal expression of deep feeling is proper to the biblical texts. It was these expressive qualities which made the Psalms appropriate vehicles of personal devotion" (Zim 7).

[59] Calvin's preface to his commentary on the Psalms (*Commentary on the Psalms*, vol. 1).

[60] Wierzbicka, a cultural linguist, asserts "that many emotion words as well as the semantics and grammar of emotion are language- and culture-specific" (Paster, *Reading the Early Modern Passions* 9).

grace and maiestie in the verse more then any other places of the scriptures."[61] The lyric mode of the Psalms – what Lewalski calls their "biblical poetics" – facilitates people's engagement in the devotional function of the Psalms.[62] The popularity and proliferation of metrical versions of the Psalms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reveals early modern Christians' valuing of the poetic dimension of the Psalms' "emotion script."

Yet one thing that sets literary psalm paraphrases apart from the popular metrical psalms intended for corporate singing is that they translate the Psalms into English verse using not only the biblical poetics of the Psalms but also the contemporary secular poetics of erotic desire, especially in the Petrarchan and Ovidian traditions. The integration of these secular lyric traditions into metrical psalms calls attention to the prominence of desire in the Psalms and to the psalmist's relationship with God as one centered around desire. In some ways, Petrarchan poetics would seem to be a fitting vehicle for paraphrasing the Psalms since the Petrarchan dynamics of desire for a human beloved shares many parallels to the expression of religious desire in the Psalms. The psalmist's intensity of desire for God is like the ardency of the Petrarchan lover's desire for his beloved, and there is a similar intimacy and vulnerability in the Psalms and in Petrarchan poems. In terms of the nature of the relationship depicted, both the Petrarchan lover and the psalmist are inferior to the beloved and God, and they are completely dependent on the mercy of the beloved and of God to requite their desires. Like the Petrarchan lover, the psalmist experiences extreme fluctuations in his desires – between hopeful and fearful, and between joyful and sorrowful – as God's

[61] This is found in the prefatory letter "TO OVR BRETHERNE IN ENGLANDE, AND ELS Where Which loue Iesus Christe vnfaynedly, mercie, and peace" (English Church, *The Forme of Prayers* 20).

[62] Lewalski writes, "My contention is that the new focus on scripture occasioned by the Protestant Reformation promoted in sixteenth- and seventeenth century England a specifically biblical poetics ... under the impetus of Protestant theology and the new literary and philological interests of the period. I suggest further that this biblical poetics is itself the most important component of an emerging Protestant aesthetics" (Lewalski 8).

fulfillment of his desires seems more or less a possible reality. However, in other ways the Petrarchan poetics of desire is seemingly at odds with a biblical and Christian understanding of the nature of God and of religious desire. In Petrarchan poetry the beloved is often depicted as emotionally distant, unfeeling, and even cruel, and the lover is portrayed as suffering because of the beloved's absence or unresponsiveness. The lover's desire is sometimes depicted as obsessive, imbalanced, and morally questionable – an overwhelming passion that is likened to a disease. Even in cases in which the lover's desire is more moderate and the beloved reciprocates his love, Petrarchan poems are latent with sadness due to the inevitable future death of the beloved or the lover. In one sense, the Ovidian tradition's emphasis on the satisfaction of desire would seem to be more in line with a biblical understanding of desire, except that Ovidian poetics stresses the experience of physical, sexual pleasure through the seductive persuasion of the beloved.

I would contend that early modern authors of psalm paraphrases were cognizant of these dissonances between the Psalms and contemporary love lyric traditions and that, even so, they intentionally use the poetics of erotic desire in order to portray the experience of desiring God. In some cases, poets use the secular poetics of desire to express and address the tensions and struggles that come with desiring God. The borrowings from Petrarchan poetics call attention to the sorrowful and even desperate longing for God's presence and help that are found in many of the Psalms. Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation, which focus on Sir Thomas Wyatt's Penitential Psalms and Anne Locke's "Meditation of a Penitent Sinner," examine the ways in which those poets draw from and transform elements of the Petrarchan tradition in order to express and respond to common early modern concerns in relation to desiring God, especially the fear that God will not requite one's desire for his love, mercy, and salvation. Yet poets' usage of the Petrarchan and Ovidian poetics of erotic desire in their psalm paraphrases

also calls attention to and highlights the joyful and viscerally pleasurable nature of religious desire as expressed in the Psalms. Chapters 3 and 4, which focus on Sir Philip Sidney's Psalms and George Herbert's "The 23 Psalme," examine how these poets use and adapt the Petrarchan and Ovidian traditions in order to portray the attractiveness of God and the immediate affective pleasures of desiring him. Although these psalm paraphrases acknowledge that the desire for God cannot be not perfectly fulfilled in this life, the pain of their psalmists' desire is not due to a fear that God will not requite their desires, but due to a longing to more fully experience the joys of God's love and presence.

This dissertation begins with Wyatt's Penitential Psalms, likely the first sixteenth-century English literary psalm paraphrase, and ends with "The 23 Psalme" by George Herbert, whose poetry collection *The Temple* marks a significant shift in early modern religious lyric poetry away from psalm paraphrase to original religious verse. This dissertation analyzes significant moments in the development and expression of a poetics of religious desire in metrical psalm paraphrases, the genre that precipitated and, it would not be an exaggeration to say, birthed the proliferation of original religious lyric poetry in the seventeenth century. Literary psalm paraphrases are thus an important part of both the history of emotion in the early modern period and early modern literary history. They are culturally significant for their engagement with and response to early modern philosophical, theological, and literary discourses on desire. And they are literarily significant not just for their formal innovation and sophistication but also for their transformation of early modern secular poetics of erotic desire into a poetics of desire for God. They reveal that the ways in which early modern Christians conceptualized and experienced desire, including religious desire, are far broader and more nuanced than we perhaps had previously thought.

Chapter 1: Stoicism and the Mutability of Desire in Sir Thomas Wyatt's Penitential Psalms

Sir Thomas Wyatt is widely considered to be the poet who brought the Petrarchan tradition to England. In many of Wyatt's lyrics, his speaker expresses the stereotypical anguished longing of the Petrarchan lover. These poems portray the lover's problem not as desire itself, but as unrequited desire: the speaker suffers because he persists in desiring his beloved, even though the beloved does not respond to and fulfill his desire for her. Yet in some of Wyatt's poems, his speaker expresses a Stoic critique of desire itself and a renunciation of desire for a human beloved. For example, the sonnet "Farewell, Love" begins:

> Farewell, Love, and all thy laws forever.
> Thy baited hooks shall tangle me no more.
> Senec and Plato call me from thy lore
> To perfect wealth my wit for to endeavour.[63]

When read in the context of Wyatt's other poems, "Farewell, Love" is one movement within a Petrarchan lover's *psychomachia* as he struggles between striving after and renouncing erotic desire for a human beloved who does not love him back. Yet in itself, "Farewell, Love" expresses the Stoic perception of the passions as harmful and dangerous and the Stoic goal of freeing oneself from desire for temporal things. This poem's Stoicism is not an anomaly in Wyatt's corpus and hints at his larger interest in Stoic philosophy. Seneca, along with others who held a Stoic view of the passions such as Plutarch, Epictetus, and Boethius, were some of Wyatt's favorite authors.[64] In Wyatt's

[63] Wyatt and Rebholz 87, lines 1-4.

[64] Wyatt and Rebholz 359; Thomson 265.

second letter to his teenage son, written in 1537, he recommends that his son read Stoic texts for moral instruction: "it is no smal help to them the good opinion of moral philosophers, among whom I wold Senek were your studye and Epictetus, bicaus it is litel to be evir in your bosome."[65] Like many people in sixteenth-century Europe, Wyatt integrates the teachings of the Stoics with his Christian faith. He tells his son that, while Stoic philosophy "shall lead you to know [and take pleasure in] goodly thinges," his son also needs to make "god and his grase . . . the fundation" of his life.[66]

Wyatt's poem that most explicitly focuses on desire for God is his Penitential Psalms. Similar to his sonnets' portrayal of the vicissitudes of Petrarchan desire, Wyatt's Penitential Psalms are structured as a narrative of King David's struggle between earthly and divine desires. Given Wyatt's interest in both Petrarchism and Stoicism, this raises the question: how do these traditions influence Wyatt's depiction of King David and his desires? The text that most heavily shaped Wyatt's interpretation and paraphrase of the seven penitential psalms is Pietro Aretino's *I Sette Salmi de la Penitentia di David,* a prose paraphrase of the penitential psalms that continued the medieval tradition of interpreting these psalms biographically within the context of David's adultery with Bathsheba.[67] First published in 1534, *I Sette Salmi* became one of Aretino's most popular works, with nine printings in Italian and a French translation published in 1541.[68]

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[65] Muir 43.

[66] Muir 43.

[67] The biblical narrative of David's adulterous affair with Bathsheba is recorded in the book of 2 Samuel, chapters 11 and 12. Wyatt and Rebholz, 452. Hamlin writes that "the most important Italian model for his *Penitential Psalms* was Pietro Aretino's (prose) *I Setti Salmi de la Penitentia de David* (1534), from which Wyatt derived the basic structure linking the seven psalms, with interpolations between them, to form a continuous narrative about David's penitence for his adultery with Bathsheba" (Hamlin, *Psalm Culture* 112). Rossiter writes that "Pietro Aretino's *I sette salmi* provide Wyatt with the structural principle or architektonike for his sequence" (Rossiter, *Wyatt Abroad,* 160).

[68] Waddington 279.

In Aretino's version, the penitential psalms become David's autobiographical confessions of sin and prayers to God that he sings in the aftermath of his adultery. Aretino links the psalms to one another by adding third-person narrative prologues between each of them, and these interludes give a narratorial interpretation of David's emotional and spiritual condition, in addition to the psalms' first-person accounts from David's perspective.[69] With regards to the form of Wyatt's Penitential Psalms, Wyatt borrows Aretino's frame-narrative and his structure of narrative interludes between each psalm. In terms of the content Wyatt's Psalms, William Rossiter explains that Wyatt borrows heavily from Aretino's "post-stilnovistic, post-Petrarchan treatment of the tale of David's lust for Bathsheba, and his role in Uriah's death."[70]

Although there is consensus that Wyatt draws heavily on Aretino's Petrarchan-infused paraphrase, scholars do not agree on why Wyatt decided to use Aretino's text as his primary source for the penitential psalms or what his goals were in translating and transforming it into an English poem.[71] Some scholars, such as Stephen Greenblatt, Ellen Lifschutz, Lynn Staley, and Alexandra Halasz, have interpreted Wyatt's Penitential Psalms through a political lens, seeing him as using the penitential psalms to address and critique the king's and the English court's corruption and abuses, especially those related to Henry VIII's relationships with women.[72] Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey's poem in praise of Wyatt's Penitential Psalms hints at this purpose of veiled critique and

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[69] Wyatt imitates how "Aretino embeds the Penitential Psalms within a medieval frame-narrative, the kind of dialogic framework or heteroglossia designed to enable both heterodiegetic and homodiegetic perspectives" (Rossiter, *Wyatt Abroad* 160). The narrative framework "describe[s] [David's] psychological and spiritual state as he begins and ends each psalm" (Wyatt and Rebholz 453).

[70] Rossiter, "What Wyatt really did to Aretino's Sette Salmi" 605.

[71] Costley King'oo 96. See also Waddington 291.

[72] For a summary of approaches to interpreting Wyatt's Penitential Psalms, see Costley King'oo 96-97, Trudell 266-69, and Austern, et. al, 10.

judgment of Henry VIII's lasciviousness, stating that in Wyatt's Psalms "Rewlers may se in a myrrour clere, / The bitter frewte of false concupicense."[73] Other scholars, such as Alistair Fox and Raymond Southall, have interpreted Wyatt's Penitential Psalms biographically, as Wyatt's reflection on the consequences in his own life of erotic desire and sexual profligacy. By 1536 or 1537, Wyatt had a mistress, Elizabeth Darrell, with whom he lived until his death in 1542.[74] In 1536 and 1541 Wyatt was imprisoned on charges of adultery, and it is believed that Wyatt likely wrote his Penitential Psalms either during or immediately after one of these imprisonments.[75] In Wyatt's first letter to Thomas, his son with his estranged wife, he writes that "of myself I may be a nere example unto you of my foly and unthriftnes that hath as I wel deservid broght me into a thousand dangers and hazardes, enmyties, hatrids, prisonments, despits and indignations."[76] The "foly and unthriftnes" Wyatt alludes to are, at least in part, related to his relationships with women since he admonishes his son to "love wel and agre with your wife."[77]

Yet while the political and biographical theories provide logical reasons as to why Wyatt chose to paraphrase the penitential psalms, they do not explain why he chose to

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[73] Wyatt, Muir, and Thomson 98. Trudell writes, "It is in the narrative prologue to his *Psalms* that Wyatt comes closest to Surrey's implication of a scathing critique of Henry VIII. If anything, Wyatt plays up the accusations of monarchal profligacy and lasciviousness levied by his source, Pietro Aretino" (Trudell 280).

[74] Burrow, n.p.

[75] The stated reason for Wyatt's 1536 imprisonment was a charge of having had an affair with Anne Boleyn. In 1541 Wyatt was imprisoned, at least in part, for having a longstanding mistress, Elizabeth Darrell, while he was married to Elizabeth Brooke. "Most of the evidence we have about Wyatt's erotic adventures at court is too contradictory and uncertain for us to be sure about any of the details – especially those concerning Anne Boleyn – though in the course of defending himself in 1541 against the accusations of Edmund Bonner and others he does make one forthright statement: 'I graunte I do not professe chastite'" (Braden 16). See also Fox 280-85; Southall, *The Courtly Maker* 168; and Costley King'oo 96.

[76] Muir 40.

[77] Muir 40.

borrow heavily from Aretino's version in particular, and they also do not clarify why he did not closely follow Aretino's paraphrase but rather deviated more and more from it over the course of his Penitential Psalms.[78] When brought together, though, what the political and biographical readings reveal is their common recognition of Wyatt's interest in uncontrolled and illicit erotic desire and his use of the Penitential Psalms as a vehicle to critique unbridled sexual desire, to portray the consequences of it, and to reflect on possible solutions to the pitfalls of human desire. Aretino's paraphrase is an ideal conduit for Wyatt because of *I Sette Salmi's* effusive Petrarchism, which depicts David as a man in the grip of extreme passions and as the quintessential tormented Petrarchan subject whose soul is pulled between conflicting desires.

However, this does not explain why Wyatt does not closely paraphrase Aretino but instead deviates radically from Aretino's tone, language, and plot in various places over the course of his Penitential Psalms. The other element of Wyatt's biography that is important for understanding Wyatt's transformation of Aretino's text is Wyatt's ongoing interest in Stoicism, which he demonstrates not only in his recommendation of reading to his son, but also in his own poetry and translations. In 1527 Wyatt translated Plutarch's *The Quyete of Mynde*, a text which expounds Plutarch's Stoic instructions on how to attain "quietnesse of mynde" through suppressing the passions and not desiring things.[79] In Wyatt's translation of *The Quyete of Mynde,* Plutarch stresses that, in order for a

[78] "Scholars generally concur that Wyatt relies more heavily on Aretino's text at the opening of his poem (that is, in the first two or three prologues and psalms) than at the end" (Costley King'oo 96).

[79] Muir 441-42. Queen Katherine originally asked Wyatt to translate Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae*; however, Wyatt suggested that he instead translate Guillaume Budé's Latin version of Plutarch's *De tranquillitate et securitate animi* (which was given the English title *The Quyet of Mynde*). Southall writes that "the translation was presented to Katherine at the beginning of 1528 as a New Year's gift and
printed, probably later the same year, by the King's printer, Richard Pynson. It is not possible to say what comfort she obtained from it, but the Stoicism of Plutarch obviously impressed Wyatt" (Southall, "'Love, Fortune and my mind'" 19-20).

person to attain this Stoic equilibrium, a person's reason must be "accustomed and fore thought/to restrayne quickly/& nat to suffre to stray the apasionate parte of the mynde . . . and to suffre it to forbeare whan it is ouer-twharted/with assayling affections."[80] While Plutarch acknowledges that people may suffer at times from "assayling affections," he admonishes them to restrain these quickly.

The influence of a Stoic view of the passions is also clear in some of Wyatt's poetry, in which he infuses a Stoic warning against letting one's desires, especially sensual ones, gain control of one's mind. His most explicitly Stoic poem is the one that begins "If thou wilt mighty be," which is a poetic translation of meters 5, 6, and 3 in Book III of Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy*.[81] Boethius' Christian Stoicism was greatly popular in sixteenth-century England, and Wyatt likely would have studied Boethius' *Consolation* while he was at university.[82] As Patricia Thomson explains, "Wyatt chose . . to translate "those [passages] most deeply embedded in the argument of Book III, those which embody the Stoic ideal – familiar to him from Seneca and Plutarch – of self-control and detachment."[83] Wyatt's first stanza of his poetic paraphrase of Boethius admonishes readers:

> If thou wilt mighty be, flee from the rage
> Of cruel will, and see thou keep thee free
> From the foul yoke of sensual bondage.
> For though thy empire stretch to Indian sea
> And for thy fear trembleth the farthest Thule,

[80] Muir 442.

[81] Wyatt and Rebholz 399.

[82] Thomson 263. Boethius' *Consolation* was so popular that English translations were published in 1478 (translated by Chaucer) and 1535.

[83] Thomson 265.

If thy desire have over thee the power,

Subject then art thou and no governor.[84]

Although Wyatt translates this section fairly closely, he emphasizes, more than Boethius does in the original, the Stoic critique of uncontrolled desire. Wyatt paraphrases Boethius' phrase *uicta libidine colla* as "the foul yoke of sensual bondage," repeating the idea of enslavement to the passions with the words "yoke" and "bondage." In the last two lines of the second stanza, Wyatt again repeats this judgment of uncontrolled desire, stating that "wretched no way thou may be / Except foul lust and vice do conquer thee." Wyatt adds the phrase "foul lust" to Boethius' final line, whereas other translations only use the word "vice."[85] In Wyatt's Penitential Psalms he uses similar language as is in this poem to convey David's recognition of the "foul" moral and spiritual corruption that can come as a result of being controlled by one's passions: for example, in Psalm 51 David admits "how foul my fault hath been," and in Psalm 102 David pleads that God would "hear the moan of them that are algate / In foul bondage."[86] Wyatt's translation of Boethius comes across as the very warning that King David needed to hear before he committed adultery with Bathsheba.

The context of Boethius' meditation on bondage to the passions, versus a freedom from such bondage, is Boethius' own physical bondage in prison. Given Wyatt's ongoing interest in Stoicism, it is likely that Wyatt would have had Boethius' *Consolation* on his mind during his own imprisonments and his writing of the Penitential

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[84] Wyatt and Rebholz 120, lines 1-7.

[85] The last three lines of Boethius' stanza are: "*Quid genus et proauos strepitis? Si primordia uestra / auctoremque deum spectes, nullus degener exstat, / ni uitiis peiora fouens proprium deserat ortum*." Chaucer just uses the word "vices" in his translation: "þan is þer no forlyued wyȝt but ȝif he norisse his corage vnto vices and forlete his propre burþe." Similarly, Relihan in his modern poetic translation uses only "vice": "Hé who embráces by více what is wórse / and abándóns what he róse fróm" (Boethius 63).

[86] Wyatt and Rebholz 211, lines 603-4. *OED,* "foul" adj.

Psalms during that time of his life. What has not been noted in scholarship on Wyatt's Penitential Psalms is how Wyatt employs a Boethian Christian Stoicism in his Penitential Psalms, combining it with the Petrarchism of Aretino's paraphrase to create a new Petrarchan-Boethian poetics of desire. Wyatt turns the Penitential Psalms into a narrative of Stoic self-examination and Stoic critique of inordinate desire. Using a Boethian lens through which to focus Aretino's Petrarchism, Wyatt portrays the suffering that David experiences as a result of his unstable and uncontrolled passions: not only because of his illicit desire for Bathsheba, but also because of his renewed desire for God, which he fears that God will not requite. However, Wyatt also does not put Stoicism as the remedy to David's inordinate desires and his fears. Wyatt brings together Petrarchism and Boethian Stoicism to critique the Stoic solution of self-control as impossible because of the unavoidable instability and uncontrollability of human desires. Wyatt portrays David as attaining greater joy and peace only through accepting his passivity in relation to his passions and through gaining a greater understanding of God's own Stoic and Petrarchan qualities – qualities that guarantee God's fulfillment of David's desire for God, despite David's inevitable waywardness. Wyatt's poem thus brings together Petrarchan poetics and a Boethian Stoicism to portray David's psychological and spiritual transformation over the course of the Penitential Psalms.

In Wyatt's prologue to the first penitential psalm, he borrows closely from Aretino's text to depict how David comes to be overwhelmed with erotic desire for Bathsheba. Wyatt does this first by personifying love as Cupid or Eros, the classical god of love who wounds and rules over people's hearts. The poem begins by describing how David is filled with desire for Bathsheba due to Love's attack on him:

> Love, to give law unto his subject hearts,
> Stood in the eyes of Barsabe the bright,
> And in a look anon himself converts

Cruelly pleasant before King David sight;

First dazed his eyes, and further forth he starts

With venomed breath, as softly as he might

Touched his senses, and overruns his bones

With creeping fire sparpled for the nonce. (1-8)[87]

In this first stanza Wyatt closely imitates Aretino's Petrarchism to portray David as the passive victim of Love's assaults, which Love employs in order to "give law" and rule over David's heart.[88] Wyatt emphasizes the agency of Love by putting "Love" as the first word of the whole poem and by making Love the subject of all of the verbs in the first stanza: Love "stood," "himself converts," "dazed," "starts," "touched," and "overruns." Wyatt then describes how Love uses Bathsheba's eye beams to "daze" David's eyes and to pierce his heart with desire for her.[89] Drawing on another Petrarchan trope of metaphorically portraying desire as fire and flames, Wyatt describes how Bathsheba's eye beams fill David "with creeping fire" that "sparpled," igniting the flame of desire in him. In Wyatt's secular love sonnets he regularly employs these tropes and the

[87] All quotes of Wyatt's Penitential Psalms are taken from Thomas Wyatt and R. A. Rebholz, ed., *Sir Thomas Wyatt, The Complete Poems* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 195-216 and are cited parenthetically by line number. Some manuscripts contain "sparkl'd" rather than "sparpled," indicating that "sparple" is an alternate form of "sparkle." See Wyatt, Muir, and Thomson 359. "For the nonce" means "for the particular occasion; for the time being, temporarily; for once" (*OED*, "nonce" n.1).

[88] The 1635 English translation of Aretino's paraphrase begins: "Love taking his stand in the eyes of Bersabe, to giue lawes to gentle and flexible spirits transformed himself, in a glaunce cruelly piteous, and making through-passe to King Dauid, first casting a mist before his eyes, then after breathed into him poison, and in a seeming sweet touch of his senses, had accesse, yea ingresse to his very bones, and there dispersed his fire" (Aretino 1).

[89] Rossiter writes, "Aretino, as we can see, has already translated the Scriptural narrative into a post-Petrarchan account of *innamoramente*: the unwary lover inadvertently gazes into the eyes of the beloved-to-be, Cupid, who dwells in those eyes, carves the image or *figura* of the beloved in the fleshly tables of the lover's heart, and thenceforth she becomes his infatuation. The process and the narrative is all too familiar. Wyatt begins faithfully enough, his opening lines echoing those of Aretino: "*Standosi Amore a dar legge a le persone gentili ne gliocchi di Bersabe, si trasformò in vno sguardo crudelmente pietoso, e trapassato al Rè David*" (Aretino 1538, A5^{r})" (Rossiter, "Chapter 7. Transgression *in Potentia*" 101-118).

language of “sparks” and “dazing” to explain how a woman’s eyes can overpower a man.[90] In his prologue to the Penitential Psalms, Wyatt similarly uses the Petrarchan trope of the power of a woman’s eye beams in order to emphasize the passivity of David’s desires and the power of Love to turn David from desiring God to desiring Bathsheba.

In the next stanza of the prologue, Wyatt uses Petrarchan tropes to convey the Stoic critique of passions’ ability to control a person and to inflict harm and suffering on them. In this stanza Wyatt, even more than Aretino, continues to draw on the Petrarchan personification of Love as an archer who pierces David’s heart with his arrows of desire:[91]

> And when he saw that kindled was the flame,
>
> the moist poison in his heart he lanced,
>
> So that the soul did tremble with the same
>
> And in this branle as he stood and tranced. (9-12)[92]

In Wyatt’s version, Love “lances” the “moist poison” of desire for Bathsheba into Wyatt’s heart, causing David to stand entranced and to yield to the desire for Bathsheba that Love has shot into his heart. Here Wyatt imitates Petrarch’s account in sonnet 3 that

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[90] For example, “The lively sparks that issues from those eyes / Against the which ne vaileth no defence” (Wyatt and Rebholz 84, sonnet XXV, lines 1-2). Reholz states that “this sonnet imitates very freely Petrarch’s Rime 258” (Wyatt and Rebholz 353), which begins, “From those two lovely lights came living sparks like lightning sweetly striking out at me” (Petrarcha, et al., 363). Later in this same sonnet the speaker states that the beams “daze man’s sight, as by their bright presence / Dazed am I, much like unto the guise / Of one ystricken with dint of lightning, / Blinded with the stroke, erring here and there” (lines 7-10). In this sonnet, Wyatt uses the repeated word “daze” as well as the diction of “no defence,” “ystricken,” and “blinded” to stress both the speaker’s defenselessness against Love’s sparks and the speaker’s helpless condition once he has been dazed by these beams.

[91] In the first quatrain of Petrarch’s second sonnet, Petrarch describes how “secretly Love took up his bow again / and chose the proper time and place to strike” (Petrarca, et al., 3).

[92] Aretino writes, “No sooner perceiued be the effect, namely that these were altogether inflamed, but that by a liquid poison, he entred into the whole body of his heart, and there fixed himselfe, not without his soules affright” (1-2).

Love “saw the way / was clear to reach my heart down through the eyes” and “to wound me with his arrow.”[93] Wyatt emphasizes that Love’s arrow renders David incapacitated and not in his right mind through explaining that David stood “in this branle,” i.e., a “state of confusion and agitation.”[94] Wyatt also imitates Petrarch’s description of Love’s arrows as poisonous to cast a negative judgment on Love’s overpowering of David’s heart and the effect of Love’s powers on David.[95] Through describing Love as having “venomed breath” (6), Wyatt even makes Love come across as a Satanic figure who seduces David, similar to how Satan seduced Eve in the garden of Eden.

Yet Wyatt’s narrator does not express the Stoic critique of desire as detrimental in itself. Instead, the narrator puts forth a modified Stoicism, judging David’s desire as wrong because he comes to desire Bathsheba more than anything else. After Love’s poisoned arrow of desire pierces David’s heart,

> Yielding unto the figure and the frame
> That those fair eyes had in his presence glanced,
> The form that Love had printed in his breast
> He honour’th it as thing of things best. (13-16)[96]

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[93] See sonnet 3 from Petrarcha, et al., 5. Petrarch’s sonnet 2 also describes Love as an archer, whose arrows wound and bewilder the speaker: “secretly Love took up his bow again / and chose the proper time and place to strike. / My strength was concentrated in my heart, / and there and in my eyes raised its defense / when down upon it struck the mortal blow / where every other arrow had been blunted; / and so, bewildered by this first assault, / it did not have the vigor or the chance / to take up arms when it was time to fight, / or even to lead me cleverly back up / the high, hard mountain saving me from slaughter, / from which he'd like to now, but cannot help” (Petrarcha, et al., 3).

[94] Rebholz gives this explanation for the word “branle” (Wyatt and Rebholz 456). The *OED* similarly defines “branle” as “Wavering, agitation, confusion” (*OED,* “branle,” n.)

[95] Sonnet 83: “all his arrows pitiless and poisoned” (Petrarca, et al., 139); “*con sue saette velenose et empie*” (Petrarca, et al., 138). See also poem 207 (Petraca, et al., 304-305) and poem 209 (Petrarca, et al., 306-307).

[96] Aretino writes, “For he bowed to this image, which in its first presenting it's obiect, made impression in his breast. Hence the minde of this so great a man, was become slauishly enthrald, and an adorer of a new picture of beauty” (Aretino 2).

The overpowering desire that Love has shot into David's heart leads David to "honor" – to worship and admire – Bathsheba as "thing of things best."[97] Wyatt adds this phrase "thing of things best," which is not found in Aretino's version, to refer to the classical and medieval Christian understanding of the *summum bonum*, the "greatest good." Ancient Greek philosophers, including Stoics, concurred that *eudaimonia* – "true and perfect happiness" – is the greatest good and is what all people naturally desire.[98] Medieval Christians theologians such as Augustine adapted these Greek ideas about happiness to a Christian context to assert that God is the greatest good and that only by desiring God can people attain complete *eudaimonia*.[99] In Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy,* his Lady Philosophy asserts, "God is highest and is most full of the Good that is highest and perfect; but we have established that true happiness is the highest Good; therefore, it is necessary that true happiness is located in this highest God."[100] However, Boethius writes that some people abandon the ultimate Good and "go chasing after vices" because of their disordered desire for earthly things: "they know what they should chase after, but lust drives them headlong away, at right angles."[101] In this conception of lust,

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[97] *OED,* "honor" v.

[98] Boethius 70. Boethius explains it this way: "In all of these things it is clear that true happiness alone is the thing that is desired; for any person, seeking to gain something in preference to all others, judges that it is the highest good. But we have defined true happiness as the highest Good; and for this reason a person, desiring one state in preference to all others, judges that it is the truly happy state" (Boethius 52; Book III, Prose 2). "All things seek the Good; or you may in fact define the Good this way, as that which is desired by all things" (Boethius 82; Book III, Prose 11).

[99] For example, in chapter 1 of Augustine's *On the Nature of Good,* he writes: "The highest good, than which there is no higher, is God, and consequently He is unchangeable good, hence truly eternal and truly immortal. All other good things are only from Him, not of Him." In the *City of God,* volume 1, book 10, Augustine writes that the human soul "cannot be happy except by partaking of the light of that God by whom both itself and the world were made; and also that the happy life which all men desire cannot be reached by any who does not cleave with a pure and holy love to that one supreme good, the unchangeable God." Augustine adds that God "is the fountain of our happiness, He the end of all our desires."

[100] Boethius 74; Book III, Prose 10.

[101] Boethius 97; Book IV, Prose 2. Boethius' statement concurs with Christian understandings of the cause of people's disordered desires. According to Augustine, due to original sin, people's

Boethius draws on a Christian understanding of sin both as the desire for earthly things more than God, so that God is not one's supreme love and desire, and as the actions that stem from disordered desires.

In Wyatt's narratorial critique that David honors Bathsheba as "thing of things best," he conveys how David's disordered desire leads him to be controlled by and to succumb to inordinate and sinful desires. Wyatt further emphasizes this judgment in the next stanza, in which his narrator asserts that David's desire for Bathsheba more than God is the source of his offenses of adultery and murder. Wyatt writes that David's goal in having Uriah killed is so that "he may enjoy her out of doubt / Whom more than God or himself he mindeth" (25-26). The word "mindeth" carries the sense that David seeks to "enjoy" Bathsheba because he desires her more than he loves and cares for God or for himself.[102] In this critique of David's inordinate desire and its consequences, Wyatt imitates Aretino's paraphrase, in which Aretino writes that David had Uriah killed "that he being made away, he might become husband to the others wife, whom he loued more then God or himselfe; and such his desire obteined, that lasciuious bed enioyed."[103] However, instead of describing David's desire as "that lasciuious bed," Wyatt writes that David was of "lust possessed" (28). According to the Stoic theory of the passions, lust (i.e. *libido,* also referred to as "appetite" or "desire" in English texts) is one of the four primary passions.[104] Wyatt's description of David as of "lust possessed" draws on the

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souls are corrupted and bent toward desiring earthly things rather than God and to believing that things other than God will fulfill their desires and bring them complete happiness. Aquinas modifies Augustine's viewpoint to assert that the soul's desires are impaired but not completely corrupted, so that the soul still desires God as the *summum bonum* but is pulled between competing and conflicting desires. See Lombardo 54 and 122-24.

[102] *OED,* "mind" (verb, II.4.b): "to care for, like, value, wish for." In Psalm 51 David himself vocalizes this offense, confessing to God that "Thy majesty so from my mind was gone. / This know I and repent" (lines 450-51).

[103] Aretino 2.

[104] See Schmitter, n.p., and Baltzly, et al., n.p.

Stoic critique of excessive and unbridled desire: desire that overpowers a person's mind because they have not followed the guidance of their rational faculty and have instead yielded to their passions.[105] Wyatt emphasizes in his prologue to his Penitential Psalms that David is culpable for his inordinate desire for Bathsheba and for how he acts on this desire. He does this through making David the subject-actor of his desires: David "honour'th" Bathsheba "as thing of things best" and "mindeth" her "more than God or himself" (16 and 26). In the first penitential psalm Wyatt further highlights David's culpability through having David beseech God to "temper, O Lord, the harm of my excess / With mending will that I for recompense / Prepare again" (90-92). David uses the word "excess" to acknowledge and confess the inordinate and uncontrolled nature of his desires.

In Wyatt's first prologue, he closely borrows from Aretino's prologue to the first penitential psalm, describing how Nathan confronts David about his adultery and murder and how David responds to Nathan's rebuke. After Nathan's accusation, David's desire for Bathsheba instantly dies: "So doth he feel his fire manifold, / His heat, his lust, and pleasure all in fear / Consume and waste" (35-36 and 44-46). Yet this end to David's lust is not a turn to a state of Stoic equanimity; rather, David's passion of lust is immediately replaced with the passion of fear because of "the great offence, outrage, and injury /

[105] Boethius, in line with many medieval Christian theologians, describes yielding to inordinate desire as a moral failing caused by the willed activity of the soul, in which the will chooses to follow the direction of the senses rather than the judgment of reason. They see the soul as allowing its desire to become inordinate and out of control, not following the guidance of the rational faculty. Boethius writes, "Now it is necessarily the case that human souls are indeed at their freest when they preserve themselves intact within the contemplation of the divine mind; but they are less free when they fall away toward bodies, and still less free when they are tied to limbs of earthly matter. At their furthest remove there is slavery, when they have fallen away from the possession of the reason that belongs to them because they have surrendered themselves to vices. For once they have cast their eyes down from the light of the highest truth to the lower and shadowy realms, they are soon darkened over by the cloud of unknowing, they are caught in the whirlwind of destructive passions. By yielding to these passions and agreeing with them they help along the slavery that they have brought down upon themselves and, in a certain sense, they are the captives of their own liberty" (Boethius 129; Book V, Prose 2).

That he hath done to God as in this case – / By murder for to cloak adultery" (35-37). David swings from one Petrarchan extreme to another, appearing "like him that meets with horror and with fear": all of the color rushes out of his face, and he falls prostrate to the ground (41).

Wyatt then imitates Aretino's' use of the conceit of a physical cave to depict David's experience of the passion of fear. While there is no mention in the Hebrew scriptures of David entering a cave after Nathan confronts him, Aretino describes David as "retir[ing] himselfe into an obscure place vnder ground" and staying there throughout the narrative until after he has finished praying his penitential psalms.[106] Following Aretino, Wyatt describes David as:

> Withdrawing him into a dark cave
> Within the ground, wherein he might him hide,
> Fleeing the light as in prison or grave,
> In which as soon as David entered had,
> The dark horror did make his fault adrad. (60-64)[107]

Both Aretino and Wyatt use the word "prison" to convey the cave's figurative meaning. In Aretino's version, he writes that the cave is "as it were a prison of [David's] sinne."[108] Wyatt, in contrast, while he equates the cave with a prison, does not connect it directly to David's sin but to his "dark horror," emphasizing these words by putting them at the beginning of the line. Wyatt's repetition of the word "dark" to describe both the cave and David's "horror" echoes Boethius' description in the *Consolation of Philosophy* of the

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[106] Aretino 4.

[107] Aretino writes, "Moreouer he retired himselfe into an obscure place vnder ground, as it were a prison of his sinne. No sooner entred he, but his thoughts were further affrighted by the darkenes of the caue" (4).

[108] Aretino 4.

prisoner as suffering from the "darkness of confusing emotions [i.e. *perturbationes*]."[109] Wyatt modifies the original psalm and Aretino's text to emphasize a Stoic view of David as trapped in the prison of his passions: a prison that he enters due to his own choices but that he then cannot break out of.

After using the conceit of a dark cave, Wyatt then uses the language of disease to allude to Stoic and Petrarchan understandings of desire. The last lines of the opening prologue describe how David:

> Fall'th on his knees, and with his harp, I say,
> Afore his breast, fraughted with disease
> Of stormy sighs, his cheer coloured like clay,
> Dressed upright, seeking to counterpoise
> His song with sighs, and touching of the strings
> With tender heart, lo, thus to God he sings. (67-72)

Although Wyatt imitates Aretino's overall narrative in this section, he adds the descriptor of David as "fraughted with disease." In using this term, Wyatt alludes to the Stoic view of the passions as a disease. In the *Consolation,* lady Philosophy tells the prisoner that he is suffering from the "disease of confusing emotions."[110] Yet through calling it a "disease / Of stormy sighs," Wyatt also draws on the trope of the sighing Petrarchan lover and equates the disease with the Petrarchan affliction of unrequited love.[111] In fact, Wyatt uses the exact phrase "stormy sighs" in one of his Canzoni that Tottel titles "Complaint of the absence of his loue."[112] Wyatt's description of David's pale face and

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[109] Boethius 20; Book I, Prose 6. Boethius 153.

[110] Boethius 19; Book I, Prose 6.

[111] Elizabeth Heale writes regarding the ending of the first prologue that "it has been noted that at this point David seems more like a pleading lover than a sinner" (162).

[112] Wyatt and Rebholz 111; Canzoni LXXVI line 56. *Songes and Sonnettes,* Fo. 38.

"stormy sighs" portray David's physical symptoms as like those of a Petrarchan lover who fears that his beloved will not requite his desire for her, but in David's case he now fears that God will reject him.[113] David's "tender heart" reinforces the image of David as like a fearful lover and not just a penitent sinner.[114] Wyatt continues to draw on Petrarchan tropes for a distressed lover in subsequent narratorial descriptions of David. For example, in the prologue after Psalm 6, the narrator states that David, "gathering his sprites that were dismayed for fear, / . . . His heart's bottom for a sigh he sought" (211 and 214). The initial prologue and subsequent sections bring together Stoic theory and Petrarchan conventions to frame David's songs as those of an anxious lover who is suffering from turbulent passions as he beseeches God to pardon him and show favor toward him.[115]

Wyatt also poetically represents how David is swayed by his passions through the verse forms in the Penitential Psalms. All of the first-person psalm paraphrases are in *terza rima* without any stanzaic breaks, and, as Twombly explains, the effect of this verse form is "of an uncertain and compulsive outrush of intuitions, anxieties, and non sequiturs" and "a sense of metaphysical desperation."[116] The interlocking rhyme scheme of the *terza rima* works to convey how David is moved and overwhelmed by his shifting

[113] Aretino, in contrast, does not employ Petrarchan conventions in this section and uses the word "sighs" only once to describe David's condition. See Aretino 4.

[114] In the Penitential Psalms, Wyatt uses the word "heart" 35 times in total. To compare Wyatt's use of the word "heart" to Coverdale's in his translation of the Psalms: Coverdale uses the word "heart" six times in the seven penitential psalms, while Wyatt uses the word "heart" twenty-one times in his paraphrase of the seven penitential psalms. This excludes Wyatt's use of "heart" in his interludes.

[115] Heale adds that "In the first of the penitential psalms that follow (Psalm 6), [Wyatt] use[s] a language of supplication which belongs as readily to discourses of love as to the language of religious service" (162).

[116] Twombly 346. In writing the first-person psalm paraphrases in *terza rima*, Wyatt also imitates the Italian tradition of using this verse form for poetic versions of the penitential psalms. Both Dante and the sixteenth-century poet Luigi Alamanni used *terza rima* in their poetic paraphrases of the penitential psalms in Italian. See Rossiter, *Wyatt Abroad* 160; Hamlin, *Psalm Culture in Early Modern England* 112; and Austern, et al., 10.

passions and desires. The effect of the *terza rima* is heightened by its contrast with the verse form of Wyatt's third-person narrative interludes, which are in eight-line *ottava rima* stanzas. Starting in the fourteenth century, this stanzaic form was used by Italian poets for religious verse and epic poetry, and it became the "default narrative stanza in early modern Italian."[117] The rhyme scheme of each stanza – alternating *ababab* and then ending with a rhyming couplet, conveys the narrator's measured and conclusive statements about David's interior state. Wyatt employs the two verse forms in order to convey these two different perspectives on David's narrative of desire: the one from within the cave and David's own mind, and the other looking at David from an outside perspective, offering narratorial and theological commentary on David's struggles and longings.

Throughout the first half of the Penitential Psalms, Wyatt portrays David's Petrarchan-like oscillations between hope on the one hand, and fear and despair on the other, as he reflects on whether God will requite his desire for God's love and mercy. Wyatt's paraphrase of Psalm 6, the first penitential psalm, foreshadows the narrative trajectory of David's desire over these Penitential Psalms, depicting in microcosm the extreme fluctuations of David's passions between hopeful and despairing desire for God. David begins by expressing his hope in God's mercy:

> O Lord, since in my mouth thy mighty name
> Suffer'th itself 'my Lord' to name and call,
> Here hath my heart hope taken by the same
> That the repentance which I have, and shall,
> May at thy hand seek mercy as the thing,
> Only comfort of wretched sinners all . . . . (73-78)

[117] Rossiter, "What Wyatt Really Did to Aretino's *Sette Salmi*" 605.

In these lines Wyatt follows Aretino in adding an emphasis on David's hope in God's mercy that is not in the original psalm, which begins instead with the prayer, "O Lord, rebuke me not in thine indignation."[118] However, in Wyatt's version, even though David has confessed his sin and repented of his inordinate desires, he quickly succumbs to fears that God may not be merciful to him. He tells God, "I, sick without recure, / Feel all my limbs, that have rebelled, for fear / Shake – in despair unless thou me assure" (97-99). Through the word "despair," which is not found in Miles Coverdale's 1535 prose translation or in Aretino's paraphrase, Wyatt intensifies David's sense of anguish.[119] As David remembers how he rebelled against God due to his disordered desires, he feels his limbs "for fear / Shake – in despair." Wyatt surrounds David's physical response of shaking with the passions of fear and despair to emphasize how these passions overwhelm David as he tries to maintain hope that God will requite his desires. Yet David continues to cry out for God's mercy, and Psalm 6 ends on a hopeful note as David professes that "I, O Lord, remain in thy protection" (200). Compared to Aretino's prose version, Wyatt's poetic version condenses and intensifies the dramatic shifts in David's passions between hopeful and fearful desire for God's love and favor.

The narrative interlude after Psalm 6 reflects on David's turn at the end of Psalm 6 to a more hopeful desire for God's grace, affirming this positive turn while also simultaneously calling it into question. The narrator states that:

> It seemed now that of his fault the horror
>
> Did make afeard no more his hope of grace,
>
> The threats whereof in horrible terror

[118] The Coverdale translation of Psalm 6:1. Aretino begins his paraphrase of Psalm 6 as follows: "LORD, since thou giuest leaue to me to pronounce thy name, and that my tongue may call thee my Lord; my heart hence taking an happy coniecture, fauoureth my hope, that it's penitēcy, hath in thy clemency and mercy, where with thou doest comfort those vvho are truely sad for their offences against thee" (5).

[119] Coverdale's translation states, "My bones are vexed" (Psalm 6:2).

Did hold his heart as in despair a space. (193-196)

Here and again later in this interlude Wyatt uses the word "seem" to describe the lessening of David's fears. The word "seem" suggests that, from the perspective of the narrator or someone else looking at David from the outside, the "horror" that had previously overwhelmed David appears to no longer have the same power over him. To the narrator, it seems that horror's "threats" of God's judgment no longer hold David's heart in "horrible terror" and "as in despair."[120] The narrator adds a few lines later that it "seemeth horrible no more the dark cave / That erst did make his fault for to tremble" (201-202). However, the repetition of the word "seem" in these lines, similar to the previous ones about what "seemeth now" to have changed regarding David's condition, also casts doubt on whether the "hope of grace" that he currently feels will last. Wyatt's language of "seeming" stands out because Aretino does not use this term. Instead, he writes that David "as one marueilously comforted made a period to his complaints; and laying aside his harpe for a while, the horror of his sinne did no more terrifie, affright, lessen aught the hope which hee had in the mercy of his Lord."[121] In Wyatt's narratorial interlude, he thus departs from Aretino's version to suggest the instability of David's hopeful desire in God's mercy.

Wyatt's paraphrase of Psalm 6 points to the reason for this instability: that it is because David cannot depend on his desire remaining fixed on God. He perceives that his desires are not within his control because

. . . my soul is troubled by the blasts

Of these assaults (that come as thick as hail)

Of worldly vanities, that temptation casts

[120] Wyatt again uses the word "despair" when Aretino does not. Rebholz states that the whole line "Did hold his heart as in despair a space" is Wyatt's addition (Wyatt and Rebholz 462).

[121] Aretino 34.

Against the weak bulwark of the flesh frail,

Wherein the soul in great perplexity

Feeleth the senses with them that assail

Conspire, corrupt by use and vanity. (103-109)

In Wyatt's description of the ongoing temptation that David faces to desire "worldly vanities" more than God, Wyatt draws on the Petrarchan trope of comparing the soul to a ship that is battered by hail storms. In this metaphor, Wyatt portrays temptation as active and powerful in contrast to the soul's relative passivity and fragility, which he emphasizes through the words "weak" and "frail" that surround the "bulwark of the flesh." David likens his body and senses to the sides of a ship that are insufficient to protect his soul from temptation's assaults of seemingly desirable "worldly vanities." David's concerns regarding the weakness and corruption of his senses are also validated by the fact that it was through his senses that Love successfully tempted David to desire and pursue Bathsheba: Love "[t]ouched his senses, and overruns his bones / With creeping fire sparpled for the nonce" (7-8). Thus, David does not feel secure in his "hope of grace" because of his soul's ongoing *psychomachia* between choosing to desire God above all else and being tempted to desire other things more than God.

In Psalm 6 David later describes the temptations as "foes" that seek to trap him and draw him back to desiring earthly pleasures. While the original psalm refers to literal human enemies, Wyatt follows Aretino in transforming the "foes" into all of the things that a person could desire more than God. David bemoans the fact that these enemies

Me beset even now where I am, so

With secret traps to trouble my penance.

Some do present to my weeping eyes, lo,

The cheer, the manner, beauty, and countenance

Of her whose look, alas, did make me blind.

Some other offer to my remembrance

Those pleasant words now bitter to my mind.

And some shew me the power of my armour,

Triumph and conquest, and to my head assigned

Double diadem. Some shew the favour

Of people frail, palace, pomp, and riches. (154-64)

In elaborating on all of these enemies, Wyatt imitates Aretino in expanding his conception of desire for earthly things beyond just sexual desire for a woman to also include desire for power, success, flattery, fame, and wealth. John Fisher, an influential English Catholic bishop and theologian in the first half of the sixteenth century, presents a similar list of tempting earthly desires in his popular exposition of the penitential psalms.[122] In the *Consolation,* Boethius also asserts that people are drawn to "wealth and resources, political honors, power, glory, physical pleasure" because they mistakenly believe that these are "the essence of human happiness."[123] Wyatt thus follows a common theological and philosophical tradition that interprets people's struggle as not just against illicit erotic desire but also against anything that could pull a person away from desiring God as the supreme good.

To emphasize David's inability to protect himself from these temptations, Wyatt uses the Petrarchan trope of earthly desires being like mermaids that lure people with their baits. David tells God:

To these mermaids and their baits of error

I stop mine ears with help of thy goodness.

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[122] Fisher 31. Fisher published his *Treatyse Concernynge the Fruytfull Saynges of Dauyd the Kynge [and] Prophete in the Seuen Penytencuyall Psalmes* in 1508, and it was reprinted multiple times over the next two decades.

[123] Boethius 52; Book III, Prose 2.

And, for I feel it com'th alone of thee

That to my heart these foes have none access,

I dare them bid: 'Avoid, wretches, and flee!' (165-68)

In these lines Wyatt borrows from and expands upon Aretino's brief allusion to the story of Odysseus and the Sirens, in which Circe warns Odysseus that the Sirens' beautiful songs lure sailors to their death.[124] Similar to how Circe instructs Odysseus to stop his sailors' ears with wax so that they cannot hear the Sirens' song, in Wyatt's paraphrase of Psalm 6 David says to God, "I stop mine ears with help of thy goodness." The phrase "with help of thy goodness" conveys David's hopeful desire that God will help David to block out the sound of earthly desires. Wyatt stresses David's dependence on God's protection in the next line, in which David asserts that "I feel it com'th alone of thee" that the foes cannot enter David's heart and seduce his desire away from God. Yet the line "I stop mine ears with help of thy goodness" also suggests that God sustains David by filling his ears with God's "goodness," satisfying David's desires with divine pleasures that surpass the worldly vanities and reveal them to be "baits of error." Wyatt also portrays David as, through his confidence in God's help, taking action against the sirens of earthly desires by stopping his ears and "dar[ing] them bid" to flee from him. David confidently tells the mermaids that "your engines take no more effect in me": their traps and cunning will no longer be able to sway his desire away from God.[125] Through the metaphor of the sirens, David expresses both his passivity and agency in relation to his

[124] Aretino writes, "I that make a fence impenetrable by their hookes, and eschew the baites of their guiles, their fraudes, by the flouds of teares gushing from mine eyes, stopping mine eares to these Sirens of the world, hope to suppresse them, to confound thē in the greatest height and furie of their assaults, and I likewise hope to be free from their netts, which with much craft and most wily ambushes they haue pitched: yet not by mine owne guifte, mine owne skill, but through the grace and care that thy bounty hath of him who by the scourges of penitency hath brokē his sinnes wilfulnes and obstinacies" (26-27).

[125] See *OED* "engine," n., I and II.

desires and conveys his hope that, with God's help, he will be able to maintain his desire for God above all else.

In the interlude after Psalm 6, David seems encouraged and no longer afraid, and he begins Psalm 32 by reflecting on the happiness that God grants to those whom God forgives of their offenses. In the interlude after Psalm 32, the narrator affirms that David has come to personally experience this happiness, describing David as like:

> . . . the servant that, in his master's face
> Finding pardon of his passed offence,
> Considering his great goodness and his grace,
> Glad tears distils as gladsome recompense (301-4).

David's tears are "glad": they are no longer Petrarchan tears of longing but tears of joy that physically express the happiness David feels as a result of believing that God has requited his desire for forgiveness of his "passed offence." David then experiences a moment of intense passion as his desire for God's mercy is fulfilled and confirmed through a sunbeam "pierc[ing] the cave" and striking David's eyes (311). Wyatt imitates Aretino's description of David experiencing a moment of what Aretino calls "rapture."[126] In this imagery of the sun and a sunbeam, Wyatt combines biblical and Boethian tropes with Petrarchan conventions to convey how David's experience of God's presence affects him. In Petrarch's sonnets, he describes Laura as a sun whose beams of light enter his heart, filling him with love and desire for her, and Wyatt himself uses this Petrarchan metaphor in his secular sonnets to describe the sparks that come from a

[126] Wyatt writes, "This while a beam that bright sun forth sends – / That sun the which was never cloud could hide – / Pierceth the cave and on the harp descends" and then "into his eyes did start" (lines 309-11 and 315). Aretino's version states, "In the meane time vvhile hee was in this rapture; a ray of the sūne which neuer goeth dovvne penetrated the Caue, and with such a splendor enlightned it, that it made the place delightfully cheerefull, euen as Aprill doth it's spring, and faire weather the aire: and glimpsing on the strings of his Harpe, which he bad placed to his breast, made them send forth irradiations, glistering beames, in like manner as doth pure gold, exquisitely burnish't, by whose splendor the light begetteth light, and his eyes strucken with the lampe, his soule hence felt comfort, yea as vve may say, it was oueriored" (61-62).

beloved's eyes and pierce the lover.[127] On the other hand, in the Old and New Testaments, God and Jesus are associated with the sun and light, and in the *Consolation* Lady Philosophy calls God the "true light" and asks him to "shine" on the prisoner.[128] Wyatt brings all of these allusions together to describe the sunbeam as coming from God and piercing David's eyes with the light of divine mercy and love, filling his heart with joy because his desires have been requited. The other effect of God's beams on David is that David is "then inflamed with far more hot affect / Of God than he was erst of Barsabe" (317-18). Although Wyatt closely imitates Aretino's description of God inflaming David's heart, Wyatt deviates in an important way from Aretino's text: while Aretino uses the word *amor* ("love"), Wyatt instead writes "hot affect," i.e. intense desire.[129] The word "inflamed" also draws on Petrarchan tropes for desire and echoes the moment at the beginning of the poem when Love kindles the "flame" of desire in David. Through this diction, the narrator emphasizes that God's sunbeam fills David with a much greater desire for God than the desire for Bathsheba that Love's flame had previously ignited in David's heart. The sunbeam from God thus brings David to a state of heightened Perarchan passion as God intensifies David's desire for God.

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[127] In sonnet 9 Petrarch writes, "So she, who is a sun among all ladies, / moving the rays of her fair eyes, in me / gives rise to thoughts and acts and words of love" (Petrarcha, et al., 11). In Wyatt's poem titled by Tottel "The louer describeth his being striken with sight of his loue," the speaker describes "the liuely sparkes, that issue from those eyes" as "sunne beames" (*Songes and Sonettes,* Fo. 20).

[128] For equations of God and Jesus with the sun, see Psalm 84:11; Matthew 17:2; Revelation 1:16. For equations of God and Christ with light and with shining his rays of light on people, see Isaiah 9:2; Luke 1:79; Habakkuk 3:4; and 2 Corinthians 4:6. In Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, Lady Philosophy sings, "Gránt to the mínd, Father, thát it may ríse to your hóly foundátions; Gránt it may ríng round the soúrce of the Goód, may discóver the trué light, clear-síghted. Scátter these shádows, dissólve the dead weíght of this eárthly concrétion, Shíne in the spléndor that ís yours alóne" (Boethius 72; Book III, Meter 9).

[129] In the sixteenth century, the word "affect" was frequently used as a synonym for "desire." See *OED,* "affect," n. Aretino writes that after David's eyes were struck with the light, "his soule hence felt comfort, yea as we may say, it was ouerioyed, for that his Royall heart in an extasy, rapt in fulnes of piety, deuotion, and feruent zeale, was now more inflamed with the loue of God, then was he erst with the fond and wretched loue of Barsabe" (62). For Aretino's use of the word *amor,* see Stamatakis 85.

Wyatt's Psalm 32 and the narrative interlude after it seem to depict David as fully recovered from his fears and filled with a confident hope that God will satisfy his desires for God's mercy and love. One would think that this moment would be the culmination of David's narrative: the transformation of his desires from being overcome with inordinate desire for Bathsheba to a renewed and even more ardent desire for God. Yet this rapturous moment of joyful desire for God is not a stable condition for David. In Wyatt's paraphrase of Psalm 38 that directly follows the narrative interlude, David instantly returns to his previous fear and despair. He tells God that he is in "terror of thy ire" (336), and he begs God to "chastise me not, O Lord, in thy furor / Nor me correct in wrathful castigation" (329-30). Over the course of Psalm 38, David remains overcome with terror, "starting like him whom sudden fear dismays" (424). The interlude after Psalm 38 then describes David as like a Petrarchan lover who, believing himself to be rejected and abandoned by his beloved, sighs and weeps with anxious desire for God: "Down from his eyes a storm of tears descends" (405). In this interlude the narrator describes David's tears and sighs four times, using this repetition to convey the intensity of David's fearful longing for God.[130] In stark contrast to David's previous "hot affect" and joy, David now appears to be overwhelmed also by despair: "Him seemeth that the shade / Of his offence again his force assays / By violence despair on him to lade" (421-23). In these lines David is portrayed as overcome by "the shade / Of his offence" – the darkness and guilt of his sin – and by despair regarding whether God will requite his desires.[131] David's condition now seems almost worse than his initial horror because

[130] "So doth of David the wearied voice and mind / Take breath of sighs" (Wyatt and Rebholz 398-99). "But sigh and weep he can none other things" (409). ". . . the tears and sighs that he did strain" (412). "The woeful plaint and of their king the tears" (418).

[131] As Rebholz explains, "It seems to [David] that the shadow cast by his sin again tries its power to load despair on him by violence. Wyatt uses 'to load despair on him' to translate Aretino's 'to seize him'" (line 471).

it comes right after he has experienced the joyful fulfillment of his desire for God's mercy and love.

Given the intensity of David's experience of being filled with "hot affect" for God, one would think that his desire for God would have remained hopeful rather than so quickly becoming fearful and despairing again. Why does David return to the passions of fear and despair after such a rapturous experience of joy and confirmation of God's mercy and love? According to Rebholz and Costley King'oo, David returns to this condition of terror because his initial attempts at repentance in the first half of the Penitential Psalms were faulty and inadequate. Rebholz argues that, up through Psalm 38, David has not "been genuinely aware of his sins and genuinely contrite," and he also has not truly "apprehended his justification by God's grace."[132] While Costley King'oo believes that the interlude after Psalm 32 portrays David as experiencing a genuine "moment of grace-recognition," she concurs that David continues to struggle with fearful desire for God after this because he has not fully "submit[ed] to the workings of God's grace" and has not "reject[ed] completely a merit-based model of forgiveness."[133] Rebholz and Costley King'oo, therefore, diagnose the return of David's passions of fear and despair as a sign either that David's previous confessions were insincere or that

[132] Wyatt and Rebholz 454 and 472. According to Rebholz, David "experiences the genuinely profound, almost despairing sense of his sinfulness" in Psalm 38 and the interlude after it because he has not yet come to "the critical act of believing that God forgives him, justifies him by imputing righteousness to him, loves him, and will make him holy" (Wyatt and Rebholz 454). Costley King'oo agrees that in the initial prologue and the interlude after Psalm 6, Wyatt depicts David's remorse and repentance as not genuine and that Wyatt portrays David as rather seeking to "appease" God through his outward actions of sighing and singing repentant songs to God. She writes that "in the first couple of prologues especially, the fear-bound king seems to be engaged far less in grieving over his sins than in carefully crafting and delivering a series of highly rhetorical speeches that (he hopes) will convince God to pardon him. David does not pour out his soul in natural remorse; instead, as the narrator puts it in the opening prologue, he looks for the best way to 'appease' God, 'sekyng to conterpase [counterpoise] / Hys songes wythe syghes" (A6r)'" (Costley King'oo 125).

[133] Costley King'oo 125-26. According to Costley King'oo, in the first half of the Penitential Psalms, Wyatt depicts David as attempting to bring about his reconciliation with God through following the Catholic structure of penance, which Reformers saw as insufficient and inadequate because it depended on human efforts rather than entirely on God's grace.

David was trying to earn God's forgiveness and favor through his acts of penitence. They assert that only later in Psalm 51 does David find true relief from his fears because in this psalm David "exchanges [the Catholic penitential] model for a new, Reformed alternative" that brings about genuine reconciliation with God."[134]

I agree with Rebholz and Costley King'oo that the second half of Wyatt's Penitential Psalms, beginning with Psalm 51, depicts a sustained shift and development in David's passions. David's previous Petrarchan oscillation between the extremes of despair and ecstatic joy ends, and David instead becomes increasingly hopeful and confident in his desire for God. However, I do not think that the first half of Wyatt's poem portrays David as insincerely repenting of his sins or as depending on his own efforts at penitence to earn God's mercy. Such an interpretation of the first half of the Penitential Psalms depends on a subjective judgment of David's motivations and spiritual condition that is not supported by the descriptions of David in the narratorial interludes.[135] Also working against this interpretation is that the first half of the Penitential Psalms depicts how David repeatedly expresses his dependence on God for forgiveness of his wayward desires and for the restoration of rightly ordered desires. What else, then, could explain David's return to the passions of fear and despair in Psalm 38 and also his shift, in the second half of the Penitential Psalms, to a sustained hopeful desire for God's mercy?

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[134] Costley King'oo 122. See also Costley King'oo 127. Thomas Greene concurs that the shift in the second half of Wyatt's Penitential Psalms, in which David's oscillations between hope and despair end, "can be related to a shift from the Roman to the Protestant theology of justification" (*The Light in Troy* 251).

[135] For example, Costley King'oo writes that "in the first couple of prologues especially, the fear-bound king seems to be engaged far less in grieving over his sins than in carefully crafting and delivering a series of highly rhetorical speeches that (he hopes) will convince God to pardon him. David does not pour out his soul in natural remorse; instead, as the narrator puts it in the opening prologue, he looks for the best way to 'appease' God, 'sekyng to conterpase [counterpoise] / Hys songes wythe syghes" (A6r)'" (Costley King'oo 125). Here Costley King'oo interprets David's sighs as insincere and manipulative. Yet in Psalm 38 David himself recognizes that God will see his true motivations and know whether or not his repentance is genuine, saying, "Lo now, my God, that seest my whole intent" (line 390).

I believe that Wyatt's engagement with Boethian Stoicism in the Penitential Psalms provides a better answer to this question. In Wyatt's Psalm 38, he continues to draw on a Stoic view of the passions, but now to convey that David's terror has returned because of his deeper realization of the inescapable and unpreventable mutability of his own desires. Near the beginning of Psalm 38, David laments to God that in his "flesh"

> Is not one point of firm stability,
> Nor in my bones there is no steadfastness:
> Such is my dread of mutability
> For that I know my frailful wickedness (336-40).

Wyatt adds this Stoic language of "stability," "steadfastness" and "mutability" to the original psalm, language that also is not in Aretino's version or in any of Wyatt's other sources.[136] Three times, using different terms, Wyatt emphasizes his lack of steadfastness, explaining that his fear and terror come from his "dread of [his own] mutability." David's lament conveys that he is not afraid that God did not forgive and heal him of his "passed offence" of disordered desire for Bathsheba (302). Rather, David's past infidelity to God makes him fearful that in the future he will fall away from desiring God again. He fears that he will be unfaithful to God again because he recognizes that his propensity toward disordered and inordinate desires – his "frailful wickness," which he later calls his "secret lust" – still remains within him (347).

[136] In the English translation of Aretino's version of Psalm 38, words related to mutability, stability, steadfastness, mutation, and alteration are not used at all. Rebholz writes, "The emphasis on stability and the acknowledge of wickedness suggests that Wyatt is virtually independent of his sources in this verse, all of which speak of their bones' lacking peace or rest" (Wyatt and Rebholz 468).

David worries that he will again succumb to his "enemies," the temptations of earthly pleasures that pulled him away from God, because this is exactly what happened to him with Bathsheba:[137]

> And when mine en'mies did me most assail,
> My friends most sure wherein I set most trust –
> Mine own virtues – soonest then did fail
> And stand apart. Reason and wit unjust,
> As kin unkind, were farthest gone at need. (364-68)

In these lines David recognizes that his reason and wit did not sufficiently protect him when he was assailed by his desire for Bathsheba and that he was unable to defend himself. Through David's admission of the weakness of his reason and wit, Wyatt critiques the Stoic confidence that human reason enables people to control and subdue their passions. Wyatt thus uses Stoic language to stress the inevitable mutability of David's passions and to show why Stoic philosophy cannot help him overcome this. Knowing his inability to remain faithful to God of his own accord, David fears that God will continue to let him succumb to disordered desires. David laments to God, "Yet have I had great cause to dread and fear / That thou wouldst give my foes the overhand / For in my fall they shewed such pleasant cheer" (379-81). David fears that God will continue to allow David's passions to control him and that David's future inordinate desires for earthly pleasures "hinder shall my good pursuit of grace" (389).

The mutability of David's desires – his inability to keep his heart fixed on God – grieves David intensely because he longs to remain steadfast in his desire for God as the greatest good. In Psalm 38 David tells God:

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[137] "In the mean while mine en'mies safe increase / And my provokers hereby do augment, / That without cause to hurt me do not cease. / In evil for good against me they be bent / And hinder shall my good pursuit of grace" (lines 385-89).

So wondrous great hath been my vexation

That it hath forced my heart to cry and roar.

O Lord, thou know'st the inward contemplation

Of my desire. Thou know'st my sighs and plaints.

Thou know'st the tears of my lamentation

Cannot express my heart's inward restraints.

My heart panteth. My force I feel it quail. (356-62)[138]

Like a Petrarchan lover, David expresses in "sighs and "plaints" both his ardent desire for God and his fear that God may not requite this desire because of David's repeated unfaithfulness. At the end of Psalm 38, David begs God, "Forsake me not. Be not far from me gone. / Haste to my help, haste, Lord, and haste apace, / O Lord, the Lord of all my health alone" (393-94).[139] Significantly, Wyatt adds onto the original psalm, repeating the word "haste" three times to emphasize the urgency of David's anxious desire that God would help him and not forsake him due to his ongoing lack of steadfast desire for God.[140] David remains in this state of fearful, sorrowful desire in the interlude after Psalm 38, in which David continues to "sigh and weep" (409). Using Petrarchan hyperbole to emphasize the severity of David's condition, the narrator states that "down from his eyes a storm of tears descends" (405). In Wyatt's paraphrase of Psalm 51,

[138] This is quite similar to the Coverdale translation of Psalm 38:9-10, which states, "Lord, thou knowest all my desire, and my groaning is not hid from thee. My heart panteth, my strength hath failed me, and the sight of mine eyes is gone from me."

[139] The Coverdale translation of Psalm 38:21-22 states, "Forsake me not, O Lord my God; be not thou far from me. Haste thee to help me, O Lord God of my salvation."

[140] Wyatt also substitutes the phrase "my salvation" with "all my health alone" to stress David's recognition of his complete dependence on God to help him with his melancholic and mutable desires. At the same time, in paradoxical tandem with David's passivity and helplessness, he also exhibits agency through his act of continuing to cry out to God through his songs. At the end of the interlude between Psalms 38 and 51, the narrator states that David's "voice he strains and from his heart outbrings / This song that I not whether he cries or sings" (lines 425-26). "Not" is likely a contraction of "ne wote" or "know not."

David further laments his mutability, confessing that "I myself, lo, thing most unstable, / Formed in offence, conceived in like case, / Am naught but sin from my nativity" (456-58). In calling himself "most unstable" and "naught but sin," David conveys his Stoic understanding of himself with Petrarchan hyperbolic language, adding onto the original psalm to express the intensity of his sorrow at the instability and waywardness of his passions.[141]

Yet a major shift takes place in David's outlook over the course of Wyatt's Psalm 51. Toward the end of the interlude after Psalm 51, the narrator states that David "finds his hope so much therewith revived / He dare importune the Lord on every side" (536-37). After this point, David does not sigh or weep again in the rest of the Penitential Psalms; he remains hopeful in his desires and does not return to his previous fears.[142] What brings about this dramatic and sustained shift in David's passions and desires, from fearful and despairing in the interlude after Psalm 38 to boldly hopeful in the interlude after Psalm 51 and in subsequent psalms? This takes place not due to a change in David's understanding of himself, but due to a change in his understanding of God, which begins in Psalm 51 and is developed in Wyatt's subsequent penitential psalms. In Psalm 38, Wyatt uses Stoic language to express David's concern that God will not answer his prayers for mercy and help, fearing that "although in thee be no alteration / But that we men like as ourselves we say, / Measuring thy justice by our

[141] The Coverdale translation of Psalm 51: 5 states, "Behold, I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin hath my mother conceived me."

[142] Wyatt departs from Aretino's text, which continues to portray David as suffering from an anxious, melancholic desire for God until Psalm 102. For example, in the interlude after Psalm 51 Wyatt's narrator describes David finding hope and comfort in the interlude after Psalm 51, whereas Aretino's narrator states that David "bewailed, piteously groned, sighed and sobbed deeply" because he feared "that God almighty had ranged him among the reprobate, that hee had altogether abandoned him and had vtterly forsaken him, in so much as that hee was for all eternity depriued of his grace" (Aretino 148).

mutation" (326-28).[143] David, in alignment with Boethius' Christian Stoicism and with orthodox Christianity, believes that in God "be no alteration" because God's nature is eternally unchanging. From this, David has come to a fearful conception of God's immutability, thinking that his passions of fear and terror may even be God's unalterable will for him: "thy arrows of fear, of terror, / Of sword, of sickness, of famine and fire / Sticks deep in me" because "such is thy hand on me" (331-33 and 35).

Yet, beginning in Psalm 51, David's conception of God's immutability changes so that he comes to believe in the unaltering nature of God's mercy and grace toward him. In Psalm 51, after confessing again that he is "thing most unstable," David petitions God for help by appealing to God's own steadfastness (456). He prays:

> From thine eyes' cure cast me not in unrest
> Nor take from me thy sprite of holiness.
> Render to me joy of thy help and rest;
> My will confirm with sprite of steadfastness. (481-84)

One sense of the last line quoted here is that David is asking God to give him a steadfast spirit, a stability in his desire for God above all else. Yet this line also simultaneously expresses David's request that God strengthen and encourage him with God's own steadfastness. The earlier phrase "thy sprite of holiness" refers to the Holy Spirit, and the parallel structure of "sprite of steadfastness" just two lines later suggests that this phrase also refers to God's Spirit.[144] The original psalm also refers to God's Spirit in both places: "Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy Spirit from me. O give me the comfort of thy help again, and stablish me with thy free Spirit."[145] Yet

[143] As Rebholz glosses these lines, "Although [in fact such prayers do not make sense because] in you there is no [possibility of] change [to be effected by prayer]; but we men speak as human beings, measuring your unchanging justice by our human notions of being able to change" (Wyatt and Rebholz 468).

[144] See Wyatt and Rebholz 475.

[145] Coverdale translation of Psalm 51:11-12.

Wyatt departs from the original psalm in that he describes God's Spirit as "steadfast" rather than "free," indicating Wyatt's emphasis on David's need for confirmation and assurance of the steadfastness of God's grace in the face of David's repeated unfaithfulness to God.[146] In David's petition that God "render to me joy of thy help and rest," Wyatt also adds on to the original psalm, in which David merely asks God for help: "O give me the comfort of thy help again."[147] The supplemental word "rest," a synonym for God's stability, further reveals David's recognition that the end to his fears and the fulfillment of his desires can come through the "joy" of knowing God's "rest," through being assured of the steadfastness of God's mercy and grace.[148] Starting with Psalm 51 and continuing in the subsequent interludes and last three psalms, Wyatt's Penitential Psalms portray how David establishes and develops his hope in the steadfastness of God's grace through three activities: meditating repeatedly on God's goodness, reminding himself of God's promises found in Scripture, and receiving a vision of God's promise of redemption through Jesus Christ. By these means, David breaks out of the Petrarchan cycle of fluctuating between hope and despair with regards to his desire for God and instead becomes increasingly confident that God will requite his desire for God's grace, mercy, and love.

In Wyatt's Penitential Psalms, the first significant action that enables David to believe in the benevolent, gracious nature of God's stability is that he meditates repeatedly on God's goodness. Wyatt deviates from the original Psalm 51 and from

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[146] Muir and Thomson note that "Aretino's is the only other version which connects the second part of the verse specifically with steadfastness (*fermezza*)" (Wyatt, Muir, and Thomson 377).

[147] Coverdale translation of Psalm 51:12.

[148] In Book III, Meter 10 of the *Consolation,* Lady Philosophy states, speaking of God, that "hére you wíll fínd peáce. Here is rést from lábor" (Boethius 77).

Aretino's paraphrase of it by having his Psalm 51 both begin and end with a focus on God's goodness. In Wyatt's paraphrase, David begins by petitioning God:

> Rue on me, Lord, for thy goodness and grace,
>
> That of thy nature art so bountiful,
>
> For that goodness that in the world doth brace
>
> Repugnant natures in quiet wonderful. (427-30)

In the midst of feeling assailed by despair, David starts his prayer by asking God to have pity on him "for thy goodness and grace."[149] In contrast, Aretino's paraphrase begins with David focusing on his own insufficiency: "Have mercie on me God, not according to the proportion of my litle, my poore, my alas! poore, my feeble merit."[150] Rather than focus on David's "feeble merit," Wyatt's paraphrase begins with a focus on God's attributes. While the Coverdale prose translation uses the modifier "great" to ask God to have mercy "after thy great goodness," Wyatt's version explicitly grounds the abundance of God's goodness and grace in his very essence: "that of *thy nature* art so bountiful" (italics added). Wyatt's stress on the goodness and grace inherent in God's nature demonstrates David's recognition that the grounds for a hopeful desire for God's mercy is the stability of God's own goodness, not the stability of David's desire for God.

In these lines in Psalm 51 David also grounds his prayer for mercy in the fact that God's goodness embraces "repugnant natures in quiet wonderful."[151] The phrase "quiet wonderful," which is not found in Aretino's paraphrase or in the original psalm, recalls the Stoic ideal of quiet: Boethius' Lady Philosophy says that "the state of quiet peace" is the

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[149] "Rue" here means "to have, take, or feel pity or compassion; (also *Theology*) to show mercy (*obsolete*)" (*OED,* "rue," v.1., 4.b.).

[150] Aretino 106. However, Aretino ends Psalm 38 by having David ground his petitions to God in "the hope which I haue had in thy infinite goodnes" (Aretino 102). Wyatt could have decided, for the purposes of his narrative structure, to move this focus on God's goodness from Psalm 38 to Psalm 51.

[151] Rebholz says that "brace" here means "embrace; surround" (Wyatt and Rebholz 472).

"proper place" of the mind.[152] Lady Philosophy asserts in one of her songs that this quiet peace is found only in and through God:

> Cóme hére áll of you, síde by síde, you cáptives
> Whóm foúl lúst, which resídes in mínds of mátter,
> Bínds ín chaíns, ever fálse and éver wícked—
> Hére you wíll fínd peáce. Here is rést from lábor,
> Hére thé pórt that abídes in tránquil quíet,
> Ópen doór ánd réfuge from désolátion.[153]

This song about finding "tranquil quiet" in God comes in the chapter of the *Consolation* that explains that God is "most full of the highest Good," i.e. the substance of all goodness.[154] Similarly, in Wyatt's Psalm 51, David grounds his petition in his belief that God's "goodness . . . doth brace / Repugnant natures in quiet wonderful." The image is of God, out of his goodness, surrounding people with his own marvelous steadfastness that can fill them with peace and tranquility.[155] In other words, intrinsic to God's goodness is that he embraces people with his own stability so that they, too, can experience an inner stability to their desires and can sustain a hopeful desire for God's mercy and grace. The word "grace," which is not found in the first line of other translations of Psalm 51, also affirms God's steadfastness since, as Stamatakis explains, "the word 'grace' in early modern usage denotes not only the sinner's salvation but also the stability of the Logos."[156] Wyatt then continues to depart from Aretino's

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[152] Boethius 40; Book II, Prose 6. It also recalls Wyatt's translation of Plutarch's *De tranquillitate et securitate animi*, which was given the English title *The Quyet of Mynde.*

[153] Boethius 77-78; Book III, Meter 10.

[154] Boethius 74; Book III, Prose 10. The whole chapter is pp. 72-77.

[155] Quiet in the sense of rest, repose, and stillness as well as in the sense of "freedom from mental or emotional agitation; inner tranquility; peace of mind. Now rare" (OED, "quiet" n.).

[156] Stamatakis 69.

paraphrase and the original psalm by ending his Psalm 51 with a declaration to God that "of thee alone thus all our good proceeds" (508). All of Psalm 51 can thus be seen as David returning to his earlier condition of hopeful desire for God, which David experienced in the interlude after Psalm 32, through "considering [God's] great goodness and his grace" (303).

Wyatt repeats the language of God's "great goodness and his grace" in Psalm 51 and the interlude after it to emphasize the human need to repeatedly consider God's goodness and grace in order counterbalance people's tendency to forget these qualities of God and to interpret God's attributes in light of their own mutability. In the interlude after Psalm 51, the narrator reports that David is so overcome by the greatness of God's goodness – "the greatness did so astone himself a space" – that he decides to meditate on the words of Psalm 51 that he has just sung (512).[157] He tells himself, "That God's goodness would within my song entreat / Let me again consider and repeat" (515-16). By meditating further on the words of his song, David roots himself in the reality and stability of God's goodness as the grounds for his mercy. As "in his heart [David] turneth and poiseth / Each word that erst his lips might forth afford" (518-19), the reality of God's steadfast goodness and grace sinks into David's heart and he is filled with comfort and overflowing praise for God.

Wyatt uses Petrarchan hyperbole to depict David's deeper realization of the immutable and bountiful nature of God's mercy:

> Here hath he comfort when he doth measure
> Measureless mercies to measureless fault,
> To prodigal sinners infinite treasure,
> Treasure termless that never shall default. (525-28)

[157] Rebholz defines "astone" as to "stun; astonish; overwhelm one's presence of mind" (Wyatt and Rebholz 476).

In David's case, the words are not hyperbolic but are David's attempt to accurately describe his new understanding of the greatness of God's mercy toward him. Through repeatedly meditating on God's goodness and grace, of which he sang in the words of Psalm 51, David gains renewed hope that his desire for God's mercy and for God himself will be fulfilled (533). The narrator states that David "finds his hope so much therewith revived / He dare importune the Lord on every side" (536-57). This is the first time that the poem uses the word "hope" since the climactic narrative interlude after Psalm 32. However, the interlude after Psalm 51 marks not just the return of David's hopeful desire for God but also the growth of this desire into something more stable and confident than it was before. In Psalm 102 David demonstrates the growth of his confident desire for God through his petitions: "And when I call, help my necessity, / Readily grant th'effect of my desire. / These bold demands do please thy majesty" (547-49). Wyatt adds this language of "bold demands," which is not found in the original psalm or in Aretino's paraphrase, to portray David's growing confidence that God will fulfill his desires and that God wants him to be bold in his petitions for God's help and mercy.[158]

The second action that enables David to cultivate a hopeful and confident desire for God is that he turns to Scripture as the grounds for his hope in God's steadfast mercy. In Wyatt's paraphrase of Psalm 130, David affirms that he can trust in God's mercy because of God's promises in his "holy word," a phrase which was commonly

[158] The Coverdale translation of 102:2 states simply, "O hear me, and that right soon."

interpreted as God's words expressed in Scripture (685).[159] David professes that God does not demand "recompense" for people's offenses but "seeks rather love"

> For in thy hand is mercy's residence
>
> By hope whereof thou dost our hearts move.
>
> I in thee, Lord, have set my confidence;
>
> My soul such trust doth evermore approve.
>
> Thy holy word of eterne excellence,
>
> Thy mercy's promise that is alway just,
>
> Have been my stay, my pillar, and pretence. (677 and 680-87)

Wyatt borrows the gist of this paraphrase from the original psalm, which states, "For there is mercy with thee; therefore shalt thou be feared. I look for the Lord; my soul doth wait for him. In his word is my trust."[160] However, Wyatt elaborates on the short phrase "in his word is my trust" to emphasize that this is the source of his confidence in God's immutable grace. As Stamatakis explains, in these lines "Wyatt foregrounds the crucial role of the Word of God" as a "stay" and "pillar" upon which David can depend and as a promise of God's mercy.[161] The end rhyme of "confidence" and "excellence" further connects David's confidence that God will fulfill his desires to God's "holy word of eterne excellence." Wyatt's use of the words "eterne" and "alway" to describe God's word and his promise of mercy reinforces that the stability of these two things is the means by

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[159] For example, Luther writes in his commentary on Psalm 130, "And this I assure my selfe, not out of mine owne feeling or understanding, but out of the worde, which sayeth, that there is mercie with the Lord upon me, and upon all that beleeve. . . . I will therefore subdue my thoughts and imaginations with the worde, and will write this promise into my heart, that, as soone as I believe in Christ Jesu, and doubt not, my sinnes are forgiven me through his bloude" (Luther, *An exposition vpon the Cxxx. Psalme,* n.p.).

[160] Coverdale translation of Psalm 130:1-5.

[161] Stamatakis 78.

which David gains assurance of God's benevolent steadfastness.[162] Wyatt also adds the words "hope" and "confidence" to the original psalm's "trust" to stress the shift in David's passions as a result of meditating on God's promises of mercy found in Scripture. Unlike the original psalm, which says that God is merciful so that he may be "feared" (in the sense of revered and honored), Wyatt writes that the hope of God's mercy "dost our hearts move."[163] This language of moving people's hearts draws on the Stoic and early modern understanding of the passions as movements and conveys that, through God's promise of mercy, he stirs people's hearts to a confident desire and love for him.

Through meditating on God's promises in his Word, David strengthens his confidence that God will requite his desire for God's mercy not just for his past offenses but for all of his future ones as well. David ends Psalm 130 by professing:

> Let Israel trust unto the Lord alway
>
> For grace and favour arn his property.
>
> Plenteous ransom shall come with him, I say,
>
> And shall redeem all our iniquity. (691-94)

The phrase "all our iniquity," in contrast to the narrator's previous description of David "finding pardon of his *passed* offence" (302, italics added), expresses David's new confidence that God will show him mercy for his future offenses against God.[164] This

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[162] This is a key emphasis of Martin Luther, who writes in his commentary on Genesis 26:9, "For if God does not stand by His promises, then our salvation is lost, while, on the other hand, this is our comfort, that, although we change, we nevertheless flee for refuge to Him who is unchangeable. For in Mal. 3:6 He makes this assertion about Himself: 'I the Lord do not change'" (Luther, *The Works of Martin Luther* 43; chapter 26.1.9). *The Institution of a Christen Man* (i.e. the 1537 Bishops' Book) also emphasizes God's word and promises as the source of hope: "this certayne faythe and hope is gotten, and also confyrmed, and made more stronge, by the applyenge of Christis wordes and promyses of his grace and fauoure conteyned in his gospell" (37).

[163] The Geneva translation of Psalm 130:4 contains the footnote, "Because of nature thou art merciful: therefore the faithful reverence thee."

[164] In the ending line of his paraphrase of Psalm 130, Wyatt closely imitates Coverdale's prose translation of Psalm 130:7-8, in which he writes that with the Lord "is plenteous redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his sins."

parallels Wyatt's use of the word "all" at the end of his version of Psalm 51: "of thee alone thus *all* our good proceeds" (508, italics added). David reasons that, just as "all our good" comes from God, God "shall redeem all our iniquity." Yet while Wyatt keeps the word "all" from the original psalm 130, he changes the pronoun to "our" to emphasize David's inclusion of himself in his understanding of the scope of God's redemption. Wyatt uses "our" earlier in Psalm 130 as well: "By hope whereof thou dost our hearts move" (682). Wyatt also previously used the word "our" in Psalm 38, in which David says that people tend to attribute to God the trait of "our mutation."[165] The return to the word "our" in Psalm 130 reveals how David's hope in the benevolence of God's steadfastness has transformed his understanding so that he now has a confident desire that God "shall redeem" all of his offenses. The use of the first-person pronoun "our" also broadens the application of the Penitential Psalms beyond David's situation to that of readers as well, including them in this transformed desire and increased hope in God's mercy.

The last line that David sings in Psalm 130 – "And shall redeem all our iniquity" – is the catalyst that leads David to the final assurance of God's benevolent stability. In the interlude after Psalm 130, the narrator describes how the word "redeem," which David had just sung in Psalm 130, causes him to have an interior vision of the Son of God as the embodiment of this word "redeem."[166] The narrator describes David's vision that, in the future, the "word" will become incarnate as a human being, die, and be resurrected, by which means "man redeemed, death hath her destruction" (699 and

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[165] "Although in thee be no alteration / But that we men like as ourselves we say, / Measuring thy justice by our mutation" (lines 326-28). This is the first instance in the poem of the word "our." The second instance is in Psalm 51: "of thee alone thus all our good proceeds" (line 508).

[166] "This word 'redeem' that in his mouth did sound / did put David, it seemeth unto me, / As in a trance to stare upon the ground / And with his thought the height of heaven to see" (lines 696-98).

708).[167] In this vision, God demonstrates his faithfulness to David through showing David how he will fulfill his promise of mercy through Jesus Christ. In this final proof of God's benevolent stability, Wyatt continues to borrow from Aretino, who in his interlude after Psalm 130 also recounts David's vision of the incarnation, death, and resurrection of the Son of God.[168] However, Wyatt deviates from Aretino in how he describes David's affective experience during his vision. Aretino's narrator describes David as experiencing a moment of ecstatic joy, whereas Wyatt's narrator does not describe David's internal affective response at all.[169] Instead, Wyatt shifts the focus of the interlude from David's passionate response to Christ's. The narrator states that David "seeth that Word, when full ripe time should come, / Do way that veil by fervent affection, / Torn off with death (for death should have her doom)" (703-5). In other words, David perceives that Christ is willing to die, to give up the "veil" of his human body, because of his ardent love and desire for people.[170] Here Wyatt draws upon the Petrarchan tradition to emphasize again that the dynamic between people and God is like that between a lover and beloved. Yet now Christ is the lover and David is the beloved. Although Aretino does not describe Christ's affection in his interlude after Psalm 130, Wyatt could

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[167] In this, Wyatt and Aretino draw on the longstanding interpretation of God's "word" as both Scripture and Christ (as the eternal *Logos*). For example, Augustine, in his exposition on Psalm 130, interprets God's "word" as "the Word of God, who was before all things, through whom all things were made. . . . 'The Word became flesh, and dwelt among us'" (*Exposition on the Psalms,* n.p.).

[168] See Aretino 208-11.

[169] "David was "extreamely possessed by sight of hearts-ioy, yea, and to ouerjoy, such like as are they, who are ascended to the height, to the compleate fulnes of Beatitude, which they desired" (Aretino 209-10).

[170] As Rebholz glosses these lines, David sees that the "Word of God in Christ [will] dispense with that veil of the flesh out of his fervent affection for us, a veil torn off with Christ's death in the crucifixion" (Wyatt and Rebholz 485). The phrase "fervent affection" could allude to John 3:16, which states, "For God so loued the worlde, that he gaue his onely sonne, that who so euer beleueth in hi, shulde not perishe, but haue euerlastinge life" (Coverdale translation). This is likely given Wyatt's other allusions in this interlude to the Gospel of John, most significantly his referring to the Son of God as the "word." See John 1:1, 14.

have been inspired by Aretino's earlier descriptions of the Son of God as like a lover, "all enamored, with loue to humane kinde."[171] In emphasizing the passionate nature of Christ's Passion, Wyatt portrays the steadfastness of God's grace as rooted not only in a Stoic understanding of God as the immutable, perfect Good, but also in a Petrarchan understanding of God the Son as the perfect Lover.[172] Wyatt thus fuses the Stoic and Petrarchan traditions to show that both are needed for full confidence in God's unchanging and eternal mercy.

Wyatt's interlude after Psalm 130 and his final penitential psalm, Psalm 143, confirm that David has left behind his previous Petrarchan rollercoaster of passions and has gained a sustained and confident hope in God's mercy and love. After the narrator finishes describing David's vision, he states that, because "man [is] redeemed" by Christ's death, "David [hath] assurance of his iniquity" (708 and 710). The word "iniquity," which was first used at the end of Psalm 130, highlights that David has gained assurance that all his iniquity – past, present, and future – will be forgiven.[173] In Wyatt's final psalm, Psalm 143, he further emphasizes David's development of a sustained, confident hope in God's mercy in that David tells God, "Thou hast fordone their great iniquity / That vexed my soul" (772-73). Here David reflects on how God has, through Christ's sacrificial death, done away with David's condition of "iniquity" before God due to

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[171] Aretino describes the Son of God's love for humanity in his paraphrases of Psalms 51 and 102. In Aretino's Psalm 51, David states that, by a "propheticall spirit," he knows that "thy Sonne, all taken vp, all enamored, with loue to humane kinde, descending of my lineall stocke, will come to suffer, cleansing, yea purelie purifying by his death, the foule spotts which Adam contracted on it" (115-16). In Aretino's Psalm 102, David says regarding Christ: "For our Lord . . . looking on the world foreseeth the eternall danger on vs the woorkes of his hands, & for that hee reguardeth those his workes, loueth them with that affectiō, with which God loueth him, who alwaies loued him, moued tenderlie to pitty, commiseration of human kinde, made his Sonne man, and dying as man, taking man out of the deepes, hath receiued him in the bosome of his great mercie" (180-81).

[172] In contrast, Boethius in his Consolation does not make any reference to Jesus Christ.

[173] See Wyatt and Rebholz 486. Rebholz's gloss of this line is that "David has certainty that his sin is forgiven."

the waywardness of David's passions and desires.[174] Wyatt provides more closure than either Coverdale or Aretino in that he uses the past tense "hast fordone" and "vexed," reinforcing that David is no longer plagued by fears that God will not requite David's desire for Him.[175]

In Psalm 143 David also expresses his assurance that God will continue to help him desire God above all else. He confidently petitions God to:

> Teach me thy will that I by thee may find
> The way to work the same in affection.
> For thou, my God, thy blessed upright sprite
> In land of truth shall be my direction.
> Thou for thy name, Lord, shalt revive my sprite
> Within the right that I receive by thee. (765-70)

In these lines David first asks God to teach him God's will and, by divine agency, to conform David's own "affection" to God's. Wyatt's version, unlike Aretino's paraphrase and the original psalm, uses the word "affection" to connect David's petition with Wyatt's ongoing focus on David's desires.[176] The end rhyme of "affection" and "direction" reinforces that David now confidently hopes that God's Spirit will direct and sustain him in this process of coming to desire God and God's will above all else. While the original psalm frames David's words as petitions to God, Wyatt uses the indicative mood,

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[174] Rebholz glosses this as "the iniquity of David's own interior attitudes and desires" (Wyatt and Rebholz 489).

[175] Coverdale's translation of Psalm 143:12 states, "And of thy goodness slay mine enemies, and destroy all them that vex my soul." Aretino writes in his paraphrase of this verse of Psalm 143, "Thou shalt deliuer my soule out of tribulation, anguish, griefe, affliction, and in thy mercie thou shalt disperse myne enimies. Whē so thou shalt haue restored me againe in state of thy grace, Lord, ô my Lord deliuer my soule frō those heart-greifes, and from the passions wher with the sting of conscience doth quell it, subdue it, vtterlie ouerthroweth it at all howres, at all times" (232).

[176] Aretino writes, "Teach me to doe thy will, to alleternitie, instruct me to obeie thee, to feare thee, to serue thee, for thou art my Maker and my God" (230).

asserting that God "shall be my direction" and "shalt revive my sprite."[177] Thus, Wyatt's Penitential Psalms end with David expressing a confident hope in the present and future steadfastness of God's mercy and grace toward him not only in forgiving his disordered and inordinate desires, but also in restoring his desire for God and directing his passions so that they conform to God's will.

Wyatt's Penitential Psalms come across as the writing of someone who, like David, has personally grappled with overwhelming desires and who longs for his desire to be fixed on God. Wyatt tells his son Thomas, in the second letter he wrote to him in 1537, that the Stoic texts

> shall lead you to know goodly thinges, which when a man knoweth and takith plesure in them, he is a best that foloweth not them, no nor he can not but folow them. But take this for conclusion and sume of al, that if god and his grase be not the fundation, nother can ye auoyd euill nor iuge wel, nor doo any goodly thing. Let him be fundation of al, wil thes things, desire them emestly, and seke them at his hands and knolege them to come of him, and questionles he wil both geve you the use and plesure in using them, and also reward you for them that come of him, so liberal and good is he.[178]

Here Wyatt encourages his son to learn from the Stoics how to desire and seek what is good. Yet Wyatt also exhorts his son to make "god and his grase . . . the fundation" because only this, not Stoic philosophy, will enable him to avoid "evil" desires and actions and to "doo any goodly thing." In these lines Wyatt conveys that he personally has come to trust that God "questionles" will fulfill people's desire for help and sustain

[177] The Coverdale translation of Psalm 143:10-11 states, "Teach me to do the thing that pleaseth thee; for thou art my God. Let thy loving Spirit lead me forth into the land of righteousness. Quicken me, O Lord, for thy Name's sake." In using the future indicate, Wyatt may be imitating Aretino, who writes, "Thy good spirit, shall conduct me into the right land: for thy name sake Lord, thou shalt reuiue me, make me liue againe" (230).

[178] Muir 43.

them in their pursuit of “goodly” desires because of God’s superabundant benevolence. As Wyatt himself sought the wisdom of the Stoics in his personal life and encouraged his son to learn from them as well, so he transformed the penitential psalms into a narrative of David’s movement from being imprisoned and afflicted by his passions to finding quiet, joyful assurance in the steadfastness of God’s own perfect goodness and passionate love.

Chapter 2: Calvinism and Melancholic Desire in Anne Locke's "Meditation of a Penitent Sinner"

A generation after Wyatt wrote his Penitential Psalms, Anne Vaughan Locke wrote a poetic paraphrase of Psalm 51. Unlike Wyatt's freestanding paraphrase of the seven penitential psalms interspersed with narratorial interludes, Locke's metrical psalm is situated at the end of a book titled *Sermons of John Calvin, Upon the Songe that Ezechias made after he had bene sicke, and afflicted by the hand of God.* The book contains Locke's dedicatory epistle to Katharine Bertie, Duchess of Suffolke, Locke's translation of four of John Calvin's sermons about King Hezekiah's illness, and, lastly, the poem "Meditation of a Penitent Sinner," consisting of a five-stanza preface and an expanded paraphrase of Psalm 51.[179]

Scholarly interest has been drawn to Locke's poem in particular because it is the first sonnet sequence known to be written in English and because it was written by a woman at a time when little was published by women.[180] Like Wyatt's "Penitential Psalms," Locke's poem draws heavily upon the Petrarchan tradition. Locke borrows

[179] Nugent writes, "Although the dedication bore only the initials A. L., Anne Lock's identity was probably recognized by the community of English Protestant reformers, many of whom, like Lock, had recently returned from exile in Geneva after the crown passed from Mary I to Elizabeth I in 1558" (Nugent 3-4).

[180] The headnote to the poem states, "I have added this meditation folowyng unto the ende of this boke, not as parcell of maister Calvines worke, but for that it well agreeth with the same argument, and was delivered me by my frend with whom I knew I might be so bolde to use and publishe it as pleased me" (Prowse, *Collected Works* 62.). Most scholars interpret the language of "my frend" as an example of the modesty topos and have attributed the poem to Locke. Felch writes, "Lacking any other viable candidate, it seems reasonable to assign the authorship of the sonnet sequence to Anne Locke" (Prowse, *Collected Works* liv). Hannay writes that, "despite this ambiguous heading [to the poem], internal evidence indicates that the dedication and the poems are by the same hand, since there are verbal echoes of the sonnets in the signed dedication to the Duchess of Suffolk, including the same images of disease, starvation, and horror. Both present God as a physician who brings health" (Hannay 21). However, recently there has been debate about whether Locke wrote the poem. Steven May argued that Thomas Norton, not Anne Locke, wrote the poem, and then Jake Arthur challenged May's evidence and methods. I believe that Locke is most likely the author of the poem; however, my argument does not depend on Locke's authorship.

from and adapts the new trend of English Petrarchism, building on the popularity of sonnets in the late 1550s and 1560s after the publication of Tottel's *Miscellany,* a collection of poetry written by Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey; Sir Thomas Wyatt; and other anonymous poets. Collected and published in 1557 by Richard Tottel, this book was so popular that a second edition was printed in 1557 and again in 1559.[181] In Locke's poem she uses language, imagery, rhyme schemes and tropes found in Tottel's *Miscellany,* engaging with the Petrarchan tradition just as much as, if not even more than, Wyatt does in his Penitential Psalms.[182] She also uses the sonnet form itself, turning Psalm 51 into a twenty one-sonnet sequence preceded by a five-sonnet preface. Locke's poem is the first English psalm paraphrase to use the sonnet form, breaking from Wyatt's *ottava rima* and *terza rima* and from the common meter of the metrical psalms in Sternhold's Psalter.

Locke's borrowing from the Petrarchan tradition to craft a metrical paraphrase of Scripture raises questions as to why she would choose to bring together these two very different discourses of erotic desire and godly affections. Scholars such as Mary Trull, Margaret Hannay, and Kimberly Coles have noted Locke's intentional choice to use a

[181] Rosalind Smith explains, "The major sonneteers in the English tradition up to 1560 were Surrey, and more particularly Wyatt, who also translated the psalms, including a paraphrase of Psalm 51. Although Wyatt and Surrey wrote in the earlier half of the sixteenth century, the delay in their publication gives an originality to the form for a reader such as Lok, whose middle-class upbringing may have excluded her from access to or knowledge of the manuscript versions of these poems circulating in the court. Wyatt's Penitential Psalms were first printed in 1549, but more significantly, the first edition of Tottel's Miscellany was published in 1557. This context makes the choice of the sonnet form for Lok's meditation seem less unfashionable. Six editions of Tottel were published by the end of 1559; its influence on the sequence in Lok's text is indicated by the sequence's adoption of the specifically 'English' rhyme scheme invented and used by Wyatt and Surrey" (Rosalind Smith 8).

[182] Spiller writes, "All Locke's sonnets are in the form invented by the earl of Surrey, that is *abab cdcd efef gg;* four of them, P2, P4, 9, and 9, complicate this by repeating a rhyme (e.g. P4: *abab acac dede ff*), but there is no sign at all of the Petrarchan octave, *abba abba,* which Wyatt used" (Spiller 48). "Locke's sonnets are much smoother and more melodious . . . than Wyatt's sonnets and his *terza rima* works, and, as I have suggested elsewhere, she could only have learnt this, and Surrey's rhyme scheme, from Surrey himself, possibly in Tottel's version of Surrey. . . . The popularity of Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557: three editions; 1559: two editions) suggests it as a likely source" (Spiller 49). See Spiller 49 for more details.

secular poetic form for religious content, and Trull raises a key question: "Why does [Locke] deploy the Petrarchan sonnet, an ironic, self-reflexive form most well-known as a vehicle for love laments, in a rigorously theological and polemical poem that, as Roland Greene has remarked, is "a thoroughly Calvinist 'collection' answering the sectarian impulse" (157)?"[183] Scholars have expressed various theories as to why Locke chose to draw upon the Petrarchan tradition and employ the sonnet form for her psalm paraphrase: for example, because of the sonnet's emphasis on subjectivity and the interior "turns" and conflicts of the sonnet's speaker.[184] Trull stresses the affective intensity of Petrarchan sonnets, arguing that "the centrality of desire and erotic love in the sonnet tradition could not have been far from the minds of even Lock's most theologically oriented readers.[185]

Yet Locke's use of a tradition that emphasizes erotic, and often illicit, desire needs more explanation given Locke's reputation as a devout Protestant who was heavily involved in advocating for the Reformation in England. Her book *Sermons of John Calvin* came into being both as part of, and as a result of, Locke's advocacy for the English Reformation.[186] Locke's relationship with key reformers began during the reign of Edward the sixth, when she and her husband hosted the Scottish Reformer John

[183] Trull 17. See also Hannay, "'Unlock my lipps.'"

[184] Greene notes that the sonnet "is practically a technology for representing voltas or 'turns' of all psychic sorts" and therefore well suited to presenting the turn to God at the core of the Protestant conversion experience, which itself was inspired in part by the turn from lament to praise characteristic of the psalms ("Anne Lock's *Meditation*" 166). Margaret Hannay regards the sonnet as a choice both turning a secular form to religious ends and privileging the expression of subjectivity through conflict, as did Petrarch, Wyatt, and later English sonnet writers ("'So May I with the Psalmist Truly Say'" 111). Kimberly Coles sees Lock's choice of the sonnet as a decisive moment in the developing acceptance of aesthetically complex forms for religious poetry" (Trull 17-18).

[185] Trull 17-18.

[186] Felch emphasizes Locke's "determined commitment to promote Protestantism in Tudor England" (Prowse, *Collected Works* xv). Warley adds that "Lok's life situates her in a nexus of Protestant merchants who . . . constituted a powerful voice in early Elizabethan England" (Warley 44).

Knox during his visits to London to preach and to serve as one of the king's chaplains.[187] According to Roland Greene, Locke "was among the most visible of women in religious politics in the decade following her alliance with Knox in 1552, and [she] 'held a commanding and respected position among the London "godly."'"[188] In 1557, at Knox's encouragement, Locke and her children fled to Geneva, where Knox and his family had found refuge from the increasing persecution of Protestants in Scotland and England.[189] Once in Geneva, Locke became an active participant in the religious community there and became acquainted with prominent reformers such as Miles Coverdale and John Calvin.[190] Due to Locke's social connections and fluency in French, she was able to acquire transcripts of four of Calvin's sermons and translate them into English, before they were even published in French.[191] In 1559, after Elizabeth's ascension to the throne, Locke returned to England, and in January of 1560 she had her book published

[187] "In the winter of 1552–3 she was one of a group of city wives who shared the company of the Scottish reformer John Knox, who lodged with the Lockes from time to time" (Collinson, np). "In 1553, she [and her husband Henry Lock] hosted John Knox, the Scottish reformer, during his service as a Lenten preacher for Edward VI. . . . [After Edward died,] the Locks extended their hospitality to Knox until he fled to the Continent, where he began an extensive correspondence with Lock that lasted over six years" (Felch, "Anne Vaughan Lock" 128-29).

[188] Greene, "Anne Lock's *Meditation*" 23.

[189] Felch, "Anne Vaughan Lock" 129.

[190] In 1558 Miles Coverdale and his family moved to Geneva, where he became an elder in the English church, and they lived there until August of 1559, when they returned to England (Daniell, np).

[191] "Calvin had delivered the sermons in Geneva in 1557, during her time there, and her translation of them in fact predated the publication of the original French version by two years" (Morin-Parsons 274). Locke's translation of Calvin's sermons "was published before Calvin's original had seen print, suggesting to one recent commentator that Lock 'must have had access to a manuscript version and may have known Calvin personally'" (Greene, "Anne Lock's *Meditation*" 24). "Since . . . the sermons of Calvin which Locke translated were ones which she was in Geneva to hear from Calvin's lips, and which were not available to her in a printed French text there and then, she must have exercised her own judgement and initiative to obtain a copy, perhaps from the stenographic records of Calvin's sermons being made, and begun translation with the intention of publishing on her return to England" (Spiller 44).

in London by John Day, one of the most prominent printers of Protestant literature in England.[192]

Given Locke's religious piety and prominent standing in the Genevan and London religious communities, why would she publish a poem that infuses Psalm 51 with elements of Petrarchan desire? Why and how does Locke's poem use the English Petrarchan tradition to participate in sixteenth-century English religious culture? Locke's engagement with the Petrarchan tradition in "Meditation of a Penitent Sinner" transforms both Psalm 51 and the Petrarchan conventions that she employs. The poem uses Petrarchan tropes to call attention to the centrality of desire in Psalm 51 and to turn the psalm into a lyric expression of the speaker's tumultuous experience of desiring God. Locke's "Meditation" depicts the speaker and God as in a relationship like that between a Petrarchan lover and beloved: the speaker desires God as her beloved and longs for assurance that her love for God will be requited. Yet, while Wyatt's "Penitential Psalms" portray David as experiencing a religious version of the quintessential Petrarchan *psychomachia* – David's ongoing conflict between virtuous desire for God and sinful desire for something other than God – Locke's "Meditation" instead portrays the pull within her speaker's soul between hope and despair. Her speaker suffers from a severely melancholic desire for God's love and mercy, similar to the Petrarchan speaker's fear that his beloved does not love him and will never requite his love and desire for her.

This chapter will focus in particular on the five prefatory sonnets of Locke's poem because of the crucial role they play in framing Locke's poetic paraphrase of Psalm 51 and transforming the psalm's purpose and persona: portraying the speaker as afflicted not due to erotic desire for a human beloved, but due to melancholic desire for God.

[192] "Her [Locke's] own 1560 volume of sermons and sonnets was reprinted in 1569 and 1574 by John Day although no copies remain of these two editions" (Prowse, *Collected Works* xxxi).

While it is clear that the body of Locke's "Meditation of a Penitent Sinner" is a metrical paraphrase of Psalm 51, scholars have tended to see the prefatory sonnets as Locke's own imaginative creation, in which she draws upon Petrarchan conventions and Calvinist theology to craft a fictional narrative surrounding Psalm 51.[193] However, I contend that the prefatory sonnets are a loose paraphrase of Psalm 38, the penitential psalm that, in the medieval grouping of seven penitential psalms, comes directly before Psalm 51. Locke combines elements of Psalm 38 with Petrarchan tropes to portray the root causes of the speaker's anxious desire for God's mercy. Through first paraphrasing Psalm 38 in her preface, Locke's entire poem transforms Psalms 38 and 51 into a pastoral model of how to recognize and deal with fears that God will not requite one's desire for him. Locke's portrayal of desire in "Meditation" reveals her deep engagement with Petrarchan and theological discourses, not in order to increase readers' fear and anxiety, but to alleviate their concerns and to give them hope that their desire for God will be fulfilled. "Meditation" thus adds to our understanding of how Calvinists understood Reformed theology in relation to the affliction of religious melancholy and of how mid-sixteenth-century Protestants crafted a discourse of consolation for those suffering from this affliction. Locke's "Meditation" also sheds insight on how women saw themselves as having a pastoral and authorial role in the English Reformation, using their writing to instruct and comfort early English Protestants.

[193] Kel Morin-Parsons writes that "the preface, unlike the main body of the sequence, is not explicitly based on – and therefore not justified by – any other text. . . . [T]he words of the five prefatory sonnets remain the author's own, and they constitute a personal reflection on and preparation for the process of repentance, presented without specific reference to the authority of another text" (Morin-Parsons 276-77). Teresa Lanpher Nugent agrees with Morin-Parsons that Locke does not directly translate or paraphrase another text in her prefatory sonnets; however, Nugent qualifies Morin-Parsons claims. She writes, "Lock's prefatory sonnets do illustrate her originality and her assertion of her poetic voice; however, I disagree with Morin-Parsons' claim that they are not based upon any canonical text. Rather, Lock's sonnets draw upon specific biblical passages invoked in Calvin's fourth sermon on Isaiah 38" (Nugent 10).

Although the entire poem borrows from the Petrarchan tradition through its form as a sonnet sequence, the prefatory sonnets in particular engage copiously with Petrarchan tropes, portraying the speaker as a quintessentially Petrarchan persona on a "bitter roller coaster of emotion."[194] The prefatory sonnets, titled "The preface, expressing the passioned minde of the penitent sinner," immediately plunge readers into the mind of a person overcome with anxious desire.[195] The preface begins with the speaker's lament that "the hainous gylt of my forsaken ghost / So threates, alas, unto my febled sprite / Deserved death. . ." (P1, 14-16).[196] Locke takes the stereotypical Petrarchan passions of desire, fear, and sorrow and applies them to a person's feelings toward God. The first lines are representative of the prefatory sonnets' tone, which has been described as "anxious," "tortured," "hysterical," and "almost despairing."[197] The speaker expresses a deep distress because of her feeling of guilt for her sins and her fear that she has been forsaken by God. According to Rosalind Smith, "The ecstatic lamenter of Lock's poem (and Reformist psalm commentary) has much in common with the figure of the Petrarchan poet-lover who, suffering repeated failures in his pursuit of a

[194] Felch writes that the poem contains many "familiar Petrarchan conventions – the sighing narrator, the bitter roller coaster of emotion, images of sight and blindness" (Felch, "Anne Vaughan Lock" 132).

[195] "Passioned" here is used in the sense of "affected with [deep/intense] suffering or sorrow; grieved" as well as "dominated by passion or strong feeling" (OED adj "passioned"). Morin-Parsons writes that "Locke could easily have presented the 'Meditation' without the preface; the title gives sufficient context to the sequence. The preface, however, serves to establish an environment and condition for the penitent sinner – describing the state of the 'passioned minde' of the preface's title that Locke identifies in her epistle with the . . . 'conscience not well quieted'" (Morin-Parsons 284). Felch concurs that "these sonnets . . . explore the psychological state of the person who will utter the cries for mercy that make up Psalm 51" (Prowse, *Collected Works* liv-lv).

[196] All quotes from "A Meditation" are taken from Susan M. Felch, *The Collected Works of Anne Vaughan Lock. Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies*, vol. 185, Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies and Renaissance English Text Society, 1999, pp. 62-71.

[197] Evans describes the tone of Locke's poem as "dark, gloomy, anxious, and even (at times) almost despairing" (Evans 100). Morin-Parsons describes this as "their tortured and didactic tone" (see Spiller 51).

distant mistress, wallows in mental anguish."[198] The other important element of the prefatory sonnets' tone is the speaker's intense desire and ardent longing for God's mercy, for which she repeatedly prays at the end of the second, fourth, and fifth sonnets. The first instance of this is in the final couplet of the second sonnet, when the speaker states: "My fainting breath I gather up and straine, / Mercie, mercie to crye and crye againe" (P2, 40-41). This repeated cry for mercy connects the prefatory sonnets to Locke's paraphrase of Psalm 51, which uses the word "mercy" sixty times to elaborate on the one petition for mercy in the first verse of the original Psalm 51.[199] This repetition in Locke's poem both creates and demonstrates the intensity of the speaker's anguished desire for God's forgiveness and loving-kindness.

The final sonnet of the preface exemplifies the speaker's ardent, anxious desire that God would show her mercy:

> And then not daring with presuming eye
> Once to beholde the angry heavens face,
> From troubled sprite I send confused crye,
> To crave the crummes of all sufficing grace.
> With foltring knee I fallyng to the ground
> Bendyng my yelding handes to heavens throne,
> Poure forth my piteous plaint with woefull sound,
> With smoking sighes, and oft repeted grone,
> Before the Lord, the Lord, whom synner I,
> I cursed wretch, I have offended so,
> That dredyng, in his wrekefull wrath to dye,

[198] Trull 19-20.

[199] "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving-kindness: according to the multitude of thy compassions put away mine iniquities" (Psalm 51:1, Geneva translation).

And damned downe to depth of hell to go,

Thus tost with panges and passions of despeir,

Thus crave I mercy with repentant chere" (P5, 70-83).

In this final prefatory sonnet, the speaker uses the word "crave" twice to express her intense desire for God's mercy and to beseech God to fulfill it.[200] While the words "crave" and "desire" are not found in English prose translations of Psalm 51, the headnote to the Geneva translation of Psalm 51 uses the word "desire" to explain that the psalmist "desireth God to forgive his sins, And to renew in him his holy Spirit." In Locke's poem, she makes these desires and the psalmist's activity of desiring explicit through the repeated word "crave." In addition to appearing twice in the preface, the word "crave" appears twice in the first two stanzas of Locke's psalm paraphrase and also in the very last line of the paraphrase, locations which reinforce that the speaker's desires and activity of expressing these desires are central to the meaning the poem. In each case, the speaker reiterates that what she craves is God's mercy and grace. Although mercy and grace can mean separate things – mercy being forgiveness and compassionate treatment rather than punishment for offenses, and grace being unmerited favor or blessing – Locke uses these two terms interchangeably to convey the speaker's passionate desire for God's forgiveness and favor.

Throughout the preface and the paraphrase of Psalm 51, the speaker's expressions of desire are greatly shaped by her fear that God will not requite her desires. As Teresa Lanpher Nugent writes, "Lock's sonnets construct a poetic persona based upon an ardent desire for divine grace and a morbid fear of divine rejection."[201]

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[200] The verb "crave" conveys both the sense of "to long or yearn for, to desire earnestly; to call for or demand, in order to gratify a desire or appetite; to have a craving for" and the sense of "to ask earnestly, to beg for (a thing)," to entreat (OED).

[201] Nugent 3.

The preface begins with the speaker's lament that her offenses have resulted in God's wrath toward her:

> The hainous gylt of my forsaken ghost
> So threates alas, unto my febled sprite
> Deserved death and (that me greveth most)
> Still stand so fixt before my daseld sight
> the lothesome filthe of my disteined life,
> The mighty wrath of myne offended Lorde
> My Lord whos wrath is sharper than the knife,
> And deper woundes than dobleedged sworde (P1, 14-21).

In using the words "offend" and "offense" repeatedly in her preface and paraphrase of Psalm 51, Locke departs from English prose translations of the Psalms, which instead use the word "sin."[202] Describing God as "myne offended Lorde," Locke modifies the psalm to draw on the Petrarchan trope of the offended beloved and the Petrarchan understanding that a lover may deserve to be forsaken by his beloved for offending her. As Wyatt writes in one of his poems published in Tottel's *Miscellany,* "Forsake me not, till I deserue: / Nor hate me not, till I offend."[203] Locke uses the same language to have her speaker lament the "deserved death" that she fears because of her offenses against God. The speaker's description of her experience of God's anger also mirrors the experiences of a Petrarchan lover. In the second prefatory sonnet the speaker describes herself as one "whome Gods enflamed ire / With pearcing stroke hath throwne unto the ground, / Amidde my sinnes still groveling in the myre" (P2, 28-30). In these

[202] The Geneva translation of the Psalms does not use the word "offences" at all, instead using the word "sins." Although the Coverdale translation of Psalm 51:1 contains the petition that God "do away mine offences," the rest of the psalm uses the word "sin" in the speaker's confessions of wrongdoing.

[203] *Songes and Sonettes,* fol. 32. All quotes from Wyatt and Surrey's poems are taken from Tottel's version of the poems since that is the version that Locke likely read.

lines, Locke's language of God's "pearcing stroke" echoes the frequent description in Tottel's *Miscellany* of the "stroke" shot from the beloved's eyes (sometimes by Cupid) into the lover's eyes and heart. The speaker's experience of being "throwne unto the ground" also draws upon the common trope of Love or chance throwing the Petrarchan lover down.[204]

Yet unlike the poems in Tottel's *Miscellany,* in which the speaker sees himself as fundamentally innocent of wrongdoing and as the victim of Love's wounds, Locke's speaker recognizes that her past sins and "the lothesome filthe of my disteined life" are the reason for God's wrath and wounding of her. The speaker's lament in Locke's first two sonnets echoes the beginning of Psalm 38, which starts with the psalmist's petition and lament regarding his sin and God's resultant anger: "O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chastise me in thy wrath. For thine arrows have light upon me, and thine hand lieth upon me. There is nothing sound in my flesh, because of thine anger: neither is there rest in my bones, because of my sin."[205] Like Psalm 38, Locke's poem uses the metaphor of God's wrath as a weapon that wounds the speaker "with pearcing stroke" and "deper woundes than dobleedged sworde." The headnote and footnotes to the Geneva translation of Psalm 38 interpret God's arrows as the disease with which David is afflicted because of his sins, a disease that is not just physical but also spiritual in

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[204] In Wyatt's translation of Petrarch's sonnet 258, he writes, "Dased am I, much like vnto the gise / Of one striken with dint of lightening, / Blinde with the stroke, and crying here and there" (*Songes and Sonettes,* fol. 20). In other poems, Surrey writes, "Alas me semes loue throwes me downe" (fol. 16) and Wyatt similarly writes "To thee that hast true loue down throwne" (fol. 40). Surrey also describes "mischance" and "chaunce" as throwing a person down: "but my mischance / Did lift me vp, to throw me down" and "Euen so hath fortunes chaunce / Throwen all amiddes the mire" (fol. 28).

[205] Psalm 38:1-3, Geneva translation. Locke's first stanza also echoes the emphasis on God's wrath and the speaker's sin in the Sternhold and Hopkins version of Psalm 38: "Thine arrows do stick fast in me, / thy hand doth press me sore, / And in my flesh no health at all / appeareth any more. / And all this is by reason of / the wrath that I am in, / Nor any rest is in my bones, / by reason of my sin" (Quitslund and Temperley 144).

nature.[206] In echoing Psalm 38, Locke also portrays her speaker's wounds as an internal, spiritual affliction that manifests itself in her speaker's suffering from "hainous gylt" and a "febled sprite."

Yet, in using the phrase "dobleedged sworde," Locke clarifies that God's wounding of the speaker, unlike Cupid's wounding of the Petrarchan lover, is not vengeful or vindictive, but rather intended to save and heal the speaker. The language of a "dobleedged sworde" alludes to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which uses the metaphor of a two-edged sword to describe the effects of the Word of God on people's souls: "For the word of God is lively, and mighty in operation, and sharper than any two edged sword, and entereth through, even unto the dividing asunder of the soul and the spirit, and of the joints, and the marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts, and the intents of the heart."[207] The image that Locke's first stanza presents is of a person whose conscience is pierced by an understanding of her sin and God's wrath, which she has discerned through reading Scripture. Later, in the psalm paraphrase, Locke's speaker even interprets her conscience as the one wielding the weapon: "My cruell conscience with sharpned knife / Doth splat my ripped hert, and layes abrode / The lothesome secretes of my filthy life" (5, 151-53). In Locke's epistle, she describes Hezekiah's suffering in similar language as "the depe woundes that Gods anger hath left in his conscience."[208] In Locke's portrayal of God wounding the speaker's conscience,

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[206] The headnote states, "David lying sick of some grievous disease, acknowledgeth himself to be chastised of the Lord for his sins." The footnote to verse 2 – "For thine arrows have light upon me, and thine hand lieth upon me" – states that the arrows are "thy sickness, wherewith thou hast visited me." The headnote and footnotes describe David's spiritual affliction of "grief," "sorrow," and "misery."

[207] Hebrews 4:12, Geneva translation. The footnotes in the Geneva translation define the "word of God" as "the doctrine of God which is preached both in the Law and in the Gospel," and the footnotes explain that this verse amplifies "the nature of the word of God, the power whereof is such, that it entereth even to the deepest and most inward and secret parts of the heart."

[208] Prowse, *Collected Works* 6.

her text aligns with the sixteenth-century Protestant and Catholic belief that a remorseful conscience was necessary in order to repent of one's sins and to receive God's mercy. Both Protestants and Catholics saw the conviction of sin – attained through being pierced by the truth of Scripture and an understanding of God's just wrath at sin – as spiritually beneficial because it led to godly sorrow and repentance.

Early modern Protestants and Catholics viewed the penitential psalms as an especially useful vehicle for receiving these wounds and learning how to repent. Locke's poem is most often interpreted by scholars as an example of early modern penitential literature, whose goals were to convict readers of their need to repent and to instruct them in how to properly do so.[209] Read in this light, the purpose of Locke's text is to induce in readers a deep conviction of sin so that they can genuinely and effectively repent of their sins and receive assurance of God's mercy. However, Locke's prefatory sonnets do not portray her speaker as undergoing this process of repentance that leads to assurance of God's forgiveness and grace.[210] Instead, the prefatory sonnets depict the speaker as already a repentant sinner, but one who does not gain hope of God's mercy through her repentance and instead continues to fear God's rejection and damnation of her. Locke encapsulates this at the end of the preface, when the speaker laments that "I cursed wretch, I have offended so, / That dredyng, in his wrekefull wrath to dye, / And damned downe to depth of hell to go (P5, 79-81). The speaker fears that God will remain angry toward her and condemn her to hell because of her offenses against him, or, perhaps even worse, that God has already damned her to hell. The speaker's perception of herself as a "cursed wretch" and her description of God's wrath

[209] Felch writes that "all three parts – epistle, sermons, and sonnets – were united by a common religious theme: the recognition of sin, repentance, and restoration through God's grace" (Felch, "Anne Vaughan Lock" 127). Morin-Parsons asserts that the prefatory sonnets "constitute a personal reflection on and preparation for the process of repentance" (Morin-Parsons 277).

[210] Warley describes "the drama of the preface" as "a desperate, almost hysterical, search for comfort and the assurance of salvation" (Warley 60).

as “wrekefull” convey the sense that the speaker faces a vengeful God whom she cannot appease, no matter how repentant she is of her past sins. Based on lines such as these, scholars have tended to interpret the prefatory sonnets as conveying a Calvinist emphasis on the need to fear God’s punishment and to feel, in a visceral way, one’s own absolute vileness and abjection before a holy God.[211] Margaret Hannay asserts that Locke’s sonnets “‘stress the negative aspects’ of Protestant doctrine,” and Kel Morin-Parsons agrees with Hannay that Locke’s sonnets are “firmly cast in the mold of harshly introspective Calvinist literature,”[212] in which “much emphasis is placed on the utter and inescapable wretchedness of the sinner, who in no way deserves God’s mercy.”[213] Teresa Lanpher Nugent similarly asserts that Locke’s speaker embodies a “spiritual abjection” that “connotes the fear of not being one of God’s elect, preordained for salvation.”[214] For Hannay, Morin-Parsons, and Nugent, the abject suffering of Locke’s speaker illustrates how Calvinist theology induces spiritual and mental affliction in people and perhaps even exemplifies how Calvinists sought to generate feelings of wretchedness and terror in people through having them read works like Locke’s.[215]

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[211] Morin-Parsons writes regarding the five prefatory sonnets: “Susanne Woods describes the five sonnets as ‘acknowledging the unworthiness of the author and acting as a penitential prelude to the actual meditation,’ and this general assessment is certainly fair” (Morin-Parsons 276). Ottenhoff concurs that, “echoing the penitent David and anticipating the Protestant sonneteers (including her son Henry Lok), Locke’s speaker emphasizes her fear and personal wretchedness while calling for God’s mercy” (Ottenhoff 297). Ottenhoff interprets the later stanzas in Locke’s “Meditation” as also “sound[ing] a distinctly Protestant note of anguish while going well beyond the complaint of the original [psalm]” (Ottenhoff 301).

[212] Morin-Parsons 284.

[213] Morin-Parsons 276-77.

[214] Nugent 4 and 21.

[215] Morin-Parsons suggests that Locke’s poem exemplifies how Calvinists sought to generate in people feelings of wretchedness and terror because they believed that these were a necessary part of coming to repentance and to trust not in oneself, but only in God, for one’s salvation. In Morin-Parsons’ article on Locke’s prefatory sonnets, she quotes Alan Sinfield, who argues that “‘Protestant thought, by its insistence on divine power and human wretchedness, imposed upon its adherents fundamental psychological and ethical difficulties.’” (Morin-Parsons 277). In agreement with Sinfield, “William Stull . . . finds the preface ‘fully describes the Calvinist doctrine of repentance’ as it emphasizes *attrition,* or fear of God’s punishment. . .” (Ottenhoff 296).

Read in this light, Locke's poem is seen as contributing to early modern people's fear of God's wrath and condemnation and even as encouraging them to cultivate this condition within themselves as a means to possibly receive God's mercy.

Yet this assessment of Locke's poem raises several questions: Why would Locke, an ardent supporter of Calvinism, publish this poem shortly after returning to England from a two-year exile in Geneva? How does Locke's poem, with its tone of anguished desire for God's mercy, help to promote the Protestant cause at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign? And why would Locke use Petrarchan conventions and the sonnet form to induce feelings of fear and wretchedness in her readers?

Because Locke's prefatory sonnets come directly before the paraphrase of Psalm 51, the preface is frequently read and interpreted through the biblical context of Psalm 51, which is, as the biblical headnote to Psalm 51 states, "A Psalm of David, when the Prophet Nathan came unto him, after he had gone into Bathsheba."[216] It is easy to assume that the imagined speaker of Locke's prefatory sonnets and psalm paraphrase is the sinful David, who only first in Psalm 51 expresses remorse for his sins of adultery and murder and begins the initial steps of repentance.[217] Yet this is not necessarily the persona of Locke's poem. Unlike Wyatt's Penitential Psalms, Locke's epistle, prefatory sonnets, and psalm paraphrase nowhere mention David's adultery. Instead, Locke situates her paraphrase of Psalm 51 in the context of Calvin's sermons about Hezekiah and Locke's own prefatory sonnets that are based on Psalm 38. Locke thereby distances her paraphrase of Psalm 51 from its original context and creates a new persona and purpose for it. Locke's epistle, Calvin's sermons, and the preface itself

[216] Geneva translation.

[217] For example, Jamie Quatro's article on Locke's poem views the speaker in just this way: "Lock's poems capture the psychological condition of King David in Psalm 51: an adulterous sinner who is expelled from God's favor and cries out for mercy, desperate to return to a state of grace" (Quatro np).

indicate that the speaker is not the sinful David or a person in a similar condition of unrepentant sin, but rather a "penitent sinner" who, while sinful as everyone is, has been seeking to lead a godly life and is already genuinely repentant of her sin.

Locke's epistle, in which she explains why she is publishing her book, provides further indications that the persona and purpose of Locke's poem are different from those of the biblical Psalm 51. At the beginning of Locke's epistle, she describes her pastoral concern for those who are suffering from "peines and diseases of minde and soule," which she defines as "the felyng of Gods wrath kindled against [oneself]" without any concomitant feeling of God's grace, so that a person thinks that God has forsaken them.[218] In Locke's epistle and her translations of Calvin's sermons, she describes people's acute fear of God's wrath not as a goal or even as a good condition, but as a "grevous" and "daungerous disease" suffered by people who already feel sincere remorse for their sins and have repented of them.[219] Locke explains that Calvin's sermons on chapter 38 of the book of Isaiah present King Hezekiah as an example of someone who suffers from this disease. Calvin writes in his sermons that, although Hezekiah is on his deathbed, his imminent death is not the source of his deep affliction. Rather, Hezekiah suffers from "the outrageous passions of a man as it were ravished in minde," who "had lost al maner tast of the goodnes of God."[220] While both Locke and Calvin acknowledge that Hezekiah is sinful, they repeatedly use the phrase "good king" to describe him, and in Locke's translations of Calvin's sermons, Calvin upholds Hezekiah as a model of piety.[221] Calvin states that devout, godly people like Hezekiah

[218] Prowse, *Collected Works* 4 and 6.

[219] Prowse, *Collected Works* 4 and 6-7.

[220] Prowse, *Collected Works*, 9 and 12.

[221] "And because the lyke maye come unto us, let us make us a buckler of the example that is here set before us of the kinge Ezechias: for wee have seen here before howe he had framed all hys lyfe to the law of God: he had a zele which is not to be founde in manye people, to purge all hys land of all superstitions and ydolatries: many alarumes were stirred up agaynst hym, to make

may, for a period of time, not be able to perceive God's mercy toward them and may, instead, only perceive their sin and God's anger at it. Calvin acknowledges that "when we fele these thynges we must nedes be altogether oppressed untyll [God] releve us."[222] Locke similarly writes that her book's purpose is to provide a remedy for "trewe belevyng Christians" who are suffering from "the moste perillous peine and tourment of conflicte with sinne and desperation."[223]

In Locke's epistle she frames Calvin's sermons about Hezekiah and her poetic paraphrase of Psalm 51 as "medicine" from God to cure this spiritual disease and to restore people to spiritual and mental health.[224] Locke's book presents the examples of Hezekiah and the speaker of her poem to model for her readers how to turn to God in their affliction and to encourage her readers that God will heal their disease, just as God answered Hezekiah's prayer for healing.[225] She writes that "this boke hath not only the medicine, but also an example of the nature of the disease, and the meane how to use

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him somwhat to revolte: but that nothing stayed hym but that he set up the trewe and pure religyon, and in his private lyfe he sought nothing but that god might be gloryfyed in, and through all" (Prowse, *Collected Works* 17).

[222] Prowse, *Collected Works* 32.

[223] Prowse, *Collected Works,* 5.

[224] Felch explains that Locke's "dedicatory letter develops a familiar religious conceit: the soul, diseased by sin and oppressed by despair, can be healed only through the action of a heavenly physician who offers the medicine of God's good word" (Felch, "Curing the Soul" 79-80).

[225] Locke writes in her epistle, "For when a man languishing in corporall sicknes, heareth his neighboure reporte unto him, or himselfe hathe before time sene in an other the same cause of sicknes, and the same disposition of body that he knoweth and feleth in him self: it geveth him assurance, and maketh him to know that he is sick of the same disease that th'other was: wherby knowing howe th'other was healed, what diet he kept, what Physicke he toke, he doeth with the greater boldnes, confidence of mynde, and desire, call for, taste, and gredely receyve that healthfull and lifefull medicine wherby he saw and knew his neighbour healed" (Prowse, *Collected Works*, 7). Calvin similarly asserts that Hezekiah wrote down the narrative of his affliction after his recovery so that "those which come after might be enstructed thereby" (Prowse, *Collected Works* 9). Calvin asserts that Hezekiah's purpose was "in one parte to make vs know howe he had bene afflicted then, when he thought that God was against him: and moreover that therin men might know somuche the more howe great the goodnes of God was, when he received him to mercy, and woulde not forsake him in necessitie" (Prowse, *Collected Works* 10).

and apply the medicine to them that be so diseased."[226] Locke states that Calvin's goal in his sermons is to give a "receipte" (i.e., prescription) to people who are suffering from this disease, through showing how God eventually assures Hezekiah of his mercy toward him and relieves Hezekiah of not only his physical but also his spiritual affliction.[227] She asserts that her readers, if they meditate on the examples of God's mercy given in the book of Isaiah and the Psalms, will "have helpe of the moste and onely perfect and effectuallye working medicine."[228]

In using this medical analogy, Locke likely drew on other early Protestant texts offering consolation for afflicted consciences, in particular *A Spyrytuall and Moost Precyouse Pearle*, a popular book of consolation that was written by Otto Werdmüller, a Swiss pastor and theologian in Zürich, and printed in English in 1550 and 1555.[229] Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, writes in the prefatory epistle to the "Christian reader" that he had Miles Coverdale translate *Precyouse Pearle* because "in reading thys boke we dyd fynde greate comforte and an inwarde and godlye workynge power much releuyng the gryefe of oure mynde."[230] The duke explains further in his epistle that the book provides "a true comfort salue & medycyne of the soule, spyrit, & mynde. The whych spyryte and mynde the more precyous, it is then the bodye, the more daungerous

[226] Prowse, *Collected Works*, 7.

[227] Prowse, *Collected Works* 5. Locke writes in her epistle: "These thinges being here laid open to sight and remainyng in remembraunce, (as the horrour and piteous spectacle cannot suffre it to fall out of a Christian tender minde) if we feele ourselves in like anguishe, we finde that the disease is the same that Ezechias had, and so by convenience of reason muste by the same meane be healed" (Felch, *Collected Works* 8).

[228] Prowse, *Collected Works* 5.

[229] This book was originally titled "Kleintot, von trost und hilff." The book was very popular and Coverdale translated it into English "at the request and expense of the duke of Somerset" (Daniell, np). For additional information, see Esther Frances Mary Hildebrandt, *A study of the English protestant exiles in Northern Switzerland and Strasbourg 1539-47 and their role in the English Reformation*, Durham theses, Durham University, 1982, p. 61. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1607/

[230] Werdmüller, np.

be hys sores and syknes, and the more thancke worth the cure thereof."[231] The similarities in theme and language between this epistle and Locke's epistle to the duchess, along with the fact that the book was translated by Coverdale, suggest that Locke likely read this text and was influenced by it to present her own book as medicine for the afflicted Christian soul.[232] In addition, through including a psalm paraphrase as part of her book, Locke participates in the Genevan Protestants' turn to the book of Psalms as an especially beneficial form of medicine for Christians in need of comfort. For example, the revised *Geneva Psalter* of 1559, which was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, states in its dedicatory epistle: "Here shal you learne to powre out your complaintes before God, and also fynde sure comfort, soueraine medicines, prefect remedie with great ioye of heart and quitenes of conscience."[233]

By placing her poem after Calvin's sermons on the "good king" Hezekiah and by using similar diction to describe Hezekiah and her poem's speaker, Locke crafts a persona for her speaker that is likewise godly and penitent, suffering from the disease of unrequited desire and needing medicine from God to heal her of this disease. In both her epistle and poem, Locke employs Petrarchan conventions to portray Hezekiah and her speaker's physical and mental afflictions as like those of a lover suffering from a near desperate fear that his beloved has rejected him. In the epistle, Locke describes in detail Hezekiah's subjective experience of the disease in the following terms:

> The good king Ezechias, somtime chillinge and chattering with colde, somtime languishing and meltyng away with heate, nowe fresing, now fryeng, nowe

[231] Werdmüller, np.

[232] Locke's language in the following quote from her epistle closely mirrors Edward Seymour's wording in his epistle: "The peines and diseases of minde and soule are not only the most grevous, and most daungerous, but also they onely are peinfull and perilous" (Felch, *Collected Works* 4).

[233] *The Boke of Psalmes Where in are Conteined Praiers, Meditations, Praises & Thankesgiuing to God for His Benefites Toward His Church*, np.

> spechelesse, nowe crying out, with other suche piteous panges and passions wrought in his tender afflicted spirit, by giltie conscience of his owne fault, by terrible consideration of Gods justice, by cruell assaultes of the tyrannous enemie of mans salvation, vexynge him in muche more lamentable wise than any bodely fever can worke, or bodyly fleshe can suffer.[234]

Hezekiah's physical suffering – described using the common Petrarchan hyperbolic paradox of extreme heat and cold – mirrors the internal suffering of his "tender afflicted spirit." The speaker of Locke's poem experiences similar afflictions to those of Hezekiah. In the final couplet of the last prefatory sonnet, the speaker cries out, "Thus tost with panges and passions of despeir, / Thus crave I mercy with repentant chere" (P5, 82-83). Locke uses the same phrase "panges and passions" for both Hezekiah and her speaker to encapsulate the intense anguish that they experience as a result of their fear that God has forsaken them. Like the "good king" Hezekiah, Locke's speaker beseeches God for mercy with "repentant chere," by which she does not mean cheerfulness, but rather a repentant disposition and demeanor, the very attitude that God wants from someone who prays to him for mercy.[235]

Through the phrase "panges and passions" and the word "piteous" in particular, Locke also links Hezekiah's and the speaker's disease with the disease of unrequited love as it is depicted in Petrarchan poetry.[236] In Tottel's *Miscellany*, the word "pang" is

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[234] Prowse, *Collected Works* 7.

[235] "Chere" can mean "a person's demeanour or mood, and related senses," and "the expression on or appearance of a person's face, as indicating emotion or character; countenance, aspect, visage, mien," and also simply a person's face (OED, cheer, n.1). In Locke's case, she also draws on the second sense of the word: "A person's mental or emotional state or disposition, esp. as made apparent by his or her demeanour; mood, humour, spirits. Also: a person's demeanour or manner as indicating his or her mood. Usually with specifying adjective" (OED).

[236] The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives the following example: "1534 J. Heywood Play of Loue sig. Aiv "One pang of dyspayre, or one pang of desyre One pang of one dyspleasaunt loke of her eye One pang of one worde of her mouth as in yre Or in restraynt of her loue which I requyre"" (OED).

used repeatedly to describe the lover's inner afflictions. For example, in Surrey's translation of Petrarch's sonnet 164, Surrey uses the word "pang" to describe the effects of the speaker's unrequited longing:

> But by and by the cause of my disease
> Geues me a pang, that inwardly doth sting.
> When that I thinke what griefe it is againe,
> To liue and lacke the thing should ridde my paine.[237]

As Surrey's speaker suffers inward stings and griefs because he lacks his beloved's mercy, both Hezekiah and Locke's speaker are afflicted because they fear the lack of God's mercy. The word "piteous" in Locke's epistle and prefatory sonnets also echoes common Petrarchan descriptions of the suffering lover's desire for his beloved's pity. In the epistle, Locke describes Hezekiah as suffering from "suche piteous panges and passions . . . in his tender afflicted spirit," and in the prefatory sonnets, Locke uses the word "piteous" to describe the speaker's lament and petition as a "piteous plaint" (P5, 77). Here, Locke possibly borrows Wyatt's phrase "pitefull complaint," which he uses to describe the speaker's sighs in the poem in Tottel's *Miscellany* that begins, "Go burning sighes vnto the frosen hart, / Go breake the yse with pities painfull dart." In Wyatt and Locke's lines, the word "pitefull" or "piteous" may express not only the speaker's internal suffering but also that the speaker's "plaint" is virtuous, "characterized by piety; pious, godly, devout."[238] This connotation reinforces that, in both her epistle and poem, Locke portrays Hezekiah and her speaker as suffering these "panges and passions" because

[237] *Songes and Sonettes,* fol. 6.

[238] *OED,* "piteous," adj. "Characterized by piety; pious, godly, devout"

they are afflicted with a disease that they should be pitied for and that is apt to arouse God's pity and compassion toward them.[239]

Locke, in her final prefatory sonnet, uses the language of groaning and sighing to convey the audible but nonverbal expression of the speaker's anguished desire for God's mercy: I "poure forth my piteous plaint with woeful sound, / with smoking sighes, and oft repeted grone" (P5, 76-77). Readers would have been cognizant that Locke's language of sighs and groans also draws from the Petrarchan tradition, in which these words describe the speaker's internal turmoil and intense longing for a beloved.[240] The speaker's "smoking sighes" echo the phrase "smoky sighs" used by Surrey and an unknown author as well as the phrase "burning sighs" used by Wyatt.[241] In these poems in Tottel's *Miscellany,* the smoking and burning of the sighs expresses and conveys the intense heat of the speaker's interior "fire" of desire for the beloved.[242] Yet this language of groaning and sighing also echoes Psalm 38, in which the psalmist's groans and sighs are physical manifestations of his intense grief at his sin and his urgent desire for God to help and save him. In Locke's language of "plaint" and "sighs," she echoes Wyatt's paraphrase of Psalm 38:

> So wondrous great hath been my vexation,
>
> That it hath forced my heart to cry and roar.
>
> O Lord, thou know'st the inward contemplation

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[239] *OED,* "piteous," adj. "Arousing or apt to arouse pity; deserving pity; moving a person to compassion"

[240] See Felch, "Anne Vaughan Lock" 132.

[241] Surrey writes, "The heauy charge of care / Heapt in my brest breakes forth against my will, / In smoky sighes, that ouercast the ayre. / My vapord eyes suche drery teares distill" (*Songes and Sonettes,* fol. 6). A poem by an unknown author begins, "The smoky sighes the bitter teares" (fol. 73). Wyatt's poem states, "Go, burning sighs, unto the frozen heart" and "Go burning sighes fulfill that I desire" (fol. 38).

[242] Another anonymous poem makes this connection explicit: "The bitter teares, the scalding sighes, the burning hote desire" (*Songes and Sonettes,* fol. 50).

Of my desire. Thou know'st my sighs and plaints.

Thou know'st the tears of my lamentation

Cannot express my heart's inward restraints.[243]

In both Wyatt's verse and Locke's preface, the "sighs" and "plaints" are an attempt to express the psalmist's and the speaker's inner affliction of anxious desire for God's mercy. Locke's language of "sighes" and "grone" also echoes the Coverdale and Geneva translations of Psalm 38. The Geneva translation states, "I am weakened and sore broken: I roar for the very grief of mine heart. Lord, I pour my whole desire before thee, and my sighing is not hid from thee."[244] The psalmist's sighs and groans express both his physical and mental anguish and his desire for relief. In Locke's prefatory sonnets, she draws from Psalm 38 to portray the nature and intensity of her speaker's suffering and to frame readers' understanding of her poem's persona, conveying her speaker's genuine repentance and anguished desire for God's mercy. Locke's speaker, like both the model penitent of Psalm 38 and the prototypical Petrarchan lover, sighs and weeps at her plight, her "dimmed and fordulled eyen / Full fraught with teares" (P1, 22-23).[245]

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[243] Wyatt 205, lines 356-61.

[244] Psalm 38:8-9, Geneva translation. The Coverdale translation of Psalm 38:6-9 similarly states, "I am brought into so great trouble and misery, that I go mourning all the day long. For my loins are filled with a sore disease, and there is no whole part in my body. I am feeble and sore smitten; I have roared for the very disquietness of my heart. Lord, thou knowest all my desire, and my groaning is not hid from thee." The Coverdale version uses the word "disease," which further connects David's suffering from a physical disease to his spiritual affliction and his desire for God's salvation. Although the affliction could be partly physical in nature, in Calvin's commentary on Psalm 6, which he alludes to in his commentary on Psalm 38, he states, "It should always be kept in mind, that his affliction did not proceed so much from his having been severely wounded with bodily distress; but regarding God as greatly displeased with him, he saw, as it were, hell open to receive him; and the mental distress which this produces exceeds all other sorrows. . . . Let us, therefore, know that here David is represented to us as being afflicted with the terrors of his conscience, and feeling within him torment of no ordinary kind, but such as made him almost faint away, and lie as if dead" (Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms,* vol. 1, 98).

[245] In her paraphrase of Psalm 51, Locke continues to draw upon the Petrarchan tropes of sighs and tears to portray the speaker's disease of an ardent and sorrowful/desperate desire for God. For example, the speaker tells God, "Loe prostrate, Lorde, before thy face I lye, / With sighes depe drawne depe sorow to expresse" (13, 255-56).

Yet, although the speaker is genuinely repentant, her sighs and tears do not bring her relief or help her to see God's mercy, as one would expect from the penitential and Petrarchan traditions.[246] Instead, she describes her experience as the opposite. She calls herself a "blind wretch," whose

> . . . dimmed and fordulled eyen
> Full fraught with teares and more and more opprest
> With growing streames of the distilled bryne
> Sent from the fornace of a grefefull brest,
> Can not enjoy the comfort of the light,
> Nor finde the way wherein to walke aright. (P1, 28 and 22-27)

The speaker is even more dejected and depressed, her sorrow increasing rather than diminishing because of her tears. Her copious tears, rather than enabling her to see God's mercy, "dim" and obscure her eyesight so that she cannot be comforted by the "light" of God's grace. This language of blindness draws from Psalm 38, which connects the psalmist's experience of blindness with his intense desire and affliction: "My heart panteth, my strength hath failed me, and the sight of mine eyes is gone from me."[247] The footnote for the Geneva translation of this verse interprets the second half of the verse as saying that "my sight faileth me for very sorrow," and in Locke's poem the speaker's blindness is also the result of her excessive sorrow. However, for Locke's speaker, the blindness is primarily spiritual, not physical, and connotes her speaker's inability to see God's grace: "Yet blinde, alas, I groape about for grace" (P2, 38).

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[246] Morin-Parsons writes that, "interestingly, these tears of fear and remorse . . . are not presented as fulfilling a cleansing or purging function in this context; rather, they are seen to exacerbate the problem" (Morin-Parsons 279).

[247] Psalm 38:10, Coverdale translation. The Geneva translations states, "Mine heart panteth: my strength faileth me, and the light of mine eyes, even they are not mine own."

Like the Petrarchan trope of blindness in sonnets such as Wyatt's "The lively sparks that issue from those eyes," Locke's imagery of blindness highlights her speaker's passivity and helplessness in relation to her desire for God's favor and mercy.[248] However, unlike the Petrarchan trope, in which the passion of desire is what blinds people, leading them astray, in Locke's preface, the speaker is blinded by her past sin, which prevents her from seeing the mercy from God that she anxiously desires. Unlike the Petrarchan lover, whose sight is dazed by his beloved's beauty and goodness, Locke's speaker's eyes are "daseld" by "the lothesome filthe of my disteined life" (P1, 17-18).[249] The speaker describes her sin using the metaphor of physical dirt, painting a picture of the speaker as not able to spiritually see God's grace due to the "filthe" of her sin that blocks her vision:

so oft as I

Presume to mercy to direct my sight,

My Chaos and my heape of sinne doth lie,

Betwene me and thy mercies shining light.

What euer way I gaze about for grace,

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[248] As Wyatt portrays in his translation of Petrarch's sonnet 258:
"The liuely sparkes, that issue from those eyes,
Against the which there vaileth no defence,
Haue perst my hart, and done it none offence,
With quaking pleasure, more then once or twise.
Was neuer man could any thing deuise,
Sunne beames to turne with so great vehemence
To dase mans sight, as by their bright presence
Dased am I, much like vnto the gise
Of one striken with dint of lightening,
Blinde with the stroke, and crying here and there,
So call I for helpe, I not when, nor where,
The paine of my fall paciently bearing.
For streight after the blase (as is no wonder)
Of deadly noyse heare I the fearfull thunder" (*Songes and Sonettes,* fol. 20).

[249] Morin-Parsons writes, "The eyes are overcome by the flash of sin and thus unable to guide the speaker out of the 'myre' because the traditional 'windows to the soul' cannot let in the light of God's grace" (Morin-Parsons 279).

My filth and fault are euer in my face. (4, 137-42)

Even the speaker's tears are not able to wash her eyes and face of this "filth and fault" and to overcome the blinding effects of her sin and guilt. As a result, Locke's speaker sees only "the mighty wrath of myne offended Lorde" and not his mercy (P1, 19). At the same time, Locke's speaker recognizes that this is not the way other people perceive God. She reflects that she

Finde[s] not the way that other oft have found,
Whome chereful glimse of gods abounding grace
Hath oft releved and oft with shyning light
Hath brought to joy out of the ugglye place. (P2, 31-34).

Others, who also have been grieved and oppressed by their sins, have been able to see and benefit from the "shyning light" of God's mercy, finding relief through the "chereful glimse of gods abounding grace." However, Locke's speaker asserts that she is unable to see the light of God's mercy, despite her efforts to do so: "blinde for grace I groape about in vaine" (P2, 39). While the speaker is cognizant of the reality of God's grace toward others and its healing properties for them, she cannot perceive it as shining on herself.

Many have argued that Calvinist theology – especially its doctrines of election and predestination – causes this kind of blind, anguished desire for God's mercy and fear of God's wrath and condemnation, a fear that God has chosen not to shine his mercy on them. However, Susan Schreiner notes that "reformers such as Zwingli and Calvin, who also strenuously emphasized the certainty of salvation, did not emphasize a preceding spiritual anguish over sin and penance."[250] In using the imagery of blindness,

[250] Schreiner 48. She adds, "The claim to the certainty of salvation, which came to characterize Reformation theology, did not always originate in the personal preoccupation with sin and damnation" (48).

Locke portrays her speaker's disease of melancholic desire as, at its core, not due to Calvinist theology, but due to the speaker's distorted and impaired perception: her inability to perceive the grace that God actually is shining on her. In Locke's third prefatory sonnet she depicts the source of the speaker's fears and blindness as the personified figure of Despair, who distorts Calvinist doctrine to emphasize only the speaker's sinfulness and God's wrath.[251] The speaker states:

> But mercy while I sound with shreking crye
> For graunt of grace and pardon while I pray,
> Even then despeir before my ruthefull eye
> Spredes forth my sinne and shame, and semes to say:
> In vaine thou brayest forth thy bootlesse noyse
> To him for mercy, O refused wight,
> That heares not the forsaken sinners voice.
> Thy reprobate and foreordeined sprite,
> For damned vessell of his heavie wrath,
> (As selfe witnes of thy beknowyng hart,
> And secrete gilt of thine owne conscience saith)
> Of his swete promises can claime no part:
> But thee, caytif, deserved curse doeth draw
> To hell, by justice, for offended law. (P3, lines 42-55)

In the medieval and early modern periods, despair was considered "among the most dangerous of a Christian's enemies," which "prey[s] on the speaker's fear of

[251] Felch summarizes the poem as follows: "The prefatory sonnets present a minidrama: a cringing narrative, oppressed by a nearly overwhelming sense of sin, is prosecuted by a personified Despair before a wrathful, but ultimately gracious, sovereign God" (Felch, "Anne Vaughan Lock" 132).

damnation."[252] Locke alludes to Despair in her epistle when she describes Hezekiah as afflicted by "cruell assaultes of the tyrannous enemie of mans salvation."[253] Similarly, in the third prefatory sonnet, Despair is the one who obscures the speaker's sight of God's mercy as it "before my ruthefull eye / Spredes forth my sinne and shame." Despair also tells the speaker that her cries for mercy will not succeed: that they are "in vaine" and "bootnesse" because she is refused, forsaken, reprobate, and damned. Morin-Parsons concurs that "Locke's text externalizes and personifies the usually internal demon of despair, giving it the ability to speak and 'spread forth' the spectacle of sin. Most pointedly, the text presents a voice [of despair] attempting to silence . . . the speaker's cries for mercy."[254] In both the preface and the paraphrase of Psalm 51, Locke portrays Despair as prosecuting and oppressing the speaker, striving to cause the speaker to give up all hope that God will fulfill her desire for mercy.

In portraying Despair as the speaker's enemy who seeks to overpower and defeat her, Locke continues to draw on Psalm 38, which states, " I will confess my wickedness, and be sorry for my sin. But mine enemies live, and are mighty."[255] Calvin himself, in his commentary on Psalm 38, describes the dangers of despair, stating about the psalmist: "this holy man was subjected to a severe and arduous conflict. *Thou*, he says, *O Lord! my God, wilt answer me*. His language implies that, if God should delay to come to his help, there was reason to fear that he would faint from weariness, or fall into despair."[256] Locke's speaker suffers from both a "febled sprite" and Despair's assaults

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[252] Morin-Parsons 281.

[253] Prowse, *Collected Works* 7.

[254] Morin-Parsons 281.

[255] Coverdale translation of Psalm 38:18-19. The Geneva translation states, "When I declare my pain, and am sorry for my sin, Then mine enemies are alive, and are mighty, and they that hate me wrongfully are many."

[256] Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms,* vol. 2, 55.

(P1, 15). In the paraphrase of Psalm 51, Locke's speaker further describes Despair as holding her soul hostage: "Sinne and despeir have so possest my hart, / And hold my captive soule in such restraint, / As of thy mercies I can fele no part, / But still in languor do I lye and faint." (12, 241-44). Here Locke's speaker recognizes that the reason why she cannot perceive God's mercy toward her is because sin and Despair are holding her soul captive. Through this language of captivity, Locke also draws on the Petrarchan trope of the captive soul, albeit describing the speaker's soul as besieged by Despair rather than by the god of desire or love.[257]

By portraying Despair as an aggressive agent and oppressive captor, Locke stresses that what Despair "semes to say" is the source of the speaker's disease, not Calvinist doctrine. In Locke's epistle she even asserts that the cause of the speaker's disease may be due to Catholic teachings. She writes that a person may suffer from an inability to perceive God's mercy toward oneself because "his oppressed appetite [is] overwhelmed with grosse faithlesse and papisticall humors."[258] Katherine Cooper explains that Locke's "portrayal of an accusing Despair and a sinner focused on the immensity of personal sins is reminiscent of Calvin's criticisms of the first step in the [Catholic] sacrament of penance, contrition. Calvin writes that a sinner participating in the traditional process of contrition focuses only on the greatness of his sins, and collapses 'stricken and overthrown; humbled and cast down he trembles; he becomes discouraged and despairs' (*Institutes* III.iii.3)."[259] Locke describes Calvin's teachings, in contrast, as the cure for this discouragement and despair because they emphasize not

[257] Trull writes, "Surrey's translation, published with Wyatt's in Totters Miscellany (1557), emphasizes that Love has conquered the speaker before being himself vanquished by Laura's look of reprimand. Another Tottel poem, "Th'assault of Cupid upon the fort where the lovers hart lay wounded and how he was taken," by Lord Thomas Vaux, similarly depicts the lover as a wounded captive, his heart a fort besieged by Cupid (164-5)" (Trull 19).

[258] Felch, *Collected Works* 6.

[259] Cooper 23.

only people's sin and God's wrath but also God's mercy and "the swete promyses of Gods almyghtye godnes."[260]

Like the Petrarchan lover, Locke's speaker recognizes her condition of captivity and oppression, and she expresses her desire to be freed from it.[261] She realizes that Despair is the one telling her that her cries for mercy are in vain; however, Despair's words still cause her to "quake for fear" (P4, 62). In the final prefatory sonnet, Locke begins to portray how the speaker seeks relief from Despair's oppression through crying to God for help. Locke shifts from paraphrasing Psalm 38 to alluding to other scripture passages that depict God's forgiveness and healing of those who beseech him for mercy. In the first quatrain of the final prefatory sonnet, the speaker states:

> And then not daring with presuming eye
> Once to beholde the angry heavens face,
> From troubled sprite I send confused crye,
> To crave the crummes of all sufficing grace. (P5, 70/72-73)

While the speaker still fears God's judgment so much that she does not dare to look up at him, this stanza depicts the speaker as having enough hope and faith to continue to cry out to God for grace.[262]

The words "crave the crummes" are central to understanding how Locke is portraying the speaker of her prefatory sonnets and the speaker's means of gaining

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[260] Prowse, *Collected Works* 8.

[261] In Locke's poem she uses the word "opprest" four times to describe the condition of her soul and how sin and despair are affecting her.

[262] The phrase "not daring with presuming eye" could allude to the collect for the twelfth Sunday after Trinity Sunday in the *Book of Common Prayer*, which similarly expresses both a desire for and trust in God's abundant mercy and a conscience that is afraid of God's judgment: "Almightie and euerlasting God, whiche arte alwayes more ready to heare then we to praye: And art wonte to geue more then either we desire or deserue: Powre down vpon vs the aboundaunce of thy mercy, forgeuing vs those thinges wherof our conscience is afrayde, and geuing vnto vs that that our prayer dare not presume to aske: through Iesus Christ our Lorde" (Church of England, fol. lxxvii).

relief from her fearful, anguished longing for God's mercy. These words allude to a well-known New Testament story that was the Gospel reading for the second Sunday in Lent in the *Book of Common Prayer.*[263] In the New Testament accounts of this story, an unnamed Canaanite woman approaches Jesus, falls at his feet, and begs him to have mercy on her because her daughter is afflicted with an evil spirit.[264] Using the same language as the beginning of Psalm 51 – "Have mercy upon me, O God" – the Canaanite woman cries out to Jesus, "Have mercy on me, O Lord."[265] In the biblical passages about the Canaanite woman, Jesus at first responds to her request by saying that he has not been sent to heal her people but rather the people of Israel. The Canaanite woman asks Jesus again for mercy, telling him that dogs may still "eat of the crumbs, which fall from their master's table."[266] Through the phrase "crave the crummes," Locke links the persona of her poem with the Canaanite woman. Jesus' initial rejection of the Canaanite woman parallels the speaker's fear that God has rejected her and will not requite her desire for mercy. The fact that the woman's daughter is suffering from an evil spirit further connects Locke's persona with the story of the Canaanite woman: Locke's allusion reinforces that her speaker is suffering due to

[263] Cummings 297.

[264] In the Gospels of Matthew and Mark: Matthew 15:21-28 and Mark 7:24-30. The woman is a Syro-Phoenician, from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and not an Israelite. This was a well-known passage and is the Gospel reading for the second Sunday in Lent in the *Book of Common Prayer,* beginning with the 1549 edition.

[265] Psalm 51:1 and Matthew 15:22 (Geneva translation).

[266] Matthew 15:27 states, "But she said, Truth, Lord: yet indeed the whelps eat of the crumbs, which fall from their master's table" (Geneva translation). Mark 7:28 similarly states, "Then she answered, and said unto him, Truth, Lord: yet indeed the whelps eat under the table of the children's crumbs" (Geneva translation).

Despair, which is tormenting the speaker just as the evil spirit tormented the woman's daughter.[267]

This biblical allusion to the Canaanite woman also points to the solution to the speaker's anxious desire for God's mercy. A popular 1550 exposition of the biblical passage explains that although the woman was "heauye and sadde" at Jesus' initial dismissal of her, she "departed not at the first check, nor did dispair of hir doughters helpe, but stiffely sticketh to him, and craueth for a gentel and meeke aunswere."[268] Jesus then praises the woman for her faith and immediately heals her daughter, saying, "O woman, great is thy faith: be it to thee, as thou desirest."[269] Commentaries on the passage about the Canaanite woman also uphold her as a model of faith and constancy.[270] Like the Petrarchan lover who persists in beseeching his beloved to requite his desire for her, the Canaanite woman perseveres in asking Jesus to have mercy on her. Yet, through this allusion, Locke also supports her subversion of the typical roles of the Petrarchan male lover and female beloved, portraying God as the beloved and the speaker as the persistent lover, who, in "crav[ing] the crummes of [God's] all sufficing grace," may be gendered female. The allusion to the Canaanite

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[267] "And behold, a woman a Canaanite came out of the same coasts, and cried, saying unto him, Have mercy on me, O Lord, the son of David: my daughter is miserably vexed with a devil" (Matthew 15:22, Geneva translation).

[268] Corvinus, *A Postill Or Collection of Moste Godly Doctrine Vpon Every Gospell through the Yeare Aswell for Holye Dayes as Sondayes, Dygested in Suche Order, as they Bee Appoynted and Set Forthe in the Booke of Common Prayer*, np.

[269] Matthew 15:28, Geneva translation.

[270] The 1550 exposition of this passages states, "Yt must needes be, that this woman had a trew and perfect fayth in Christ and loked for all manner of goodnesse of hym. Secondarely, it foloweth now, what the nature and property of faith is, namely in all temptacion and affliction, to seeke remedy and help none other wher, but at God, through Christ. For the faith that we haue spoken of before, dyd prouoke the woman to drawe neare to Christ, to open her necessitye and griefe, and to call for his grace and helpe" (Corvinus, np). *The Monument of Matrones* states regarding the Canaanite woman: "And thou Lord reioicing in hir great constancie, didst saie: O woman, great is thy faith, be it vnto thee as thou desirest" (*The Monument of Matrones* 291-92).

woman thus reinforces Locke's transformation of her poem's persona from the sinful, adulterous David to a faithful, constant lover of God.

Locke's allusion also provides an example of someone who, although at first seemingly rejected by Jesus, ultimately was not rejected because even the "crummes" of God's grace are "all sufficing." The Canaanite woman exemplifies Calvin's teaching in his sermons that the means to receive healing is by tenaciously crying out to God for mercy, trusting that eventually God will restore a person's perception of his grace toward them. Locke's allusion to the story of the Canaanite woman suggests that her speaker, likewise, will receive assurance of God's grace through humbly and repeatedly praying to him for mercy and asking him to heal her spiritual affliction.[271] The allusion to the Canaanite woman thereby encourages readers to continue to crave God's mercy and not to listen to Despair. Locke's reference the Canaanite woman in the final prefatory sonnet also provides a segue to her paraphrase of Psalm 51, suggesting that the paraphrase is her speaker's own prayer to God as she personalizes the petitions for mercy found in Psalm 51 and seeks to apply them to herself. The paraphrase of Psalm 51 models for readers how they, like the Canaanite woman, may seek healing and the fulfillment of their desire for mercy through persistently praying to God.

The association of the speaker of Locke's poem with the Canaanite woman would also appeal to Locke's dedicatee, Lady Katharine, Duchess of Suffolk. The duchess was a fellow Marian exile, a devout Christian, and a preeminent supporter of the English Reformation, whom Locke addresses as "my gracious and singular good

[271] Felch writes, "Despite this pitiful condition, however, two more positive biblical images underlie this final picture of the penitent sinner. The first is signaled by the phrase 'to crave the crummes,' a reminder of the Syro-Phoenician woman who persisted in asking Jesus for grace even after she, an outside, had been rebuffed. . . . The second is signaled by the sighs and groans of the inarticulate cry for mercy, a sign that the Holy Spirit has taken over the plea for mercy when the resources of the human tongue fail (Rom. 8:26). Both these biblical subtexts suggest that, although the narrator is still tossed with the pangs and passions of despair, mercy, while delayed, ultimately will not be denied" (Prowse, *Collected Works*, lv).

Lady."[272] In her epistle, Locke later expands on her understanding of the duchess's devout faith, writing that "your graces profession of [God's] word, your abidyng in the same, the godly conversation that I have sene in you, do prove that your selfe do better understand and practise than I can admonishe you."[273] Through these descriptions of the duchess's piety, Locke positions the duchess as like the good king Hezekiah and the faithful Canaanite woman: someone who may be suffering from an afflicted conscience not due to moral waywardness or unrepentant sin, but due to personal weakness and Despair's attacks. Locke also seeks to inspire the duchess and people like her to take up the role of administering biblical medicine to others who are suffering from this disease. Later in Locke's epistle, she explains the roles of Calvin, herself, and the duchess in conveying this medicine to people: "This receipte God the heavenly Physitian hath taught, his most excellent Apothecarie master John Calvine hath compounded, and I your graces most bounden and humble have put into an Englishe box, and do present unto you."[274] In working toward this pastoral goal, Locke's book is also political in its purposes: appealing to the duchess regarding the role that she can play in conveying this medicine to others within the English court. Given the Duchess of Suffolk's close connections with the court, scholars have concurred that Locke dedicated her book to the duchess in the hope that she would speak to Queen Elizabeth in support of Calvin

[272] Felch, *Collected Works* 4. White writes that "the duchess was a well-known patron of reformist publications, a fellow Marian exile, and a courtier with close ties to William Cecil and the queen" (White 10-11). Felch writes that Locke had "enough political acumen – and courage – to urge the newly installed Elizabethan court toward Protestant piety by presenting the book as a New Year's present to the duchess of Suffolk, a woman of impeccable reputation and high visibility and herself a returned Marian exile" (Felch, "Anne Vaughan Lock" 130). Upon Coverdale's return to England, "he and his family were able to lodge with the duchess of Suffolk, whom he had known at Wesel; he was now apparently appointed as preacher and tutor to her children" (Daniell, np.)

[273] Prowse, *Collected Works* 5.

[274] Prowse, *Collected Works* 5.

and his theology.[275] This goal makes sense if we see Locke's book as advocating for the spiritual benefit and consolation found in Calvin's teachings.

Another way in which Locke appeals to both the Duchess of Suffolk and Queen Elizabeth is by linking her book and her own efforts to support the Protestant Reformation with Catherine Parr's writing and promotion of the Protestant cause. The duchess had been a close friend of Parr's while she was queen of England, and in 1547 the duchess helped fund the publication of Parr's book titled *Lamentation of a Sinner.*[276] The similarities in language between Parr's *Lamentation of a Sinner* and the preface to Locke's "Meditation of a Penitent Sinner" suggest that Locke may have intentionally echoed Parr's text as she crafted her poem's persona of a devout, penitent woman. Like the speaker of Locke's poem, Parr describes her spiritual condition using the language of illness, and she identifies with the Canaanite woman in her petitions to God for

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[275] White writes, "Since Lock's documented religious values dovetail so neatly with the duchess's, scholars have concurred that the goal of Lock's 'Epistle' was to urge the duchess to put pressure on the queen to adopt more Calvinist religious policies" (White 11). "Lock's volume has something to teach us about English women's involvement in the dissemination of religious texts by major continental reformers" (White 26). Smith adds that "the dedication to Brandon [Duchess of Suffolk] mobilizes her status within the court and as a popular figure for a wider Protestant readership for Lok's project of disseminating God's word through Calvin: it also has a more specific political focus in addressing a second gendered reader, Elizabeth I. The Elizabethan state in 1559 and 1560 was characterized by anxiety over Elizabeth's religious allegiances, especially among the exiled Protestant communities" (Rosalind Smith 10). Nugent concurs that "Lock's book was part of a larger effort mounted by the returning Marian exiles who wished to persuade the new queen to embrace the reform agenda" of Calvinist religious policies (Nugent 5). Nugent quotes Smith, writing that Locke dedicates her book to the Duchess of Suffolk "in an effort to reach the court indirectly and to admonish the queen about her duty to reestablish the 'trewe and pure religion'" (Nugent 6). Locke also seeks to appeal indirectly to the queen through her translation of Calvin's sermons on King Hezekiah, with whom English Protestants were already comparing Elizabeth because of Hezekiah's piety and his spearheading of religious reform.

[276] The full title of Parr's book is "The Lamentation of a Sinner, made by the most virtuous lady Queen Katherine, bewailing the ignorance of her blind life: set forth and put in print at the instant desire of the right gracious lady Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, and the earnest request of the right honorable lord William Parr, Marquess of Northampton" (Parr 443). The original edition's publication information is: Catharine Parr, Queen, consort of Henry VIII, King of England, 1512-1548. *The Lamentacion of a Synner, made by Ye most Vertuous Ladie, Quene Caterin, Bewayling the Ignoraunce of Her Blind Life: Set Furth and Put in Print at the Instaunt Desire of the Righte Gracious Ladie Caterin Duchesse of Suffolke, [and] the Earnest Requeste of the Right Honourable Lord, William Parre, Marquesse of North Hampton*. London:, 1547. ProQuest. Web.

forgiveness and healing. Parr writes that Christ "came into the world to save sinners, and to heal them that are sick. . . . Behold, Lord howe I come to Thee: a sinner, sick and grievously wounded. I ask not bread, but the crumbs that fall from the children's table."[277] Just as Locke's speaker equates the "crummes" with God's grace, so Parr also equates them with the mercy of Christ "to save sinners, and to heal them that are sick."

In describing her sickness, Parr, like Locke's speaker, reflects on the danger of spiritual blindness to God's mercy and the resulting despair: "If I should look upon my sins, and not upon Thy mercy, I should despair."[278] Locke's language in her final prefatory sonnet closely mirrors Parr's description of fearing God's judgment and turning to God's mercy for healing. Parr states that:

> [God's] mercy exceedeth all iniquity. And, if I should not thus hope: alas, what should I seek for refuge and comfort? No mortal man is of power to help me; and, for the multitude of my sins, I dare not lift up mine eyes to heaven, where the seat of judgment is: I have so much offended God. What, shall I fall into desperation? Nay, I will call upon Christ, the Light of the world, the fountain of life, the relief of all care-full, and the peacemaker between God and man, and the only health and comfort of all true repentant sinners.[279]

Like Locke's speaker, Parr "dare not lift up mine eyes to heaven" but hopes in God's "mercy [that] exceedeth all iniquity." Although Locke's speaker does not explicitly call upon Christ as Parr does, she meditates in the paraphrase of Psalm 51 on how Christ's sacrificial death heals her of her disease through cleansing her of her sin and repairing her relationship with God.[280]

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[277] Parr 454.

[278] Parr 454.

[279] Parr 453-54.

[280] In Locke's paraphrase, she adds a typological dimension to Psalm 51 through her appeals to Christ's sacrificial death. "With death and bloodshed of thine only sonne, / The swete hysope,

Locke's pastoral purpose for her book also mirrors Parr's goal of helping others who suffer from a desperate desire for God's mercy. Parr writes, "In case I find him desperate, I will comfort him and show him the great goodness and mercy of God, in Christ; and with godly consolations I will see if I can lift him up."[281] Through Locke's choice of dedicatee, subject matter, and diction, she aligns her book's goals with those of Parr's: to provide Protestant spiritual guidance to the English people and, as Parr explains at the beginning of her text, "to declare the excellent beneficence, mercy, and goodness of God."[282] Rather than depicting women as just the recipients of biblical medicine, Locke positions herself, the Duchess of Suffolk, Queen Elizabeth, and other female readers as having an important pastoral role, like that of both Catherine Parr and the faithful Canaanite woman, to serve as spiritual mothers and nurses to those who "crave the crummes of [God's] all sufficing grace." In echoing Parr's *Lamentation* and dedicating her book to the Duchess of Suffolk, Locke positions her text as participating in a tradition of women's pastoral writing and pursuit of religious reform, exemplified by Catherine Parr, the Duchess of Suffolk, Queen Elizabeth, and Marguerite de Navarre, whose religious poem Elizabeth translated into English.[283] Although the beginning of

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cleanse me defyled wyght" (9, 204-5). "But thy swete sonne alone, / With one sufficing sacrifice for all / Appeaseth thee, and maketh the at one / With sinful man, and hath repaird our fall. / That sacred hoste is ever in thine eyes" (18, 333-37).

[281] Parr 472.

[282] Parr 448.

[283] White writes, "In dedicating the sermons and her didactic epistle to the Duchess of Suffolk, then, A. L. suggests (to those who know her sex) that her work can be placed in a tradition of female writers and Biblical exegetes" (White 20-21). Warley adds, "Lok's social position and her translation of Calvin consequently situate her at the center of what Robert Weimann terms the fundamental alterations in the 'conditions of discursive practice' and reconception of locations of authority which took place in England partially as a result of the Reformation" (Warley 209-10). In the prefatory letter from the orator John Bale to Elizabeth, before her translation of Marguerite de Navarre's *A Godly Medytacyon of the Christen Sowle,* he writes, "Thys one coppye of yours haue I brought into a nombre. to thintent that many hungry sowles by the inestymable treasure contayned therin, maye be swetely refreshed. The sprete of the eternall sonne of God Iesus Christ, be alwayes to your excellent grace assystent that ye maye sende fourth more soch wholsome frutes of sowle, and become a noryshynge mother to hys dere congregacyon to their confort and hys hygh glorye Amen" (Marguerite, Queen, fol. 10).

English discourse on the problem of religious melancholy is often linked with later texts such as Timothie Bright's 1586 *Treatise of Melancholie* and Robert Burton's 1621 *Anatomy of Melancholy,* Locke's book calls attention to the fact that mid-sixteenth century Protestant theologians and Christians, including women, were already seeking to provide spiritual consolation to those suffering from this affliction. In Locke's case, she chose to do this through both a translation of Calvin's sermons and "A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner," a poem that uses the Petrarchan tradition to transform her metrical paraphrases of Psalms 38 and 51 into a balm for those suffering from a melancholic desire for God's grace.

Chapter 3: The Defense of Desire and the Sweetness of God in Sir Philip Sidney's Psalms

In this next chapter we will turn to what is commonly known as the Sidney Psalter, the metrical psalms paraphrased by Sir Philip Sidney and his sister, Mary Sidney Herbert, in the 1580s and 1590s. Like Anne Locke's "A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner," which was read by prominent English Protestants, the Sidney Psalter was circulated amongst a coterie of educated Protestants in the decades after it was written. Yet unlike Locke's poem, which paraphrases just Psalms 38 and 51, the Sidney Psalter is a much more ambitious project, turning all 150 psalms into English poems. Scholarship on the Sidney Psalter has tended to consider it as a whole, assuming that Sidney intended to paraphrase the entire book of Psalms and was prevented from doing so only by his untimely death in 1586 at the age of thirty one.[284] However, it is just as likely, if not more so, that Sidney intentionally ended his paraphrase of the Psalms with Psalm 43, crafting these psalms as a poetic unit that has its climax in Psalms 42 and 43, in which the psalmist's "soul in panting playeth, / Thirsting on my God to look."[285] Taken as a whole, Sidney's poetic paraphrases of the first forty-three psalms can be seen as a demonstration of his claims in *The Defence of Poesy* regarding the power of poetry to move people's hearts to desire and pursue "the most high and excellent" truth, beauty, and goodness.[286] In particular, in Sidney's Psalms he elucidates and exemplifies his assertions regarding the function of poetry, especially the Psalms, in attracting people to

[284] Coles 102 and Trill 111. This assumption rests also on the fact that his sister, Mary Sidney Herbert, continued Sidney's project of writing metrical paraphrases of the Psalms and finished the entire psalter (Trill 111).

[285] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 81, lines 3-4.

[286] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 99.

the "inconceivable excellencies of God."[287] In crafting his poetics of religious desire, Sidney, like Locke, draws on Petrarchan diction and tropes for expressing erotic desire, transforming these in order to portray the psalmist's desire for God. Although Sidney does not employ the sonnet form in his metrical psalm paraphrases, he adds Petrarchan language and poetic elements to the original psalms in order to craft a poetics of desire that emphasizes the essential and exceeding desirability of God. Whereas Locke's poem grapples with the affliction of melancholic desire for God's mercy, Sidney's Psalms depict a more positive, agentic conception of religious desire, portraying desire for God as beneficial and satisfying, albeit not fully requited in this lifetime.

The passion of desire features prominently in Sidney's writing outside of the Sidney Psalter, so much so that Anthony Low calls Sidney "the very poet of desire."[288] Sidney's *Certain Sonnets, Astrophil and Stella,* and *Arcadia* all make desire for a human beloved a central theme. Sidney is known especially for his influential contribution to the English Petrarchan tradition through the circulation and posthumous publication of *Astrophil and Stella,* which spearheaded a fad in England throughout the 1590s of writing sonnet sequences, especially sonnets that depicted erotic desire for a beloved.[289] These Petrarchan love lyrics were not viewed favorably by many Christians in sixteenth-century England, who expressed "opposition to secular poetry and fiction," critiquing them "as a seductive distraction from the religious education of the Christian

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[287] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 86.

[288] Low, *The Reinvention of Love* 12. Maslen adds more specifically that "Sidney the poet is obsessed with sexual desire. Both versions of the *Arcadia* and his sonnet-sequence *Astrophil and Stella* take love as their subject" (Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 29).

[289] "*Astrophil and Stella* initiated the vogue of the Petrarchan sonnet sequence in England as a major literary form" (Perry and Stillman 327). Sidney's contemporaries recognized his role in bringing Petrarchism to England. In Sir Walter Ralegh's poetic epitaph for Sidney ("Epitaph upon the right honourable Sir Philip Sidney, knight, lord governor of Flushing"), he calls Sidney the "Petrarch of our time" (Bullen 316). In addition, "Sir John Harington, in the notes appended to the sixteenth book of his translation of *Orlando Furioso* (1591), refers to 'our English Petrarke, Sir Philip Sidney'" (Bullen xix).

reader."[290] They were opposed to secular lyric poetry and romance especially because of what they saw as these genres' role in promoting sinful and inordinate desires for earthly things and in distracting people from desiring heavenly things.[291] Sidney's own writings are not immune to this charge: the narrative subtext of *Astrophil and Stella* depicts Astrophil as having an illicit desire for Stella, who is already married to someone else.[292] In addition, Astrophil idolizes Stella, describing her in language that many Christians thought should be reserved for God as the chief object of one's devotion and desire.[293] While Sidney's sonnets depict the problems and dangers of erotic desire, they also portray Astrophil's abandonment of heavenly things for Stella and his rejection of virtue in favor of lustful desire.

Regarding poetry's ability to cast illicit and inordinate erotic desire in a positive light and to deleteriously influence people, in Sidney's *Defence of Poesy* he acknowledges the critique that lyric poetry can be "the nurse of abuse, infecting us with many pestilent desires, with a siren's sweetness drawing the mind to the serpent's tale of sinful fancy."[294] In his *Defence* Sidney agrees with and responds to Stephen Gosson's 1579 *The Schoole of Abuse Conteining a Pleasant Invective against Poets,* in which Gosson asserts that "amarous Poets" present readers with "the Cuppes of Circes, that turne reasonable Creatures into brute Beastes."[295] Sidney recognizes that poetry is

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[290] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 19-20.

[291] Coles 76-80 and 99.

[292] Klein adds, "In loving Stella, Astrophil . . . chooses the easy path of pleasure over the hard one of virtue. . . . Moreover, by employing sonnets to seduce her, he scorns the right use of poetry" (Klein, 96).

[293] For example, sonnet 68 states, "Stella, the onely Planet of my light, / Light of my life, and life of my desire, / Chiefe good, whereto my hope doth only aspire,/ World of my wealth, and heav'n of my delight" (Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* 200, lines 1-4).

[294] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 102.

[295] Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse,* 2-3. Gosson dedicated *The Schoole of Abuse* to Sidney. Sidney's *Defence* "was probably begun after December 1579," after Gosson published *The*

especially dangerous and able to be "abused" by poets because of its power, through its "sweetness," to "strike" and "pierce" the soul and to influence people's affections and actions. He concedes, "I yield that Poesy may not only be abused, but that being abused, by the reason of his sweet charming force, it can do more hurt than any other army of words."[296]

Yet in his *Defence* Sidney also asserts that poetry is not inherently malignant and may "figur[e] forth good things," moving people to desire and pursue what is good.[297] According to R. W. Malsen, "As the *Apology* proceeds, the moral and political instructions offered by poetry become increasingly entangled with the vocabulary of desire."[298] Sidney argues for the positive effect that poetry can have on people through its power to cultivate in them a desire for goodness and, thereby, to move them to virtuous action.[299] In arguing this, Sidney concurred with many sixteenth-century English Protestants and Renaissance humanists, who saw the potential benefit of poetry in its ability to incite in people godly passions and virtues.[300] According to Katherine Craik, "Many early modern thinkers were preoccupied with what Plutarch called literature's ability to 'come nere unto us, and touch the quicke.' . . . [Plutarch's] essays in *Moralia*

School of Abuse, an "eloquent attack on the malpractices of modern poets and playwrights [that] was dedicated to Sidney" (Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 2-3). Maslen suggests that *The School of Abuse* "might have stimulated . . . Sidney into writing down his own thoughts on the right and wrong uses of poetry" (Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 3).

[296] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 90.

[297] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 104.

[298] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 52.

[299] Sidney writes in his *Defence,* "But what, shall the abuse of a thing make the right use odious? Nay truly, though I yield that Poesy may not only be abused, but that being abused, by the reason of his sweet charming force, it can do more hurt than any other army of words, yet shall it be so far from concluding that the abuse should give reproach to the abused, that contrariwise it is a good reason, that whatsoever, being abused, doth most harm, being rightly used (and upon the right use each thing receiveth his title), doth most good" (Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 104).

[300] Junker 48.

were familiar to literary theorists including George Puttenham, Sir Philip Sidney, and Sir John Harington, all of whom wrote about poetry's ability to arouse feeling among readers and to 'imprint in them presently a fervent zeale and hartie desire to chuse better things.'"[301] Even Gosson acknowledges that "the beginning of poetrie in the bookes of Moses, & Dauid, was to sett downe good matter in numbers, that the sweetenesse of the one might cause the other to continue, and to bee the déeper imprinted in the mindes of men."[302] Sidney, drawing not only on Plutarch but also on Cicero's rhetorical theory and Horace's *Ars Poetica*, explains in his *Defence* that poetry, more so than other kinds of writing such as philosophy and history, is able to move people to desire goodness and virtue because it simultaneously teaches and delights.[303] He states that poets "imitate both to delight and teach: and delight to move men to take that goodness in hand, which without delight they would fly as from a stranger; and teach, to make them know that goodness whereunto they are moved."[304] According to Sidney, the delight with which poetry fills people moves them to desire the goodness which poetry depicts and has made attractive through its "words set in delightful proportion."[305]

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[301] Craik 2.

[302] Gosson, *Playes Confuted in Fiue Actions.*

[303] Craik states, "Following Horace, Sidney argues that poetry's sweetness and usefulness are inseparable, for delightful poetry works by 'moving to well-doing'" (Craik 42). Junker adds, "In its articulation of the purpose of poetry, Sidney's *Defence* follows the major current of of Renaissance humanist poetics, which advanced an account of poetry according to which the poet contributes to the ethical formation of his readers by presenting them with concrete examples of those virtues necessary for civic and political life. Such a poetics drew upon a variety of classical authors, but . . . the most helpful source for Renaissance critics concerned to advance this humanist poetics was the rhetorical theory of Cicero. Even the popular Horatian dictum that the function of poetry was 'to please and instruct' was itself more often than not grounded in Cicero's more thorough formulation of the three ends of rhetoric: to please, to instruct, and to move. For Renaissance critics, the last of these ends proved to be the most important for judging the poet's art. However pleasing a poet's fiction or instructive his moral, if he failed to move his audience toward the performance of those virtues represented within his poem, he could not be said to have succeeded in his craft" (Junker 48).

[304] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 87.

[305] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 95.

In his *Defence* Sidney describes the book of Psalms as the foremost example of the "chief" kind of poetry, which "imitate[s] the inconceivable excellencies of God."[306] He calls the Psalms a "divine poem" that brings together Scripture's beneficial moral and spiritual teaching with poetry's "sweet delights."[307] In Sidney's praise of the poetic nature of the Psalms, he is not unique but builds on a consistently positive attitude toward metrical Psalms held by sixteenth-century Christians, who valued vernacular psalm paraphrases as an effective and important means of cultivating in people a greater affection and desire for God. This began with the mid-sixteenth century reformers, who "embraced poetry as a powerful vehicle that combines aesthetic pleasure with didactic instruction."[308] The prefatory materials of the sixteenth-century metrical psalters written before the Sidney Psalter describe cultivating delight as central to their purpose of attracting people to God and to his revelation of himself in Scripture. For example, the title of Robert Crowley's 1549 English metrical psalter states that the Psalms were "translated into English metre in such sort that it maye the more decently, and wyth more delyte of the mynde, be reade and songe of al men."[309] Archbishop Matthew Parker's

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[306] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 86.

[307] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 84 and 83. "The Psalms are so important for our understanding of the *Defence* because it is in his Metrical Psalms that Sidney puts the poetry of his *Defence* on trial" (Kilgore 109).

[308] King 210. Both continental and English reformers produced metrical psalters or instigated the publication of metrical psalters, including prominent and influential reformers such as Luther and Calvin. "One of Luther's decisions in reforming the liturgy was to issue a hymnbook in 1524 that contained twenty-three hymns, eighteen of which were his renderings of Psalms from Latin into the German vernacular. . . . John Calvin commissioned Clément Marot, who had chiefly been a secular lyricist, to create a singing Psalter for his church. On Marot's death, Théodore de Bèze completed the translation, which was published in 1562 and is known today as the Marot-Bèze Psalter" (Hillier 634-35).

[309] Crowley, *The Psalter of Dauid Newely Translated into Englysh Metre.* In Crowley's "To the Christian Readar," he adds, "More ouer, I haue added to the ende of this boke, all the canticles that are vsually songe in the church, translated into the same meter, and agreynge wyth the same note. This haue I done, to moue the to delyte in the readynge and hearynge of these Psalmes, wherin lyeth hyd the most preciouse treasure of the christian religion." Quitslund asserts, "Presumably some of the 'delyte of mynde' that Crowley hopes to convey involves the aesthetic pleasures of ordered language" (Quitslund 90).

1567 *Whole Psalter translated into English metre* similarly affirms the benefits of metrical psalms in how they delight people and increase their affection for God.[310] English Protestants especially emphasized the value of metrical psalms' ability to move people's hearts and, thereby, to increase their desire for God. Parker's prefatory poem, titled "Of the virtue of Psalmes," explains that the metrical psalms' "melodie" moves people "with tune and tyme aright: / It sinkth more swéete: and déeper goth, / in harte of mans delight."[311] In a similar vein, the prefatory epistle to English Protestant exiles' 1556 Genevan metrical psalter states that its psalms are "commended to the churche, as conteininge the effect of the whole scriptures, that hereby our heartes might be more lyuelie touched" and "inflame[d] . . . to call vpon god, and praise him with a more feruent and lyuely zeale."[312] *The Whole Book of Psalms* (1562) even gives instructions on how to sing its metrical psalms so that people who do not know how to sing "may with more delight, desire, and good wyl be moued and drawen to the godly exercise of singing of Psalmes."[313]

Sidney's Psalms can be seen as the vehicle through which he both participates in this tradition of English metrical paraphrases of the Psalms and seeks to demonstrate his claims in the *Defence* regarding poetry's ability to move people to virtue through

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[310] In the prefatory selections before his metrical Psalter, Parker quotes from Augustine's Confessions, endorsing the singing of metrical Psalms that people "might by suche delectation of the eare, rise vp to godly affection and heauenly deuotion" (*The Whole Psalter Translated into English Metre,* n.p.).

[311] *The Whole Psalter Translated into English Metre,* n.p.

[312] English Church, *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c. Vsed in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua and Approued, by the Famous and Godly Learned,* pp. 19 and 17. Leading theologians and pastors also described the role of prose Psalms in cultivating in people a greater desire for God. In Anthonie Gilbie's prefatory epistle to his 1580 translation of Beza's prose paraphrase of the Psalms, he writes that meditating on the Psalms can "bring vs to some more earnest desire, and longing for the same vertues" "that [were] in Dauid and the other seruants of God, that made these Psalmes" (*The Psalmes of Dauid Truely Opened and Explaned by Paraphrasis,* n.p.).

[313] Sternhold, n.p.

delightful teaching. Although many critics have emphasized the literary purpose of the Sidney Psalter – to create a work of poetic virtuosity – others have stressed its concomitant devotional function – to facilitate meditation on Scripture and to foster an affective piety.[314] As Katharine Craik explains, it is clear from Sidney's *Defence* that he saw these two purposes of his Psalms as inextricably linked to one another: "following Horace, Sidney argues that poetry's sweetness and usefulness are inseparable, for delightful poetry works by 'moving to well-doing.'"[315] Beth Quitslund concurs that Sidney's Psalms bring together the Horatian goals of "delight" and "teaching." She asserts that "their use is meant to extend beyond the kinds of aesthetic or literary pleasure at which lyric poetry or even songs aim in general; they are meant, that is, to be specifically devotional experiences, made, perhaps, more palatable by the sugaring of music or verse."[316] More than just making the psalms "more palatable," though, Sidney's project in his metrical psalms is to demonstrate the extent of the Psalms' potential to delight people and to move them to a greater desire for God through the translation of

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[314] Focusing on the Sidney Psalter's literary purpose, Hamlin asserts that "an essential point about the Sidney Psalter – that whatever else it may be, it is an essentially literary work. It was as a book of poems, rather than as a psalter with any sort of liturgical or devotional purpose (it had a negligible influence on seventeenth-century church psalms), that the Sidney Psalter had its greatest impact" (Hamlin, *Psalm Culture* 131). Todd explains that "what has always been most immediately remarkable about the collection, to its contemporaries as well as to ours, is the technical brilliance of the settings. Their metrical variety is truly without precedent in any comparable collection of verse in English" (Todd 75). Coles concurs that "the very range and technique of the Sidney-Pembroke Psalter is unparalleled in sixteenth-century English poetry. . . . Such prolific variety itself asserts the acclamation of poetic form as one of the central objectives of the work" (Coles 102). Focusing more on the Sidney Psalter's devotional purpose, Hannay states that "most contemporary praise and most modern studies of Mary Sidney's *Psalmes* focus on their art and on their importance as a literary model, yet for some early modern readers these metrical paraphrases retained their function as the Word of God" (Hannay, "Re-revealing the Psalms" 19). Hannay asserts that "undoubtedly the Sidney *Psalmes* did fulfill a devotional function for their authors and many of their original readers" (Hannay, "Joining the Conversation" 113). She writes, "In addition to praising the literary quality, or the 'sweetness,' of the *Psalmes*, poets and clergy praised them as an act of religious devotion" (Hannay, "Re-revealing the Psalms" 29).

[315] Craik 42.

[316] Quitslund 88.

the Psalms into beautiful English poetry.[317] Sidney's metrical psalms can be seen as a test case and demonstration of his argument in the *Defence* regarding poetry's superior ability to attract people to divine goodness.

While many of the earlier metrical paraphrases of the Psalms sought to delight people through employing the simple and well known common meter, Sidney departs from this tradition, using a different verse form for each of his psalms.[318] According to Coles, "Sidney worked closely with the Marot-Beza Psalter, and his use of its verse forms is particularly apparent in the versification of his last ten Psalms (34, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, and 42 all imitate forms found in the Geneva Psalter)."[319] Yet unlike earlier metrical psalters, including the Marot-Bèze Psalter, the Sidney Psalms as a whole were not intended to be sung and did not seek to appeal to people's affections through the addition of melody and music.[320] Zim explains that "the aesthetic properties of Sidney's psalms, unlike those of most holy songs, are essentially literary: the product of his capacity as a particular kind of poet to move and delight readers solely by the power of language. The affective qualities of his psalms – their capacity to 'strike, pearce [and] possesse, the sight of the soule' – is not dependent on actual music."[321] Much scholarly

[317] Steinberg writes, "These versions of the Psalms . . . should be seen as the Sidneys' attempt to capture in English not only the sentiment of the Psalms but also the beauty of the poetry" (Steinberg 17). See Kilgore 109 and Coles 76.

[318] Common meter is another name for the ballad form, in which stanzas of four lines alternate between lines of four and three iambic feet (Coles 97). Sidney "was the first poet in English to seek to provide each psalm with a different verse form. Moreover, only two of the stanza forms of the forty-three psalms paraphrased by Sidney can be found in any of his other poetry" (Zim 152).

[319] Coles 102. " In 1562 the whole [Marot-Bèze] psalter finally appeared, and it was quite likely seen by Sidney in his European travels in the seventies. In any case, the existing manuscript drafts of his and the Countess's psalms show that they were both familiar with the Marot-Bèze psalter" (Freer 27).

[320] "There is no convincing evidence that either Sidney or Pembroke intended their Psalter to be sung, and seventeenth-century attempts to make it signable tend to demonstrate the difficulty of setting the collection to music for congregational or popular uses" (Quitslund 96).

[321] Zim 182. See also Zim 160-62. Coles writes that in Mary Sidney Herbert's completion of the Sidney Psalmes, she also "employs the word-music of poetry – the personifications, metaphors, metres, and rhymes of poetic language – not only to register the emotional experience of the

attention has been paid to the Sidney Psalter's metrical variety and sophistication as a chief means by which Sidney sought to make his Psalms beautiful and delightful to his readers. However, this scholarship has not taken into account other significant aesthetic properties through which Sidney sought to delight his readers and to excite in them a greater desire for and delight in God. Sidney himself, in his *Defence,* downplays the importance of rhyme and meter, stating that "it is not rhyming and versing that maketh a poet – no more than a long gown maketh an advocate, who, though he pleaded in armour should be an advocate and no soldier. But it is that feigning notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with that delightful teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a poet by."[322] In other words, Sidney asserts that poetry delights people especially through presenting concrete examples that model the pursuit of and delight in goodness.[323]

In the case of the Psalms, they present a personal, narratorial voice who models the desire for and enjoyment of divine goodness and beauty. Sidney's Psalms do not contain a frame narrative like Wyatt's and Locke's, but implicit in them is the understanding that King David is the author and speaker of the Psalms, which express David's personal prayers and songs to God. As John Donne writes in his poem "Upon the Translation of the Psalms by Sir Philip Sidney, and the Countess of Pembroke His Sister," "The songs are these, which heaven's high holy muse / Whispered to David, David to the Jews."[324] While David's Psalms do not engage people with narrative tales, they appeal to people through their depiction of moments in David's relationship with

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Psalm, but also to reproduce that experience in the reader" (Coles 104.) The same can be said about the first forty-three psalm paraphrases that Sidney wrote.

[322] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 87.

[323] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 95.

[324] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 3, lines 31-32.

God. In Sidney's *Defence* he uses erotically charged language to describe this relationship, writing that in the Psalms David "showeth himself a passionate lover" of God.[325] Through the phrase "passionate lover," Sidney associates David's love for God with a lover's attraction to a human beloved, and he links David's expressions of love for God with the language of erotic love in secular Petrarchan poetry. A close reading of Sidney's Psalms bears out and confirms this association, an association that is not surprising given that Sidney wrote his Psalms around the same time that he wrote *Astrophil and Stella*.[326] Lisa Klein has identified "verbal and formal parallels" between *Astrophil and Stella* and Sidney's Psalms, and she argues for the influence of Sidney's psalm translation on his writing of *Astrophil and Stella:* that Sidney depicts Astrophil as a "repentant David," "explor[ing] Astrophil's transgression from within the twin paradigms of Petrarchism and Protestantism" and "assay[ing] the voice of the psalmist in his repentant mode."[327]

Yet this influence goes the other direction as well: Sidney infuses into his Psalms Petrarchan diction, rhymes, and tropes from *Astrophil and Stella,* as well as more generally from sixteenth-century Petrarchan poetry, using them to portray both the attractiveness of God as David's beloved and David's passions of love and desire for God.[328] Sidney manipulates Petrarchan language and rhymes, as well as the meters of French love poetry, in order to depict David's experiences of intense delight as God

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[325] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 84.

[326] Perry and Stillman 330.

[327] Perry and Stillman 330, and Klein 96, 97, and 98. Klein writes that "as a penitent poet-lover, . . . Astrophil ironically yet fittingly resembles David" (Klein 102).

[328] Critics have already recognized that Mary Sidney Herbert borrows from and alludes to Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* in some of her psalm paraphrases. Hamlin explains, "One of Pembroke's certain sources for the poetic exploration of the self, in all its contradictions, is Philip Sidney's sonnet sequence *Astrophil and Stella.* As others have noted, Pembroke's Psalm 73 begins with a direct allusion to Sidney's sonnet 5 . . . , [and] there may be further connections between the *Astrophil and Stella* sonnet and Pembroke's psalm" (Hamlin, *Psalm Culture* 126-27).

fulfills his desires.[329] Through portraying David's passion of joy, Sidney's Psalms presents a superior and compelling alternative to the sorrowful and unrequited nature of Petrarchan longing for a human beloved. At the same time, Sidney uses Petrarchan words and rhymes to acknowledge the Petrarchan-like nature of the psalmist's desire for God: that sometimes the psalmist experiences painful longing for God as his desire for God's immediate presence and mercy is deferred. Yet even in these moments of temporarily unrequited desire, Sidney makes his Psalms beautiful and delightful to his readers, in the hope that this delightful teaching will attract them to God's sweetness, pity, and beauty and inspire them to emulate David's passionate love for God.

One significant way in which Sidney enhances the Psalms' depiction of the attractiveness of God is through adding the common Petrarchan descriptors of the beloved as "dear" and "sweet" before the name of God. The word "dear" is not used at all in the Geneva and Coverdale prose translations or in *The Whole Book of Psalms'* paraphrases of the first forty-three psalms, and the word "sweet" is used just once in the prose translations and twice in *The Whole Book of Psalms.*[330] In contrast, in Sidney's Psalms he employs "dear" six times and "sweet" thirteen times, echoing the ubiquity of these words in Petrarchan love poetry to describe the beloved. For example, in *Astrophil and Stella* Sidney uses the word "dear" thirty times and the word "sweet" eighty-two

[329] Sidney's Psalms that imitate Marot's verse forms express a tone of jollity and joyfulness also through their structure parity with popular French love songs. Freer explains, "Set to the tunes of contemporary French love songs, Marot's psalms were a great success in the French court. Indeed, something of the atmosphere of Marot's psalms seems to be caught in the Sidney psalms . . . , something to do with the idea of devotion as a joyful game" (Freer 25). Freer adds, "Sidney in his psalms – Mary Herbert only rarely in hers – . . . often capture[s] a similar sense of the *fete galante*, in which the religious joy of many psalms is caught in a manner appropriate to David himself (or his persona, as the case may be)" (Freer 26).

[330] "Sweet" is found in prose translations of Psalm 19:10, which says that the "judgments of God" are "sweeter also than honey, and the honeycomb" (Geneva). *The Whole Book of Psalms* uses "sweet" in Psalm 19 – "The honey and the honey comb / are not so sweet as they" (Quitslund and Temperley 95, lines 39-40) – and Psalm 25 – "His mercy is full sweet" (Quitslund and Temperley 109, line 29).

times. As Astrophil speaks of "Stella dear" and "sweet Stella," so Sidney's psalmist addresses God as "Saviour dear," "my dear God," and "sweet Lord."[331] In addition, as Astrophil writes "sweet Stella's name," so Sidney's psalmist speaks of people who "love the sweet sound of [God's] name."[332] Sidney uses the words "dear" and "sweet" to convey the psalmist's affection for and attraction to God, just as these words convey Astrophil's love and desire for Stella. Sidney's additions of "dear" and "sweet" also convey the intimacy and "sweetness" that the psalmist perceives between himself and God.

Similar to the Petrarchan use of the words "dear" and "sweet" in petitions for the beloved's pity, Sidney frequently adds these words to psalms in which the psalmist either longs for God's help or recalls how God has responded to his prayers and has shown him mercy. In Sidney's Psalm 34, the psalmist praises "that dear Lord with true delight" as he remembers how "from dreadful misery / He me, he only brought."[333] Sometimes the misery is due to the psalmist's sin, as in the penitential psalms. In these psalms Sidney adds the words "dear" and "sweet" to convey the psalmist's desire for God's gentleness and pity. In Psalm 6, the first penitential psalm, Sidney's psalmist prays:

> Alas, how long, my God, wilt thou delay me?
> Turn thee, sweet Lord, and from this ugly fall,
> My dear God, stay me.[334]

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[331] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 17, lines 11-12 (Psalm 6) and Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 40, line 33 (Psalm 20). Sidney also uses the phrase "sweet Lord" in his version of Psalm 17 (Sidney *The Sidney Psalter* 31, line 2) and Psalm 26 (Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 50, line 28).

[332] Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* 105, line 14 (sonnet 50). Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 16, line 34 (Psalm 5). The Geneva translation states, "Let them that love thy name. . ." (Psalm 5:11), and the Coverdale translation says, "They that love thy Name."

[333] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 63, line 5; 64, lines 15-16.

[334] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 17, lines 10-12. The Geneva translation omits "sweet" and "dear," stating, "Lord, how long wilt thou delay? Return, O Lord: deliver my soul" (Psalm 6:3-4). In Sidney's use of the word "delay," he clearly borrows from the Geneva translation rather than from

Like a Petrarchan lover beseeching his beloved to quickly requite his desires, the psalmist begs God not to delay his mercy. The terms "dear" and "sweet" convey the hope, held by both the Petrarchan lover and the psalmist, that they will receive pity and mercy in response to their requests. Sidney's paraphrase of the rest of Psalm 6 confirms the psalmist's perception of God's "sweet" response as the psalmist asserts that God did "gently hear" his petition. Sidney's psalmist professes, "For God hath heard the weeping, sobbing voice / Of my complaining. / The Lord my suit did hear, and gently hear."[335] Sidney adds the Petrarchan language of "suit" and "complaint," further connecting the psalmist's relationship with God to that between a suitor and his beloved.[336] Sidney also inserts this language into psalms that are not penitential such as his Psalm 17, which begins with the petition: "My suit is just, just Lord, to my suit hark. / I plain: sweet Lord, my plaint for pity mark."[337] The added Petrarchan words "sweet" and "pity" convey the psalmist's dependence not only on the justice of his suit and of God, but also on God's sweetness and on the hope that, out of pity, God will fulfill his

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Coverdale's, which emphasizes God's punishment, "Lord, how long wilt thou punish me? Turn thee, O Lord, and deliver my soul." Sternhold also does not add "sweet" or "dear."

[335] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 17, line 29. In contrast, the Geneva translation of Psalm 6:9 states, "The Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping. The Lord hath heard my petition: the Lord will receive my prayer." The Coverdale translation of Psalm 6:9 is identical to the Geneva translation.

[336] For example, the sestet of sonnet 57 in *Astrophil and Stella* states, "She heard my plaints, and did not only heare, / them (so sweete is she) most sweetly sing, / With that faire breast making woe's darknesse cleare: / A prety case! I hoped her to bring / To feele my griefes, and she with face and voice / So sweets my paines, that my paines me rejoyce" (Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* 193).

[337] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 31, lines 1-2. The Geneva translation of Psalm 17:1 states, "Hear the right, O Lord, consider my cry." The Coverdale translation states, "Hear the right, O Lord; consider my complaint." Sternhold also does not use language of "sweet" and "suit."

request.[338] The words "suit" and "sweet" are near homophones, which further suggests the psalmist's hope that God's sweetness will shape his response to the psalmist's suit.

Sidney also inserts the word "sweet" as an epithet to heighten the attractiveness of what God gives to people out of his compassion and pity for them. While Astrophil repeatedly uses the word "sweet" to describe Stella's eyes, breath, voice, and lips, which all fill him with delight, Sidney's psalmist praises God's "sweet grace," "sweet righteousness," and "sweet salvation."[339] In Sidney's version of the penitential Psalm 32, the psalmist states that, after he confessed his "faults" and "wickedness" to God, "his sweet grace straight eased the rod, / And did due pain forgive me."[340] Through inserting the word "sweet" into his Psalms, Sidney adds not only a sense of Petrarchan-like pity and compassion but also of Petrarchan intimacy and sensuality to them. While prose translations of Psalm 34 already contain the word "taste," Sidney adds the word "sweet" to highlight the pleasure and delight that the psalmist feels as he receives God's grace: "I say but taste, and see / How sweet, how gracious is his grace."[341] As Astrophil longs to taste Stella's sweet lips, so Sidney's psalmist tastes God's sweetness.[342] Sidney adds

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[338] Sidney adds the word "pity" elsewhere as well. For example, his version of Psalm 13 states, "I trust on thee, and joy in thy / Great pity," whereas the Geneva translation of Psalm 13:5 states, "I trust in thy mercy: mine heart shall rejoice in thy salvation." See Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 28, lines 17-18.

[339] Sidney's Psalm 24 states, "A blessing from the Lord, from God of his salvation / Sweet righteousness shall he receive" (Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 46, lines 13-14). In Sidney's Psalm 40, the psalmist praises God's "sweet righteousness" (Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 78, line 37).

[340] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 59-60, lines 13-18. In contrast, the Geneva translation of Psalm 32:5 states that "thou forgavest the punishment of my sin." The Coverdale translation states, " thou forgavest the wickedness of my sin."

[341] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 64, lines 29-30. The Geneva translation of Psalm 34:8 states, "Taste ye and see, how gracious the Lord is." According to Zim, "Sidney's phrase 'How sweet' [in Psalm 34] was also influenced by Beza, and probably through Gilby's English translation" (Zim 158). Gilby's translation of Beza's paraphrase of Psalm 34:8 states, "I beseech you therefore, doe not careleslie behold this great goodnes of the Lord, but rather thinke vpon it againe and againe, & taste his most comfortable sweetnes, and crie together with me: O blessed is that man that trusteth in the Lordes protection!" (*The Psalmes of Dauid Truly Opened and Explaned by Paraphrasis*, 61-62).

[342] In Locke's "A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner," she also employs the word "sweet," using it to speak of God's "swete promises," "swete forbearing mercy," "swete hysope," "swete relefe,"

the word “taste” to other psalms as well to depict the joy that the psalmist experiences through receiving God’s mercy and love.[343] While in Petrarchan poetry sweetness is usually mixed with sorrow, Sidney depicts God’s “sweet grace” and “sweet salvation” as the perfect balm to the psalmist’s afflictions. For example, Sidney’s version of Psalm 37:39 states, “Still, still the godly shall be stayed / By God’s most sure, and sweet salvation: / In time of greatest tribulation / He shall be their true strength and aid.”[344] The descriptors of God’s salvation as “most sure, and sweet” express the certain joy that people inwardly experience as a result of God’s salvific activity on their behalf.

In addition to the word “sweet,” Sidney also infuses into his Psalms the Petrarchan language of “bliss” in order to convey the passion of joy that comes through a relationship with God. While Sidney uses the word “bliss” eleven times in his Psalms, “bliss” is not found at all in the Coverdale and Geneva prose translations of the first forty-three Psalms or in *The Whole Book of Psalms*. In contrast, “bliss” appears twenty-three times in *Astrophil and Stella* and is frequently found in other Petrarchan poetry as well.[345] While “bliss” is often used in religious texts to describe “the perfect joy of heaven” and “the beatitude of departed souls,” in Sidney’s Psalms, as in *Astrophil and Stella,* he uses the word to signify the earthly experience of an intense happiness that is

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“swete mercy,” and “swete sonne.” However, Locke’s speaker cannot taste God’s love and grace and beseeches God for “the swete retorne of grace that I have lost” (Prowse 69, line 278).

[343] “The Lord, the Lord my shepherd is, / And so can never I / Tast misery. / He rests me in green pasture his: / By waters still, and sweet / He guides my feet” (Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter,* 45, Psalm 23, lines 1-6). “I by day thy love shall taste” (Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 82, Psalm 42, line 37). “The good thy goodness taste” (Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 35, Psalm 18, line 50).

[344] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 73, lines 97-98. The Geneva translation states: “But the salvation of the righteous men shall be of the Lord” (Psalm 37:39), while the Coverdale translation states, “But the salvation of the righteous cometh of the Lord.”

[345] “Bliss” appears seven times in Spenser’s *Amoretti* and six times in Greville’s *Caelica.* In Tottel’s *Miscellany*, Wyatt and Surrey use the word “bliss” four times, and “uncertain authors” use “bliss” twenty-four times.

suggestive of the "perfect joy of heaven."[346] For example, the final stanza of Sidney's Psalm 4 states:

> So I in peace and peaceful bliss
>
> Will lay me down and take my rest:
>
> For it is thou, Lord, thou it is,
>
> By pow'r of whose own only breast
>
> I dwell, laid up in safest nest.[347]

Sidney inserts the word "bliss" into this psalm to express the psalmist's present experience of near-perfect happiness as God protects and cares for him. Sidney also adds the common Petrarchan end rhyme of "bliss" and "is" to this psalm, which reinforces that God is the one who fills the psalmist with such great delight.

Other instances of the end rhyme of "bliss" and "is" in Sidney's Psalms also convey the psalmist's confidence that God is filling him and will continue to fill him with bliss. Sidney's Psalm 27 begins:

> The shining Lord he is my light:
>
> The strong God my salvation is:
>
> Who shall be able me to fright?
>
> This Lord with strength my life doth bliss.[348]

Here Sidney uses the word "bliss" as a verb, rather than the word "bless" that is frequently used in the Psalms, in order to highlight the passion of intense joy that the

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[346] *OED,* "bliss" n.

[347] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 15, lines 31-35. The Geneva translation of Psalm 4:8 states, "I will lay me down, and also sleep in peace: for thou, Lord, only makest me dwell in safety." The Coverdale translation states, "I will lay me down in peace, and take my rest; for it is thou, Lord, only that makest me dwell in safety."

[348] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 50, lines 1-4. The Geneva translation of Psalm 27:1 states, " The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? the Lord is the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraid?" The Coverdale translation is almost identical.

psalmist feels as a result of God saving him and giving him strength. Through their Petrarchan language, these lines share many similarities with sonnet 66 in *Astrophil and Stella,* in which Astrophil states:

> And yet amid all feares a hope there is
> Stolne to my heart, since last faire night, nay day,
> Stella's eyes sent to me the beames of blisse.[349]

Similar to Stella's "beames of blisse" in sonnet 66, in Sidney's Psalm 27 the psalmist's experience of bliss comes from "the shining Lord [who] is my light." In both poems the bliss that comes from the beloved drives away fears, filling Astrophil and the psalmist with a joy that is rooted in the beloved's benevolent activity toward them. Yet whereas in sonnet 66 there is merely a "hope" that the bliss will continue, in Psalm 27 the repetition of "is" and the added epithets "shining" and "strong" convey the psalmist's confidence that the bliss from God and his "salvation" is lasting. Sidney's psalmist expresses this confidence in an enduring bliss from God in other psalms as well. For example, Sidney's Psalm 37 adds the words "stay" and "bliss" to further emphasize the psalmist's assurance that the bliss from God is a lasting joy. His psalmist asserts that those "who stay for God, in bliss shall stay."[350] These psalms convey that those who desire God to be their beloved and wait upon him to fulfill their desires both experience and will continue to experience bliss.[351] Sidney's insertion of the word "bliss" in these Psalms implicitly contrasts the psalmist's enduring and assured bliss from God with the temporary and insecure nature of Petrarchan bliss.

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[349] Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* 199, sonnet 66, lines 8-11.

[350] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 70, line 24. The Geneva translation of Psalm 37:9 states, "They that wait upon the Lord, they shall inherit the land." The Coverdale translation states, "They that patiently abide the Lord, those shall inherit the land."

[351] Sidney's Psalm 34 conveys this as well: that "he is in thrice blessed case / Whose trust is all on [God]" and that those who trust in God "have and shall have bliss." See Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter,* 64, lines 31-32 and 36.

Sidney also inserts in his Psalms other Petrarchan synonyms for "bliss" to further emphasize that a relationship with God results in the psalmist being filled with a secure passion of great pleasure and happiness. Echoing his frequent usage of "delight" in his *Defence* and in *Astrophil and Stella*, Sidney adds the word "delight" to his Psalms in multiple places.[352] While the Coverdale and Geneva English prose translations of the first forty-three psalms each contain the word "delight" just four times, in Sidney's Psalms the word "delight" appears twelve times. Sidney also inserts the words "joy," "joyful," and "joyfulness," using them sixty-one times in his Psalms, whereas the Geneva and Coverdale prose translations each use these words just eleven times.[353] While the English prose translations more frequently use the words "rejoice," in Sidney's Psalms he turns this action of rejoicing into the passion of joy, echoing the common usage of this word in Petrarchan poetry to describe the lover's internal affective state.[354] For example, Sidney adds both "joy" and "delight" to his Psalm 21, which begins:

> New joy, new joy unto our king,
>
> Lord, from thy strength is growing:
>
> Lord, what delight to him doth bring
>
> His safety, from thee flowing![355]

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[352] "Delight" appears forty-six times in *The Defence of Poesy* and twenty-eight times in *Astrophil and Stella.* It also appears thirty-nine times in the poems in Tottel's *Miscellany.* The frequent use of the word "delight" in Petrarchan poetry continues after the circulation and publication of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* as well. For example, "delight" appears thirteen times in Edmund Spenser's *Amoretti* and twenty-nine times in Fulke Greville's *Caelica.*

[353] Sidney also departs from *The Whole Book of Psalms,* which uses the word "delight" just ten times and and the words "joy" and "joyful" nineteen times.

[354] The Geneva translation of the first forty-three psalms uses the word "rejoice" fifty-four times, and the Coverdale translation uses the word "rejoice" nineteen times. In contrast, Sidney uses "rejoice" just seven times in his Psalms. Sidney uses the word "joy" thirty-eight times in *Astrophil and Stella.* "Joy" also appears thirteen times in Spenser's *Amoretti* and fifty-two times in Greville's *Caelica.*

[355] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter,* 40, lines 1-4. It is interesting to note that the meter of Sidney's version is quite close to common meter. The Geneva translation states, "The King shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord: yea how greatly shall he rejoice in thy salvation?" (Psalm 21:1). The

In the first stanza, the psalmist's words exude the passion of bliss as he praises God for the "new joy" and "delight" that God has given him. The exclamatory nature of the lines and the diction of "joy," "delight," and "flowing" are reminiscent of the beginning of sonnet 69 in *Astrophil and Stella,* in which Astrophil expresses his intense delight as Stella temporarily requites his desires:

> O joy too high for my low stile to show:
>
> O blisse, fit for a nobler state then me:
>
> Envie, put out thine eyes, least thou do see
>
> What Oceans of delight in me do flow.[356]

In both poems, Sidney uses the language of joy and flowing delight to describe the speaker's passion as a result of his desires being requited. Yet in sonnet 69, through Astrophil's caveats and his petition to "Envie" to look away, he conveys an anxiety and uncertainty about his delight, whereas Sidney's psalmist expresses no such concern that his delight is too good to be true or that something will take it away. In this paraphrase, as in other of Sidney's Psalms, Sidney's use of Petrarchan language implicitly contrasts his psalmist's confident joy with the anxiety latent in many Petrarchan expressions of joy.

In the second stanza of Psalm 21, Sidney continues to use Petrarchan diction and rhymes to elucidate the source of the psalmist's confidence that he will receive delight from God and to contrast this fulfilling of the psalmist's desires with the Petrarchan lover's lack of such fulfillment. The psalmist tells God:

> Thou hast giv'n what his heart would have,
>
> Nay, soon as he but moved
>
> His lips to crave what he would crave,

Coverdale translation similarly states, "The King shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord; exceeding glad shall he be of thy salvation (Psalm 21:1).

[356] Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* 200, sonnet 69, lines 1-4.

He had as him behoved.[357]

In these lines the end rhyme of “crave” and “have,” as well as the repetition of the verb “have” in the forms “hast” and “had,” reinforce God’s requiting of the psalmist’s desires. The rhyme of “crave” and “have” is used frequently in sixteenth-century Petrarchan poetry, yet in Petrarchan poems, this rhyme is often used to highlight the speaker’s lack of what he desires.[358] For example, Sir Thomas Wyatt’s poem published in Tottel’s *Miscellany* states:

Such is the fortune, that I haue

To loue them most, that loue me lest:

And to my paine to seke, and craue

The thing, that other haue possest.[359]

Similarly, in *Astrophil and Stella* the word “crave” is used to connote the unfulfilled nature of Astrophil’s desires: “For late with heart most high, with eyes most low, / I crav'd the thing which ever she denies.”[360] In contrast, Sidney’s paraphrase of Psalm 21 uses the end rhyme of “crave” and “have” to portray the anti-Petrarchan nature of the psalmist’s relationship with God, connecting the psalmist’s craving with God’s immediate fulfillment of it. The phrase “Nay, soon as he but moved / His lips to crave,” which Sidney also adds to the psalm, conveys the rapidity with which God fulfills the psalmist’s desires.

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[357] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter,* 40, lines 5-8. The Geneva translation states, “Thou hast given him his heart’s desire, and hast not denied him the request of his lips” (Psalm 21:2). The Coverdale translation is identical.

[358] For example, Tottel’s *Miscellany* contains 22 instances of the word “crave.” In 9 cases, the word “crave” is the final word of the line and is an end rhyme with “have.”

[359] *Songes and Sonettes,* Fo. 42. An anonymous example from Tottel’s *Miscellany* states, “I would, they may: I craue, they haue at will” (*Songes and Sonettes,* Fo. 106). Another anonymous poem begins, “Some men would think of right to haue, / For their true meaning some reward, / But while that I do cry and craue: / I see that other be preferd, / I gape for that I am debard” (*Songes and Sonettes,* Fo. 105-106).

[360] Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* 196, sonnet 63, lines 5-6.

Sidney inserts the word "crave" and the end rhyme of "crave" and "have" into other psalms as well, combining them with additional Petrarchan diction and tropes to portray God as the ideal beloved who perfectly fulfills the psalmist's longings. In Sidney's Psalm 16, the psalmist professes to God:

> Thou life's path wilt make me know
> In whose view doth plenty grow
> All delights that souls can crave,
> And whose bodies placed stand
> On thy blessed-making hand
> They all joys like-endless have.[361]

Sidney uses the end rhyme of "crave" and "have" to stress God's requiting of the speaker's desires in the present and "like-endless" into the future. Ending the paraphrase with the stressed word "have" not only brings closure through the end rhyme but also emphasizes that God already is requiting people's desires so that they have what they crave. While the English prose translations speak of "the fullness of joy" and "pleasures," Sidney describes God as the one who satisfies people's desires with "all delights" and "all joys." The word "all" in Petrarchan poetry is typically hyperbolic; however, in this psalm "all" is not an exaggeration but a way to express the Scriptural promise that all good things come from God's "blessed-making hand."[362] The repetition of "all" in the third and sixth lines and the end rhyme of "crave" and "have" in these same lines create a parallel structure that reinforces the psalmist's claims that God fills the psalmist with perfect and lasting joy.

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[361] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 31, lines 37-42. The Geneva translation of Psalm 16:11 states, "Thou wilt show me the path of life: in thy presence is the fullness of joy: and at thy right hand there are pleasures forevermore." The Coverdale translation is almost identical.

[362] See, for example, James 1:17 – "Every good giving and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning" (Geneva translation).

In Psalm 16, the psalmist states that his delight comes through "view[ing]" God and standing in God's presence, at his "blessed-making hand."[363] Sidney's choice of the word "view" connects this joy specifically to the activity of seeing God, as the Petrarchan lover finds joy in seeing his beloved. Sidney adds to other psalms as well to make the connection between seeing God and being filled with delight even more explicit. In Sidney's Psalm 4, the psalmist prays to God:

> But, Lord, lift thou upon our sight
> The shining clearness of thy face:
> Where I have found more heart's delight,
> Than they whose store in harvest's space
> Of grain and wine fills storing place.[364]

Through the end rhyme of "sight" and "delight," Sidney links the speaker's sight of God's face with his experience of great joy. Sidney also makes this connection between seeing God and feeling delight more explicit than it is in the original psalm through inserting the conjunction "where," stating that God's "face" is "*where* I have found more heart's delight" (italics added).[365] Similarly, in Sidney's Psalm 17 his psalmist professes, "My joy

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[363] The English prose translations similarly say that the joy and pleasures come "in [God's] presence" and "at [God's] right hand."

[364] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 14, lines 26-30. The Geneva translation of Psalm 4:6-7 states, "But Lord, lift up the light of thy countenance upon us. Thou hast given me more joy of heart, than they have had, when their wheat and their wine did abound." The Coverdale translation states, " Lord, lift thou up the
light of thy countenance upon us. Thou hast put gladness in my heart since the time that their corn and wine and oil increased."

[365] The Geneva translation of these verses states, "Lord, lift up the light of thy countenance upon us. Thou hast given me more joy of heart, than they have had, when their wheat and their wine did abound" (Psalm 4:6-7). The Coverdale version states, "Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us. Thou hast put gladness in my heart since the time that their corn and wine and oil increased." Sidney may have gotten the idea for this connection between the two verses from Sternhold's version, which states, "The greater sort crave worldly goods / and riches do embrace; / But, Lord, grant us thy countenance, / thy favour and thy grace. / *For thou thereby* shalt make my heart / more joyful and more glad / Than they that of their corn and wine / full great increase have had (Quitslund and Temperley 60, lines 25-32, italics added).

shall be pure, to enjoy thy face."[366] By using the verb "enjoy" and adding the phrase "my joy shall be pure," Sidney emphasizes the beatitude that the psalmist experiences through seeing God's face.

While in some psalms the language of seeing God is a metaphor for receiving God's help and mercy, Sidney's added diction of "delight," "joy," and "enjoy" in Psalms 16, 4, and 17 suggests that seeing God's face also connotes a passionate and spiritual experience of intimacy with God.[367] Through the added Petrarchan language of feeling "delight" and "joy" in viewing God's face, Sidney's Psalms recall Astrophil's reaction to seeing Stella's face in *Astrophil and Stella.* In sonnet 77, he states, "Those lookes, whose beames be joy, whose motion is delight, / That face, whose lecture shewes what perfect beautie is.[368] In *Astrophil and Stella,* Sidney, like Petrarch, draws on the Platonic connection between desire, delight, and beauty and on Plato's assertion of the inherent desirability of beauty: that beauty is "the object of every love's yearning" because the experience of beauty fulfills a person's deepest desires.[369] When Astrophil looks on Stella, he is filled with joy and delight through the vision of her "perfect beautie." In this sight of Stella's "perfect beautie," Astrophil perceives not only her physical beauty but also her spiritual beauty and even perhaps, through her beauty, a glimpse of Beauty

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[366] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 33, Psalm 17, lines 46. The Geneva translation of Psalm 17:15 states, "But I will behold thy face in righteousness." The phrase "in righteousness" has a footnote, which states, "This is the full felicity, comforting against all assaults, to have the face of God and favorable countenance opened unto us." The Coverdale translation states, "But as for me, I shall behold thy presence in righteousness."

[367] In Psalms 38 and 11 Sidney also adds the Petrarchan epithets "dear" and lovely" to describe the psalmist's desire for and enjoyment of God's "dear presence" and "lovely face," which further links the psalmist's longing to see God with the Petrarchan lover's desire to be in the presence of his beloved (Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 75, line 63, and p. 26, line 22).

[368] Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidne*y 205, sonnet 77, lines 1-2). Similarly, in sonnet 3 Astrophil states that "in Stella's face I reed, / What Love and Beautie be" (*The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* 166, lines 12-13). Sonnet 85 states, "Let eyes / See Beautie's totall summe summ'd in her face" (*The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* 210, lines 9-10).

[369] Pappas n.p.

itself.[370] Sidney draws on this Platonic and Petrarchan understanding of the relationship between beauty, desire, and delight in his interpretation and paraphrase of the Psalms. In the *Defence,* Sidney describes David as attracted to God's perfect beauty as a lover is attracted to the beauty of his beloved. Sidney writes that in the Psalms, David "showeth himself a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting beauty to be seen by the eyes of the mind, only cleared by faith."[371] In Sidney's Psalms he similarly brings together the desire to see God's beauty and the desire to experience passionate joy. Sidney inserts the word "beauty" into Psalm 40 so that his psalmist petitions God to "fill their hearts with joy who bend their ways, / To seek thy beauty past conceit."[372] Implicit in Sidney's version of this Psalm is the hope that the search for God's beauty will ultimately result in being filled with joy through seeing the divine beauty of God's face.

However, in other Psalms Sidney depicts the psalmist as grappling with an unrequited desire to see God, exemplifying the Platonic and Petrarchan understanding that the desire for beauty cannot be fulfilled in this life. Plato describes erotic desire as

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[370] For example, in sonnet 42: "O Eyes, which do the Spheares of beautie move, / Whose beames be joyes, whose joyes all vertues be, / Who while they make Love conquer, conquer Love, / The schooles where Venus hath learn'd Chastitie" (Sidney, The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney 185, lines 1-4). Low writes, "Almost always in Astrophil and Stella, Sidney uses the actual word 'desire' to mean desire for physical satisfaction [for sexual fulfillment], desire for solid 'food' as he sometimes puts it. Yet . . . his desire is also fixed on an unattainable ideal" (Low 24). "Astrophil also speaks of an ideal beauty, which, although always inseparable from his sexual longings even at its purest, is surely the epitome of the high Petrarchan , unreachable ideal" (Low 24-25). Astrophil's desire is a "combination of longings for a spiritual ideal and a sexual object" (Low 25). In Plato's *Symposium,* he writes of the "ladder of love," from attraction to the physical beauty of an individual to the desire and search for the Form of Beauty itself. "Starting from individual beauties, the quest for universal beauty must find him mounting the heavenly ladder, stepping from rung to rung—that is, from one to two, and from two to every lovely body, and from bodily beauty to the beauty of institutions, from institutions to learning, and from learning in general to the special lore that pertains to nothing but the beautiful itself—until at last he comes to know what beauty is. And if, my dear Socrates, Diotima went on, man's life is ever worth living, it is when he has attained this vision of the very soul of beauty. (Plato, 561–63 [Symposium 210a–211d])" (Sartwell n.p.).

[371] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 84.

[372] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 79, lines 61-62. In contrast, the Geneva translation of Psalm 40:16 states, "Let all them that seek thee, rejoice and be glad in thee." The Coverdale translation states, "Let all those that seek thee, be joyful and glad in thee."

an “infinite longing . . . to possess the beautiful,” and Petrarchan poetry such as *Astrophil and Stella* builds on this to depict the lover’s perpetually deferred desire for the beloved.[373] Sidney’s Psalm 27 expresses a similar unrequited longing for God:

> One thing indeed I did, and will
> For ever crave: that dwell I may
> In house of high Jehovah still
> On beauty his mine eyes to stay,
> And look into
> His temple too.[374]

While the prose translations of Psalm 27 express the psalmist’s desire “to behold the beauty of the Lord,” Sidney’s paraphrase intensifies the psalmist’s unfulfilled longing for God through its diction, rhymes, and line breaks.[375] The addition of the phrase “for ever” and the repetition of the “r” and “v” sounds in “for ever crave” emphasize the psalmist’s desire to see God and accentuate his anguish at not being able to do so. The Petrarchan-like intensity of the psalmist’s desire for God also come across through the end rhyme of the words “will” and “still”: the psalmist asserts that his desire to “still” (i.e. always) see God’s beauty is something that he “will / For ever crave.”[376]

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[373] “Plato’s discussions of beauty in the Symposium and the Phaedrus occur in the context of the theme of erotic love. . . . Love is portrayed as a lack or absence that seeks its own fulfillment in beauty: a picture of mortality as an infinite longing. Love is always in a state of lack and hence of desire: the desire to possess the beautiful” (Sartwell n.p.).

[374] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 51, lines 19-24.

[375] The Geneva translation of Psalm 27:4 states, “One thing have I desired of the Lord, that I will require, even that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to visit his Temple.” The Coverdale translation states, “One thing have I desired of the Lord, which I will require, even that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the fair beauty of the Lord, and to visit his temple.”

[376] *OED* “still” adv: “Without change, interruption, or cessation; continually, constantly; on every occasion, invariably; always.”

Later in Sidney's Psalm 27 he repeats the end rhyme of "will" and "still" to call further attention to the psalmist's persistent longing for God's face and beauty:

Hear, Lord, when I my voice display,
  Hear, to have mercy eke of me.
  'Seek ye my face,' when thou didst say,
  In truth of heart I answered thee,
    'O Lord, I will
    Seek thy face still.'[377]

The end rhyme of "will" and "still" expresses the fervency of the psalmist's desire for God and his faithfulness in longing after God. The shortness of the last two lines of the stanza further conveys the rawness and poignancy of the psalmist's desire. In the next stanza, Sidney's psalmist cries out to God: "Hide not therefore from me that face, / . . . Forsake not me, oh, leave me not, / O God of my / Salvation, hie."[378] Here, the line breaks and pauses accentuate the psalmist's even more anguished internal state and the urgency of his petition. Over the course of Sidney's Psalm 27, his diction and stanzaic structures highlight the Petrarchan-like fluctuations of the psalmist's passions between hopeful and anguished yearning to see God. Like a sonnet sequence, many of Sidney's Psalms move between expressions of delight and confident hope on the one hand, and moments of sorrow and painful longing on the other.[379]

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[377] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 51-52, lines 37-42. The Geneva translation of Psalm 27:7-8 states, "Hearken unto my voice, O Lord, when I cry: have mercy also upon me and hear me. When thou saidest, Seek ye my face, mine heart answered unto thee, O Lord, I will seek thy face." The Coverdale translation states, "Hearken unto my voice, O Lord, when I cry unto thee; have mercy upon me, and hear me. My heart hath talked of thee, Seek ye my face. Thy face, Lord, will I seek."

[378] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 52, lines 43 and 46-48.

[379] For example, immediately after the psalmist's effusive description of his experience of "new joy" and "flowing" delight in Psalm 21, Sidney's Psalm 22 begins with the cry, "My God, my God, why hast thou me forsaken? / Woe me, from me, why is thy presence taken?" (Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 42, lines 1-2).

This raises the question: does Sidney's portrayal of the psalmist's perpetual craving after God's face and distressed pleas that God not hide his face contradict the assertions in other psalms of the lasting and assured joy that God provides, fulling the psalmist's desires with all delights? Why would Sidney emphasize this Petrarchan-like anguished longing in Psalm 27 and other psalms if he is trying to enhance the attractiveness of God and to move people to desire and delight in him? While these Psalms do not convey that God rejects or refuses people's desires, they acknowledge the reality that, in this life, people experience sorrow as well as joy and that, at times, it can seem as if God's face is hidden from them. The final stanza of Sidney's Psalm 27 suggests that, in painful, agonizing moments like these, a person can find comfort through clinging to their belief in God's faithfulness, trusting that they will see God again and that God will fill them again with joy. The psalmist tells himself:

> What had I been, except I had
> Believed God's goodness for to see,
> In land with living creatures clad?
> Hope, trust in God, be strong, and he
> Unto thy heart
> Shall joy impart.[380]

While the prose translations also use the verb "see," Sidney calls attention to the psalmist's renewed faith that he will see God's goodness through making "see" the final word of the line.[381] Through the end rhyme of "see" and "he," Sidney also connects the psalmist's hope that he will see God with his trust that "he" (i.e. God) will fill the

[380] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 52, lines 61-66.

[381] The Geneva translation of Psalm 27:14 states, "Hope in the Lord: be strong, and he shall comfort thine heart, and trust in the Lord." The Coverdale translation states, "O tarry thou the Lord's leisure. Be strong, and he shall comfort thine heart; and put thou thy trust in the Lord."

psalmist's heart with joy. Sidney also inserts the word "joy" and makes it the final stressed word of the psalm, thereby highlighting the psalmist's belief that God will restore in him the passion of delight.

Sidney's Psalms' expressions of ardent and sometimes anguished longing for God culminate in his versions of Psalms 42 and 43, the final two psalms that he paraphrased. In the first stanza of Psalm 42, Sidney's psalmist tells God:

As the chafed hart which brayeth,
Seeking some refreshing brook,
So my soul in panting playeth,
Thirsting on my God to look.
My soul thirsts indeed in me
After ever-living thee.
Ah! When comes my blessed being,
Of that face to have a seeing?[382]

In this psalm, the psalmist compares his soul to a deer, an analogy that Sidney likely relished because of Petrarchan poetry's frequent wordplay with the connotations of "hart" as both an animal and as the metaphorical center of a person's passions. While Sidney closely translates much of the beginning of the Geneva translation of Psalm 42 – "As the Hart brayeth for the rivers of water" – he adds the adjective "chafed" to describe the hart's interior state of being inflamed with passion.[383] Sidney emphasizes the psalmist's desire to see God's face by adding the words "look," "indeed," and "seeing" and by repeating the verb "thirst." Sidney also heightens the psalmist's expression of a

[382] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 81, lines 4-8. The Geneva translation of Psalm 42:2 states, "My soul thirsteth for God, even for the living God: when shall I come and appear before the presence of God?" The Coverdale translation states, "My soul is athirst for God, yea, even for the living God; when shall I come to appear before the presence of God?"

[383] See *OED* "chafed" adj. and *OED* "chafe" verb.

Petrarchan-like intensity of longing for God through inserting the interjection “Ah” twice in his Psalm 42. The word “ah,” which is not in English prose translations of the Psalms but appears ten times in *Astrophil and Stella,* is an inarticulate, visceral sigh of sorrowful longing. It conveys the psalmist’s perhaps even unconscious need to emote his desire before using words to express it. In the first instance, the psalmist cries out “Ah!” before he asks God when he will see God’s face: “Ah! When comes my blessed being, / Of that face to have a seeing?” The second time, the psalmist cries “Ah!” before describing the distraught condition of his soul as a result of his unrequited desire for God: “Ah! My soul itself appalleth, / In such longing thoughts it falleth.”[384] While the prose translations say that the psalmist’s soul is “cast down” and “vexed,” Sidney’s language portrays the psalmist’s distress as stemming from his longing for God. Sidney also intensifies the psalmist’s expression of his sorrowful desire in the later questions that the psalmist asks himself in Psalms 42 and 43: “Why art thou, my soul, so sorry, / And in me so much dismayed?” and “Why art thou, my soul, / Cast down in such dole?”[385] While the Geneva and Coverdale translations use the word “disquieted” to describe the psalmist’s inner state, Sidney’s version describes the psalmist as much more afflicted: “so much dismayed” and “in such dole” because of his longing for God.[386]

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[384] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 82, lines 23-24. In contrast, the Geneva translation of Psalm 42:6 states, “My God, my soul is cast down within me.” The Coverdale translation states, “My God, my soul is vexed within me.” Sidney also uses “Ah” to express the psalmist’s anguished desire in Psalms 14, 22, 30, and 39.

[385] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 82-83, Psalm 42, lines 17-18 and 49-50. Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 84, Psalm 43, lines 31-32.

[386] The Geneva translation of Psalm 42:11 and Psalm 43:5 asks, “Why art thou cast down, my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me[?]” The Coverdale translation of Psalm 42 asks, “ Why art thou so full of heaviness, O my soul? and why art thou so disquieted within me?” and “Why art thou so vexed, O my soul? and why art thou so disquieted within me?” The Coverdale translation of Psalm 43 asks, “Why art thou so heavy, O my soul? and why art thou so disquieted within me?”

In Sidney's version of Psalm 42, the psalmist's dismay and dole come from the experience of anticipating but not yet experiencing the bliss that he will feel when he sees God's face. The psalmist asks himself:

Why art thou, my soul, so sorry,
And in me so much dismayed?
Wait on God, for yet his glory
In my song shall be displayed.
When but with one look of his
He shall me restore to bliss:
Ah! My soul itself appalleth,
In such longing thoughts it falleth.[387]

Augustine interprets Psalm 42 as expressing the psalmist's love for God himself and his desire for that love to be fulfilled through being in God's immediate presence and seeing his face.[388] According to Augustine, this desire can never been fully requited in this life and only grows as one's love for God increases: "As Augustine claimed in relation to Psalm 42, and as many have claimed after him, such as Francois de Sales, love of the divine is insatiable in nature. The proper love of God registers as something painfully pleasurable because it is beyond fulfillment or satiation in this world."[389] The more a person delights in and loves God, the more they will desire God, so that delight in God is not the end of desire but rather the catalyst for greater desire. Later theologians, including Aquinas, describe this insatiable desire for God as the longing to have a "beatific vision of God" – to see God face to face in a way that will make a person

[387] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 82, lines 17-24.

[388] Kuchar 539-40.

[389] Kuchar 567.

completely, blissfully happy forever.[390] Sidney has his psalmist reflect on this future joy: "When but with one look of his / He shall me restore to bliss." In this case, the word "bliss" connotes not only earthly happiness but also the perfect joy of heaven. The psalmist's anticipation of this bliss quickly turns to "longing thoughts" because this vision of God can only be attained after death.

However, Sidney's Psalm 43 describes how, until then, people can experience a delight in God that partially fulfills their desire for him. Sidney adds the word "bliss" to his Psalm 43 to convey the psalmist's turn to a less sorrowful and more agentic desire to experience God's presence, expressing the psalmist's hope that he will receive bliss from God in this life as well. The psalmist states:

> To God's altars tho
>
> Will I boldly go,
>
> Shaking off all sadness,
>
> To that God that is
>
> God of all my bliss,
>
> God of all my gladness.[391]

In this stanza Sidney inserts the word "bliss," rather than using the word "joy" found in the prose translations, to connect it to the psalmist's longing for bliss in Psalm 42. The addition of the word "all" in "all my bliss" and "all my gladness" suggests the psalmist's

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[390] Sidney's interpretation of Psalm 42 as expressing the desire for the bliss of heaven is reinforced by its use in *The Book of Common Prayer* for "the celebration of the holy Communion when there is a burial of the dead," a context that seeks to help mourners trust that their dead loved ones are with God and experiencing the joy of God's immediate presence. (Church of England. The Booke of the Common Prayer and Administracion of the Sacramentes, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Churche: After the Vse of the Churche of England. London, in officina Edouardi Whitchurche and Nicholas Hill] Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1549. ProQuest. Web. 13 Sep. 2021.

[391] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 84, lines 19-24. The Geneva translation of Psalm 43:4 states, "Then will I go unto the altar of God, even unto the God of my joy and gladness." The Coverdale translation states "that I may go unto the altar of God, even unto the God of my joy and gladness."

reaffirming of his belief that God will fill him with bliss not only in heaven but also in this life. As in earlier psalms, the end rhyme of "is" and "bliss" conveys the psalmist's hope that God will fulfill his desires. Sidney also adds the word "boldly" and the phrase "shaking off all sadness" to portray the psalmist's renewed confidence and activity in seeking the fulfillment of his desire for God. Sidney has his psalmist "boldly go" to worship God in his temple, hoping that by this means he may experience a foretaste of the bliss that awaits him in heaven. Like the Petrarchan lover who does not give up on desiring and pursuing his beloved, so Sidney's psalmist continues to seek the presence and joy of God.

The psalmist's confidence that God will partly requite his desires in this life is reaffirmed through the last lines of Sidney's Psalm 43, in which the psalmist tells his soul, "Wait on God, for still / Thank my God, I will, / Sure aid, present comfort." Through the end rhyme of "still" and will," Sidney recalls his earlier use of this end rhyme in Psalm 27, in which these words call attention to the psalmist's persistent and active desire for God, out of which he promises, "'O Lord, I will / Seek thy face still.'[392] Now in Psalm 43, the psalmist reaffirms this promise and adds to it his gratitude that God is his "sure aid, present comfort." Through ending with the phrase "present comfort," Sidney ends his Psalms with the assertion that God does requite the psalmist's desires in the present, providing him with the consolation and delight he longs for.[393] Yet Psalm 43 also provides a Petrarchan ending of deferred enjoyment through the word "wait," suggesting

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[392] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 51-52, lines 37-42. The Geneva translation of Psalm 27:7-8 states, "Hearken unto my voice, O Lord, when I cry: have mercy also upon me and hear me. When thou saidest, Seek ye my face, mine heart answered unto thee, O Lord, I will seek thy face." The Coverdale translation states, "Hearken unto my voice, O Lord, when I cry unto thee; have mercy upon me, and hear me. My heart hath talked of thee, Seek ye my face. Thy face, Lord, will I seek."

[393] *OED* "comfort" n. "3. Pleasure, enjoyment, delight, gladness."

that, even though God is the psalmist's "present comfort," the psalmist must continue to wait upon God to completely fulfill his desire for God's bliss.

Sidney's Psalms 42 and 43 can thus be seen as the culmination of the psalmist's experiences of desire over the course of the first forty-three psalms and as a natural ending to the sequence of psalms that Sidney paraphrased. Although many scholars have assumed that Sidney planned to translate all 150 Psalms and that his early death cut this short, it is just as likely that Sidney intentionally paraphrased only the first forty-three Psalms.[394] Suzanne Trill explains that there is no evidence that Sidney planned to translate all 150 Psalms and asserts that "completing the book of Psalms seems at odds with Philip's aesthetic interests."[395] In particular, Trill asserts that "the individualistic and introspective qualities of Philip's Psalms" correspond with the more personal and individual nature of the psalms toward the beginning of the psalter, in contrast to the more collectively focused psalms in the second half of the Psalms.[396] Similarly, Louis Martz describes Sidney's Psalms as "an intimate, personal cry of the soul to God," which fits with the emphasis of the first part of the book of Psalms.[397] Yet more than just through their intimacy, individualism, and introspection, the first forty-three Psalms fit Sidney's "aesthetic interest" through their expression of a Petrarchan-like desire for God and Petrarchan fluctuations between extreme joy and sorrow. In his seminal article on Sidney's Psalms, Roland Greene even compares the emotionality of Sidney's Psalms to that of a sonnet sequence and suggests that, in reading Sidney's

[394] Coles explains, "Sidney composed the initial versions of the first forty-three Psalms, but internal evidence suggests that (as J. C. A. Rathmell has surmised) he then simply stopped" (Coles 102). In addition, Freer states that while "the dating of the whole Sidney psalter is uncertain, . . . Sidney's share (the first forty-three) must have been completed before he left for the Netherlands in the fall of 1585," a year before his death in October of 1586 (Freer 25).

[395] Trill 111.

[396] Trill 111.

[397] Martz 273.

Psalms, "the reader-congregant will experience the emotional modulations of a submerged *Rime sparse* or *Astrophil and Stella* (during the process of reaffirming his or her faith)."[398] These "emotional modulations" similar to those in *Astrophil and Stella* are not accidental but are intentional on Sidney's part. Through the pervasive use of Petrarchan diction and tropes, Sidney crafted the first forty-three Psalms into a Petrarchan-like sequence of poems about religious desire, culminating in the "hart's" thirsting ardently after God and boldly pursuing the fulfillment of its desire by going to the temple of the "God that is / God of all my bliss."

A second indication that Sidney intended to end his paraphrase with Psalm 43 is found in another phrase that he added to the original Psalm 43. After the stanza that ends with "God of all my gladness," Sidney's psalmist professes:

> Then, lo, then I will
>
> With sweet music's skill
>
> Grateful meaning show thee:
>
> Then, God, yea, my God,
>
> I will sing abroad
>
> What great thanks I owe thee.[399]

What stands out in Sidney's paraphrase is his addition of the phrase "with sweet music's skill." While Sidney links the psalmist's skill to "music" in Psalm 43, this phrase echoes Sidney's frequent use of the words "skill" and "sweet" in his *Defence* in relation to poetry and Sidney's assertion that "no other human skill can match" the skill of a poet in moving and teaching people through "the sweet delights of Poetry."[400] The phrase "sweet

[398] Greene, "Sir Philip Sidney's Psalms" 128.

[399] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 84, lines 25-30. The Geneva translation of Psalm 43:4 states, "Upon the harp will I give thanks unto thee, O God my God." The Coverdale translation is identical.

[400] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 89 and 83. Sidney also writes, "Now therein of all sciences (I speak still of human, and according to the human conceit) is our poet the monarch. For he doth

music's skill" encapsulates the project of Sidney's Psalm paraphrases and his understanding of the highest purpose of poetry: to use one's skill as a poet in order to sweetly profess the excellencies of God and to "sing abroad" so that others may be attracted to the sweetness and beauty of God. Donne's poem "Upon the Translation of the Psalms by Sir Philip Sidney, and the Countess of Pembroke His Sister" corroborates this purpose of the Sidney Psalter, asserting that Sidney and his sister "do re-reveal" the Psalms "to us so sweetly and sincerely too" in order to "show us islanders our joy, our King" and "tell us *why,* and teach us *how* to sing."[401] Sidney employs not only metrical variation but also Petrarchan diction, rhymes, and tropes in order to "re-reveal" the Psalms to his readers with as much delight as possible so that their desire for and delight in God may increase. As Sidney writes in his *Defence* regarding lyrical poetry*,* "How well it might be employed, and with how heavenly fruit, both private and public, in singing the praises of the immortal beauty, the immortal goodness of that God who giveth us hands to write, and wits to conceive."[402] In his forty-three Psalms, Sidney draws on the Petrarchan tradition to develop a poetics of religious affectivity that inspired generations of poets to follow his lead and to create not only psalm paraphrases but also original religious lyric poetry that seeks to move people to a greater desire and love for God's perfect goodness and beauty.

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not only show the way, but giveth so sweet a prospect into the way as will entice any man to enter into it" (Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 95).

[401] Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter* 4, lines 34-35, and p. 3, lines 21-22.

[402] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 113.

Chapter 4: The Fulfillment of Erotic and Agapeic Desire in George Herbert's "The 23 Psalme"

The Temple, George Herbert's collection of religious lyric poetry, contains just one psalm paraphrase titled "The 23 Psalme." It might seem out of place for this chapter to focus on Herbert's metrical paraphrase of Psalm 23 given that Herbert moves away from the early modern tradition of psalm translation and instead writes primarily original religious poetry. However, the influence of the biblical book of Psalms permeates the poems of *The Temple*, which Barbara Lewalski calls "a book of Christian psalms."[403] Herbert not only borrows hundreds of words, phrases, and images from the Coverdale and Geneva prose translations of the Psalms but also draws on the Psalms' tone and form as personal prayers to God.[404] "The Church" section of *The Temple* also imitates the structure of the whole Psalter in how its 169 poems "sound an impressive range of emotional registers as [Herbert's] speakers variously praise, celebrate, confess, and complain in a vital, personal relationship with their Maker."[405] Like the Psalms, Herbert's poems are highly affective, depicting the speakers' intimate, personal relationship with God and their vulnerability in expressing their passions to God. As Lewalski explains, "Herbert's lyrics clearly exhibit what many patristic commentators and contemporary

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[403] Lewalski 300. Critics are unanimous with regards to the extent to which Herbert's *The Temple* draws upon the Book of Psalms. See especially Chana Bloch's *Spelling the Word: George Herbert and the Bible* and Coburn Freer's *Music Fit for a King: George Herbert's Style and the Metrical Psalms.* Freer writes, "We could hardly overestimate the influence of the Psalms on Herbert's poetry" (Freer 9-10). Sheldrake writes, "It is generally agreed that the single greatest biblical influence and allusion throughout the poems of *The Temple* is the Book of Psalms. Although Herbert actually wrote only one poetic version of a psalm, 'The 23 Psalm', more general echoes of the Psalter reverberate throughout his poetry" (Herbert and Sheldrake 26). Louis Martz writes that "echoes of the Psalms permeate the *Temple* in a remarkable variety of ways" (Martz 279).

[404] Hillier 633-64. See also Bloch 231-32.

[405] Hillier 633. See also Bloch 232 and Quitslund, "Teaching Us How to Sing?" 109.

Protestants understood to be the inner essence of the Psalms, the analysis of the full range of spiritual emotions at their most intense – joy and grief, exaltation and desolation, misery and contentment, sorrow and consolation, fear and hope, rebellion and love of God – representing thereby to man the anatomy of his own soul."[406] In particular, Herbert imitates the Psalms in his emphasis on the passions of love and desire, depicting his speakers' love for God and their desire to love God more, a desire that is rooted in the speakers' sense of God's unfathomably great love for them.[407]

In writing the poems in "The Church" section of *The Temple,* Herbert was also influenced by the Sidney Psalter. Helen Wilcox, Coburn Freer, Chana Bloch, and Hannibal Hamlin assert that the Sidney Psalter was "the most important literary influence" on *The Temple* and especially on Herbert's poetic forms.[408] Like the Sidney Psalter, *The Temple* exhibits unparalleled formal and metrical variety and experimentation, and scholars have overwhelmingly praised the simultaneously nuanced sophistication and beautiful simplicity of the forms and content of Herbert's original religious verse. Herbert also likely borrows from Sidney's use of Petrarchan imagery and language, frequently using similar language of "sweet," "dear," "bliss," "joy," and "delight" to describe God and the speakers' passions as a result of their relationship with God. Critics have explored in depth Herbert's engagement with secular love poetry in

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[406] Lewalski 300.

[407] See Herbert xlii-xliii. Wilcox writes that love "is to Herbert the overwhelming divine characteristic" (xlii) and that "the love of God for humankind sets the tone throughout *The Temple*" (xliii).

[408] Herbert xxviii. Hamlin writes, "The role of the Sidney Psalter in shaping the seventeenth-century devotional lyric has been recognized by a growing number of modern critics. This is one point, for instance, on which the proponents of both the Poetry of Meditation and of Protestant Poetics agree. The specific indebtedness of George Herbert's *The Temple* to the Sidney Psalter is mentioned in passing by Louis Martz, and is explored in detail by Coburn Freer and Chana Bloch, both in terms of *The Temple's* overall conception as a collection of sacred lyrics and in terms of the diversity of forms and meters of individual poems" (Hamlin, "The Highest Matter in the Noblest Forme" 134-35).

The Temple: how Herbert both critiques the secular love lyric tradition and borrows from it, transforming its tropes and forms in order to depict his speakers' passions of desire and love for God.[409] As Debra Rienstra aptly states, "It seems that Herbert needed love poetry in general, and the English Petrarchan sonnet sequence in particular, as a sparring partner all the way through 'The Church.'"[410]

With regards to its genre, form, and content, Herbert's "The 23 Psalme" would appear to be an outlier in Herbert's corpus. On the surface, this poem does not draw from secular love poetry and instead closely translates Psalm 23, borrowing extensively from the language of the Coverdale and Geneva prose translations and from the language and form of the two metrical versions in *The Whole Book of Psalms.*[411] Despite the rise in scholarship on early modern metrical psalms, critics have tended either to ignore "The 23 Psalme" or to disparage it and attempt to explain its inferiority in comparison to the rest of Herbert's poems. As Bloch somewhat charitably notes, "Certainly no one will want to claim it as one of Herbert's more distinguished achievements."[412] With regards to the its form, "The 23 Psalme" does not follow in the footsteps of the Sidney Psalter and instead imitates the common meter and ballad rhyme

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[409] In the course of his poetic career, Herbert transformed several conventional secular forms – such as the sonnet, the song, and the pastoral – into something new" (Di Cesare 5). Wilcox also writes of Herbert's "conversion of secular art into love poetry addressed to God," explaining that "Herbert adapted the forms of secular love poetry – both poetic and musical – to his divine subject" (Herbert xxiii).

[410] Rienstra, "Let Wits Contest" 24.

[411] Helen Wilcox states that "The 23 Psalme" is a "paraphrase of *Psalms* xxiii, translating each biblical verse into a stanza; it is written in the simple stanza form (Common Metre) used for metrical Psalms" (Herbert 592). Beginning with the 1566 quarto edition, *The Whole Book of Psalms* contains two versions of Psalm 23, the first by William Wittingham and the second attributed to Thomas Sternhold (Quitslund and Temperley 104-105). "The 23 Psalme" is especially similar to the version of Psalm 23 in *The Whole Book of Psalms* that was written by William Wittingham (Herbert 592). Both poems consist of six stanzas with four lines each, and Herbert also repeats some of Wittingham's words and phrases almost verbatim. Herbert also employs some of the same words and rhyme scheme as is found in Thomas Sternhold's version.

[412] Bloch 295.

scheme of the metrical psalms in *The Whole Book of Psalms,* a poetic form that was generally looked down upon by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poets and educated readers for being clunky and overused. Bloch explains, "Although Herbert no doubt knew it well, the clumsy texts of the [*Whole Book of Psalms*], with their strained rhymes and bumbling meters, have very limited implications for *The Temple.* These were literal paraphrases, fitted as conveniently as possible to a handful of popular tunes; that their aesthetic qualities do not stand up under scrutiny is no surprise."[413] The critical consensus is that, given the rest of Herbert's poetic corpus, he could have written a very different kind of paraphrase of Psalm 23, something more in line with the quality and innovation of Sidney's version. Some critics have sought to make sense of Herbert's choice of common meter and ballad rhyme for "The 23 Psalme" by asserting that he wanted to write a poem that could be sung by congregations and that perhaps "The 23 Psalme" exemplifies Herbert's affirmation of poetic plainness and simplicity in other poems.[414] Yet overall, in their assessment of "The 23 Psalme," scholars have not seen anything especially original or noteworthy in this poem and have not interpreted it as participating in Herbert's larger project of depicting desire and love for God in a way that engages with and responding to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century secular love poetry.

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[413] Bloch 235. Freer similarly writes that "The 23d Psalme"'s "family resemblances [to the versions in *The Whole Book of Psalms*] are evident in the awkward syntax, unusual for Herbert, which opens the psalm: 'The God of Love my shepherd is.' The queerness, even the rusticity of this, is maintained throughout; Herbert has appropriated all the clumsiness of the traditional psalm" (Freer 130).

[414] Summers writes that "The 23 Psalme" is a "congregational hymn" that "was intended to be sung" (Summers, "Too Rich to Clothe the Sunne" 162 and 157). "Davie notes the conjecture that 'he contrived a special rusticity so as to appeal to an unlettered congregation used to the old version of Sternhold and Hopkins.' However, Freer (1972: 12) suggests that, from a religious point of view, Herbert may have seen virtue in those very lame and ill-formed verses which would have been used by his congregation. . ." (Hunter 251). See also Freer 10, 13, and 130-35, and Bloch 295. Marcus puts "The 23 Psalme" in the category of Herbert's poems that employ a "plain style" "to emphasize their connection with the popular style of the English metrical psalms" (Marcus 182).

However, in keeping with his emphasis on the passion of love, Herbert inserts the word "love" at the beginning and end of "The 23 Psalme," a word that is not found in prose translations or earlier metrical paraphrases of Psalm 23. Herbert's poem begins with the statement that "the God of love my shepherd is," and the first line of the final stanza attests to the speaker's experience of God's "sweet and wondrous love."[415] As I will explore further, these lines hint at how "The 23 Psalme" contributes to Herbert's overarching goal of creating a poetry of praise to God for his love and his ongoing activity of meeting people's deepest desires and spiritual needs. Zim explains that "Herbert gave this psalm paraphrase many characteristic details of his own, including an emphasis on the mutual relationship between the 'God of love' and the psalmist, and in the last lines evidence of the psalmist's concern to find fit 'praise' to match God's eternal 'sweet and wondrous love.'"[416]

Even more than this, though, the poem's seemingly close translation of Psalm 23 and its simple and rustic form conceal a sophisticated and nuanced engagement with and response to secular love poetry. Herbert uses Psalm 23 as a scaffold to create "The 23 Psalme" as an answer-poem to Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd," one of the most famous and quintessential love poems of the early modern period. Herbert's "The 23 Psalme" imitates and responds to "The Passionate Shepherd" in order to call attention to the superiority of the Christian God's love, which meets all of a person's desires and fills him with lasting delight. Through its engagement with Scripture, contemporary poetic traditions, and classical sources, "The 23 Psalme" portrays the love between Christ and the speaker as both agapeic and erotic, and challenges readers,

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[415] All quotations from *The Temple* are taken from George Herbert, *The English Poems of George Herbert,* ed. Helen Wilcox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 594.

[416] Zim 207. Lewalski also notes that in "The 23 Psalme" "certain formulations unwarranted by the text of the psalm emphasize specifically Herbertian concerns [such as] mutuality ("While he is mine, and I am his, / What can I want or need," 11. 3-4)" (Lewalski 304).

thereby, to reconsider how Herbert conceives of divine-human desire in *The Temple*. Reading "The 23 Psalme" as an answer-poem to "The Passionate Shepherd" enables us to reevaluate the quality of and significance of "The 23 Psalme," seeing how it both follows and adds to the tradition of literary metrical psalm paraphrases that borrow from secular love lyric traditions in order to grapple with the challenges and joys of desiring God. Interpreting "The 23 Psalme" as a response to "The Passionate Shepherd" allows us to perceive this poem, and *The Temple* as a whole, as a response to an invitation by the "God of love," whose love reveals itself to be both a pastoral ideal and a real intervention in the anti-pastoral challenges to having one's desire for lasting love met in a fallen world.

Christopher Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd" is perhaps the archetypal early modern poem of erotic desire, inspiring and influencing poetic representations of desire throughout the seventeenth century and beyond.[417] In the poem's first line, the speaker expresses his desire for his beloved to "come live with me, and be my love."[418] The rest of the poem conveys the speaker's efforts to persuade his beloved to accept his invitation and, thereby, to fulfill his erotic desires. The speaker makes a series of promises to his beloved, describing the sensual "pleasures" and "delights" that she will experience if she accepts his invitation. The speaker hopes that his beloved will have the same kind of desire for erotic pleasures that he does, and that she will want to fulfill her desires with him.

"The Passionate Shepherd" is the early modern love poem that inspired the greatest number of answer-poems, which either imitated its invitation to sensual

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[417] For a history of poetic responses to Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd," see Hannibal Hamlin, "Replying to Raleigh's 'The Nymph's Reply.'"

[418] All quotations from this poem are taken from Marlowe 207.

pleasures or rejected and critiqued this invitation.[419] This trend of answer-poems began in print with the 1600 publication of the anthology *England's Helicon*, which contains what is considered the authoritative version of "The Passionate Shepherd" followed by two response poems: Sir Walter Raleigh's "The Nymph's Reply" and the anonymous poem "Another of the same nature, made since."[420] These two poems initiate and exemplify the two predominant modes of poetic response to "The Passionate Shepherd." "Another of the same nature, made since" models the first common mode of response: poems that imitate or adapt the invitation structure and language of "The Passionate Shepherd," petitioning the addressee to enter into a romantic relationship with the speaker and promising sensory, even amatory pleasures if the speaker accepts this invitation. These imitative invitation poems often elaborate on Marlowe's original by heightening the pleasures promised to the addressee.[421] On the other hand, Sir Walter Raleigh's "The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd" initiates the other common mode of poetic response: answer-poems that depict the addressee's reply to Marlowe's shepherd or to a similar kind of invitation, following Raleigh's example of creating a dialogue with Marlowe's shepherd. Often these poems express the speaker's reservations toward and rejection of the invitation, and they explain the speaker's reasons for declining.[422] Given Herbert's education, social milieu, and familial connections, it is highly likely that he had

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[419] Cheney 171.

[420] Hamlin, "Replying to Raleigh's 'The Nymph's Reply'" 181. All quotations of these poems are taken from Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Poems and Translations,* ed. Stephen Orgel (New York: Penguin Books, 2007), pp. 209 and 211.

[421] Hamlin asserts that "Another of the same nature, made since" imitates Marlowe's poem and responds by "simply adding more tempting pastoral delights" ("Replying to Raleigh's 'The Nymph's Reply'" 174). An example of a poetic response in this mode, with which George Herbert was likely familiar, is the poem by William Herbert that begins, "Dear leave thy home and come with me."

[422] As Hamlin explains, "The Passionate Shepherd" and the tradition of poetic responses to it center on "the pleasures of love offered and resisted" ("Replying to Raleigh's 'The Nymph's Reply'" 181).

read “The Passionate Shepherd” and the response poems in *England’s Helicon*, along with other early-seventeenth-century poetic responses.[423] In “The 23 Psalme” Herbert, like Raleigh, chose to write the latter mode of response, his speaker rejecting Marlowe’s shepherd’s invitation to seek the fulfillment of his desires with an earthly lover.

Scholars also have categorized poetic responses to “The Passionate Shepherd” in terms of the poems’ attitudes toward pastoral love, an idealized relationship of joy and pleasure between two lovers in a pastoral *locus amoenus.* These attitudes range from optimism and affirmation to skepticism and deep cynicism with regards to whether pastoral love can fulfill a person’s desires. On the one end of the spectrum, critics have categorized some poetic responses as “pastoral” because they express hope in such ideal love and the possibility of its fulfillment. For example, in an untitled poem by William Herbert, the speaker tells his addressee: “Here, we will live, within this Park; / A Court of Joy, and Pleasure’s Ark!”[424] On the other hand, critics have labeled many seventeenth-century poetic replies as “anti-pastoral.” Beginning with Raleigh’s “The Nymph’s Reply,” these anti-pastoral poems convey a skepticism, cynicism, or sense of hopelessness regarding the attainability of such pastoral love, whether it can be experienced at all and whether it can be sustained.[425] These poems often express a

[423] A couple of poems that it is highly likely Herbert read, given his family connections, are the poem by William Herbert that begins “Dear leave thy home and come with me” and John Donne’s “The Bait.”

[424] The poem begins, “Dear leave thy home and come with me.” See *The Jonson Anthology: 1617-1637 A.D.*, ed. Edward Arber (London: H. Frowde, 1899), p. 115. Another example of a pastoral response is Robert Herrick’s “To Phillis to love, and live with him,” which ends with the lines: “These (nay) and more, thine own shal be / If thou wilt love, and live with me.” See Robert Herrick, *The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick, Volume I*, ed. T.G.S. Cain and Ruth Connolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 181-82.

[425] Hamlin writes that Raleigh’s “sceptical critique of pastoral idealism proved . . . influential” for subsequent literary responses to “The Passionate Shepherd” (“Replying to Raleigh’s ‘The Nymph’s Reply’” 168). Hamlin also asserts that “many of the post-sixteenth-century invitation poems incorporated the anti-pastoral perspective of Raleigh’s reply” (181).

critical stance toward pastoral love, implicitly or explicitly criticizing the perceived duplicity in the promise of an ideal love that cannot actually be attained.

A related way in which scholars group poetic responses to "The Passionate Shepherd" is in terms of the degree and explicitness of their eroticism in conveying the speaker's desire for his beloved. In poems that imitate "The Passionate Shepherd," the erotic nature of the invitation, as an appeal to a sexual relationship with the young woman, is kept implicit, while in other poetic responses the speaker makes his erotic intentions much more explicit, the most extreme early modern example being Thomas Carew's "A Rapture." Concomitant to the degree of eroticism are the poems' varying attitudes toward the desire for such a physical relationship: for example, whether it is an integral part of an ideal pastoral love or whether it reveals that the invitation is actually a seduction or a *carpe diem* concession to the brevity of human life and love.[426]

Herbert's "The 23 Psalme" participates in this seventeenth-century vogue for poetic responses to Marlowe's poem. Herbert alludes to and echoes the diction and rhymes of "The Passionate Shepherd" in order to respond to Marlowe's shepherd's invitation to satisfy erotic desires through an idyllic pastoral love. In doing so, Herbert's "The 23 Psalme" engages with common attitudes toward pastoral love and the erotic in new and unexpected ways, revealing how a Christian pastoral response challenges both the cynicism of the anti-pastoral and the naivete of the pastoral, as well as the common assumption of the dichotomy between pastoral and anti-pastoral outlooks on human desire.[427] On the level of form, "The Passionate Shepherd" and "The 23 Psalme" both consist of six stanzas with four lines each, and the common meter of "The 23 Psalme" is

[426] Hamlin, "Replying to Raleigh's 'The Nymph's Reply'" 170 and 183.

[427] For a history of how "sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers adapted their treatments of Psalm 23 to the conventions of classical pastoral," see the chapter "Renaissance pastoral and Psalm 23" in Hannibal Hamlin's *Psalm Culture* (147-72).

quite similar to the iambic tetrameter of "The Passionate Shepherd."[428] What critics have seen as the "rustic" and "clumsy" poetic form of "The 23 Psalme" is another way in which Herbert responds to contemporary cultural cynicism toward what is simple and seemingly naive and expresses his vision of an unsophisticated, yet still beautiful, pastoral poetry.[429] In both its content and form, "The 23 Psalme" exemplifies Freer's assertion regarding Herbert's poetry in general "that in Herbert's design the apparently artless becomes the artful; what might at first be taken for violation of deliberateness in design may become, for the attentive reader, a highly deliberate stroke."[430]

"The Passionate Shepherd" begins with the following invitation to seek the fulfillment of one's desire for pleasures by becoming the shepherd's "love":

Come live with me, and be my love,
And we will all the pleasures prove
That valleys, groves, hills, and fields,
Woods, or steepy mountain yields.

From its first stanza, Herbert's poem follows in the tradition of answer-poems to "The Passionate Shepherd" that decline Marlowe's shepherd's offer and explain the reasons for why he does not want or need to be the shepherd's "love." Herbert's speaker states,

The God of love my shepherd is,
And he that doth me feed:
While he is mine, and I am his,

[428] Whittingham's version is the only other sixteenth-century or seventeenth-century metrical paraphrase of Psalm 23 that uses the same combination of six stanzas and four lines per stanza. This suggests an intentionality on Herbert's part to imitate the poetic structure of "The Passionate Shepherd."

[429] Freer writes that "The 23d Psalme"'s "family resemblances [to the versions in *The Whole Book of Psalms*] are evident in the awkward syntax, unusual for Herbert, which opens the psalm: 'The God of Love my shepherd is.' The queerness, even the rusticity of this, is maintained throughout; Herbert has appropriated all the clumsiness of the traditional psalm" (Freer 130).

[430] Freer 47.

What can I want or need?

In these lines Herbert's speaker implicitly rejects Marlowe's shepherd's invitation by explaining that he is already in a relationship with a different shepherd. The poem conveys its nature as a reply to "The Passionate Shepherd" through the specific diction and syntax of the first line, which are an antimetabole of "The Passionate Shepherd's" first line. That is, the words "love my shepherd is" are almost the same as Marlowe's shepherd's invitation to "be my love" but with the order transposed. Herbert's speaker first echoes Marlowe's word "love," responding to Marlowe's shepherd's desire that the addressee be his "love" by stating that he has already chosen a different shepherd, the "God of love." By beginning his poem with the phrase "God of love," Herbert also deviates from all other English translations of Psalm 23, which use the word "Lord."[431] The name "God of love" not only echoes Marlowe's use of the word "love" but also emphasizes the intimate nature of the relationship between the speaker and shepherd, similar to Marlowe's shepherd's desire for such a relationship with his addressee.[432] Herbert's speaker's imitation of the possessive pronoun "my" further highlights that he is declining Marlowe's shepherd's invitation to be "*my* love" because he is already in such a relationship with "*my* shepherd." Finally, the being verb "is" at the end of Herbert's first line echoes Marlowe's shepherd's petition to "*be* my love" and underscores that Herbert's speaker is already in such a relationship, the end rhyme of "is" and "his" reinforcing that the speaker is someone else's love and, therefore, does not have any desire to be the shepherd's love.

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[431] Herbert 595. The Coverdale, Geneva, and King James versions all translate the first half of the first verse as "The Lord is my shepherd."

[432] The name "God of love" also suggests comparisons to Eros or Cupid, the classical god of love. I will address this in my analysis of subsequent stanzas, in which Herbert develops this comparison further. The first English translation of Apuleius's *Metamorphoses,* which contained this myth, was published in 1566 by William Adlington, and the story of Cupid and Psyche became quite popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so that the phrase "God of love" would immediately call to mind the classical god of love.

In the poem's third line – "While he is mine, and I am his" – Herbert's speaker further describes his relationship with his shepherd in such a way as to frame the poem as a response to "The Passionate Shepherd." This line clarifies who the "God of love" is by quoting from the Song of Songs, the pastoral love poem of the Hebrew and Christian scriptures and a significant literary influence on the European invitation-poem tradition, including Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd."[433] In chapter two of the Song of Songs, the young woman recounts her shepherd-lover's invitation: "My well-beloved spake and said unto me, Arise, my love, my fair one, and come thy way. . . . Arise my love, my fair one, and come away."[434] Just a few verses after this, the young woman answers the shepherd with the words that Herbert copies: "My beloved is mine and I am his."[435] Herbert encodes this biblical invitation and answer into his own poem, conveying the backstory that his speaker is like the young woman who has been wooed by the shepherd in the Song of Songs and has experienced the fulfillment of her desire for love with him. Given that the Song of Songs was also interpreted allegorically as depicting the relationship between the Christian soul and Christ, Herbert's shepherd comes across simultaneously as a passionate shepherd-lover and as Christ, the "good shepherd."[436] By quoting this line from the Song of Songs, the first stanza further sets up Herbert's

[433] Erik Gray asserts that the "tradition of the invitation poem begins with the biblical Song of Songs," which "comprises a series of passionate erotic lyrics, spoken alternately by a woman and a man" (Gray 370 and 372). Gray argues that "The Passionate Shepherd" "reflects the precedent of the Song of Songs" and draws on the Song of Songs in its depiction of an invitation to pastoral love (377).

[434] Song of Songs 2:10-13, Geneva translation.

[435] Song of Songs 2:16, King James Version. The Geneva translation states similarly, "My well-beloved is mine, and I am his." Herbert's paraphrase of Psalm 23 is the only sixteenth- or seventeenth-century paraphrase of Psalm 23 that alludes to Song of Songs.

[436] In the Geneva Bible translation, the footnote to the first verse of Song of Songs states, "This is spoken in the person of the Church, or of the faithful soul inflamed with the desire of Christ, whom she loveth."

"The 23 Psalme" as the speaker's reply that he has already accepted the invitation of another shepherd, the "God of love," and is in an intimate relationship with him.[437]

This line and the next follow the tradition of poems that respond to "The Passionate Shepherd" with an increased pastoral idealism: Herbert's speaker expresses that his relationship with the God of love is even better than a relationship with Marlowe's shepherd could be. In Marlowe's shepherd's invitation to "come live with me and be my love," the first-person pronouns "me" and "my" reveal the shepherd's emphasis on what he wants in the relationship and how it will benefit him. In contrast, when Herbert's speaker states that "he is mine, and I am his," he employs both first- and third-person pronouns. As Bloch and Wilcox note, the phrasing of this line from the Song of Songs conveys the mutuality and reciprocity of the love between the shepherd and his beloved, a love in which each belongs to the other and gives oneself to the other.[438] Through borrowing this phrase, Herbert's speaker emphasizes that his relationship with the God of love is superior to that promised by Marlowe's shepherd not only because it is one of mutual love and enjoyment, but also because Herbert's speaker already experiences these pleasures. As Bloch notes, the line from the Song of Songs expresses the present fulfillment of the desired love between the shepherd and speaker, rather than just the promise of such fulfillment by Marlowe's shepherd.[439] While the original psalm makes the

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[437] In John 10:11 and John 10:14 Jesus emphasizes how he protects and takes care of people as a "good shepherd" protects and takes care of his sheep. Herbert transforms this metaphor in that he depicts the relationship as between two people rather than between a shepherd and his sheep. In contrast, other early modern metrical paraphrases and commentaries on Psalm 23 maintain the metaphor of shepherd and sheep (Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* 156-59). Herbert draws the name "God of love" from 1 John 4:8 and 1 John 4:16, "superimpos[ing] the NT image of God" onto the psalm (Herbert 595). Herbert uses this phrase "God of love" as a name for the Christian God in four other poems that precede "The 23 Psalme" in *The Temple*: "Whitsunday," "Even-song," "Antiphon" (II), and "Ephes. 4.30: *Grieve not the Holy Spirit, &c.*"

[438] Bloch 293. Herbert 540. Herbert uses this same line from *Song of Songs* at the beginning of "Clasping of hands": "Lord, thou art mine, and I am thine" (l. 1).

[439] Bloch 293.

future indicative statement that "I shall not want," Herbert rephrases this as a rhetorical question in the present tense: "What can I want or need?" By using the verbs "want" and "need," Herbert emphasizes that the word "want" does not just mean "to lack" or "to be deficient in," but also to "wish" or "desire."[440] By using a rhetorical question, the speaker asserts that currently he has and will continue to have all that he desires and, therefore, that he does not want or need anything from Marlowe's shepherd.[441] In other words, the speaker is not interested in proving "all the pleasures" with Marlowe's shepherd because he already experiences them with the God of love, who fulfills all of his desires and needs. The lines of the first stanza work together to depict an idyllic relationship of love and an experience of pleasures that supersede the love and pleasures promised by Marlowe's shepherd.

Similarly to how "The Passionate Shepherd" sublimates the erotic fulfillment of desire into the sensory pleasures of the pastoral landscape, the second stanza of "The 23 Psalme" translates the erotic implications of the line from the Song of Songs into the pleasures of the pastoral setting and the activity of eating.[442] In this stanza, Herbert manipulates verse 2 of Psalm 23 in order to respond line-by-line to the pleasures described in "The Passionate Shepherd," continuing to assert that the pleasures he

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[440] *Oxford English Dictionary,* "want" v., I. "to be lacking, to lack, and related senses" and III. "to wish, desire, and related senses." Herbert's version stands out from Whittingham's in that Herbert combines Whittingham's verb "need" with the verb "want" from the Geneva and King James prose translations of the verse: "I shall not want."

[441] In turning the latter phrase of the first verse -- "I shall not want" -- into a question, Herbert draws from Whittingham's version, which states, "How can I then lacke anything / whereof I stand in need?" However, the emphasis in Whittingham's version is on not lacking "anything" because the Lord supports and feeds him: "The Lord is only my support, / and he that doth me feed." In contrast, Herbert's emphasis is on the relationship of love between the shepherd and the speaker as the reason why he does not want or need anything from anyone else.

[442] Gray asserts that Marlowe draws on the Song of Songs for his depiction of an "eroticized *locus amoenus*" in "The Passionate Shepherd," "reassign[ing] the 'pleasures' to the exploration of nature" (Gray 378). Judith Haber concurs that in "The Passionate Shepherd" "sensual passion is repeatedly subsumed into sensory 'pleasures' . . . (seeing, hearing, touching)" (Haber 15).

receives from his shepherd are superior to those promised by Marlowe's shepherd. Marlowe's shepherd states:

> And we will sit upon the rocks,
>
> Seeing the shepherds feed their flocks
>
> By shallow rivers, to whose falls
>
> Melodious birds sing madrigals.

In response, Herbert's speaker delineates how his shepherd provides him with an even more idyllic *locus amoenus,* one with greater pleasures that those promised by Marlowe's shepherd:

> He leads me to the tender grasse,
>
> Where I both feed and rest;
>
> Then to the streams that gently passe:
>
> In both I have the best.

In contrast to sitting on hard rocks, Herbert's speaker sits on "tender grasse," the word "tender," not present in the original psalm, emphasizing how much softer his resting place is than that which Marlowe's shepherd offers.[443] While Marlowe's shepherd then describes how they will get to watch "the Shepherds feed their flocks," Herbert's speaker uses the same word "feed" to explain that his shepherd leads him to where *he* gets to feed.[444] Next, in contrast to rivers that lead to "falls," Herbert's speaker is let to streams that "gently passe." The adverb "gently" and the earlier adjective "tender" convey not only the superior quality of the environment that the shepherd provides but also the

[443] The Coverdale and Geneva translations both use the phrase "green pasture," and the King James Version uses "green pastures." Herbert likely borrowed "tender grasse" from Whittingham, who uses the same phrase.

[444] The word "feed" is commonly used in translations of this verse. For example, the Coverdale translation of this verse states, "He shall feed me in a green pasture." Whittingham also uses the verb "feed": "And he that doth me feed." Sternhold uses "feed" as well: "He set me for to feed." What is significant is how Herbert positions his use of the word "feed" to align with the stanza, the line, and even the exact place in the line in which Marlowe uses the same word.

speaker's subjective experience of this environment as an expression of the shepherd's love. In the final line of the stanza the speaker sums up his experience by stating that "I have the best." The speaker's emphasis on "the best," which is not in the original psalm, further underscores that Herbert's speaker is responding to Marlowe's shepherd, asserting the superiority of the pastoral pleasures provided by his shepherd. The first two stanzas of "The 23 Psalme" thus form a cohesive response to "The Passionate Shepherd," using Psalm 23 as a scaffold to imitate but also supersede the pastoral idealism of Marlowe's shepherd's invitation.

Marlowe's shepherd continues his promises of pastoral pleasures in subsequent stanzas of "The Passionate Shepherd," detailing what he will give to his beloved in the hopes that she will assent and requite his desire for erotic pleasures. In contrast, the third and fourth stanzas of "The 23 Psalme" depart radically from this idealization, and it could be argued that these stanzas of "The 23 Psalme" no longer respond to "The Passionate Shepherd," instead just paraphrasing Psalm 23. However, in the next two stanzas Herbert continues to reply to Marlowe's poem by addressing what "The Passionate Shepherd" leaves out: the absent presences of mutability, seduction, and mortality that Sir Walter Raleigh calls attention to in "The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd" – absent presences that threaten to expose the emptiness of Marlowe's shepherd's promise to requite his beloved's desires with "all the pleasures" they can "prove."[445] Raleigh's poem is not the first to express an anti-pastoral perspective; such questioning of an ideal pastoral love has been depicted within the pastoral tradition since its classical origins in Theocritus' *Idylls* and Virgil's *Eclogues.* The third and fourth stanzas of Herbert's "The 23 Psalme" acknowledge and respond to these anti-pastoral

[445] Hamlin describes Raleigh's "sceptical critique of pastoral idealism" as "emphasizing mutability, decay, and the passage of time" ("Replying to Raleigh's 'The Nymph's Reply'" 168). For example, Raleigh's nymph asserts that "The flowers do fade, and wanton fields, / To wayward winter reckoning yields."

critiques of the possibility of perfectly requiting a person's desires through using elements of Psalm 23 as well as allusions to the Song of Songs and the myth of Cupid and Psyche.

The third stanza of "The 23 Psalme" first addresses the problem of the mutability of human love: that, as Wyatt depicts so aptly in his Penitential Psalms, human desires cannot help but fluctuate, not only waxing but also waning. Herbert alters the original psalm to highlight the speaker's inconstancy in his love for God and to emphasize the God of love's ability to overcome this problem. Herbert's speaker states:

> Or if I stray, he doth convert
>
> And bring my minde in frame:
>
> And all this not for my desert,
>
> But for his holy name.

In the first two lines Herbert's speaker echoes the language of Marlowe's shepherd's final petition: "If these delights thy mind may move, / Then live with me, and be my love." With Herbert's initial phrase "if I stray," he parallels Marlowe's use of the word "if" to create a conditional clause. However, while Marlowe's shepherd focuses on the possibility of persuading his beloved to live with him and be his love, Herbert's poem uses the word "stray" to call attention to the flipside of mutability: that the speaker may decide to leave the shepherd he is with and forsake his love. This idea of straying is not found in the original psalm, which instead states, "He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his Name's sake."[446] Herbert departs radically from the

[446] Psalm 23:3, King James Version. The Geneva translation is identical to it except that it uses the word "and" instead of a colon between the two clauses. The Geneva translation also adds a footnote, interpreting the initial phrase "He restoreth my soul" as meaning that God "comforteth or refresheth me," not that God brings the speaker back from his wandering. The Coverdale translation states, "He shall convert my soul," perhaps implicitly suggesting that the speaker has strayed, but not stating it. In using the word "stray," Herbert instead draws upon other passages of Scripture and upon the General Confession portion of the Morning Prayer in *The Book of Common Prayer* (Cummings 103).

idea of restoration and comfort in the original psalm to instead emphasize his shepherd's work of persuasion: "he doth convert / And bring my minde in frame." Here Herbert's speaker emulates Marlowe's shepherd's goal that "these delights thy mind may move." Rather than use the word "soul" that is found in all prose translations of the verse, Herbert uses Marlowe's word "mind" to describe the object of his shepherd's persuasion. The choice of the verb "convert" and its placement at the end of the line also align Herbert's shepherd's action with that of Marlowe's shepherd: to turn the speaker's mind back to him so that the speaker will again desire God and commit to live with him and be his love.[447] However, while Marlowe's shepherd uses the conditional "if" and the subjunctive mood – "*If* these delights thy mind *may* move" – Herbert's speaker uses the word "doth" in the indicative mood – "he *doth* convert" – to emphasize the superior ability of his shepherd to move him to be his love. In contrast to Marlowe's shepherd, Herbert's God of love responds to the problems of human mutability and inconstancy not just with an attempt at persuasion, but with sure success.

Yet this goal and ability to move the speaker's mind raise the question of the shepherd's motivation for doing so and call to mind a common anti-pastoral critique of Marlowe's shepherd and of the pastoral invitation more generally: that the shepherd wants his addressee to live with him primarily to satisfy his own desires, and that the invitation is actually an attempt at seduction and control.[448] The final line of Herbert's

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[447] Herbert borrows much of this stanza from Sternhold's metrical version, which states, "He did convert and glad my soul, / and brought my mind in frame: / To walk in paths of righteousness / for his most holy name." Yet Herbert makes a few significant changes to Sternhold's lines. He shifts the word "convert" to the end of the first line, emphasizing the shepherd's goal of persuading the speaker. Herbert also omits the word "soul" so that the stanza focuses entirely on the converting of the speaker's mind. While Herbert clearly draws on the sense of "convert" as to "turn back, cause to return; . . . to bring back, restore" (*OED* I.3), I believe that he also draws on the sense of "convert" as to "turn in mind, feeling, or conduct; to bring into another state (of mind, etc.)" (*OED* II.8).

[448] As Hamlin explains, Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd" is "a self-consciously artificial seduction poem," and "Raleigh's worldly-wise nymph . . . recognizes the shepherd's sexual motive" ("Replying to Raleigh's 'The Nymph's Reply'" 170).

third stanza addresses this criticism by asserting the purity of Herbert's shepherd's motivation: that he moves the speaker's mind "for his holy name." The added word "holy," not in the original psalm, conveys Herbert's speaker's belief that his shepherd is not acting from ulterior, self-serving motives.[449] Ending the stanza with the phrase "holy name" also underscores what Herbert's shepherd's name reveals about his motives for moving the speaker's mind: that although he is the "God of love," he is not Eros or Cupid, the capricious classical god of egocentric sexual desire, but the faithful biblical God of altruistic love.

Herbert uses the next stanza of "The 23 Psalme" to demonstrate the holy nature of his shepherd's love and to address the problem of mortality – the other absent presence in "The Passionate Shepherd" that is a key part of the critique in Raleigh's "The Nymph's Reply" and other subsequent anti-pastoral poetic responses because it results, inevitably, in unfulfilled desire. Raleigh's nymph critiques Marlowe's shepherd's promises as a delusive "fancy" because they ignore the inevitability of death, including the death of the shepherd's love.[450] Marlowe's shepherd promises to give his beloved "beds of roses" and a "kirtle" of myrtle, both of which are plants that symbolize love.[451] Yet, as Raleigh's nymph points out, the roses, myrtle, and other things that Marlowe's shepherd promises to his addressee cannot last but will all eventually decay and die:

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[449] Here I believe that Herbert is drawing on the sense of "holy" as "free from all contamination of sin and evil, morally and spiritually perfect and unsullied, possessing the infinite moral perfection which Christianity attributes to the Divine character" (*OED* "holy, adj. 2.a."). The only other metrical version of Psalm 23 that contains the word "holy" is Sternhold's, which states, "for his most holy name."

[450] In "The Nymph's Reply" Raleigh uses the word "fancy" in the sense of a "delusive imagination; hallucination; fantasy" and "a supposition resting on no solid grounds" (OED "fancy," n., A. 3 and 6).

[451] Myrtle trees are a symbol of love in Greek and Roman mythology. The myrtle tree was sacred to Venus and was thought to incite enduring love.

"soon break, soon wither, soon forgotten: / In folly ripe, in reason rotten."[452] For Raleigh's nymph, their inevitable decay signifies that love, including the shepherd's love, will also wither and die, so that the desire for a never ending love cannot be fulfilled.

In the fourth stanza of "The 23 Psalme" Herbert's speaker responds to this problem by describing how his shepherd's love does not waver in the face of mortality. Unlike human lovers or even Cupid, his shepherd remains with him and guides him through experiences that are literally or figuratively like a journey through death. The speaker states,

> Yea, in deaths shadie black abode
>
> Well may I walk, not fear:
>
> For thou art with me; and thy rod
>
> To guide, thy staff to bear.[453]

While Marlowe's shepherd promises to live with his beloved in a pastoral idyll of "beds of roses," Herbert's shepherd walks with him in death's abode, not just to prove "all the pleasures," but also to "guide" and "bear" the speaker. Herbert's description of this locale departs significantly from that in prose translations of the original psalm, which refer to it as "the valley of the shadow of death." In contrast, Herbert's phrasing of "deaths shadie black abode" recalls Hades and the myth of Cupid and Psyche, in which Psyche must embark on a perilous journey through the underworld by herself, without Cupid, in contrast to Herbert's speaker, who is accompanied by the "God of love" throughout his journey. Instead of offering perishable flowers and clothing, Herbert's shepherd proffers

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[452] Hamlin writes, "Raleigh's worldly-wise nymph not only recognizes the shepherd's sexual motive but challenges the very pastoral principles on which his argument is based. . . . Raleigh's nymph presents the pastoral world as if in time-lapse photography, where all nature withers, dies, and grows cold" ("Replying to Raleigh's 'The Nymph's Reply'" 170).

[453] The Geneva Bible translation reads, "Yea, though I should walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me: thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me" (Psalm 23:4). The King James translation is identical except for the punctuation.

his “rod” and “staff,” which provide ongoing guidance and support for the speaker. Given that the word “rod” is paired with the end rhyme “abode,” it also signifies the “rode” or cross on which Christ died, and in other poems in *The Temple* the word “staff” also refers to Christ’s cross.[454] The words “rod” and “staff” thus suggest that, in contrast to Marlowe’s shepherd’s fleeting and self-serving love, Herbert’s shepherd demonstrates his immutable and selfless love for the speaker, a love that overcomes the problem of death by the shepherd’s own self-sacrifice.[455]

After addressing the problems of mutability, seduction, and mortality highlighted in anti-pastoral critiques of pastoral love, the speaker returns in the fifth and sixth stanzas of “The 23 Psalme” to a closer response to the content of “The Passionate Shepherd” and its promise of the fulfillment of erotic desire in pastoral pleasures. The fifth stanza of “The 23 Psalme” circles back to parallel and reply to Marlowe’s second stanza in particular. However, rather than returning to the idealized *locus amoenus* of Marlowe’s stanza, Herbert’s speaker builds on the third and fourth stanzas of “The 23 Psalme,” continuing to describe how the God of love meets the speaker’s desires and fulfills the pastoral ideal within the reality of threats to this ideal. He states:

> Nay, thou dost make me sit and dine,
>
> Ev’n in my enemies sight:
>
> My head with oyl, my cup with wine
>
> Runnes over day and night.

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[454] As Wilcox explains, “In *The Temple* as a whole, the overtones of ‘staff’ are more specifically of the crucifixion, as in 98 *Conscience* 21-3: ‘Some wood and nails to make a staffe or bill . . . The bloudie crosse of my deare Lord’” (Herbert 596). In addition, “The Church Militant” contains the line, “Now with the crosse, as with a staffe, alone” (l. 28).

[455] Wilcox writes, “This OT image [in Psalm 23 of the shepherd] . . . is fulfilled in the NT by Christ, ‘the good shepherd’ who will ‘lay down [his] life for the sheep’ (*John* x 14)” (Herbert 595). Herbert’s stanza also recalls the statement in Song of Songs 8:6, that “love is strong as death” (Geneva and King James translations).

These lines echo and respond line-by-line to the diction in Marlowe's second stanza, in which the speaker promises:

> And we will sit upon the rocks,
>
> Seeing the shepherds feed their flocks
>
> By shallow rivers, to whose falls
>
> Melodious birds sing madrigals.

While Marlowe's shepherd posits a pastoral idyll in which they will sit and see "the shepherds feed their flocks," Herbert's shepherd has the speaker "sit and dine" in the sight of his enemies.[456] The words "sit and dine," not found in the original psalm, highlight Herbert's shepherd's bountiful provision for and protection of the speaker in the face of enemies. In the third and fourth lines Herbert's speaker elaborates on this provision, contrasting the waterfalls in "The Passionate Shepherd" with his shepherd's gift of wine that "runnes over day and night." Here Herbert inserts the word "wine," which is not found in the original psalm or in "The Passionate Shepherd."[457] However, wine and feasting are commonly featured in poetic responses to "The Passionate Shepherd," and in this context the wine symbolizes the pleasures of pastoral love and perhaps even the epitome of these pleasures, given that wine represents a love that does not decay but improves with age.[458] Herbert heightens this signification of wine as the apex of pastoral pleasures in that his wine "runnes over day and night," symbolizing the abundance of the love and pleasures that Herbert's shepherd provides. While Herbert draws the phrase

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[456] The word "sit" in the first line of Herbert's stanza is not found in any of the prose translations or other metrical versions, but rather directly echoes the word "sit" in the first line of Marlowe's second stanza. Of the prose translations, only the Geneva translation includes the word "sight": "Thou dost prepare a table before me in the sight of mine adversaries" (Psalm 23:5).

[457] The Geneva and King James translations simply state that "my cup runneth over" (Psalm 23:5).

[458] For example, wine appears in William Herbert's poem that begins, "Dear! Leave thy home; and come with me!" and in Robert Herrick's "To Phillis to love, and live with him." In contrast, no previous metrical paraphrase of Psalm 23 contains the word "wine."

"runnes over" from the Geneva and King James translations, he adds "day and night" to emphasize that the pleasures are continuous and unending. Through this imagery of dining and drinking wine in the sight of enemies, the poem depicts how, unlike Marlowe's shepherd, the God of love brings together the ideal and the real, lavishly providing for the speaker's desires and needs in the present reality of a mutable and hostile world.[459]

In using the word "wine," Herbert also simultaneously follows and departs from the tradition of poetic responses to "The Passionate Shepherd" that depict sexual pleasure as a key component to the fulfillment of desire and the experience of pastoral love. As noted previously, some poetic responses to "The Passionate Shepherd" make explicit the eroticism implicit in Marlowe's shepherd's invitation. "The 23 Psalme" engages with this erotic undercurrent again in the fifth stanza through the language of dining and wine. The dining and wine recall again the Song of Songs, which repeatedly uses these activities, especially the drinking of wine, to metaphorically connote the physical consummation of the young man and woman's relationship and the pleasures they experience in this expression of their love.[460] The young woman in the Song of Songs declares that "under his shadow had I delight, and sat down: and his fruit was sweet unto my mouth. He brought me into the wine cellar, and love was his banner over me. Stay me with flagons, and comfort me with apples: for I am sick of love. His left hand is under mine head, and his right hand doth embrace me."[461] In these verses the young

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[459] Rosemary Margaret van Wengen-Shute also asserts that this stanza emphasizes the present experience of pastoral and eucharistic pleasures: "Herbert rejoices not only in the hope of heavenly joys to come, but also in the earthly joys available here and now in the sacrament of Communion" (Wengen-Shute 50).

[460] In the first line of the sixth stanza of "The 23 Psalme," the speaker describes his shepherd's love as "sweet." This recalls the young woman's repeated use of the word "sweet" in the Song of Songs to describe the taste of the young man's fruit and wine as well as the taste of his mouth. See Song of Songs 5:16.

[461] Song of Songs 2:3-6, Geneva translation. The King James Version similarly states, "I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste. He brought me to the banqueting house, and his banner over me was love. Stay me with flagons, comfort me with

woman metaphorically and metonymically links her activity of drinking the young man's flagons of sweet fruit wine with her pleasurable experience of physical intimacy with him. In alluding to the Song of Songs in "The 23 Psalme," Herbert moves away from simply sublimating the erotic desires embedded in his shepherd's invitation and instead makes them metaphorically explicit. And in contrast to Marlowe's shepherd's longing for erotic intimacy, the overflowing wine signifies that Herbert's shepherd and speaker already enjoy such pleasures.

However, through the symbolism of wine, "The 23 Psalme" also departs from "The Passionate Shepherd" and many response poems that depict such a sexual relationship as a "spring fling" between the shepherd and his beloved. In contrast, since the young man and woman in the Song of Songs repeatedly describe one another as "my spouse," Herbert's allusion to the Song of Songs conveys that he is reconceptualizing the erotic pleasures of pastoral love within the context of marital union.[462] In addition, given Herbert's use of the name "God of love," the depiction of dining and wine also recalls again the myth of Cupid and Psyche, which culminates with their wedding banquet in which they drink ambrosia, the wine of the gods. The overflowing wine in "The 23 Psalme" thus symbolizes the speaker's present experience of the pleasures of love within a marital union, in contrast to the anticipated amorous tryst in "The Passionate Shepherd" and many other poems in the invitation poem tradition. Through the allusions embedded in the word "wine," Herbert responds to "The Passionate Shepherd" by reclaiming sexual pleasures for the ideal of a committed, monogamous love that has been sacralized through a marriage covenant.

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apples: for I am sick of love. His left hand is under my head, and his right hand doth embrace me."

[462] See Song of Songs 4:8-12 and 5:1. For example, the young man tells the woman, "I am come into my garden, my sister, my spouse" (Song of Songs 5:1, King James translation).

"The 23 Psalme" further departs from the Renaissance invitation poem tradition in that it uses this erotic metaphor of overflowing wine to portray the intimate nature of the relationship between the speaker and Christ, rather than between a young woman and man. In doing so, Herbert expands the possibilities of poetic responses to Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd," using the imagery of sexual consummation and pleasure in order to depict the delight and love that the speaker experiences in his communion with the God of love. Herbert draws upon a long exegetical tradition of using erotic human love allegorically as a means to conceptualize and describe divine-human love, understanding the relationship between Christ and the Christian as like that between a husband and wife. According to George Scheper, early modern Protestant biblical commentators "agreed that the nuptial metaphor is uniquely suited to expressing the highest mystery of all (as Paul calls it in Ephesians), the love between God and his people, and that therefore the human language of the Song [of Songs] is dramatically appropriate."[463] Many interpreters spiritualized this union as ecstatic rather than physical in any way; however, Herbert, through his use of the word "wine," connects the spiritual communion between Christ and the speaker to the physical act of drinking wine, in particular the wine of the Eucharist. As Hamlin notes, while it was common to "interpret the meal [in Psalm 23] in sacramental terms as the body and blood of Christ, the Eucharist," Herbert's poem is the first metrical paraphrase to state explicitly that the cup is filled with wine.[464] The added word "wine" works to portray the speaker's activity of

[463] Scheper 558.

[464] Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* 169. None of the earlier metrical paraphrases of Psalm 23 -- by Thomas Sternhold, William Whittingham, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir John Davies, and King James -- contains the word "wine." Only after Herbert's version do paraphrases with "wine" occur, such as George Sandys' 1636 version, which states, "My Mazer flowes with pleasant Wine." See George Sandys, *A Paraphrase vpon the Psalmes of David* (London: At the Bell in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1636), p. 31.

partaking in the Eucharistic meal as the means to his spiritual communion with Christ.[465] "The 23 Psalme" conveys that it is through the sensual experience of the Eucharist that the God of love brings about this intimate communion between himself and the speaker, filling the speaker with spiritual sustenance and delight. Herbert thus expands the possibilities of how to respond to "The Passionate Shepherd," answering back to the invitation to physical pleasures with a human shepherd by describing the intimate sensory and spiritual delight that the speaker experiences with Christ, the God of love. Herbert thereby challenges the assumption in pastoral love poetry that a romantic and sexual relationship with another human being provides the ultimate fulfillment of human desires, while also subverting the common assumption that early modern Protestants rejected physical pleasure and emotional delight as integral components of a relationship with the God of love.

Herbert's speaker concludes his response to "The Passionate Shepherd" in the sixth stanza by proclaiming his shepherd's eternal requiting of the speaker's desires through the shepherd's enduring love for the speaker. The speaker states:

> Surely thy sweet and wondrous love
>
> Shall measure all my dayes;
>
> And as it never shall remove,
>
> So neither shall my praise.

In this final stanza, the poem's use of the word "love" departs from the sixth verse of Psalm 23, which begins, "Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life."[466] Herbert's choice of the word "love" at the end of the first line stands out since no

[465] This interpretation of the wine draws on Christ's own words in the Last Supper, in which he states that the wine represents his blood that would be shed on the cross. Christ's Passion and the speaker's remembrance of this through partaking of the Eucharist enable the speaker to know Christ's love in a visceral way.

[466] Psalm 23:6, King James Version. The Geneva translation similarly states, "Doubtless kindness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life." The Coverdale translation comes

prior English translation or paraphrase uses this word in the final verse of Psalm 23.[467] Instead of following the original psalm, the final stanza borrows the diction and end rhyme of "love" and "move" in the fifth and sixth stanzas of "The Passionate Shepherd." In the sixth stanza Marlowe's shepherd ends the poem by proclaiming:

> The shepherd swains shall dance and sing
>
> For thy delight each May morning.
>
> If these delights thy mind may move,
>
> Then live with me, and be my love.

Through Herbert's echoing of the words "love" and "move," the final stanza of "The 23 Psalme" responds one last time to an anti-pastoral critique of Marlowe's shepherd's love: this time replying to the critique that Marlowe's eternizing conceit is, in the words of Rebecca C. Potter, an "alluring fantasy of eternal life granted through eternal love."[468] According to Hamlin, Marlowe's shepherd's promise of "delight each May morning" suggests a promised escape to an atemporal idyll outside of time, in which he and his addressee can live and love one another forever.[469] However, as Douglas Bruster notes, Raleigh's nymph "argues against [such] an eternizing conceit," contending that the shepherd's love cannot make "youth last," and, therefore, that the shepherd cannot fulfill his promise of an ideal pastoral love of never-ending pleasure and joy.[470] The

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closest to Herbert's version in its use of the word "loving-kindness": "But thy loving-kindness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life."

[467] To translate the Hebrew words "hesed" and "tov," other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English translations and paraphrases use words like "mercy," "grace," "goodness," "kindness," "loving-kindness," and "favour."

[468] Potter 109-10.

[469] Hamlin, "Replying to Raleigh's 'The Nymph's Reply'" 170.

[470] Bruster 52. Raleigh's nymph raises this anti-pastoral critique in the final stanza, in which she posits a hypothetical eternal youth: "But could youth last, and love still breed, / Had joys no date, nor age no need."

anti-pastoral critique is that, given the inevitability of death, Marlowe's shepherd is intentionally trying to deceive his addressee regarding the possibility of eternal love.

In the final two lines of "The 23 Psalme," Herbert significantly alters the last verse of Psalm 23 to respond to this anti-pastoral skepticism regarding Marlowe's shepherd's eternizing capabilities and to describe how Herbert's shepherd accomplishes such a task. Speaking of his shepherd's love, Herbert's speaker states, "And as it never shall remove, / So neither shall my praise." The syntax of "as" and "so" creates a causal connection between his shepherd's constant, never-ending love and the speaker's unending praise, conveying that Christ's unceasing love brings about the speaker's eternal life and praise. Herbert's insertion of the word "sweet" to describe Christ's love in the first line of this stanza links the eternizing power of his love with the cup of wine in the previous stanza. This connection grounds Christ's eternizing capabilities in the Christian belief that the wine (which signifies his blood and atoning death) and the consumption of this wine by faith are the means to eternal life with Christ.[471] Here again, the wine also recalls the myth of Cupid and Psyche, in which Cupid persuades Jupiter to give Psyche ambrosia, the wine of the gods, which endows her with immortality so that she may live with Cupid forever. Christ, the Christian God of love, similarly endows the speaker with immortality through his own wine so that they may live together and love one another forever. Thus, Herbert points back to both classical mythology and the Bible to respond to anti-pastoral critiques that the promise of eternal love is a duplicitous fantasy, giving false hope that the desire for such love can be fulfilled. In both traditions,

[471] *The Book of Common Prayer* explains the Anglican Church's receptionist stance regarding the Lord's Supper and the eternal benefits of partaking of the Lord's Supper for those who do so in faith in "The order for the administration of the Lordes Supper, or holy Communion" (Cummings 124-40). Here the priest states, "Yf wyth a trulye penitente herte and lyvely faith we receive that holy sacrament (for then we spiritually eate the fleshe of Christ, and drincke his blonde, then we dwell in Christe and Christe in us, we be one wyth Christ, and Christe with us)" (Cummings 132).

it is a god who can fulfill this promise, making the pastoral ideal of immutable and everlasting love a reality through the eternizing of the beloved.[472]

Herbert's speaker concludes his response to Marlowe's shepherd by professing his unending praise of the God of love: "And as it never shall remove, / So neither shall my praise." In these two lines Herbert's speaker departs radically from the original ending of Psalm 23, which states, "I will dwell in the house of the LORD for ever."[473] This final verse of the original psalm would seem to be a perfect culminating rejection of Marlowe's shepherd's invitation to "live with me, and be my love." However, Herbert's decision to end "The 23 Psalme" with the word "praise" draws upon the tradition of the singing contest, "one of the most familiar conventions of pastoral [poetry]" that was especially popular in the Renaissance pastoral tradition.[474] And yet Herbert subverts the typical form of the singing contest in that, in this case, the beloved sings his shepherd's praise, rather than vice versa. By ending with the declaration "so neither shall my praise," Herbert's speaker frames the entire poem as a love song of praise to his shepherd, a song that surpasses Marlowe's shepherd's song to him because his ongoing praise of the God of love will never end.

As Hamlin has argued, the whole tradition of response poems to "The Passionate Shepherd" can be seen as an extended singing contest or debate between the pastoral

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[472] This reading of the eternizing of the speaker through Christ's wine concurs with how the final verse of Psalm 23 is typically interpreted: that this verse depicts the speaker now in heaven with the Lord, enjoying eternal life as "a kind of pastoral apotheosis" (Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* 172). Herbert also depicts the eternizing capabilities of the God of love in "Love" (III), which most readers and critics interpret as using the eucharistic language of eating in lines 17-18 to portray the eternal heavenly marriage feast (Herbert 659).

[473] Psalm 23:6, King James Version. William Barton's 1645 revision of this stanza of Herbert's "The 23 Psalme" in *The Book of Psalms in metre* gives a good sense of how Herbert could have written the stanza to more closely follow English prose translations of the final verse: "Thy grace and mercy certainly, / shall measure out my dayes: / And in the house of God will I / for ever give thee praise." See Eric Smith 35.

[474] Hamlin, "Replying to Raleigh's 'The Nymph's Reply'" 198-99.

and anti-pastoral perspectives on love, between poetic professions and defenses of an ideal love on the one hand, and poems refuting the possibility or sustainability of such love on the other.[475] "The 23 Psalme" participates in this contest on two levels: on a textual level through the speaker's song; and on a metatextual level through Herbert's writing of the poem, thereby injecting himself into early modern English debates over pastoral love. Herbert's "The 23 Psalme" contributes to this larger debate through both affirming and questioning Marlowe's shepherd's promises, as well as through both acknowledging and disputing anti-pastoral critiques of pastoral love, thereby challenging the simple dichotomy of pastoral and anti-pastoral. Yet in its ending, "The 23 Psalme" ultimately argues for the victory of an ideal pastoral love through portraying its everlasting fulfillment in heaven.

That said, the scholarly consensus has been that, in the early modern period, the anti-pastoral side won the contest since a greater number of seventeenth-century poems express an anti-pastoral perspective, asserting that ideal pastoral love is a fallacy.[476] These anti-pastoral answer poems respond to the impossibility of ideal pastoral love in several ways. One common mode of response follows an Epicurean bent: *carpe diem* poems that acknowledge the unavoidable and irremediable obstacles of human mortality, lust, and inconstancy, but propose that the best response is to experience as much of love and pleasure as one can in this life.[477] A second common mode of

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[475] Hamlin, "Replying to Raleigh's 'The Nymph's Reply'" 181 and 198-99.

[476] Hamlin asserts, "The long tradition spawned by Marlowe-Raleigh demonstrates that for most readers it was Raleigh who won the debate. While there are some sunny imitations of Marlowe by Herrick and others . . . , many of the post-sixteenth-century invitation poems incorporated the anti-pastoral perspective of Raleigh's reply, even when no reply is literally attached" ("Replying to Raleigh's 'The Nymph's Reply'" p. 181). Gray concurs that "of the many responses and imitations to which 'The Passionate Shepherd' gave rise in the Renaissance, a large proportion evince skepticism of the speaker's offer" (Gray 379).

[477] Much of what has traditionally been called "Cavalier" poetry, written by poets such as Herrick, Carew, and Suckling, as well as the secular love poetry of John Donne and Marvell, falls into this category. See Hyman, *Impossible Desire and the Limits of Knowledge in Renaissance Poetry*.

response are poems that take a more Stoic approach: because of the heartache and sorrow that inevitably result from human love, these poems reject erotic love and instead embrace a life of abstinence and solitude.[478] A final anti-pastoral mode of responding to the invitation to pastoral love is the one in which scholars have tended to group religious poetry of the period: poems that express a Platonic rejection of human love and sensual pleasure in favor of divine love, understood as a disembodied and ecstatic communion with God.[479] This mode of response fits with many scholars' assessment that early modern Protestants, and especially Puritans, were suspicious of and even repudiated physical pleasure and any love not directed toward God.

However, Herbert's "The 23 Psalme" impels us to reconsider this evaluation of how religious poems conceptualize and portray the place of love and desire in the Christian life, and how they respond to the seemingly insurmountable obstacles to an ideal pastoral love relationship. Answering back to the skepticism, cynicism, and hopelessness of many poems that engage in the anti-pastoral modes of response, "The 23 Psalme" attests to the present experience of pastoral love and provides reasons why people should believe that this love can be sustained. Yet in contrast to the naivete of some pastoral poems, "The 23 Psalme" acknowledges the barriers to the fulfillment of an ideal pastoral love, including that a human shepherd and beloved cannot help but fail to attain to this ideal. In response, "The 23 Psalme" reconceptualizes pastoral love, presenting Christ as the divine-human shepherd-lover who can and does make the ideal real through overcoming the obstacles to such love. In portraying pastoral love as a relationship with Christ, a particular and embodied person, "The 23 Psalme" departs

[478] Even some poems that begin with the pastoral ideal then, in the end, reject romantic love, portraying it as a sentiment of youth. For example, in the "December" section of Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender,* Colin asserts that "delight is layd abedde, and pleasure past."

[479] John Milton's "Il Penseroso" and Sir Philip Sidney's "Leave me, O Love, which reachest but to dust" epitomize this type of religious Platonic response. Some secular poetry, such as the Petrarchan love lyric, is also Platonic in how it tends to define and depict ideal love.

from the Platonic mode that portrays ideal love as a union with an abstract and incorporeal Divine Eros. And rather than portraying a loving communion with Christ in a Platonic vein, as requiring the abandonment of sensual delight and pleasure, "The 23 Psalme" draws from the Song of Songs to depict sensual pleasure as an integral means to experiencing Christ's ideal pastoral love. Thus, "The 23 Psalme" reveals a fourth mode of response in the invitation poem tradition, one that I will label eroto-agapeic: poems that accept the invitation to a love relationship with God that synthesizes the sensuality of erotic desire with the self-giving and constancy of biblical *agape*.[480]

This reading of "The 23 Psalme" necessitates that we reexamine the rest of the poems in *The Temple* to reflect on whether they, too, bring together Scripture and the pastoral love tradition to depict how God fulfills people's deepest desires through his eroto-agapeic love. I suggest that, read in light of "The 23 Psalme," the entire "Church" section of *The Temple* presents itself as an invitation to have one's desires for love met through coming to Christ and being his love, from "Superliminare," which directly precedes "The Church," to "Love" (III), the final poem of "The Church."[481] Like "The 23 Psalme," these and many other poems in *The Temple* call attention to the problem of people's inconstancy in their desire and love for Christ and portray how Christ's initiatory, eroto-agapeic love overcomes this problem. As "Whitsunday" states, "Lord, though we change, thou art the same; / The same sweet God of love and light."[482] Both

[480] "Eroto" refers to the intimate sensual and physical experience of Christ's love and to the fulfillment and union attained through such experiences. "Agapeic" derives from the word "agape," a Greco-Christian term for love that is unconditional, constant, selfless, and self-giving. It is "Christian love, as distinct from erotic love or simple affection; charity" (*OED,* "agape," n. 2.). The word "agape" is also used to refer to "the communal religious meal believed to have been held in the early Church in close relation to the Eucharist" and "any of various Christian rituals or communal meals modelled on this" (*OED,* "apage," n. 1.).

[481] For more on the invitational structure of "The Church," see Dyck "Approaching the Table: Invitation and the Structure of Herbert's 'The Church.'"

[482] Herbert 214, lines 25-26.

"Superliminare" and "Love" (III), along with numerous other poems scattered through "The Church," portray partaking of the Eucharist as a prime means to know Christ's constant, self-giving, and "sweet" love experientially. As is clear from the personification of love in "Love" (III), the invitations in "The Church" are not just invitations to partake of the Eucharist, but through the Eucharist to enter into physical and spiritual intimacy with Christ and to accept his love that gives both spiritual nourishment and sensual delight. Thus, the depiction in "The 23 Psalme" of the eroto-agapeic love between Christ and the speaker encourages us to expand our understanding of how Herbert conceives of and portrays divine-human love in the rest of the poems in *The Temple* as well. My analysis of "The 23 Psalme" contributes to a recent shift in critical interpretations of Herbert's use of erotic and marital imagery: from the general consensus up until the early 1990s that Herbert avoids employing erotic associations to figure divine-human love, to a growing conviction that Herbert intentionally engages in what Warren Liew calls a "sacramental eroticism."[483]

In addition, Liew explains that there have been two primary perspectives on Herbert's use of sensual language to build on and respond to the secular and biblical poetic traditions: "The first casts Herbert's religious lyrics as 'sacred parodies' that artfully harness the arts of secular love poetry to the pedagogical purposes of devotional representation. The second view argues that . . . Herbert's achievement demonstrates not so much a redemption of secular tradition as a recuperation of poetry's sensual origins in such divinely inspired texts as the Song of Songs."[484] I suggest that in "The 23

[483] Liew 35. Scholars holding the earlier viewpoint that Herbert avoids using erotic and marital metaphors in *The Temple* include Anthony Low, Barbara Lewalski, and Janis Lull. See Anthony Low, "George Herbert: 'The Best Love'" 167. Lewalski 293. Lull 49. Michael Schoenfeldt initiated the shift away from this viewpoint (Schoenfeldt 256). More recent scholarship that argues for Herbert's intentional use of erotic imagery includes the following three articles: Lissa Beauchamp, "Herbert's *The Temple* and the Heritage of Erotic Exegesis," Warren M. Liew, "Reading the Erotic in George Herbert's Sacramental Poetics," and Esther Gilman Richey, "The Intimate Other: Lutheran Subjectivity in Spenser, Donne, and Herbert."

[484] Liew 33.

Psalme" Herbert, in fact, is doing both: repurposing the secular love poetry of "The Passionate Shepherd," as well as recuperating the biblical poetry of The Psalms and the Song of Songs, in order to portray the intimate, eroto-agapeic relationship between Christ and the speaker. My study of "The 23 Psalme" thus calls attention to the depth and complexity of Herbert's intertextuality: "The 23 Psalme" and other the poems in *The Temple* reply to the Renaissance love lyric and pastoral traditions while also continuing the long literary history of figuring Jesus as lover, from patristic and medieval commentaries on the Song of Songs to medieval prose and poetic writings in the tradition of bridal mysticism. In couching this portrayal of Christ's love in a paraphrase of Psalm 23, Herbert contributes to the tradition of early modern metrical psalm paraphrases that use the Psalms to respond to and present an alternative to secular love poetry.

Yet Herbert's *The Temple* as a whole also participates in and propels a shift in religious poetry from primarily psalm paraphrases to original religious lyric poetry, poetry that tends to borrow from secular love lyric traditions in its portrayal of the intimate relationship between a person and God. Reading "The 23 Psalme" as an answer-poem to "The Passionate Shepherd" compels us to reflect on whether and how other seventeenth-century English religious writers continued this exegetical and literary tradition of drawing upon the Psalms to depict human desire and love for God. Like Herbert, many other early modern religious poets borrow from classical, biblical, and medieval traditions to respond to Renaissance secular love poetry, portraying Christ as a pastoral lover and depicting a relationship with him as the means to experiencing an ideal eroto-agapeic love. A couple of examples of Christian answer-poems to "The Passionate Shepherd" that predate Herbert's "The 23 Psalme" are Nicholas Breton's "The Countess of Pembroke's Love" and Elizabeth Melville's "A Call to Come to

Christ."[485] Later seventeenth-century poetry continues to participate in this mode of eroto-agapeic response in works such as *Eliza's Babes, or, The Virgins Offering* and the "Centuries" by Julia Palmer, and in the poetry of Richard Crashaw, such as "In the Glorious Assumption of Our Blessed Lady."[486] This eroto-agapeic mode is also employed in seventeenth-century emblem books such as *The School of the Heart* by Christopher Harvey and *Pia Desideria* by Herman Hugo, translated by Edmund Arwaker. Like "The 23 Psalme," these seventeenth-century poems and emblem books bring together tropes, diction, and imagery from Scripture, the Petrarchan and pastoral poetic traditions, and classical mythology, especially the myth of Cupid and Psyche. They use these literary devices to describe the sensual and blissful experience of Christ's pastoral love, which they portray as beginning in this life and reaching its perfect fulfillment in heaven. Even this brief list of poetic works suggests that Raleigh's anti-pastoral perspective on love did not necessarily win the singing contest after all, and that Herbert's "The 23 Psalme" is just one example of the project of many religious poets. In their poems, they respond to both poetic praises and critiques of human love by figuring Christ as the ideal passionate shepherd, who perfectly fulfills people's desires with his "sweet and wondrous love."

[485] Forsythe writes that "Nicholas Breton seems to imitate Marlowe in a celebration of Heavenly Love in his *The Countesse of Penbrooke's Love*" (Forsythe 711). In addition, Forsythe suggests that "one line of Breton's 'A Solemn Passion of the Sovle's Love' seems based upon the invitation formula of 'The Passionate Shepherd'" (711). Sarah C.E. Ross explains that Melville "rewrites Christopher Marlowe's 'The Passionate Shepherd to his Love' as 'A Call to Come to Christ,' in which Christ calls the soul of the beloved to live with him in 'heaven above'" (Ross 47).

[486] Forsythe argues that "although the imagery of Richard Crashaw's 'In the Glorious Assumption of Our Blessed Lady' recalls the *Canticles,* there is distinctly a recollection of secular English invitation poetry" (Forsythe 711).

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