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Francis Quarles and Jesuit Images: Some Observations

Clifford Davidson

The purpose of the present paper is to situate Francis Quarles's *Emblemes*, first published in 1635 and reprinted many times over the next two and one-half centuries,¹ in relation to changing views of religious images. Official attitudes toward images with religious meaning shifted violently in the decades before Quarles's birth in 1592. In the reign of Elizabeth I, in spite of reluctance from the Queen, there had been a dramatic return to a general condemnation of such images along with a resumption of the Edwardian campaign to "cleanse" churches of "idolatry."² The return of iconophobia was presaged when already in May 1559, six months after

¹ See for convenience the checklist in Peter M. Daly and Mary V. Silcox, "A Short Title Listing of English Emblem Books and Emblematic Works Printed to 1900," *Emblematica* 4 (1989): 362–69, and also John Horden, *Francis Quarles, 1592–1644: A Bibliography of His Works to the Year 1800* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1953), 44–45, 47–57. Quarles's early popularity can be gauged from the unusually large editions in which his works appeared; see Franz Kellendonk, *John and Richard Marriott: The History of a Seventeenth-Century Printing House*, Radboud University thesis (Nijmegen, 1978), 31. For the present study I have used the facsimile of the *Emblemes* (1635) and the *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* (1638), introduced by Karl Josef Hölzgen and John Horden (Hildeheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1993).

² See Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 294–342. The Queen famously maintained a crucifix and candles on the altar in her private chapel, and would have preferred the Lutheran solution, that is, to condemn images to which devotion is

the Queen's accession, the Venetian ambassador, Il Schifanoja, ominously reported seeing an incident in which a religious procession, preceded by a crucifer carrying a cross with a crucifix, was assaulted by a "lad-servant" who forcibly "took the cross out of the hand of the bearer, and struck it on the ground two or three times, breaking it into a thousand pieces." No one stopped him, only some chiding him with the words "Begone, you scoundrel." Then he removed "a small figure from the said cross, and went off, saying, as he showed it to the women [bystanders], that he was carrying away the Devil's guts."³ In August, on the feast of St. Bartholomew in the same year, a great destruction of wooden images and roods, burning "with gret wondur" at Smithfield, was reported in Henry Machyn's *Diary*.⁴ Crucifixes which had been centrally hung over chancels in Queen Mary's reign were removed, and churches were to display images of the Queen's arms.⁵

extended as "abused" but to maintain others as aids to memory so as to retain remembrance of holy men and women and events in sacred history.

³ *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 7 (London, 1890): 84 (no. 71). This citation and the next have been previously cited in Clifford Davidson, "'The Devil's Guts': Allegations of Superstition and Fraud in Religious Drama and Art During the Reformation," in *Iconoclasm vs. Art and Drama*, ed. Clifford Davidson and Ann Eljenholm Nichols, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Ser. 11 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989), 92–144.

⁴ Henry Machyn, *The Diary*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London, 1848), 130.

⁵ See John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535–1660* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 119–121, fig. 29a for a surviving example at Preston, Suffolk; G. W. O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (London: Faber and Faber, n.d.), 101–02; and see also John N. King, *Tudor*

By 1563 iconoclasm would be given official but not unlimited status with the publication of *The Second Tome of Homilies* which, in spite of saying that religious pictures may be “thynges indifferent,” strongly condemned images as “the beginning of whoredom,” “stumbling blocks,” “not expedient,” “perillous,” “utterly wicked.” They represent “Filthiness, Dung, Mischief and Abomination before the Lord.”⁶ They were regarded as dirt, contagion, liable to stick to and

pollute those who look on them.⁷ Allowing for “historical” representations, tombs, and memorials, religious images were condemned as the alleged cause of idolatry. They would be central to the anti-Roman Catholic polemic that was strengthened first by the fear inspired by Pope Pius V’s bull of 1570, *Regnans in Excelsis*, and by the threat of Spanish invasion in 1588, when thereafter the nationalist mantra was promoted claiming that “God [was] with us” in the destruction of the Armada.⁸ Roman Catholic clergy ordained abroad were being hunted down,

Royal Iconography (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). For Elizabeth’s prohibitions to protect monuments, see Paul Hughes and James Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 2 vols. (New Haven, CT: 1964), 2:146–48.

⁶ “Against Peril of Idolatry,” in *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory* (London, 1676), 106, 141–42, 159.

⁷ For Calvin’s claim of an analogy between excrement and false objects of worship, see Carlos M. N. Eire, *War against the Idols* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 220.

⁸ Thereafter linked with the avoidance of calamity from the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, as in the anti-Catholic engraving by Samuel Ward entitled “The Double Deliverance” (1621) (British Museum Print 1847,0723.11). For some important context, see Alexandra Walsham, “Impolitic Pictures: Providence, History, and the Nationhood in Protestant Stuart England,” in R.

and if apprehended, subjected to imprisonment, then might be hanged and dismembered as traitors to the State.⁹ To the more radically inclined, even mental imagining of religious pictures might be idolatrous since these could imprint “false conceptions of God” on memory.¹⁰ In a descriptive phrase attributed to John Bossy, the Calvinism then ascendant in the Church in England promoted a “Word and doctrine” religion, a faith of the ear as opposed to the eye. “Faith comes by hearing” (Romans 10:17), and vision, regarded since classical times as the highest of the senses,¹¹ was demoted to the source of all iniquity, in religious images being agents of the Pope, regarded as Antichrist. The *Homilies* cited as support for recognizing the danger of sight the book of Wisdom (chaps. 13–14), which warns against worshiping idols, for people may be

N. Swanson, ed., *The Church Retrospective*, Studies in Church History 33 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 307–28.

⁹ For an example of such treatment, see, for example, Christopher Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr* (1956; reprint, London: Sidgwich and Jackson, 1967), esp. 274–324.

¹⁰ Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 841.

¹¹ For Aristotle, sight is the sense that is indispensable for thought: “it is impossible even to think without a mental picture” (appendix to *De Anima*, as quoted by Francis Yates, *The Art of Memory* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966], 33). In the *Metaphysics*, Aristotle designates sight as “pre-eminent above the rest,” and this is so because among the senses it “particularly enables us to apprehend whatever knowledge it is the inlet of, and that makes its many distinctive qualities manifest” (trans. John H. M’Mahon, Bohn’s Classical Library [London: George Bell and Sons, 1896], 1–2).

“persuaded by the sight, because the things are beautiful that are sene” (13:7).¹² Sight, on account of its erotic potential and its seductiveness, might be regarded as a channel to Rome, and hence a pathway to alleged idolatry and damnation. There was a literalism here that assumed extreme vulnerability to signs, the danger that images might be identified with the material things thus represented.¹³ Patrick Collinson in his *Stenton Lecture* (1985) spoke of “creeping ascetic totalitarianism.”¹⁴

Such rigidly held attitudes continued to be held by the Puritanical element in the Church and were, with apologies for the cliché, on a “collision course” with the enlightenment of the early Stuart period, especially during the years of Charles’s personal reign, leading up to the Civil Wars.¹⁵ King Charles’s proclamation of 11 October 1629 ordering restoration and beautification of churches and chapels, then widely in need of repair after a century of neglect,

¹² *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile o the 1560 Edition*, introd. Lloyd E. Berry (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

¹³ St. Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. D. W. Robertson (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs Merrill, 1958), bk. 3.

¹⁴ Patrick Collinson, “From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: The Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation,” rpt. in Peter Marshall, “The Impact of the English Reformation, 1500–1640 (London: Arnold, 1997), 297. Puritan rigidity, to be sure, met Stuart authoritarian during the period of Charles’s period of personal rule, resulting in the Civil Wars of mid-century.

¹⁵ Important discussions in Kevin Sharp, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Graham Parry, *Glory, Laud, and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006); Gordon Albion, *Charles I and the Court of Rome* (London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1935).

observed the decayed condition of places of worship in the realm to “the great inconvenience, and dishonour of suffering the houses of Gods worship and service, to ruine and decay amongst us.”¹⁶ This proclamation was a challenge to take immediate attention to rectify the condition of the fabric and ornaments generally, enforcement being delegated to the Church hierarchy and ecclesiastical courts. The movement would be endorsed by Archbishop William Laud, and most vigorously effected by anti-Calvinists in the universities. John Cosin, master of Peterhouse at Cambridge, was perhaps the foremost churchman promoting the ideal of the “beauty of holiness” in church design, decoration, and ceremony. To Puritans such acts as the installation of the Crucifixion, copied from Rubens’s *Coup de Lance* and credibly attributed to the Flemish glass-painter Bernard van Linge, in the east window of the Peterhouse chapel,¹⁷ was the sign of “Popish superstition,” “contagious Leprosie” and “corruption,” and at Oxford similar condemnation was directed at the new statue of the Virgin and Child over the porch of the university church of St. Mary the Virgin.¹⁸ At Durham Cathedral, after Cosin became the Dean,

¹⁶ James F. Larkin, ed., *Stuart Royal Proclamations, II: Royal Proclamations of King Charles I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 248–50.

¹⁷ *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Cambridge*, 2 pts. (London: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 1959), 2:158, pl. 215. Other work by Bernard van Linge is noted in Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 235–36, with his *Deposition* at Hampton Court, Herefordshire and Worcestershire (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum), illustrated in fig. 195. See also Michael Archer, “Painted Glass in the Seventeenth Century: The Early Work of Abraham van Linge,” *Apollo* 101 (1975): 26–31.

¹⁸ William Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* (1646), 73–75.

his Puritan antagonist, Peter Smart, would claim his innovations to be indicative of a “hypocritical seeming holynes.”¹⁹ Of particular offense was, for example, “a precious golden altar-cloth, having on it the story of the Assumption of our Lady . . . a more abominable idoll all Popery can not shew.”²⁰ Such “popish baits and allurments of glorious pictures” could only mean traps and snares to bring back the great enemy, “Popery.”²¹

Most shocking of all to the extremists’ mentality, and confirming their worst fears, was the attitude of the Caroline court itself toward Roman Catholic pictures and ceremony.²² In the year following publication of Quarles’s *Emblemes* with its adoption of engravings from Catholic sources, members of the public were able to attend services in the new Capuchin chapel of Queen Henrietta at Somerset House, located on the site now occupied by the Courtauld Institute.²³ The initial Mass, on 10 December 1636, the first openly celebrated in England in nearly eight decades,²⁴ was endowed with every visual and aural effect that could be invented to

¹⁹ George Ornsby, ed., *The Correspondence of John Cosin*, Surtees Society 52 (1868), 165.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 168. This was a gift of Bishop Richard Neile, then of Winchester.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 165.

²² See especially Erica Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta and Court Entertainments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and Albion, *Charles I and the Court of Rome*.

²³ Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion*, 165–68.

²⁴ This is not to imply that the Roman Catholic Mass had not been celebrated during this time in England, in the houses of the great Catholic gentry (e.g., the Pastons’s Appleton Hall, Norfolk, or Lord Petre’s Ingatestone Hall in Essex) clandestinely, or more visibly in London at

achieve the Queen's aim of displaying "all possible pomp and magnificence."²⁵ Inigo Jones, the maker of court masques, had been engaged to create a spectacular effect, especially by his acquisition of a machine, "which was admired even by the most ingenious persons, to display the Holy Sacrament, and to give it a more majestic appearance."²⁶ This mechanism was oval, presenting "a Paradise of glory, about forty feet in height," with singers and instrumentalists, Prophets (presumably images) on the sides with appropriate biblical texts. An image of the Dove of the Holy Spirit appeared above the altar, and in the clouds bands of angels were adoring the Sacrament or performing, singing or playing instruments. All was presented "according to the rules of perspective," whereby the effect was "deceiving, by an ingenious device, not only the eye but the ear" as if the whole host of heaven were really present.²⁷ The entire show (if we are

the chapels of foreign embassies. See Keith A. Newman, "Holiness in Beauty? Roman Catholics, Arminians, and the Aesthetics of Religion in Early Caroline England," in Diana Wood, ed., *The Church and the Arts*, Studies in Church History 28 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 303–12, and also John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

²⁵ Father Cyprien of Gamache, "Memoirs of the Mission in England of the Capuchin Friars," in Thomas Birch, ed., *The Court and Times of Charles the First*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1848), 2:311.

²⁶ Ibid.; Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion*, 165 and passim.

²⁷ Cyprien, "Memoirs of the Mission," 2:311–13. Eight-part polyphonic Latin service music was sung by the choir, which was a style unlike familiar Anglican cathedral repertoire of the time.

permitted to call it that without disrespect) surely must have been dizzying, illuminated as the spectacle was by more than four hundred candles. There were many who were not pleased.

The anger of Puritans over the moderate Catholicism of the Queen and her Capuchin clergy, and the changes in attitudes toward both religious ceremony and images in the Anglican Church, was the expression of a very deep *ressentiment* against heritage and authority.²⁸ As we have seen, a point of conflict was the image, actually not only as found in visual representations but even in figures of speech which refer to a design or picture forbidden.²⁹ Signs that in any

²⁸ I have chosen the term *ressentiment* in advance, of course, of its application in connection with the work of Hegel (originating from the master-slave concept in his *Phenomenology*), Kierkegaard (in *The Present Time*, where his use of “envy” has been taken to mean a heightened form latterly understood as *ressentiment*), Nietzsche (most famously in his *Genealogy of Morals*), and Dostoevsky (in his *Notes from Underground* and elsewhere). As an example pertinent to the discussion in the present paragraph, when Cosin was appointed Dean at Durham, he reformed the music and liturgy to conform with his ideal of the “beauty of holiness,” which thereafter when witnessed by the Puritan Peter Smart, enraged him, “especially the horrible profanation of both the Sacraments with all manner of musick, both instrumentall, and vocall, so lowde that the Ministers could not be heard, what they said, as if *Bacchanalia*, the feasts of Bacchus, or the Ægyptian Isis. . . ” (Ornsby, ed., *The Correspondence of John Cosin*, 1:165).

²⁹ See Ann Kibbey, *The interpretation of Material Shapes in Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3ff.

way modulate into devotional images are proscribed,³⁰ and there was a fear that pictures and visual symbols, regarded as false, will make a more lasting impression than spoken words in the memory, understood in Platonic terms as like an imprint in wax and more easily corrupted.³¹ For the most extreme Puritans, not only the subject matter of an image but also its sources were highly suspect, as when the paranoid William Prynne, having achieved access to Archbishop Laud's apartments and library, claimed to find evidence of subversive designs used there in the restored windows, which he damningly said had been taken from illustrations by Boetius a Bolswert in a Catholic Mass Book³² — an artist whose engravings also had been copied or adapted use in Books III through V of Quarles's emblem book. Extremists would find any connection with Roman Catholic images to be a lapse equivalent to treason, fraternizing with the

³⁰ Ibid, 67, citing William Perkins, *The Golden Chaine*, in Perkins's *Workes*, 3 vols. (London, 1626), 1:72. David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), discusses the "logic of the gaze," which he believes may reveal the way negative reactions to images are generated. Sight means touching, and if the object is a proscribed thing, then contamination occurs as the result of illicit seeing. See also Davidson, "'The Devil's Guts,'" 92–104.

³¹ See Plato, *Thaetetus* 191d–e, in Plato, *The Collected Dialogues*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (1961; rpt. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), 897; discussed by Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 21–33. Cf. the classic study by Francis Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

³² Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 497. See also the discussion in Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation*, 608–09.

enemy who is the Pope, who was widely believed to be the Antichrist.³³ In such a polarized worldview, images, ceremonies, and all traces of Roman Catholicism might be seen as the evil Other and hence a source of danger to the public, a source of pollution in the sense so forcefully described by Mary Douglas in *Purity and Danger*, her study of the anthropology of religions.³⁴ From a psychodynamic point of view, it might be called a case of *splitting* (projective identification),³⁵ and sociologically it was division into tribalism, the breakdown of social unity.

³³ Peter Lake, “The Significance of the Elizabethan Identifications of the Pope as Antichrist,” *English Literary History* 31 (1980): 161–78, has usefully distinguished between differing attitudes toward the papacy among Protestants in the late Elizabethan era. At their most extreme, “any lapse” by a person, with regard to compromise with Catholicism, could be “regarded as tantamount to popery.” (174). To take a passage quoted by David Little, *Religion, Order, and Law: A Study in Pre-Revolutionary England* (New York: Harper, 1969), 107, out of context, “he which is captive to sinne can do nothing but sin” (quoting Perkins, *Workes*, 1:730), thus any image created by such a person cannot produce anything good in the moral sense.

³⁴ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1966; rpt. London: Routledge, 1991), especially her discussion of “forbidden contact.” The “Other” is contaminating, unclean, alien, illicit, the source of disease and ill health.

³⁵ A concept that derives from Melanie Klein’s study of infant responses to the mother in offering or denying her milk, in other words, an infantile behavioral pattern that is carried into adulthood.

By 1634 when he was preparing his *Emblemes*,³⁶ Quarles had established himself as a moderate and royalist, maintaining his loyalty to the King as head of the English Church and to its traditions. In defense of his (unacknowledged) use of copies of Jesuit images, with a few changes and substitutions,³⁷ he was inclined to them because of their lack of doctrinal bias and their avoidance of controversial theological issues. Hence he found them unobjectionable for Protestant meditation,³⁸ which had been influentially introduced in 1606 by Joseph Hall in his *Art of Divine Meditation*.³⁹ Quarles presented his emblems as “silent” parables, useful for

³⁶ Registered in the *Stationers’s Register* on 2 May 1634, but apparently not printed and offered for sale until the next year. When published, the first edition was dated 1635.

³⁷ See Karl Josef Hölzgen, *Francis Quarles, 1592–1644, Meditativer Dichter, Royalist: Eine biographische und kritische Studie* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1978), 332–37.

³⁸ See Ursula Quarles, *A Short Relation of the Life and Death of Mr. Francis Quarles*, in Francis Quarles, *Solomon’s Recantation* (1645), sig. A2v, commenting that her husband’s “desire” was to show “his continuall inclination to peace”; as quoted by Hölzgen, *Francis Quarles*, 36. Peace and universal harmony were ideals espoused by Humanists such as Erasmus, and of course by King James, who styled himself “Pacificus” (cited by Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor’d: The Culture of the Stuart Court* [New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1981], 21).

³⁹ See Frank Livingstone Huntley, *Bishop Joseph Hall and Protestant Meditation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1981), which contains the text of *The Art of Divine Meditation* and a valuable introduction. On Hall, see also Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994), 162–68. Bath calls special attention to Hall’s *Occasional Meditations*, no. 50 (“Upon the Shutting of One Eye”), which advises the meditator

stimulating meditation. Amor Divinus is therein figured, according to his statement “To the Reader,” as a “type” of the Savior, comparable to representations such as a fisherman, a sower, and a physician in the parables of the New Testament.⁴⁰ He resisted the notion that the innovative introduction of childlike images of Amor Divinus, possessing a halo to distinguish him from Anima Humana (the Soul), was intended as an “allusion” to Christ, though it is clear that this figure is ontologically connected to the embodiment of divine Wisdom and the hope of full participation in the Divine.⁴¹ He is a symbol, actually an enigma signifying the person who is

to “look with the eye of faith,” having shut the “eye of reason,” if one wishes to see “happy visions of God” (Huntley, 149). This is more suggestive of Francis de Sales than of Ignatius Loyola, in other words, of a less rigorous and more Platonic or at least Augustinian framework for meditation. In a very real sense it is a search (using here terminology introduced by Richard Cody, *The Landscape of the Mind* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969], 24) of the Soul for “psychic unity” with Eros/Wisdom as revealed in Amor Divinus.

⁴⁰ A commonplace; cf. D. P. Walker, “Orpheus the Theologian and Renaissance Platonists,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953): 100–20. The term *type* refers to symbols which foreshadow “things to come” (see, e.g., Colossians 2:17, in the Vulgate “umbra futurorum”). Types therefore are symbols which appear as if under a veil, shadows which need unfolding to reveal truth. Useful attention to the concept is provided by William G. Madsen, *From Shadowy Types to Truth: Studies in Milton’s Symbolism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966).

⁴¹ On *participation*, see especially David Bell, *Image and Likeness: The Augustinian Spirituality of William of St. Thierry* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984). M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester Little

the unique agent of salvation, the Child who is God incarnate. Somewhat in this manner Jesus as a Child had appeared in devotional images in late medieval art, sometimes designated as *Kleine Andachtsbilder*, especially in monastic manuscripts.⁴² While this term tends to be applied indiscriminately, as Jeffrey Hamburger has noted, it is part of the landscape of late medieval veneration of the Child Jesus.⁴³ There is no denying the importance in this regard of the *minnende Seele*, which appeared in both manuscripts and printed books that offer devotional images stressing an intimate, even erotic attraction between Christ and the Soul.⁴⁴ This was influenced by the Song of Songs and the widely disseminated sermons treating this text by St. Bernard of Clairvaux. More directly in play with regard to the images in Quarles's *Emblemes* thereafter were the Jesuit innovators who adopted the image of Amor Divinus, having taken its appearance from Otto van Veen's *Amorus Divini Emblematica*, which in turn Van Veen had transformed from his own secular Ovidian Cupid in *Amorum Emblematica*.⁴⁵

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 135, cites E. De Bruyne, *L'esthétique du moyen âge* (1947), 93: "Symbolism is the aesthetic expression of ontological participation."

⁴² See Adolf Spamer, *Das kleine Andachtsbild* (Munich, F. Bruckmann, 1930).

⁴³ Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 3–4.

⁴⁴ See Amy Gebauer, "*Christus and die minnende Seele*": *An Analysis of Circulation, Text, and Iconography* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2010).

⁴⁵ Karl Josef Höltgen, *Aspects of the Emblem: Studies in the English Emblem Tradition and the European Context* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1986), 43. The first scholar to identify the source of Books I–II in *Typus Mundi* was Mario Praz, "The English Emblem Literature," *English*

In Quarles's remarkable Emblem IV.14, copied for him by the engraver William Simpson, Amor Divinus is even depicted as a small crucified Christ with a crown of thorns on a tree, a living cross,⁴⁶ with the Soul seated in its shade, which is an "Vmbrella to the Deity" to protect against the bright beams emitted by "thy Creator." The text for Quarles's meditation is Song of Songs 2:3, understood to designate the Soul's longing to "climb this fruitfull Tree" to see the suffering body of the actual beloved Christ, herein veiled as truth must be hidden to human eyes. In this regard Edgar Wind cites Egidius of Viterbo interpreting Dionysius the Aeropagite: "the divine ray cannot reach us unless it is covered with poetic veils." In a chapter on "The Concealed God," Wind also usefully quotes from Cusanus's *De visione Dei* (vi): "The face of faces is veiled . . . and [is] seen in a riddle," i.e., an enigma.⁴⁷ The *Book of Homilies* had insisted on the necessarily total absence of truthfulness in images of the deity, since no artist could be able to produce what we would now call a photographic record of his appearance. Christ, as the Son, combines two natures, the human and divine, so even if his humanity could have been replicated by art (which is not possible since no artist has ever seen him), his divinity would remain hidden from human sight. Indeed, going further, all pictures purporting to

Studies 16 (1934): 137–38, thereafter noticed by Gordon Haight, "Sources of Quarles's 'Emblems,'" *The Library*, 4th ser. 16 (1935): 189–90

⁴⁶ For Christ on a Living Cross, see, for example, the fifteenth-century Carthusian Miscellany in the British Library (MS. Add. 37049), fol. 36v, and see Hölzgen, who invokes Honorius of Autun: "Arbor vitae est sancta crux," etc. (*Aspects of the Emblem*, 44).

⁴⁷ Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1958), 14, 220–21.

scriptural authority as devotional images are claimed to be untruthful, “Vanities, Lies, Deceits.”⁴⁸ Such literal-minded polemic cannot have been accepted by Quarles.

The engravings that he borrowed, or plagiarized, for his *Emblemes* were copied mainly from two Continental emblem books which participate in symbolic representation of the Soul and Jesus and, in at least a poetic sense, are presented as true and useful when their meaning is unfolded. Of these the foremost was Herman Hugo’s *Pia Desideria* (1624), a Jesuit source which provided the images for Books III–V with few changes or omissions. The other main source of images was *Typus Mundi* (1627), created by students in the Jesuit College at Antwerp under the direction of the school superintendent. From this work Quarles selected most of the images in his Books I–II.⁴⁹ Quarles’s poetry, however, was his own, influenced by his sources but rarely translating the texts, as Rosemary Freeman has noted.⁵⁰ The observations below will focus on some individual emblems in order to study them in the light of Quarles’s approach to unfolding

⁴⁸ *Certain Sermons or Homilies*, 159.

⁴⁹ Höltgen, *Francis Quarles*, 333–37.

⁵⁰ Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (1948; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 117–18. Freeman notes that Quarles’s principal debt was pictorial, “but the debt to which he put it was his own.” In this she was echoing Edmund Arwaker’s complaint in the preface to his translation of Hugo’s *Pia Desideria* (1786). Not much can be said in praise of Arwaker’s work as a translator.

the meanings that he believed were implicit in the images. In this he prioritized *ideas*, as Peter Daly has emphasized more broadly with regard to emblem literature.⁵¹

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Quarles's introductory "To the Reader" seems to me tacitly to defend his choice of Jesuit sources by reference to a body of tradition that challenges radical Puritanism's obsession with the literal text of the Bible. Instead, his comments may be traced to the Platonism of the Florentine Renaissance, which had purported to connect emblems and hieroglyphs with ancient tradition, a *prisca theologia* that had been filtered through Moses who, according to Acts 7:22 had been instructed "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," and then in an "unbroken chain" through Hermes Trismegistus, Pythagoras, and Plato.⁵² Significantly concerning the project at hand, Quarles seems to accept the belief of those who held, like the early Church Father Clement of Alexandria, that Egyptian hieroglyphics were the means by which "God was knowe[n]" before letters were invented.⁵³ Also, he affirmed the concept of a Book of Nature supplementing

⁵¹ Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem and Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 36–53, engaging with the work of the German scholars Albrecht Schöne and Dietrich Jöns.

⁵² See, for example, Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 12–17.

⁵³ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 1.21 and passim. For discussion, see Don Cameron Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Discovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), 107–19. Revival of interest in the

the Book of Scripture; hence all things in the cosmos are after all signs, enigmas, symbolic of the glory of the Creator.⁵⁴ There is something here of Piero Valeriano's statement in his *Hieroglyphica* (1556) that "to speak hieroglyphically is nothing else but to disclose the nature of things divine and human."⁵⁵ Further, the images used by Quarles, especially in Books III–V of his *Emblemes*, have an order that is progressive, however moving by fits and starts, in a direction imbued with Christian Platonism, and this involves a symbolic pilgrimage that imperfectly reflects "the higher reality which arouses . . . longing for perfection."⁵⁶ To be sure, the ultimate goal of this ascent is not reached, cannot be achieved in the *Emblemes*. There is no beatific vision as there is in Dante's *Paradiso*, no final resolution but always a recognition that while in

Egyptian hieroglyphs attended the discovery of Horopollo in 1419. See *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo*, trans. George Boas, Bollingen Ser. 23 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1950). In actuality, the interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphs was hardly an accurate reflection of them in their original context. See Erik Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and Its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (1961; rpt. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

⁵⁴ See also Henry Reynolds, *Mythomystes* (c.1632); text in *Literary Criticism of Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Edward W. Taylor (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 238. Reynolds was a member of the court of the Earl of Arundel, and not impossibly a person known to Quarles. In 1628 Reynold's translation of Torquato Tasso, *Aminta Englisht*, was published; this is a heavily Platonized pastoral drama.

⁵⁵ Quoted by Rudolf Wittkower, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 128.

⁵⁶ Ernst Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (1972, rpt., London: Phaidon, 1975), 150.

this life, as St. Paul explained, we see “now through a glass darkly [Vulgate: *in enigmate*] but then face to face” (I Cor. 13:12 *AV*) only in heavenly bliss.

The pilgrimage of life, pursuing a way to heaven, is in fact represented by way of an image in Book IV.2, accompanied with Quarles’s meditation on Psalm 119:5: “Oh that my ways were directed to keepe thy statutes.” In the image, the Soul is at the midpoint of such a pilgrimage of desire,⁵⁷ barefoot, with a crozier with his right hand and dressed in the traditional hat and gown that might have been worn by one traveling along the road to Compostela. He is at this moment stationary, however, standing as if to set forth in the center of a maze with his other hand grasping a cable. This is held at the distant far other end by the small figure of Amor Divinus, who is located at the top of a tower set high on a rocky formation. The tower represents the way to the distant goal of heaven, out of the world which is a labyrinth, with deep crevasses between an impenetrable series of concentric circles.⁵⁸ These give the impression that, paraphrasing Plato in a different context, as in the Chaos at the Creation, all attempt at movement is irrational and futile, lacking “a guiding or directing power.”⁵⁹ The tower is a lighthouse, a sign here of ultimate wisdom and orientation to be achieved, for from it there is extended a beacon of

⁵⁷ See Hebrews 11:16: But now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly. . . .”

⁵⁸ Though perhaps superficially suggestive of the Hampton Court maze, this is actually unlike any recorded earthly maze, but appeared to W. H. Matthews like “a tall hedge maze, which has its path on top of the hedge” and “deep crevasses below” (*Mazes and Labyrinths: Their History and Development* (1922; rpt., New York: Dover, 1970), 128f, 198.

⁵⁹ *Timaeus* 43d–e, 44a; see also Penelope Reed Doob, *The Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages* (1990; rpt. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 278–79.

light to those who might be lost at sea or a cloud to guide refugees. The Soul has a deep desire to maintain a direct path to the tower. But the maze, with cutaway crevasses, can only be negotiated through the assistance of grace which serves as a thread of safety, since Quarles's text explains that these are filled "with streams of sulphurous fire."⁶⁰ One pilgrim has already haplessly fallen into a crevasse, and another moves along blindly with only his dog for a guide. The path to success is not at all certain, and failure would mean destruction. In the allegory the maze is this world, a "Prison" from which extraction can be achieved not by means of one's "owne Invention" but with the help of a supernatural guidance of the "flowing Spring" of "heav'nly Light,," which we may read as Divine Wisdom. St. Augustine provides a useful gloss: "let us therefore keep to the straight path, which is Christ, and, with Him as our Guide and Saviour, let us turn away in heart and mind from the unreal and futile cycles of the godless."⁶¹ But the straight path here must necessarily be a winding one, avoiding the pitfalls represented by the crevasses, yet all made straight by the power of grace. As the Epigram explains, "The next way Home's the farthest way about." Quarles's quotation from Augustine on the same page asks for illumination of his "*blind soule, which sits in darknesse and the shadow of death, and direct my feet in the way of peace.*"

⁶⁰ The cable as a thread of safety is of course reminiscent of Ariadne and Theseus, in the Labyrinth, in Greek mythology, and the crevasses might be a reminder of the circles of Dante's *Inferno*.

⁶¹ St. Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods et al. (New York: Random House, 1950), 404 (Book XII.20).

In Quarles's use of emblems and hieroglyphs, as well as symbols and figures, here and in his subsequent *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* as the basis for his meditations,⁶² he was separating himself from doctrinaire Puritanism but also aligning himself with the current of Neoplatonism emerging in early Stuart England. Ernst Cassirer notes the importance of Platonic "doctrine of love" united with Plotinus's treatment of beauty,⁶³ which were also the guiding principles of the royal court as espoused by the Queen.⁶⁴ Yet, to be sure, by his timid explanation of the meaning of the figure of Amor Divinus in his prefatory remarks "To the Reader" in his *Emblemes* and in his pessimistic references to human depravity subsequently, he was shying away from identifying himself with the rejection of predestination by the Arminians who were ascendent in the mid-1630s. This was for the time being the most active group in the Church and State supporting religious imagery, including crucifixes and pictures of sacred or holy persons such as the Virgin Mary.⁶⁵ Quarles certainly was a staunch royalist, as noted above, and in

⁶² It does not seem that Quarles made much distinction between hieroglyphs, emblems, symbols, and figures; see the distinctions laid out, however, by Jonson, but also admitting a category of "mixed" forms; see Ben Jonson, *Works*, ed. C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 9 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925–41), 9:90–91.

⁶³ See Ernst Cassirer, *The Platonic Renaissance in England*, trans. James Pettigrove (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1953), 104.

⁶⁴ See Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion*. Cassirer, *The Platonic Renaissance in England*, 114n, makes reference to Edmund Spenser's Hymns of Heavenly Love and of Heavenly Beauty.

⁶⁵ See especially Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, c.1590–1640* (1987; rpt., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), and Parry, *Glory, Laud, and Honour*.

Divine Fancies, his popular book of meditations initially published in 1632, he had given profuse praise to both King Charles and his Queen, Henrietta Maria, whose court was infused with the Neoplatonic ideals of Beauty and Love as well as with the devout Humanist concern for peace and social harmony. In *Divine Fancies* his fulsome admiration for the Queen, a practicing Roman Catholic and a foreigner, elevates her among the Marys of the Gospels. Among them she is, he claims, “eterniz’d” on account of her “worth.”⁶⁶

The decision to construct such a work as the *Emblemes*, which was to be the first emblem book actually printed in England, was encouraged by his friend Edward Benlowes, a former Catholic who had visited the Continent in 1627–29 and presumably had purchased there the copies of *Typus Mundi* and *Pia Desideria* which he supplied to Quarles.⁶⁷ These are the books signified in his dedication to Benlowes, his “much honoured, and no lesse truly beloved Friend,” the man who “*put the Theorboe into my hand; and I have playd.*” He calls the music he has composed “*a grave Strayn,*” which he believes is worthy of Benlowes’ patronage. In the engraving prefacing the Invocation to Book I, Quarles more explicitly by means of a visual image represents the excitement and rapture (or *exaltatio*) in which he will compose the poetry accompanying the emblems.⁶⁸ The singer, reclining on the globe of the world against a living

⁶⁶ Quotation from Francis Quarles, *Divine Fancies*, 8th ed. (1687), 135.

⁶⁷ Harold Jenkins, *Edward Benlowes (1602–1676): Biography of a Minor Poet* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 77–79; Hölting, *Francis Quarles*, 181–85.

⁶⁸ On Hermetic *raptus* or inspired trance, see Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, 224, 280–81. Yates usefully calls attention to Milton’s *Il Penseroso* of c.1632 in which he speaks of the “rapt soul,” the “immortal mind” having forsaken “Her mansion in this fleshly nook,” and through the power of contemplative trance finds “a true consent / With planet,

tree with his arm raised toward a symbol of God (a triangle representing the Trinity) in the heavens,⁶⁹ has set aside his earthly instrument, a lute, and has rejected riches and earthly love in the form of Cupid lying below with arm outstretched, his bow in hand. Symbols of earthly honor

or with Element” — that is, achieves a harmonious state, in consonance with the universe — and bursts forth in Orphic song to attain “something like Prophetic strain.” I have quoted from John Milton, *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: Odyssey Press, 1957), 72–76. See also, more or less contemporary with Milton’s poem, Reynolds, *Mythomystes*, 234–35. Györy E. Szönyi has discussed *exaltatio*, in his *John Dee’s Occultism: Exaltation through Powerful Signs* (Ithaca: SUNY University Press, 2005), and there is much important commentary in Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964).

⁶⁹ In discussing the frontispiece to du Bartas’s *Deuine Weekes and Workes* (Joshua Sylvester’s translation), Margery Corbett and R. W. Lightbown comment on the triangle as a symbol of the Trinity (*The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550–1660* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979], 100–02), and their Introduction gives further attention to the image. The Trinity-triangle has been found as early as 1002–25 C.E. in an illumination in the Uta Gospels (Bavarian State Library clm.13601). The Greek letter delta (Δ) was claimed in the twelfth century by Johannes Belethus to be a sign of God’s “divine nature” when enclosed in a circle (Corbett and Lightbown, *Comely Frontispiece*, 40). On the other hand, for a Puritan iconoclast in 1644, a “triangle for the Trinity, on stone,” was among “superstitious pictures” found at Wallingworth, Suffolk, in 1644, see *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, ed. Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, in association with the Ecclesiological Society, 2001), 313.

hang on the dead tree at his foot. On the globe representing the earth are indicated two locations only, his own village of Roxmell and Benlowe's home at Finchingfield.⁷⁰ Engraved by William Marshall, the principal artist employed in the *Emblemes*,⁷¹ this image is adapted but much changed from Philip de Mallory's frontispiece to *Typus Mundi*, where the divinely inspired St.

⁷⁰ Ironically, at the time when the 1643 edition of Quarles's *Emblemes* was published, the vicar of Finchingfield was Stephen Marshall, who was predicting that the Apocalypse was at hand and that divine judgment would strike anyone who would "either secretly or openly harbour any of Antichrist's accursed stuff which must be destroyed" (*The Song of Moses* [London, 1643], 8). This work is cited by Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 51. Marshall was a Puritan extremist, among those who, on the basis of proof-texts from the Old Testament, on occasion advocated "holy" violence, including killing, against idolaters and perceived enemies of God. Such Puritan extremists, including Marshall, are discussed by Donald E. Kennedy, "Holy Violence and the English Civil War," *Parergon* 32 (2015): 17–42. After the restoration, Marshall's body, which had been interred in Westminster Abbey, was removed and thrown into a pit in St. Margaret's churchyard (Tom Webster, "Stephen Marshall," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [2009]).

⁷¹ See Margery Corbett and Michael Norton, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 3:102–03. Marshall's work for the *Emblemes* "show[s] him to be perfectly capable of discipline and refined work." For John Payne ("highly skilled" but sometimes given to slipshod work) and William Simpson (known only for his work on *Emblemes*), see *ibid.*, 6–7, 264. Comparison with the Continental sources, however, indicates that, as with Marshall, their skill in copper engraving demonstrated less facility.

Ignatius of Loyola stood on a globe designating the earth beneath the circle of eternity containing the dove of the Holy Spirit above, the Father and the Son seated on a rainbow, and, presumably, the court of heaven.⁷²

Quarles's Invocation is a meditation on his engraver's image that unfolds its meaning. He is to leave "vulgar thoughts" behind and "Skrue up the heightned pegs / Of thy Sublime Theorboe foure notes higher, / And higher yet." The theorbo here is the equivalent of the lyre of Orpheus, who must represent the "type of the ethically influential, effect-producing singer,"⁷³ whose "the final end," in Sir Philip Sidney's words, "is to lead and draw vs to as high a perfection as our degenerate soules, made worse by theyr clayey lodgings, can be capable of."⁷⁴ Tuning his lute so as to match the tonalities of the heavenly harmonies in which he vows to participate, he will invite "swift-wing'd Seraphims" to "come and joyne" so as to "make thy Confort more than halfe divine."⁷⁵ John Hollander has plausibly speculated that this "higher" tonality would have involved modulation up to the "church tone," that is, the Dorian mode, and

⁷² See Hölftgen, *Francis Quarles*, fig. 4.

⁷³ Walker, "Orpheus the Theologian," 100.

⁷⁴ Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, in G. Gregory Smith, ed., *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 2 vols. (1904; rpt. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 1:160.

⁷⁵ Quarles was himself known to be a lute player from his time at Lincoln's Inn, prior to his study at Cambridge; see W. J. Thomas, *Anecdotes and Traditions*, Camden Soc. (1839), 48, as cited by Hölftgen, *Francis Quarles*, 36. His acceptance of the humanist conception of music — a conception with a legacy as ancient as Boethius (that is, belief in a cosmic order involving human participation) — is announced in the first meditation, "On the Musick of the Organ," in *Divine Fancies*, 1–2.

then again even higher pitch “in order that [the soul] may play in the same register with the ‘shrill mouth’d’ heavenly music.”⁷⁶ Inspiration will raise up the divinely inspired Orphic singer, whose noble Apollonian role is to channel “through this slender Conduit of my Quill” the divine “Current, whose cleare streames may fill / The hearts of men with love, their tongues with praise.” Echoes of Plato’s *Ion* are present and perhaps suggest Socrates’s description of poetic inspiration,⁷⁷ but surely this is even more immediately aligned with Sir Philip Sidney’s *Apology for Poetry*, which affirms the “diuine fury” of composition, the “many misteries contained in Poetrie,” and its “Plannet-like Musick,” all of which involve ideas derived directly from the Italian Renaissance Humanists. In poetry the soul is lifted up, even with “*Dantes Beatrix*, or *Virgils Anchises*.”⁷⁸

⁷⁶ John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry, 1500–1700* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961), 284. One may keep in mind the theory behind the cosmic monochord of Robert Fludd (*ibid.*, pl. following 42). It is also perhaps relevant to note that high and clear are still valued in English Cathedral voices, as these qualities also have been since the early Middle Ages; see Audrey Ekdahl Davidson, *Aspects of Early Music and Performance* (New York: AMS Press, 2008), 75–87.

⁷⁷ “[Poets] are not in their senses when they make these . . . poems”; “the deity has bereft them of their senses, and uses them as ministers”; “it is the god himself who speaks” (*Ion*, 534c–d, Plato, *Collected Dialogues*, 220).

⁷⁸ Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, 206.

In artistic flight Quarles the poet wishes to rise above “this Mole-hill earth” as it appears at the bottom of the image on the title page of the *Emblemes*, a “thin blew Lanskip” (Landscape), while at the center there is a globe depicted against a flaming heart (designated by the letters “TRINITAS”), its flames passing through a crown and touching a large cloud within which a sun beams down.⁷⁹ While inspired by the flaming heart of Hugo’s title page, Marshall’s design is less cluttered and speaks directly to the baroque sensibility of the *Emblemes*, especially of course to Books III–V, which are indebted to the images from *Pia Desideria*. The *Emblemes* will involve an appeal to the heart and offering, in Michael Bath’s words, “sensuous images as allegorical signs of spiritual truths,” even “erotic pastoralism” in the images illustrating passages from the Song of Songs.⁸⁰ In Quarles’s meditations, the influence of Jesuit example is combined with the eclectic Protestant Platonist method, modeled, as we have seen, on Hall’s *Arte of Divine Meditation*,⁸¹ a work that to be sure was unillustrated, as was Richard Bernard’s *Contemplative Pictures with Wholesome Precepts* (1610), which specifically rejects “sensible” illustrations.⁸²

⁷⁹ An early Stuart image in woodcarving on the pulpit at Great Baddow, Essex, has a similar image of a flaming heart; this is dated 1639 by Nicholas Pevsner, rev. Enid Radcliffe, 2nd ed., *Essex*, Buildings of England ser. (1965; rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 192. The dating suggests that the woodcarving could have been inspired by Quarles’s image.

⁸⁰ Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994), 202, 210, and for the incorporation of erotic imagery, see Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 143–47).

⁸¹ In Huntley, ed., *Bishop Joseph Hall and Protestant Meditation*, 5–8.

⁸² See *ibid.*

Noteworthy it is that each of Quarles's meditations is followed by passages for further contemplation translated from the Fathers, frequently from St. Augustine,⁸³ directed at reconciliation with the One who is, in the words of Dionysius the Areopagite, "the Creative Beginning, Middle, and End of all things."⁸⁴

The human condition does not make this reconciliation easy, since poetic flight also, like life in a fallen world itself, may prove defeating and reveal cause for terror. The Soul's dilemma is nowhere more clearly defined than in Book V.9, and is shown in the image engraved by William Simpson. Here the figure of Amor Divinus appears in a cloud in the sky above with arms outstretched. The shape in the engraving is murky, much less clear than the figure depicted in the original in Hugo's *Pia Desideria*, but still establishing an identification on account of the biblical text, from Philippians 1:23, on which the meditation is based: "I am in a streight betweene two, having a desire to be dissolv'd, and to be with Christ."⁸⁵ Anima Humana, with outstretched wings, reaches up, obviously with intense desire to fly up to Amor Divinus as Christ with his cross, but is held back by the large ball (the "earth") to which he is chained. She is

⁸³ A practice imitated from Hugo, *Pia Desideria*. Such prose passages were lacking in *Typus Mundi*, and hence in Books I–II these were added in translation, by Quarles, from Thomas Hibernicus, *Flores doctorum* (Antwerp, 1563), as noted by Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 212. Höltgen, *Aspects of the Emblem*, aptly describes Quarles's meditative technique as affecting "senses, imagination, mind, will and affections" (38).

⁸⁴ Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Divine Names* 5.8; trans. C. E. Rolt (1940; rpt., SPCK, 1977), 139.

⁸⁵ Not the translation in the Authorized Version, so perhaps the text is translated from Hugo, who adapted the Vulgate text in *Pia Desideria*.

“Ev’n like the Hawk” in the landscape nearby that is unable to fly to join her flock on account of her leash, held by a keeper who restrains her. “Great God,” Quarles’s verse cries, “I spread my feeble wings, in vaine.” “I cannot mount till thou unlink my chaine” and “supply / My wings with spirit.” Chained to the world and the flesh, Anima Humana lacks the freedom to act unless allowed by grace, a condition consistent with Calvinist theology and its insistence on the bondage of the will and the omnipotence of God.⁸⁶ Yet it is this tension that informs the Soul’s struggle throughout the *Emblemes* and attracted readers not only in the author’s time but until the nineteenth century. Quarles’s meditation is then followed by a quotation translated from Bonaventure that provides a Catholic perspective on the desire for union with God, “*the spring and fountaine of eternall light, the streame of true pleasure: let it alwayes desire thee, seek thee, and find thee, and sweetly rest in thee.*”

For Quarles, escape from time and the bondage implied by the human body is complicated. These issues are raised in V.8, an engraving, another copy by Simpson, that shows the Soul trapped within the rib cage of Death and pleading for deliverance. Inspired by Romans 7:24 in which St. Paul complained about the interior war he has experienced within between his flesh and his spirit, it is a type of *Memento mori* image. As such, the meditation unfolds an ascetic message, which should be a reminder to “my poore deluded soule” concerning her obeisance before the “base Scullion” of the Flesh and her love of earthly rewards and joys. “For shame, degen’rous soule, let thy desire / Be quickned up with more heroick fire.” Being wedded to the Flesh threatens the Soul’s virgin status. In this life her devotion to the body is a threat to

⁸⁶ See Peter White, *Predestination, Policy, and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (1992; rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), passim.

her freedom, for “the flesh is dead,” at least proleptically. Throughout, we are reminded, Quarles’s adoption of this emblem and his commentary on it maintain a distrust of human physicality and a desire for liberation. Following his meditation, he approvingly quotes St. Gregory Nazianzus’s comment that the body is a “*strange Conjunction and Alienation,*” that he loves as a “*servant, and hate[s] as an utter enemy.*” It keeps him utterly discomfitted, always in conflict with himself (*Oration* 16). In the Epigram at the end, Quarles asks, “What need that House be daub’d with flesh and blood?” The “cost” of affection for the Flesh only “prolong[s] / Thy thraldome; Foole, thou mak’st thy Iayle too strong.”

True freedom and authentic joy can only come from the spirit, not the flesh, which by its very nature implies bondage to mortality. This, in turn, means subjection to the snares of the Devil as graphically presented for view in III.9. Here the hounds of hell and enemies of the flesh threaten the cowering Soul under the “new-drawne net” cast over him by Death, his lute and his treasures cast aside in this fearful moment. The Epigram remarks that “Deep dangers wait thy mirth,” and of these most of all threaten “thy selfe.” The quotation adapted from St. Ambrose to stand after Quarles’s meditation describes a mental stance that is deeply pessimistic and otherworldly: “*Whilest thou seekest pleasures, thou runnest into snares, for the eye of the harlot is the snare of the Adulterer.*”

Otherworldliness and desire of the Soul for authenticity, then, form an important theme in the *Emblemes*, including those images that reproduce figures from *Typus Mundi*. In I.4, for example, the Soul and Cupid, representing, respectively, all her mighty achievements and then “the flesh, with all her loads of pleasure,” are placed in the scales held by Amor Divinus. All are “so light.” The world is a “bold Imposture,” a “crafty Strumpet,” “Crocadilian . . . Composed of trech’ries”; hence, the fortunate person is the one who despises the world, or even, being “borne,

did lie / In his sad Nurses Armes and houre or two, and die.” The idea seems indebted to Seneca. “What’s lighter,” Quarles asks in the epigram, “than a feather?” and what is lightest of all? It is the “bubble-world,” only found to be equivalent in weight to nothingness, which would be Non-Being, in Platonism the very conception of evil. In the quotation chosen for meditation in connection with this emblem, Quarles chooses a passage from St. Augustine’s *Confessions*, ending with the exclamation: “*Alas, this world is miserable: life is short, and death is sure.*”

Quarles moderates his view of this world only slightly in Emblem I.12, which presents an emblem not from *Typus Mundi* but inspired, so it is believed, by an emblem in *Atalanta Fugiens* (Oppenheim: Johann Theodore DeBry, 1618), an esoteric alchemical work by Michael Maier. Quarles may have met Maier during one or more of his visits to England or, alternatively, in Germany in 1613 when he arrived in the entourage of the newly wed Elector Palatine and Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King James I.⁸⁷ The image, radically different in meaning from Maier’s emblem, displays two fools at the world’s distended breasts: a fat one sucking and a thin

⁸⁷ Höltgen, *Francis Quarles*, 41–43, 319–24. One might speculate that there could have been a connection here with Henry Holland, who also was a member of the same group traveling to Germany and who wrote *Hierologia Anglicana* (London, 1620), in which he reported seeing and detesting Catholic images and objects such as vestments, crosses, and crucifixes in Lutheran churches there (sig. 4r–v; as cited by Aston, *Broken Idols of the Reformation*, 994). Even assuming that Quarles saw the same sights in Germany, were his experiences in any way preparation for being influenced by the former Catholic Benlowes to adopt Jesuit images for his meditations in his *Emblemes*?

man milking into a sieve which is leaking into the bowl of a tobacco pipe.⁸⁸ Höltgen has called attention to another interpretation of symbolic breasts in a passage in Arthur Dent's *Plaine-Mans Pathway to Heaven*, which designates the two breasts as "one of pleasure, the other of profit"; "shee, like a notable strumpet, by laying out of these breasts, doth bewitch the sonnes of men."⁸⁹ Quarles's epigram explains, "The meane's a vertue, and the world has none."

The conflicting options for the Soul, "consider[ing] their latter end," are dramatized in a dialogue in Emblem III.14, for which the engraver, John Payne working under the direction of Quarles, has made some changes in the original design in *Pia Desideria*, most importantly to include a nude figure, Flesh, with long, flowing hair. Flesh, who is nude and seated, proffers a mirror to reveal "showes more apt to please more curious eyes" as an alternative to the Last Judgment scene that Spirit, here also seated rather than standing, sees through her "Optick glasse." By means of the telescope the Spirit "drawes . . . neare" the vision of the flames of hell, in the midst of which a skeleton representing "Grim death" stands, holding a palm and the two-edged sword of Revelation. The scene is modeled on conventional Last Judgment iconography, but illustrating Amor Divinus with a halo as "the Angell-guarded Sonne," Christ, with the wound in his side, seated on a rainbow. He is holding out his hand, presumably to beckon his acceptance

⁸⁸ See Höltgen, *Francis Quarles*, figs. 10–11. For Maier in Germany, see Francis Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 71 and passim. On his place in the Rosicrucian movement, see *ibid.*, 70–91 and passim. Maier very likely was acquainted with Robert Fludd, English physician and writer of learned esoteric treatises, who may have had some shared interests with him.

⁸⁹ First published 1601; rpt. 1629, p. 82; quoted and discussed by Höltgen, *Francis Quarles*, 230–32.

to the saved, while his other is raised with a gesture of condemnation to the wicked. The placement of the Spirit, now also seated, at his right and Flesh at his left may be deliberate.⁹⁰ At his right and left in the sky are angels flying and playing trumpets, while above is a sun containing a triangle, symbolizing the Trinity. A few years earlier such a Last Judgment might have been controversial if painted on a church wall, where it could have been subject to covering with whitewash, as occurred at the Guild Chapel at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1564 and perhaps at about the same time on the great tower arch at Holy Trinity, Coventry, neither wall painting being uncovered to view until the nineteenth century.⁹¹ Quarles used the image to “*Foresee*,” as in the passage from Bonaventure that follows his meditation, “*three things, the danger of death, the last judgement, and eternall punishment.*” This message, as infolded in the visual image, as we will see, was of a type that was not appreciated, or in many instances not tolerated, in the next decade when Puritan iconophobia would return with a vengeance. Yet in 1643 at the height of systematic Puritan iconoclasm when Quarles’s book of *Emblemes* was reissued at Cambridge, then under control of Parliamentary troops, this engraving was retained intact and in fact only one image in the entire work would be censored, this one explicitly depicting a vision of heaven itself.

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⁹⁰ See Matthew 25: 31–33ff, for right-left orientation at the Last Judgment. The point is debatable, however.

⁹¹ R. B. Wheler, *History and Antiquities of Stratford-upon-Avon* (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1806), 97; Clifford Davidson, *Studies in Late Medieval Wall Paintings, Manuscript Illuminations, and Texts* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 5–6.

The image in Quarles's *Emblemes* which was significantly altered was Emblem V.14, depicting Amor Divinus, retaining his wings and halo, on a heavenly throne, crowned and seated in the midst of the court of heaven. Here he is conflated with God as the Trinity, including the Father, the "ANcient of dayes, to whom all times are Now." He is Divine Wisdom, but especially he is appearing as Christ the Judge of Matthew 25, with his hand open as if prepared to receive "Those purged soules, for whom the Lamb was slaine," the right holding the rod of his wrath.⁹² Angels lift aside the curtain that presumably has been hiding him as if behind a veil, so as to reveal the glory that has hitherto been concealed to those living on "dungeon earth." Angel musicians appear in the clouds at the right and left playing a lute, flute, trumpet, and harp to accompany the heavenly choir. The larger angels, presumably Gabriel and Michael, seem to be parting the clouds so that light streams down upon Anima Humana, who is receiving a preview of the beatific vision, "Where face to face, our ravisht eye shall see / Great ELOHIM, that glorious One in Three," who "in love" will "possesse" the Soul. All bad, all evil qualities, are listed as "banish'd" in Quarles's text, which identifies them as personifications — "Wry-mouth'd disdain," "corner-haunting lust," "twy-fac'd Fraud," "beetle-brow'd Distrust," "Soule-boyling Rage," "trouble-state Sedition," and so forth. These are drawn from handbooks such as Cesare Ripa's popular *Iconologia*, which was widely known and had also been a source for Inigo Jones and his collaborators in staging court masques.⁹³ The qualities of evil are set aside, and "simple

⁹² As in *Pia Desidria*, the traditional right-left iconography, following Matthew 25, is reversed.

⁹³ Quarles would have had direct experience with Inigo Jones's use of such hieroglyphics if, as a student at Lincoln's Inn, he participated in George Chapman and Jones's spectacular *Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn* in February of 1613, as part of the festivities

love,” “sempiternall joyes, / Whose sweetnesse neither gluts, nor fulnesse cloyes” takes their place. The Soul, her hands raised in the image in the ancient gesture of praise, is said to be “ravish[ed] in relation.” The glimpse of heaven seen by way of the image, supplemented by imagination, is something that only can be thereafter recalled in contemplation until the day of its fulfillment at the Last Judgment. Quarles’s epigram urges caution, “pry not too nearely,” since “*Sols* [God’s] bright face” has not been shown directly but rather “but by Reflexion.”

As Hölgen notes, symbolic images like the ones illustrated here were perfectly acceptable for publication in 1635, as again in a second edition in 1639, when authority over Church and State had not yet slipped away from the Archbishop and King; however, Quarles in his text “anticipates Protestant objection about images of God.”⁹⁴ “Excuse my bold attempt,” he writes, “and pardon me / For shewing Sense, what Faith alone should see.” It is quite possible that some main-line Anglicans still might have been troubled by a scene which was very near to a depiction

arranged for the wedding of King James’s daughter Elizabeth and the Elector Frederick. The characters in the masque were Honour, Eunomia (Law), Phemus (Fame), Plutus (Riches), and Capriccio. See Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 1:253–62, and the useful discussion in Stephen Kogan, *The Hieroglyphic King: Wisdom and Idolatry in the Seventeenth-Century Masque* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1986), 90–96. After the wedding, Quarles traveled along with Jones in the company of the Earl of Arundel to Heidelberg in the entourage of the newlyweds, but he did not then proceed to Italy with Jones and the earl. See Hölgen, *Francis Quarles*, 37–38, 319–21.

⁹⁴ Karl Josef Hölgen, “Catholic Pictures versus Protestant Words? The Adaptation of the Jesuit Sources of Quarles’s *Emblemes*,” *Emblematica* 9 (1995): 230.

of God in heaven, albeit disguised under Amor Divinus. Even Henry Peacham, a member of the Earl of Arundel's circle, in *The Art of Drawing* (1607), said to be based in part on Paolo Lomazzo, had added a comment excoriating "the old heresie of the Anthro morphites who supposed God to be in the shape of an old man sitting vpon his throne in a white Robe."⁹⁵ Resistance to religious images had continued, but especially among Puritans, who were the most vociferous in this regard. Memory of the Henry Sherfield case, forwarded to the Star Chamber by order of the King, remained still fresh. Sherfield, a devoted Puritan and Recorder of the Salisbury church of St. Edmund, was on trial for an infraction, in October 1630, for destroying a Creation window with his "pike-staff" because it depicted God "in the form of an old man in blue and red"⁹⁶ in his parish church against the orders of his bishop, John Davenant. In 1633 his case and the question of the acceptability of religious images were deliberated at length in the highest court in the land, with its decision falling against him on grounds of disobeying the bishop, not on his iconoclasm, which he continued to defend as removing a cause of idolatry that

⁹⁵ Henry Peacham, *The Art of Drawing* (1607), chap. 3, as quoted by Alan R. Young, *Henry Peacham* (Boston: Twayne, 1979), 8–9. The objection echoes Archbishop Cranmer's 1548 *Catechism* ("they portured God the father lyke an olde man with a long hore berd"), as quoted by Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation*, 558.

⁹⁶ For extant examples of the Days of Creation in glass, with images of the Creator, that possibly resembled the St. Edmund's glass, at Great Malvern, see Gordon McN. Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery as Illustrated by the Painted Windows of Great Malvern Priory Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 149–51ff, and figs. 59–62. See *ibid.*, 151n, for a useful description of the St. Edmund's glass, quoting from John Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, pt. 2 (London, 1680), 154f.

had offended him for over twenty years. He was levied a confiscatory fine of £500 which resulted in his financial ruin.⁹⁷

The censoring of the image in Quarles's *Emblems*, as noted only affecting Emblem V.14, occurred when the tide had turned and his book had undergone its next reprinting, at Cambridge in 1643, which was then occupied by Parliamentary soldiers.⁹⁸ Local iconophobia was being enforced, the accepted view in that environment now being consistent with the opinion of Prynne, who would write in *Canterburies Doome*: "How can a deed and dumbe Image expresse the living God?"⁹⁹ The iconoclast William Dowsing would arrive late in 1643, where he began his depredations at the Chapel at Peterhouse, where he immediately "pulled down two mighty angells, with wings, and divers other angells, and the 4 Evangelists, and Peter, with his keies on the chappell door."¹⁰⁰ Fortunately, in anticipation, much had already been hidden away for the

⁹⁷ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1631–33*, 538–39, and *1633–34*, 19; Francis Hargrave, ed., *A Complete Collection of State Trials, Charles I* (London, 1816), 540–56ff; and see discussion in Paul Slack, "Henry Sherfield," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2009).

⁹⁸ By 1643 Quarles had lost copyright as the result of a failed lawsuit over non-repayment of a debt secured by the plates to *Emblemes*; see Höltgen, "Francis Quarles," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; and especially Kellendonk, *John and Richard Marriott*, 28–31. Also, it was a chaotic time for publishers generally. With the abolition of the Star Chamber in 1641, press licencing and enforcement were suspended. From 1643 and for some time thereafter, Kellendonk reports that few books were issued (9).

⁹⁹ Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 102.

¹⁰⁰ *The Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. Cooper, 155–56.

duration, including the painted-glass copy of Rubens's painting of the Crucifixion, which had been found after the end of "the late troublesome times" carefully boxed up and intact.¹⁰¹ Quarles by this time had joined King Charles at Oxford, and in any case, as we have seen,¹⁰² he had by then lost copyright to his work. The prevailing mood among the radicals had been summarized by the *Root and Branch Petition* of 1640, objecting to "the frequent venting of crucifixes and popish pictures both engraven and printed."¹⁰³ For some, even mental imaging could be dangerous, and Quarles's friend Richard Sibbes warned that "there is no expression in Scripture, what kind of man Christ was."¹⁰⁴ For Peter Smart, images on copes among the vestments at Durham Cathedral are "called *Ornaments*; they rather should be teamed stinking excrements of the whore of Babylon."¹⁰⁵

In Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, Dowsing's iconoclastic efforts were authorized by ordinances of Parliament from 1641 to 1644. Under a warrant from the Earl of Manchester, he

¹⁰¹ The glass was not among the items found in 1650 in the Perne Library which included organ pipes that had also been hidden away there (ibid. 158).

¹⁰² See Peacham, *The Art of Drawing*, as quoted by Young, *Henry Peacham.*, 8–9.

¹⁰³ Henry Gee and John Hardy, eds., *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (New York: Macmillan, 1896), 540.

¹⁰⁴ Richard Sibbes, *The Returning Backslider* (London, 1639); as quoted in Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation*, 841

¹⁰⁵ "Articles, or Instructions for Articles, to be Exhibited by His Majestie's Heigh Commissioners, Against Mr. John Cosin . . . of the Cathedrall Church of Durham," in *The Correspondence of John Cosin*, ed. George Ormsby, Surtees Soc. 52 (1868), 186 (marginal note).

was to work with a crew of soldiers to “cleanse” churches of religious and devotional imagery in East Anglia, “for the utter demolishing, removing and taking away of all Monuments of Superstition or Idolatry.”¹⁰⁶ His journal is a discouraging catalogue of bigotry, even removing (or ordering churchwardens to remove) such minutiae as the letters abbreviating Jesus’ name (IHS), regarded as “the Jesuit’s badge,” and Latin inscriptions such as “*Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*.” There was widespread destruction of angels, ubiquitous in East Anglia, not only at Peterhouse, and much more. Parliament’s Ordinance of 1641 specified “[t]hat all crucifixes, scandalous pictures of any one or more persons of the Trinity, and all images of the Virgin Mary shall be taken away and abolished. . . .”¹⁰⁷ Angels, which would have included singers and instrumentalists, were specifically listed as subject to desecration in the 1644 Ordinance.¹⁰⁸ Organs, and organ cases too, were especially under attack, the latter for their carvings and the instruments themselves for their connection to religious music, which the Puritanically inclined believed should be restricted to unaccompanied psalm singing.¹⁰⁹

That Quarles’s *Emblemes* would be reprinted at Cambridge in 1643 and sold during these years when hostility to images was at its most intense is itself remarkable. But censorship of the

¹⁰⁶ *The Journal of William Dowsing*, 341.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 340, and pl. 18b for destruction of the furnishing of Queens’ Chapel by Parliamentary soldiers with pikes, showing most prominently a picture of a bishop with crozier into the fire and a soldier ready to toss a picture of Christ on the cross into the flames.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 343.

¹⁰⁹ See Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation*, 445–542, who usefully cites examples of extreme scorn directed at organs and church music, e.g., the tailor from Taunton who thought an organ was “good for nothing but pigs to dance by” (*ibid.*, 522).

scene in heaven in Emblem V.14 to remove *only* the image of Amor Divinus seated as the Deity in heaven's throne along with angel musicians in the court of heaven in 1643 was certainly minimal censorship in this period of extreme official iconophobia. The replacement was an opaque cloud, perhaps inspired by Exodus 20:21, "the thick cloud where God was" (Geneva),¹¹⁰ surrounding a luminous sun. These together hide the deity from all human sight, and here erasing Amor Divinus in his divine role presiding over the Last Judgment. Across the sun there were instead the four Hebrew letters, the Tetragrammaton, a magicomystical word designating "Yahweh," the Cabalistic sign of God's name, a form that curiously had been adopted by Protestant artists and acceptable by "stricter Protestants."¹¹¹ The original image was never

¹¹⁰ However, there is some contradiction already in Exodus 3:14, in which God offers "I AM THAT I AM" as a response to Moses's request to know his name — in other words, a name ("God as the One who is") consistent with the Platonic tradition as in Philo, the Church Fathers, and Aquinas (Robert J. Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God, from the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century* [Leiden: Brill, 2015], 482–83).

¹¹¹ Höltgen, "Catholic Pictures versus Protestant Words?" 231. The Tetragrammaton as a sign designating God appears to have been introduced through contact with early Christian Hebraists and Continental Protestants, the first example of this use being Hans Holbein's title page for Myles Coverdale's translation of the Bible ([Antwerp?], 1535). While in place of representations of God it was to become an almost universal mark of Protestantism (see Margaret Aston, "Symbols of Conversion: Proprieties of the Page in Reformation England," in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter [Farnham: Ashgate, 2010], 23–30), there may also may have been a connection through early British Humanists with the thought of Italian Neoplatonists such as Pico della Mirandola or Johannes

restored in subsequent editions. The censoring of the court of heaven was permanent into the nineteenth century, when the images were redrawn and altered, and at the last presented as the vastly different designs of Charles H. Bennett and W. Harry Rogers included in Alexander Grosart's *Complete Works in Prose and Verse* of 1885. In this edition, Emblem V.14 retained the Tetragrammaton but within a six-pointed star surrounded by a halo of light.

The final emblem (Book V.15), which is followed by way of conclusion by "The Farewell," is interpreted as the Soul's fear of abandonment by a lovesick Amor Divinus, spoken in style of love poetry and echoing Sponsa-Sponsus language of the biblical Song of Songs. There is here no revelation of mystic union, but rather still a longing for it. The end of the mystical quest is eluded, as it must be for Protestantism on this side of death. Here it is human for the Soul to be ambivalent, longing and yet repelled, unable to blend into union with Amor Divinus, Love and Beauty turning away in the emblem. The deep pessimism of Calvinism still stalks the poet, as in the epigram he calls his soul "sinnes monster," whom God must look at with puzzlement. This cannot for Quarles be the end of the story. In "The Farewell" the Soul is seated in meditation behind a tomb-like cabinet, with angels overhead lowering the Crown of Life over his head. It is a gift of God, who by his grace has rewarded the undeserving person who

Reuchlin, also deeply imbued with Cabalistic lore. See Francis A. Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (1979; rpt. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), 20–22 and passim.

The Tetragrammaton was commonly associated with magic, as noted by E. M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge University Press, 1949; rpt. New York: Noonday Press, 1959), 40–41, 178.

For a comprehensive survey, see Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God*; Wilkinson's chap. 12 treats hermetic use by Cornelius Agrippa in his *Of Occult Philosophy*, John Dee, Jean Bodin, Robert Fludd, and Athanasius Kircher.

nevertheless paradoxically is the faithful servant unto death. God must purchase by his blood the one whom he originally at the Creation “did forme of dust” and infused with the breath of life. Faith too is a gift of God, and through Faith the Crown of Life is awarded. Was Quarles retreating to a more rigid theology and perhaps even the doctrine of double predestination as a final way of deflecting criticism for the use of magical Catholic images in his enterprise? The final couplet of the *Emblemes*, directed to God the Father, is revealing: “The gift is Thine; we strive; Thou crown’st our strife; / Thou giv’st us Faith; and Faith, a Crowne of Life.” But the images themselves have revealed something more complex, the brokenness of the human condition and, at its most enlightened, the possibility of stirring awareness of sinfulness concurrently with an overwhelming *desire* for union with Being, represented here by Anima Humana’s wish for communion with Amor Divinus in an act of love.¹¹²

By way of a final observation, one might note that the *Emblemes*, in spite of the scorn of such critics as Alexander Pope in his *Dunciad* (I.139–40) and of others,¹¹³ offered a not inconsequential representation of human fallibility by way of a trajectory beginning with dialogue between the serpent and Eve. The path forward is hampered in Quarles’s view because, being a fallen creature, as his contemporary Henry Reynolds said in c.1632, “Wee live in a

¹¹² In the fifteenth-century block-book version of *Christus und die minnende Seele*, the final woodcut, illustrating *Unio*, shows Christ and the Soul (wearing crown) under covers in a bed as if ready to consummate their love. Christ’s words indicate his desire that they should be together forever, and she rejoices that she is coming into her eternal rest. See Amy Gebauer, “*Christus und die minnende Seele*”: *An Analysis of Circulation, Text, and Iconography* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2010), pl. 92.

¹¹³ See Höltgen, *Francis Quarles*, 307–14.

myste, blind and benighted. . . .”¹¹⁴ The *Emblemes*, by way of images which were to fix ideas in the memory, had as their purpose to engage readers and offer participation in the unveiling of that which was hidden within the hieroglyphics — hieroglyphics taken or adapted mainly from Jesuit sources. He offered experience that is a very un-Puritan quest, a hermetic task of love aspiring to reveal the mysteries of faith and ultimately to imagine the beatific vision that in this life can be entertained only in imagination but eventually in another life in its fullness.

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¹¹⁴ Reynolds, *Mythomystes*, 244.