

RICHARD CRASHAW AND THE JESUITS: A STUDY
IN MUSICAL AND MYSTICAL WIT

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PREFACE

The seventeenth century was an age of strife between sense and nonsense. Although the Reformation was almost one hundred years old, the controversies which had given it impetus were just reaching maturity. On the one hand, the Roman Church had consolidated itself into a very strong position at the Council of Trent (1543-63).¹ It had cleansed itself of many of the corruptions that had initiated the Reformation. Questions concerning the clergy, indulgences and iconolatry, and church ritual, to name a few, were dealt with in this council, and from its results the Roman Church emerged united. On the other hand, the social, economic, and cultural developments in Europe that had done much to encourage the Reformation, matured and insured its permanency. The rise of national consciousness and the corresponding sophistication of the vernacular languages led to the printing of the scriptures in most of the major European languages by the end of the sixteenth century.² With this development, the color of

¹H. Jedin, "Council of Trent," The New Catholic Encyclopedia, XV (1967), 271-278.

²M. H. Black, "The Printed Bible," The Cambridge History of the Bible, (1963), 408-476.

theological controversy changed. The questions now were no longer the province of professional scholars, as they had been during the High Middle Ages. From comfortable and sophisticated frames of "nominalism" and "realism," the issues were translated into "justification by faith" and "predestination."³ The questions became popularized and, hence, explosive. Out of this situation, developed seventeenth-century Puritanism and the counter-Reformation.

The Church of England fell into a significant position of "moderation" between the extremes of Puritanism and the counter-Reformation. However, as White has indicated, moderation to the seventeenth-century mind was not to be identified with accommodation.⁴ The Anglican was not moderate in fervor, but in his sense of reason and measure; and by moderate, he thus meant exact. The Anglican position was initially one of political but not religious compromise; and, with Richard Hooker's brilliant defense of that position in Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity (1597), it became clear that, as far as doctrine was concerned, the English Church

³F. J. Foakes-Jackson, "Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," The Cambridge History of English Literature, III (1949), 399-417.

⁴Helen White, The Metaphysical Poets, p. 53.

held no midway position.⁵ Liturgically oriented, Anglicanism emphasized good works, whereas Puritanism rested solely on the premise of justification by faith. Implicit on that issue, Hooker explicitly denied the Puritan position on predestination with his defense of free will.

Out of this fervent religious controversy naturally emerged a number of very self-conscious cultures. Artistic endeavors from music to painting mirror the anxiety of the age, and it is not surprising that the religious strife between the individual and institution was translated into an artistic tension between structure and substance, theme and decoration. Religious strife was the key of the age, and even secular art was self-consciously secular. Out of this self-consciousness emerged a number of poetic schools that have been often characterized as manneristic.⁶ The break between reason and faith that has been called indirectly the schizophrenia⁷ of the Reformation and the Renaissance evidenced itself in the imbalance, disproportion, pessimism,

⁵Foakes-Jackson, op. cit., p. 414.

⁶Martin S. Day, History of English Literature to 1660, p. 377.

⁷Hugo Rahner, Ignatius the Theologian, p. 184.

and death wish of the Metaphysical and Baroque poets. The emphasis is on artifice and form, and the result is a willful grotesqueness.⁸

In times of such strife, the most interesting figures are those who somehow remain singularly aloof. Richard Crashaw is such a figure. His conversion to Catholicism and his corresponding poetic development evidence a sustained and unhampered spiritual development. However, moving in the train of the counter-Reformation and writing in the Baroque tradition, Crashaw has often shared in its criticism. The counter-Reformation, with its defense of Roman liturgy, ritual, and tendency toward iconolatry, seemed ultimately an affirmation of sense and a glorification of the flesh. Praz refers to Crashaw's poetry as a great expression of the spirit of the seicento as it attempts the "spiritualizzamento del sense."⁹ However, the mixing of flesh and spirit, though apparently analogous to Incarnation, also lends itself to perversion; and, though Beechcroft sympathetically describes Baroque art as an " . . . elaboration, deformation, and

⁸Day, op. cit., p. 377.

⁹Mario Praz, The Flaming Heart, p. 204; White, op. cit. p. 252.

unity in the midst of complication,"¹⁰ other critics are not so accommodating. De Mourgues, for instance, believes that, although in the Catholic tradition, the senses and imagination may contribute to the glory of God, it does not follow that God's glorification is a mandate for "indulging the most intense cravings of the senses and the imagination." She argues, that, in Baroque art of the seventeenth century, the logic of Catholic ritual and doctrine was reversed, and an "unreal unorganic world" was substituted for the concept of a "real supernatural universe." She concludes that Crashaw is one of the better illustrations of this distortion, and that it is a product of "perverted intelligence."¹¹ De Mourgues includes the opinions of several critics in her attack upon the Baroque style and especially Crashaw. For example, in distinguishing between Baroque and metaphysical imagery, she notes that Warren calls Crashaw's metaphors "sensuous and external" in contrast with Donne's, which are "abstract and recondite," and Herbert's, which are "autobiographical."¹²

¹⁰T. O. Beechcroft, "Crashaw--And the Baroque Style," Criterion, XIII (April, 1934), 416.

¹¹Adette de Mourgues, Metaphysical, Baroque & Precieux Poetry, p. 83.

¹²Ibid., p. 80.

One agrees with this remark, but not as a premise for attacking Crashaw, and it is only fair to examine the full context of Warren's statement. Warren contends that, whereas Donne's tendency is toward "introspection" and "dialectic casuistry," Crashaw is a poet of pure "sensibility." While Donne refined his analytic verse, Crashaw's intellect was "neither speculative nor subtle." In contrast with Donne, "Crashaw refined his emotions."¹³ Warren, moreover, compares the two poets in some representative particulars. His conclusion seems to warrant De Mourgues' remark, that if the Baroque poet would sometimes "put a check on his sensuous vision, love of decorative imagery," his poetry would "very often move from the baroque to the metaphysical."¹⁴ However, Warren is not trying to illustrate Crashaw's error. Rather he is making a positive organic distinction between the poetry of the two writers. He calls Crashaw's verse "shiningly smooth,"¹⁵ and Donne's "rugged" in order to draw a clear contrast between Baroque and metaphysical. In this distinction he agrees with

¹³Austin Warren, Richard Crashaw: A Study in Baroque Sensibility, p. 98.

¹⁴De Mourgues, op. cit., p. 84.

¹⁵Warren, op. cit., p. 99.

De Mourgues,¹⁶ but he is not indicting the Baroque as the illegitimate offspring of the metaphysical.

In addition to Praz, De Mourgues, and Warren, John Hollander joins the controversy over the integrity of Baroque art and cites De Mourgues' definition of Baroque as a premise for his own explication of Crashaw's Musicks Duell.¹⁷ He believes that her strongest point is her insistence upon differentiating the Baroque from the metaphysical style of writing among English poets.¹⁸ He seems to be agreeing with her view of the Baroque style as a degeneration of the metaphysical when he predicates his discussion on her definition of the Baroque as distorted in "imagination and sensibility."¹⁹

These critics agree that there is a radical difference between the Baroque and metaphysical styles. However, whereas Warren and Praz are content to define this difference, Hollander and De Mourgues seem compelled to make comparisons and value judgments. Indeed, both positions may be, to some

¹⁶De Mourgues, op. cit., p. 80.

¹⁷John Hollander, The Untuning of the Sky, pp. 220-238.

¹⁸De Mourgues, op. cit., pp. 67-75; Hollander, op. cit., p. 222.

¹⁹De Mourgues, op. cit., p. 74; Hollander, op. cit., p. 222.

degree, accommodated if the real subject is illuminated. The problem is that these four critics are not talking about the same thing. This case is ironically symptomatic of the same controversies which dominated the seventeenth century.

De Mourgues has written that, in Baroque art "we have the suspicion that we are offered one thing as a substitute for another," and clearly substitution lies at the heart of most of the seventeenth-century controversies and most of the surrounding criticism. On the one hand, Praz and Warren are speaking of particular poets, and the resultant comparisons are, thus, particular and mutually exclusive. On the other hand, De Mourgues and Hollander, beginning with qualitative definitions abstracted from a wide array of poetry and, thus, inclusive and nondiscriminating in their scope, attempt with them to belabor individual poets and to arrive at exclusive conclusions. This is also possibly the source of the religious conflict of the seventeenth century and of its surrounding criticism, because when qualitative definitions were applied to specific exclusive situations, the result was distortion. This is the distortion of which Hollander and De Mourgues are writing, and it is a quality of much of the century's inferior poetry. However, the present author hopes to narrow the scope of this study to the exclusion of such poetry. The

first chapter is devoted to introducing the poetry of Richard Crashaw in the context of the conflicts presented above. It will be the purpose to narrow the scope of that conflict to the metaphysical conceit and the emblem, and to compare them with their medieval counterparts. A true conflict will be seen present only in inferior emblems and conceits, and as the product of a kind of substitution. The conflicts and their resolutions will to a degree be viewed as analogous to those of the Reformation and counter-Reformation. The Society of Jesus will be considered as a particularly effective wave of the counter-Reformation, and The Spiritual Exercises will be offered as an analogue to the poetry of Richard Crashaw. The main purpose of the first chapter is not to draw solutions but to clearly define the premise of conflict. Thus it will serve as introduction to the next chapter that will undertake a detailed examination of those premises. Finally, in light of The Spiritual Exercises and the conflict between metaphysical and Baroque poetry, Crashaw will emerge as a true counter-Reformation figure, not accomplishing compromise, but recapturing the spirit of medieval allegory.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	iii
CHAPTER .	
I. THE MYSTICAL AND DEVOTIONAL WIT OF RICHARD CRASHAW: A REVIEW OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS OF THE BAROQUE EMBLEM AND THE METAPHYSICAL CONCEIT	1
II. THE IGNATIAN SPIRITUAL EXERCISES AND CRASHAW'S MEDIEVAL MYSTICISM	24
III. THE APPLICATION OF THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES IN THE STRUCTURE OF CRASHAW'S EMBLEMATIC POETRY: AQUINAS REVISITED	76
IV. THE APPLICATION OF THE SENSES IN THE MUSICAL IDIOM OF CRASHAW'S POETRY: SCOTUS ACCOMMODATED	133
BIBLIOGRAPHY	173

CHAPTER I

THE MYSTICAL AND DEVOTIONAL WIT OF RICHARD CRASHAW:

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CONTEXTS OF THE BAROQUE EMBLEM AND

THE METAPHYSICAL CONCEIT

The aesthetic embodied by Crashaw's poetry is to some degree related to the religious strife of the seventeenth century. Behind the violence of immediate situations were larger philosophical questions, ones which finally come to rest in art. The relation of the individual to the institution of the Church, and ultimately the relationship of both the Church and the individual to God are analogues to the aesthetic questions of the relations of the particular to the form, and the relationship of both to the truth. Crashaw is a poet, and his poetry is devotional. Therefore, one proposes that Crashaw's poetry must be judged against a dual standard of criticism. The two sides of this critical mode are well represented in the seventeenth-century conceit and emblem. The former represents a kind of formalist position, and, hence, is a way of approaching the poetry. The latter embodies a medieval allegorical view of truth, and, so, is a standard against which to appreciate Crashaw's devotional mysticism.

One finally proposes that, though the critical standard is double in focus, Crashaw's poetry is not. Crashaw successfully overcame the aesthetic problems mirrored in the Reformation, but not by synthesizing the positions, or by destroying one in favor of the other. Rather, he established the mutually exclusive positions of poet and mystic. Allowed to exist independently, each position became a luminary for the other. Hence, as a poet, Crashaw fulfilled his devotion; and, as a worshipper, he felt the presence of the Creator, and, so, fulfilled the creation in poetry.

The emblem and conceit of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are, in many respects, representative of a schizophrenia that effected every level of human conduct. Growing out of a keenly self-conscious time, they represent an obsession with introspection. However, in inheriting this disposition of self-analysis, they also received its shortcomings. Not the least of these was the tendency to confuse the observed quality of an object with the object itself. In literary terms, the century gave birth to all the various fallacies which have since plagued the critic. The rhetorical, effective, pathetic, and historical fallacies are good analogues to the confusions of this time. The point in common is the destruction of the integrity and independence of the

art, and the confusion of artist, artistry, and art.

On the one hand, the metaphysical conceit emphasized ingenuity, forms and devices, often to the complete exclusion of substance. The process, the artistry of wit, became an end in itself. White contends that the source of this development is in the philosophical nature of the poetry. She believes that the philosophical view of the universe and of the great drama of the human spirit are what link metaphysical poetry with such works as the Divina Commedia, the De Natura Rerum, and Goethe's Faust.²⁰ In discussing the relationship between the drama of existence represented in poetry and the view of the universe represented by philosophy, she concludes that a capacity for grasping either is rare. The individual who can combine both religious emotion with poetry is rarer still.²¹ Such a rare combination was not often to be found in the amateur poet of the early seventeenth century. Yet, because of the subject matter and philosophy, a poet was required to possess this ability. With a double focus in the poetry upon philosophy and upon the poetry itself, the foundations for a distorting duality were

²⁰White, op. cit., p. 72.

²¹Ibid., p. 22.

laid. The artist often confused his subject with his poetic form. For instance, the wit on which the poem was based often became the subject of its manipulation. Thus, the integrity of the poem was diffused. Williamson notes a long current of development, from the Renaissance to Eliot, in which the emphasis has been placed more and more upon considerations of audience persuasion. He alludes to Hoskins, Dryden, Addison, Hazlitt, and Johnson, in exploring this line of wit, and implies that, from this increasing rhetorical bias, grew the effective fallacy that extended itself into actual considerations of form. For instance, he points out that the function of the pleasing metaphor was to illuminate the whole through the proper arrangement of the parts. Thus, the message for "the human spirit" became secondary to or effected by considerations of form. Moreover, Williamson concludes that, concomitant to this change in focus, came a break in the integrity of intellect. He argues that, whereas Hoskins made a distinction between fancy and intellect, under the influence of Hobbes, such later writers as Johnson had a great intellectual bias and made nice distinctions between judgment, wit, intellect, fancy, and emotion.²²

²²George Williamson, The Proper Wit of Poetry, pp. 11-25.

White remarks, finally, that most critics from Dr. Johnson to Joan Bennett agree on the distinctive intellectual emphasis apparent in the metaphysical conceit. It is an " . . . emphasis apparent both in the preoccupations of the poet and in his procedure."²³ Thus, the ingenuity of wit, the execution, is identified with the poem itself. She cites John Donne as the classic example: " . . . in Donne feeling like imagination is submissive to the operations of the logical faculty. It is the expression of thought that is the center of his purpose"²⁴ She concludes, finally, that the desire for truth was often less compelling " . . . than the delight of the mind in its own motions," and that there is abundant justification for comparing these writers with the sophists of antiquity.²⁵ Similar to the metaphysical conceit, the emblem of the Renaissance and Baroque eras evidenced a growth of self-consciousness in its sophistry, "effectation," and substitution of means for ends. Most often dealing with religious themes, the emblem mixed poetry with prayer and painting and is characterized by its blending of the senses.

²³White, op. cit., p. 71.

²⁴Ibid., p. 84.

²⁵Ibid., p. 41.

It was in the context of a discussion of the emblem that White spoke of the rarity of "poet-priests." Rosemary Freeman, in English Emblem Books, traces a development in the emblem through the seventeenth century, remarkably parallel to that of the conceit. Her main contention is that, whereas the allegory of the Middle Ages was natural, that of the seventeenth-century emblem writer was often forced.²⁶ In the Middle Ages, life itself was viewed as an allegory; thus, the allegorical habit needed no defense. Therefore, the derivative art forms needed none of the defensive over-elaboration that characterized them in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Freeman says that medieval allegory required no coherent framework for its personified themes, because they needed only to exist. Their coherency was supplied by a universal view of the cosmos modeled on the Platonic Great Chain of Being, and so they were fully comprehensible, until the Renaissance.²⁷ Freeman, here, is drawing a line between sixteenth-century allegory and that of the Middle Ages, and, thus, her discussion also serves as a description for seventeenth-century allegory and the seventeenth-century

²⁶Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books, p. 28.

²⁷Ibid., p. 22.

emblem. She argues that the implicit meanings of "localized" medieval allegory were lost with the ingrafting of classical figures during the Renaissance.²⁸ Freeman is not contending that the tradition of allegory was dead in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries²⁹ but that, mixed with the culturally unabsorbed traditions of antiquity, it had become ceremonial and self-conscious. With imposition of the new material and the concomitant conscious attention to method, the old sense of organic integrity was lost. She concludes that, while in the Renaissance a new symbol may have been equated with an old idea, the symbol and idea never actually became wholly identified, nor totally inseparable.³⁰ The nature of allegory in the sixteenth century led to its abandonment by the end of the next century.

Freeman observes that Dryden raised the same issue when he criticized the symbolic representation of the theatrical army: "What is more ridiculous than to represent an army with a drum and five men behind it?" With the emblem writer, even

²⁸Ibid., p. 19.

²⁹Ibid., p. 4.

³⁰Ibid., p. 29.

the five men would have been dispensed with.³¹ She concludes that the self-conscious structures and wit of the sixteenth-century emblem ultimately led to a total subjectivity and introspective focus by the end of the seventeenth century.³² Out of this disintegration of the medieval cosmological view emerge the emblem and conceit as distinctly separate entities. But, the emblem is not a derivative of the conceit. If there is a degeneration, it is from the medieval allegory, and both emblem and conceit share equally in the indictment. It is not the opinion of the present author or most critics (excepting possibly De Mourgues and Hollander) that all writers of conceits and emblems failed. However, they were handicapped, dealing as they did with derivative poetry. On the one hand, the conceit was coupled with philosophy, and on the other, the emblem was alloyed with allegory and religion. Without that rare combination of poet and mystic suggested by White, the effort was destined to be self-conscious. Freeman believes that this self-consciousness emerges with the break up of the medieval world of view. While an idea's place in a symbolized world was assured in the later Middle

³¹Ibid., p. 14.

³²Loc. cit.

Ages, when this integrated scheme disintegrated, its personification became static and unrealistic.³³

Because the focus of the conceit and emblem was often diffused or distorted, these devices tended to be purely derivative. They were not their own excuse for existing, and so must be read in light of their antecedents. Not being self-contained, their integrity is lost, and any artistic reaction that they condition must be interpreted in the light of surrounding circumstances, the historical and social conditions. Specifically, this poetry must be interpreted in its religious, philosophical, and psychological contexts. Poetic and rhetorical developments must be viewed as extensions of these contexts as well as integral parts of the poetry. Of course, much of the great poetry of the age will stand on its own strength. Not all of it must rely on historical justification, nor must it be regarded as a case study in a narrow philosophical development. But even in the case of Donne and Crashaw, if one is fully to appreciate their techniques, style must be viewed in terms of the duality that it mastered. Since self-consciousness and introspection

³³Ibid., p. 20.

are hallmarks of the age, this duality must be viewed as it reveals itself in religious, philosophical, and psychological contexts, as well as in art; therefore, different religious currents of the century may be read as an analogue to the independent developments of the conceit and emblem.

On the one hand, the conceit, with its emphasis upon intellectual ingenuity and its subordination of will and emotion to intellect, had much in common with Puritanism, with its basis of justification by faith and predestination. Freeman cites Henri Estienne, the French critic, in observing that the successful symbol is " . . . intrinsicall, occult, natural and essentiall."³⁴ This concept appears to be but an argument for organic unity. However, if one examines it more closely, especially in its philosophic contexts, he is aware of a distinct Platonic thread in its fiber. Estienne describes the bad symbol as " . . . extrinsicall, manifest, artificiall, knowne and accidental."³⁵ Estienne might mean that the reader should have to contribute no extrinsic, artificial, or accidental judgments to the poem's interpretation, that these judgments should be integral to it. However, in

³⁴Ibid., p. 24.

³⁵Loc. cit.

the light of the forced and artificial allegories of which he is speaking, more than likely he means by intrinsicall that the various elements coupled in the radical should be similar. In short, there should be involved no active principle of will or emotion, only of passive intellect. In seventeenth-century religious contexts, this concept has a distinctly Puritan innuendo.

On the other hand, the emblem, with its fixed and inert scene and forced allegory has much in common with medieval Catholicism and its emphasis upon ritualism. The emblems that Freeman initially compares testify to the static nature against which such eighteenth-century writers as Shaftesbury were rebelling.³⁶ Freeman illustrates her text with two emblems, both dealing with the same theme. The first is from George Wither's A Collection of Emblems. She notes that, although the work was not published until 1635, all plates were drawn from Gabriel Rollenhagen's Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum which had appeared in 1611-13.³⁷ Thus, exactly one-hundred years separates it from the illustrations of Lord Shaftesbury's Characteristicks. Freeman believes that

³⁶Ibid., p. 8.

³⁷Ibid., p. 10.

the Characteristicks is an example of what an emblem was not,³⁸ and uses the two to illustrate the changing conception of art during the seventeenth century. She concludes that the difference is in the sense of drama. For example, in the engraving of Hercules, Shaftesbury has appointed his time carefully and has achieved a sense of dramatic moment. But in Wither's picture, none of the three characters, Pleasure, Virtue, and Hercules, has any particular interest in the others: " . . . it is a tableau in which each is posed in an attitude appropriate to his own nature."³⁹ That these characters do not move is not, however, the reason one describes the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century emblem as static. Nor is it because they have no interest in each other. Characters may be as static in a dramatic moment as they are out of it, depending upon where one wishes to place the dramatic premise. Freeman agrees with Shaftesbury that the moral of painting is treated differently from that of poetry or of history, and for this reason,⁴⁰ one would expect that, if a "dramatic moment" were inappropriate to a certain

³⁸Ibid., p. 9.

³⁹Ibid., p. 11.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 13.

moral, the result would be static. Consequently, in a painting, the dramatic impetus is in "the united force of different colours."⁴¹ But, in an emblem it is entirely beneath the surface action. One believes that Wither's emblem is static, not because there is no sense of dramatic moment,⁴² but because there are three dramatic moments. Each of the three characters is caught in incoherent action. Action, here, reveals more than for what they stand. It also reveals three separate dramas, and so the integrity of the emblem is diffused. In short, Rollenhagen's allegory suffered as its characters strain to be themselves. They are not free to act in the emblem, because they are not truly emblematic.

A complete identification of the static emblem with medieval Catholicism may seem to be somewhat dubious. But, the disillusionment with Church authority and ritual that caused the Reformation, in some respects, is an analogue to the growing self-consciousness surrounding allegory. The parallel is particularly revealing when viewed against the counter-Reformation and the emblem-like poems of Crashaw.

⁴¹Loc. cit.

⁴²Ibid., p. 11.

Behind the emblem and conceit are much wider philosophical developments. The growing intermittency in religion and art reveals a discontinuity in mind. Bennett judges that the " . . . metaphysical conceit at its most effective is a focal point at which emotion, sense impression and thought are perceived as one."⁴³ However, many of the conceits and emblems of the century do not accomplish this focus. The conceit often emphasizes thought at the expense of emotion and sense, while the Baroque emblem emphasizes sense and emotion at the expense of thought. Freeman says that the frequent confusion of emblem and conceit is because their weakness and disintegration have the same source.⁴⁴ With Bennett, she concurs that the conceit and emblem were ideally alike. Both coupled unlikes in a metaphorical radical and, thus, had an intrinsic duality. However, the act of coupling, of wit, is an act of mind dependent upon the integrity of that mind. If Baroque poetry seems overly sensuous and metaphysical poetry seems overly intellectual, it is because the integrity of wit is lost. With the subsequent break in the mind's continuity, intellect is often separated from will and emotion, and fancy

⁴³Joan Bennett, Four Metaphysical Poets, p. 102.

⁴⁴Freeman, op. cit., p. 7.

is separated from imagination. White notes that the seventeenth century emphasized the will above other aspects of the mind. She points to Newton's "mathematical God" who "subordinat[ed] intellect to will," and to Milton who devoted his last effort to an " . . . extended consideration of the nature and scope of man's will."⁴⁵ Thus, introspection and close analysis of mood and thought were the seventeenth-century habit; but this ratiocination was often not carried out in a spirit of search for truth, and the result was a willful sort of poetry. Too often, paradox, point, catachresis, and irony were effected for their own sakes, and Donne himself felt guilty enough to explain that his paradoxes " . . . are rather alarums to truth to arme her than enemies."⁴⁶ Such affectations of wit are symptomatic of the break between will, feeling, and intellect, and although White calls it a willful age, will is more often translated into theories like Newton's than into practice. For instance, though the Puritan cause was based on predestination (the ultimate authority of God), the Puritan felt obligated constantly to reopen the question to theory, controversy, and debate.

⁴⁵White, op. cit., p. 30.

⁴⁶Quoted in Williamson, op. cit., p. 33.

Beyond the discontinuity between will, intellect, and feeling, there was a proclivity to disjoin fancy and imagination. Williamson says that Hoskins came under attack by several contemporaries because of his integrated wit. That he avoided delicate images, perplexity, and witty fictions seems to have been accounted a vice. In fact, for want of these devices of entertainment, Hoskins was himself accused of dissembling the mind as he starved its memory and judgment of enrichment.⁴⁷ Judgment is the final act of logic, but it also involves the will.⁴⁸ Whatever Hoskins' view, it demonstrates that the schizophrenia of the Renaissance and Reformation manifest in religion, philosophy, and psychology is also evident in art. The questions of will, intellect, fancy, and imagination are translated into questions of faith and predestination in religion, and nominalism and realism in philosophy are translated into questions of organic consistency and integrity in art. This break in continuity of the mind

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 25-26.

⁴⁸Hollander, op. cit., p. 9. It seems to the present author that Hoskins has been accused of satisfying fancy and emotion at the expense of intellect and will. But, perhaps, Hoskins appeals to the Fancy because his world view is different from that of his contemporaries. For instance, perhaps for him there is no particular virtue in intellectual balance and symmetry.

and Church manifested itself in a break in artistic expression. Much more fundamental than the rift between emblem and conceit, however, were the antecedent distinctions in notions of verbal expression. Before the Renaissance, there was a greater sense of continuity between the arts, simply because they were all religiously oriented. For instance, the church music of the Middle Ages generated itself out of the mass, and thus, the music, text, and all the rituals culminating in Transubstantiation were inseparable. By the end of the seventeenth century, this continuity was destroyed. Hollander remarks that Purcell well illustrates the rift between thought and feeling as he compares music and poetry to beauty and wit, respectively.⁴⁹ Here is a view of wit quite different from that of Hoskins. Rather than being immediately constituent, wit and beauty are presented, though not as contraries, as mutually exclusive. Hollander relates the break in intellectual continuity to a change in man's concept of the musical cosmos. From being "a model of universal order" in the Middle Ages, musica speculativa became rather a "model of rhetoric" by which to "move the passions." Hollander observes that, whereas music was once an emblem of order, by the

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 159.

seventeenth century it had become a ravisher, and he points to Crashaw's Musicks Duell as an example.⁵⁰ The break between language and music, symptomatic of a break in the continuity of wit, thus, is viewed finally as a break in the continuity of the universe. Musica Instrumentalis, once the middle term by which Musica Humana tuned to Musica Mundana (the music of the spheres), has now become, like wit, something pursued for its own end. Execution has been substituted for the integrity of the finished product. Similar to the break between music and poetry there occurred a rift between language as a vehicle of sense and a vessel of meaning. The schism between poetry and music finally manifests itself in the tension between the poet and mystic, and the dissonance between poetry and devotion. White contends that, while the focus of poetry is organically in the work, it is outside both work and the mystic in meditation and devotion. "To begin with, the processes of mysticism involve more of the direct application of the will than do those of poetry."⁵¹ Again, the break seems to point to a question of intellection, of judgment and logic, against fancy and imagination. White argues that, if

⁵⁰Loc. cit.

⁵¹White, op. cit., p. 11.

a mystic is also a poet, his poetry will be derivative. She notes that, because the mystical expression is also an integral work of art, it must be approached with two sets of critical standards. Since the poetry has both an artistic focus and a religious focus, it has the effect of being derivative.⁵² Of course, there is no weakness in derivative poetry if the center of that derivation is the same as the center of the mystical experience. However, if devotion becomes simply the subject of the poem and not integral to the poem's essence, the effect will be a diffused double focus. The results in emblem and metaphysical poetry have been already discussed. Hollander sums up the whole development as follows:

In some ways, the division between content and form remains to this day an analogue of this supposed bifurcation of thought and feeling. The problem of meaning is very much in evidence here, for while appeal to history can usually settle disputes over the reading of particular words, no such methods of agreement are obtainable on the question of the significance of form, of the "musical" elements of verse, or, indeed, of music itself.⁵³

It is against this background that Crashaw must be judged. Crashaw's poetry reintegrates the elements of language and

⁵²Ibid., p. 18.

⁵³Hollander, op. cit., p. 9.

music, poetry and devotion, the continuity of wit, and finally the dual role of poet and priest. The issue of Incarnation and Transubstantiation is the absolute complement of all the issues enumerated above, and is central to the explication of Crashaw's poetry. The relations of intellect and will, fancy and imagination are finally questions of organic consistency and integrity. In religion, the question is that of the organic relation between the individual, the church, this earth, and God. In art, theology, and philosophy, the question is that of free will, predestination, intellect, and will. (As will be demonstrated in the following chapter, in art it is ultimately the conflict between the guidditas and claritas of St. Thomas Aquinas and the haecceitas of John Duns Scotus.) This problem is by no means unique to the seventeenth century. It has plagued writers down to Gerard Manley Hopkins and James Joyce, but it was a particularly explosive one in the seventeenth century.

Before moving to a close examination of the philosophical context, one must establish Crashaw's precise position in the conflict. The present author has set up religious conflict as an analogue to the conflict between will and intellect implicit in the emblem and conceit. Similarly, it has been suggested that, in rare instances, poets and mystics have

successfully accommodated both will and intellect, and that the integrity of the religious experience may be accommodated to that of the poem. Hence, an analogue to this integration is the counter-Reformation, specifically the Jesuit movement. The Spiritual Exercises, on which the society is based, is a good perimeter within which to judge both the successful and unsuccessful aspects of the Baroque style, the hallmark of the counter-Reformation. Crashaw, in poetic and religious development, background, and education, is a part of the central wave of this movement. As the Ignatian movement sought to recapture the integrated spirit of the Middle Ages, so it was Crashaw's poetic goal to recapture the integrity of medieval allegory. Crashaw, therefore, recaptured a sense of medieval wit and reintegrated the spirit of medieval devotional poetry with its mystical intellection and musical-poetic rendition.

One notes that Crashaw's poetry must be read against the analogue of the counter-Reformation. The Ignatian Spiritual Exercises offers a specific parallel to both the purpose and the technique of Crashaw's poetry. In order to appreciate Crashaw's contribution to devotional literature, it is clear that one must view it in the frame of the emblematic conceit. In turn, one must also explore the psychology, philosophy,

and poetic aesthetic behind the emblem. Hence, the reader is ultimately led to an examination of the medieval antecedents to the emblem as interpreted by Crashaw, and to the emblem's parallel in The Spiritual Exercises. To appreciate counter-Reformation poetry, one must grasp both its pros and cons. Hence, the present author sees the necessity of reading Crashaw's poetry in light of the following antecedents: (1) The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola; (2) Duns Scotus and St. Thomas Aquinas, who represent the poles of philosophical and aesthetic controversy represented in the Reformation-counter-Reformation movement; (3) the degeneration of the allegorical tradition concomitant to the Reformation; (4) the emblematic attempt to accommodate the contrary opinions on aesthetics held by Scotus and Aquinas; and (5) the musical idiom in poetry as it represents another attempt to accommodate the contrary positions of the medieval schoolman. He will discover, finally, that Crashaw's use of the musical idiom together with the emblem structure relates him to The Spiritual Exercises, establishes him as a counter-Reformation figure, and finally, makes him a representative of the integrated medieval view of the universe. Thus, clearly, his poetry is allegorical in aesthetic. Hence, it represents a cosmological view predating the Scotus-Aquinas

controversy over the relation of form to truth. This is the position on which the counter-Reformation stood. As a political movement, it is most manifest in the Jesuit order. In literature, the position found one of its greatest advocates in Crashaw.

CHAPTER II

THE IGNATIAN SPIRITUAL EXERCISES AND

CRASHAW'S MEDIEVAL MYSTICISM

I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren like unto thee, and will put my words into his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. But the prophet, which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak; or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die.

Deuteronomy xviii.18, 20

The sheer bulk of Crashaw's devotional poetry indicates that he considered himself a religious poet.⁵⁴ The full

⁵⁴There is sufficient biographical evidence to render the conclusion that Crashaw was personally acquainted with the philosophical positions to be examined in this chapter. See Bennett, op. cit., pp. 90-91, for an account of Crashaw's early exposure in the library of his father. Similarly, Bennett indicates that Crashaw probably became familiar with the Italian and Spanish mystics while at Peterhouse (pp. 95-97). See also White, op. cit., pp. 205, 206, 208, 212, 214, 227, for an account of Crashaw's developing Catholic tendencies in the environment of Little Gidding community. White also indicates the source of Crashaw's personal knowledge of Aquinas (p. 227). In Warren, op. cit., p. 25, there is evidence concurrent with White's opinion that Crashaw gained a deep understanding of Aquinas while at Pembroke. In fact, King James, the royal theologian, had recommended that the students " . . . should apply themselves in the first place to the reading of the Scriptures, next the counsellors and ancient Fathers, and then the Schoolmen, excluding those neotericks, both Jesuits and Puritans, who are knowne to be medlers in the matters of State and Monarchy" (Quoted in Warren, p. 25). Though James may not have approved of the

significance of his religious ecstasy is best illuminated in its medieval frame. The break between form and theme, characterizing much seventeenth-century verse, may be interpreted as an analogue to the medieval controversies of the Schoolman. The debate between Scotus and Aquinas is a particularly good example, 'because, while Scotus emphasizes the supremacy of truth over forms,⁵⁵ Aquinas believes that intellect is the highest perfection of nature.⁵⁶ Considering intellect to be a function of form, Aquinas foreshadows the formalist aesthetic of the metaphysical wit. However, between the two positions there is a link. The meditation ritual of The Spiritual Exercises reconciles form with truth,⁵⁷ and so represents the counter-Reformation in its most successful stages. Since

⁵⁴(continued) Jesuit position there is sufficient evidence that Crashaw was quite familiar with it. In this study, the third chapter's exploration of the emblem as used by Hawkins will deal with Crashaw's knowledge of this antecedent. See also Warren, pp. 54, 56, 61-62, 152, for a study of Crashaw's knowledge of Aquinas and of the doctrines supported by the Jesuits. See finally Wallerstein, op. cit., pp. 11, 13, 52, 60, 113, for an account of Crashaw's debt to the Jesuits for certain rhetorical devices, and specifically the epigram, impresa, and emblem.

⁵⁵Johann Eduard Erdmann, *History of Philosophy*, I, pp. 491-92.

⁵⁶St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, II. Q 17, Art. 5.

⁵⁷St. Loyola Ignatius, The Spiritual Exercises, pp. 154-156.

Crashaw's poetry may be read as an analogue to this work, in subject and structure, it may be viewed as a reintegration of the allegorical aesthetic. Hence, his Baroque aesthetic becomes a cosmology through which the Truth of his meditation is glorified.

Murrin believes that the prophetic dilemma embodied in the Hebrew law is the first antecedent to medieval developments in allegory.⁵⁸ The seventeenth-century rupture between the emblem and the conceit is related to the degeneration of the allegorical tradition. Such a development indicates changed views toward the aesthetic underlying allegory,⁵⁹ and more importantly, it demonstrates significant changes in philosophical and religious attitudes. The growing rift between the Metaphysical and Baroque Poets represents a fragmentation of the cosmological view on which the allegorical mode was built.⁶⁰ On the one hand, the Baroque emblem emphasized devotion, and, on the other, the conceit emphasized

⁵⁸Michael Murrin, The Veil of Allegory, p. 29.

⁵⁹See George Williamson, The Proper Wit of Poetry, pp. 18-34, for a discussion of the changing role of wit in the early seventeenth century. He contends that the change was in the direction of a greater emphasis on forms for their own sake.

⁶⁰Murrin, op. cit., p. 72.

intellect. Murrin asserts that seventeenth-century poetry is " . . . the after glow of allegory, without the metaphysics, practiced by the 'metaphysicals'." ⁶¹

The distinction between metaphysics and "metaphysical" rests finally upon a definition of truth. For the allegorical poet (and for Crashaw), truth was beyond the conception of feeling or intellect. Strictly speaking, it lay in the realm of metaphysics, because it was the "beyond" and the "other than." Truth was considered equivalent to the word of God, and, by the authority of St. John, the word was God. Out of this equation sprang the prophetic dilemma. When the prophet was called upon to reveal the Word, he was faced with the impossible, for the Word by its own nature is "unheard of." ⁶² Men can understand what they have never heard before only by means of spiritual revelation, not by sense or intellect. ⁶³ In literary terms, the prophetic dilemma becomes a question of form and purpose. Is truth to be a function of form, or is it to be revealed through form? For Crashaw, truth was revealed; hence, his poetry is allegorical in the

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 47, 176.

⁶²Ibid., p. 169; Isaiah lv.

⁶³Helen C. White, The Metaphysical Poets, p. 7.

sense that its focus is outside of itself. Whereas allegory reveals truth, Crashaw's poetry is literally "devoted" to God.⁶⁴

Truth, to the medieval mind, had not acquired the subjectivity later to be given it by the modern democratic consciousness. Murrin further emphasizes the problem of dealing with this consciousness when he compares the prophet to the classical orator.⁶⁵ For the latter, persuasion was the final goal, and he would accommodate any part of his argument to his audience. Since the prophet's objective was to communicate truth, he could in no way compromise his impossible task without committing blasphemy.⁶⁶ Murrin concludes that divine revelation split the "many from the few," and, that, because the many often destroyed the few, several forms of communication were devised, all of which evolved into allegorical discourse.⁶⁷

Although Crashaw writes in the allegorical tradition and his purpose is to reveal truth, there is a difference between

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 248; Williamson, op. cit., p. 46.

⁶⁵Murrin, op. cit., p. 31.

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 44-45.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 51-52.

his approach and either that of the prophet or the sage. He adopts a widely understood structure, or view of the cosmos as a vehicle for his message, and the few who see beyond it can, while the many who cannot may still be entertained by the structure of façade.⁶⁸ The basis of his structure is the oral quality of the language, especially its musical characteristics. In contrast with the metaphysical wit, he did not view words as things in themselves but as vehicles or truth. The men of the Renaissance believed that the universe had been created by the spoken word of God,⁶⁹ and so this first veil for the truth was viewed also as a womb for its conception and Incarnation. It is not strange, then, that at Christ's death the veil of the temple was rent. The Holy of Holies, or the Word "unheard of" had been profaned by view of the many. The rocks were rent, and the graves were opened wide; the sun was darkened, and the barriers between the sub-lunary and super-celestial worlds were rent with the veil, as Christ himself descended into Hell. All creation became an emblem for the Truth, and with the ultimate revelation or

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 47.

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 66-67.

epiphany⁷⁰ of Divine Love, this creation seemed to turn about and Transubstantiate itself. It is no wonder that Crashaw obscured his message in the flowing metaphors of his emblematic conceit.⁷¹ In the presence of God, even the subtle abstractions of pure thought became a coarse substitute for the real thing. For Crashaw, wit became, at best, an ephemeral shadow of Truth; and at worst (that is, if it glorified itself in its obscurity), it became a source of damnation.⁷² Crashaw considered truth outside himself and beyond himself. He is contrary to the seventeenth-century metaphysical poet, whose wit centers on itself and whose judge is the many. The difference is well defined by Murrin, when he says that

. . . one's response to the Songs and Sonnets differs significantly, however, from the reactions caused by a poem like The Fairie Queene. One admires Spenser's dream, his visionary outlook on things, never before imagined, while one admires the poet of the Songs and Sonnets.⁷³

⁷⁰Epiphany is used here in its strictest Catholic sense. It refers to the "showing forth" of Christ, celebrated on January 6, the Feast of the Epiphany. See Henry George Liddell, A Greek-English Lexicon for a definition of ἐπιφάνεια.

⁷¹Austin Warren, Richard Crashaw: A Study in Baroque Sensibility, pp. 188-189.

⁷²Joseph H. Summers, "Herbert's Form," PMLA, LXVI (December, 1951), 1060.

⁷³Murrin, op. cit., p. 193.

The Glorious Epiphany of Our Lord God⁷⁴ best illustrates Crashaw's allegorical view, because it takes for its theme the central dilemma of the prophet. The Incarnation, Adoration, and Baptism of Christ are all celebrated on January 6, the Feast of the Epiphany.⁷⁵ The celebration of each of these "manifestations" embodies a paradox. How may the Creator be conceived in flesh? How may the Initiator be initiated in Baptism? Adding a human dimension to these paradoxes, how may an innocent child be adored for his wisdom by three Wise men? The third question involved with the Feast of the Epiphany may not seem quite parallel with the other two. But, if one considers that the paradox of the Sacrament or Communion is here involved--that of the "Real Presence"--then, the human aspect of the third question will assume its true significance. If the relationships of Spirit and flesh, and the sinner and the atonement, are to be reversed, then, ultimately the roles of innocence and experience must also be changed. The central point of Crashaw's poem and its link with the allegorical tradition is its

⁷⁴A. R. Waller (ed.), Steps to the Temple, Delights of the Muses, pp. 207-214.

⁷⁵C. Smith, "Feast of the Epiphany," New Catholic Encyclopedia, V (1967), 480-481.

subordination of "relationships." The paradox of the Epiphany rests with the source of all paradoxes. When a paradox is built upon the coexistence of contraries, the problem is not in their existence, but in their relationship or their coexistence. In The Glorious Epiphany, this problem is resolved when one of the contraries is revealed as the manifestation of the other. It exists only as it is related. The paradox rests only in the eye of the beholder who regards the "relationship" as the truth itself. Crashaw's poem represents medieval allegorical wit as it reconciles the related with the relationship. The Adoration is, thus, necessarily inconsistent with the other two aspects of the Epiphany. As wisdom transcends logic with its stress on forms, it sees beyond to the Innocence that has not yet damned itself in the diversion of forms.

The relationship of form to truth and the whole allegorical function of Crashaw's poem may be regarded as an analogue to that of the Epiphany Season and to its underlying theological premise.⁷⁶ The six Sundays that follow the Feast of January 6, together with two related feast days, form a

⁷⁶Sarah Appleton Weber, Theology and Poetry in the Middle English Lyric, pp. 5-6, 9, 17.

sub-cycle to the liturgical calendar that parallels the fundamental ritual of the Sacrament of Communion. This sub-cycle stands in the same relationship to the whole calendar that the Old Testament prophets occupy in relationship to Christ. Their teachings form an exegesis to His life, and, conversely, He is their antitype or their fulfillment. Likewise in the Mass, the last words which the priest pronounces over the elements are called "epiklesis,"⁷⁷ and they are the necessary and sufficient conditions for the "epiphany" of Transubstantiation. The "Real Presence" is the antitype of the ritual. Thus, the principal of Incarnation and the "showing forth" or *ἐπιφάνεια* are the theological premises to the Feast of the Epiphany and to the Sacrament of Communion. The official dogma is that Christ is present in the Sacrament in Flesh and Blood. Such a doctrine is necessarily irrational. Therefore, it certainly does not follow that the "Real Presence" is a function of form. Truth is a function only of itself. For example, when Moses asked God's name at the burning bush, the answer that he received was not a function of modifier and definition. "I AM THAT I AM,"⁷⁸ the copulative and

⁷⁷G. A. Maloney, "Epiclesis," New Catholic Encyclopedia, V (1967), 464-466.

⁷⁸Exodus iii.14.

reduplicative empty answer that is its own echo, is the negative light of Crashaw's poem:

2. By the oblique ambush of this close night
 Couch't in that conscious shade
 The right-ey'd Areopagite
 Shall with a vigorous guesse invade
 And catche thy quick reflex; and sharply see
 On this dark Grou[n]d
 To d[e]scant THEE.

3. O prize of the rich SPIRIT! with the feirce chase
 Of this strong soul, shall he
 Leap at thy lofty FACE,
 And s[e]ize the swift Flash, in rebound
 From this o[b]sequious cloud;
 Once call'd a sun;
 Till dearly thus undone,

Cho. Till thus triumphantly tam'd (o ye two
 Twinne SUNNES!) & taught now to negotiate you.

1. Thus shall that reverend child of light,
 2. By being scholler first of that new night,
 Come forth Great master of the mystick day;
 3. And teach obscure MANKIND a more close way.

By the frugall negati[v]e light
 Of a most wise & well-abused Night
 To read more legible thine originall Ray,
 Cho. And make our Darknes serve THY day;
 Maintaining t'wixt thy world & ours
 A commerce of contrary powres,

 A mutuall trade
 'Twixt sun & SHADE,
 By confederat BLACK & WHITE
 Borrowing day & lending night.

1. Thus we, who when with all the noble powres
 That (at thy cost) are call'd, not vainly, ours
 We vow to make brave way
 Upwards, & presse on for, the pure intelligentiall Prey;
 2. At lest to play
 The amorous Spyes

And peep & proffer at thy sparkling Throne;

3. In stead of bringing in the blissfull PRIZE79

⁷⁹Works, op. cit., pp. 212-213.

The poem's theme is the integrity of God. It says simply that, although this world is beautiful and this sun is bright, the light is negative against that of God. The poem is emblematic. It offers creation for contemplation, and through rhetoric, logic, poetry, and music, it gives a very sensuous picture of that creation, centering on the gifts of the Magi. In this sense, Crashaw recaptures the spirit of medieval allegory. He integrates language and music, poetry and devotion, and the result is the virtuosity of the medieval polyphonic motet. The relation of this poetic virtuosity to the theme of via negativa,⁸⁰ the Ignatian meditation, and the whole century is well summarized by White. She argues that the main objective of the Baroque was to worship God by offering him the beauties and wonders of his own works. Virtuosity became a means to a ritual and was the key to allegorical obscurity. By focusing upon the sensuous beauties of creation, by implication virtuosity revealed what is beyond.⁸¹ Her argument is predicted on her distinction between poetry and mysticism. Similarly, it is parallel to Rahner's

⁸⁰Itrat-Husain, The Mystical Element in the Metaphysical Poets of the Seventeenth Century, p. 190.

⁸¹White, op. cit., p. 249.

argument when he contends that there is no such thing as meditation for its own sake.⁸² Meditation is focused on God, and poetry is focused on itself. Crashaw is the rare poet who combines both meditation and poetry. Devotion simply becomes the poem's controlling metaphor, and God is its controlling theme. Wallerstein,⁸³ Warren, and White concur that the poem is based on the *Περὶ Ὑπερτικῆς Θεολογίας* of Dionysius. However, Crashaw's success is in question.

White contends that the "negative way" has been seldom presented more vividly or directly than in The Glorious Epiphany. She, also, believes that Crashaw has caught the spirit of the original medieval allegory. The negative way may be traced to The Mystical Theology of Dionysius the Areopagite. White believes, that, with Crashaw's " . . . positive thrust of the reality beyond the categories of the original," he succeeded in endowing his own emotional medium with the intellectual ecstasy of Dionysius. This emotion-infused intellect represents the reintegration of the allegorical tradition and White argues that, "the glow of feeling,

⁸²Hugo Rahner, Ignatius the Theologian, p. 169.

⁸³Ruth Wallerstein, Richard Crashaw: A Study in Style and Poetic Development.

the fire of Crashaw, is to be caught even in the subtlest of these lines."⁸⁴

However, Wallerstein believes that this glow of feeling and fire is not caught in the subtlest of lines. She argues that the concept of the negative way is never fully realized by Crashaw, and that its statement " . . . does not flower from the vision of the poem as a whole, but seems added to it." She suggests that, instead of the negative way, the poem's original concept was of self-annihilation through a process of realizing and negating or annihilating the world. Here, she believes Crashaw succeeded.⁸⁵ One agrees that the concept of via negativa is added to the poem and does not flower from it. But, this is consistent with itself, since it asserts that God is other-than and greater than all that man can conceive. Moreover, for the poem to merge mystic and poet, there must be a sense of thematic duality. God must be viewed beside creation, not in it. "Now by abased likkes shall learn to be / Eagles; and shutt our eyes that we may see." Here, creation is shut out, but not annihilated, as Wallerstein believes. Only by not seeing himself may one

⁸⁴White, op. cit., p. 245.

⁸⁵Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 144.

see the Creator, and one loses sight of himself only by being himself and saying with God, "I AM."

Of this strong soul, shall
 Leap at thy lofty FACE,
 And seize the swift Flash, in rebound
 From this obsequious cloud;
 Once call'd a sun;
 Till dearly thus undone,
 Chor. Till thus triumphantly tam'd (o ye two
 Twinne Sunnes!) & taught now to negotiate you.

Warren comes close to the center of the problem when he distinguishes between two kinds of mystics. On the one hand, there is a via negativa: "God is best known by not knowing him." For the other, "He is the Heavenly Archer, the Ravisher, the Bridegroom; Crashaw pursues both."⁸⁶ By glorifying sense, Crashaw reveals integrity in creation and, thus, "annihilates" the confusion between it and the Creator, between light and negative light. But, Warren notes that The Glorious Epiphany is less Marinist in its figures than are many other of Crashaw's poems and that the absence of sensuous imagery makes it metaphysical in style and intent. He reconciles this development to the allegorical tradition as he makes note the doctrine of Epiphany underlying the poem. It is built on paradox, but as with the case of the prophetic

⁸⁶Warren, op. cit., p. 147.

dilemma and the allegorical paradox, it is " . . . less provable to the finer tips, drier, more abstract."⁸⁷

One agrees that Crashaw's style parallels his theme, and would tend to use that criterion as a basis for contending that this poem is, in its way, as sensuous as any other Crashaw wrote. The subject is Christ's Epiphany, and, consequently, the mode of sense is that of the spirit.⁸⁸ Obviously, then, Crashaw will not use his usual array of liquid, odorous, and thermal images. The subject is the breaking forth of Light, and so Crashaw will make his appeal with images that are transcended because the world is transcended. As in the conclusion of a syllogism, the middle term is discarded.

The Close

Therefore to THEE & thine Auspicious ray
 (Dread sweet!) lo thus
 At lest by us,
 The delegated EYE of DAY
 Does first his Scepter, then HIMSELF in solemne Tribute
 pay.
 Thus he undresses
 His sacred ubshorn tresses;
 At thy adored FEET, thus, he layes down
 1. His gorgeous tire
 Of flame & fire,

⁸⁷Loc. cit.

⁸⁸Hugo Rahner, op. cit., p. 187.

2. His glittering ROBE, 3. his sparkling CROWN,
 1. His GOLD, 2. his MIRRH, his FRANKINCENSE,
 Cho. To which He now has no pretence.
 For being show'd by this day's light, how farr
 He is from sun enough to make THY starr,
 His best ambition now, is but to be
 Somthing a brighter SHADOW 9sweet) of thee.
 Or on heavn's azure forehead high to stand
 Thy golden index; with a duteous Hand
 Pointing us Home to our own sun
 The world's & his HYPERION.⁸⁹

In the same way that he re-integrates the spirit of medieval allegory, Crashaw integrates the two modes of mysticism, as suggested by Warren. By setting one against the other, Crashaw accomplishes a tertium quid--the spiritual sense of the third mode of meditation in The Spiritual Exercises.

The death of allegory finds its antecedent in a philosophical dispute between Duns Scotus and St. Thomas Aquinas. There was a basis for resolution accomplished in The Spiritual Exercises of St. Loyola Ignatius. An examination of their structure and purpose demonstrates that Ignatius accommodated both Scotus and Aquinas. Since Aquinas held that form was more important than matter, while Scotus argued that what both form and matter excluded was more important, both positions were accommodated while neither was compromised. The conflict between the new metaphysical wit and the

⁸⁹Works, op. cit., pp. 213-214.

allegorical tradition rested on the question of man's relationship to the universe, the relationship of the particular to the universal, the individual's relationship to the institution, and the relationship of the finite to the Infinite. On the one hand, Scotus argues that man's importance is in his uniqueness, his haecceitas. He contends that nature's perfection is in the ultimate differences of its individuals. On the other hand, Aquinas argues that nature's perfection is in its quidditas, its whatness, that man's perfection lies in what he has in common with other men and God, an eternal soul.⁹⁰ The Ignatian Exercises tries to accomodate both positions. Through the Application of the Senses and its "composition of place," it grants full integrity to quidditas. It gives concreteness to quidditas through ritual, and, thus, what is beyond quidditas is granted full integrity. By truly illuminating what is not God, He is glorified. Man's perfection is not simply in an abstracted "thisness," nor in the abstraction of soul, but in his being this soul. A close examination of the positions of Aquinas, Scotus, and Ignatius reveals a vocabulary shedding significant light upon the degeneration of allegory and the growth of metaphysical wit.

⁹⁰ Summa Theologica, I, Q 82, Art. 1, Reply Obj. 2.

An examination of the Thomist position demonstrates that it is closely related to both the emblem and to the conceit. On the one hand, Aquinas maintains that there are three levels of aesthetic apprehension. Used as a frame to the emblem structure, the Thomist argument explains the emblem's psychology. On the other hand, Aquinas placed intellect above the will. He argues that, concomitant to the superiority of intellect, forms are more perfect than particulars; that, in fact, truth is a function of form. In this respect, his concept of art is similar to that of the Metaphysical Poets. The emblematic conceit employed by Crashaw embodies the Thomist approach to aesthetic apprehension. But, apprehension is not its own end; rather, it is the faculty for receiving something. The bridge between the object and its apprehension is The Spiritual Exercises. The object itself is the haecceitas of truth that rests beyond the contingencies of form or substance. An examination of the Scotus position demonstrates that haecceitas may be reconciled to the Thomist quidditas. Haecceitas represents Crashaw's ultimate link with the allegorical tradition. His devotional poetry was focused beyond the concerns of form, but its focus was accomplished through form. Hence, his poetry may be read as an analogue to both Scotus and Aquinas, and consequently it may be read

in the light The Spiritual Exercises. In the spirit of the counter-Reformation, they accommodate both Aquinas and Scotus. Through a tripartite meditation, they provide for the apprehension of Truth. Crashaw relates to the allegorical aesthetic in two ways. First, his use of the emblem structure relates him to the Thomist position via the structure of the The Spiritual Exercises. Secondly, Crashaw's "application of the senses," in the musical idiom, gives the present moment a sense of uniqueness. Through music, Crashaw composes time and place into Eternity, in this time. Together, the emblematic structure and the "application" clarify the haecceitas of God, the Object of Apprehension.

Turning first to Aquinas, quidditas was nature's perfection, and since the intellect could apprehend quidditas, but not matter, he reasoned that the intellect was man's perfection. Since he believed that matter was both a limit and a defect and that it was materia signata which individualized,⁹¹

⁹¹Erdmann, op. cit., pp. 491-492; Summa Theologica, I, Q 82, Art. 3, Reply Obj. 2. "What precedes in order of generation and time is less perfect: for in one and the same thing potentiality precedes act, and imperfection precedes perfection. But what precedes absolutely and in the order of nature is more perfect, for thus act precedes potentiality. And in this way the intellect precedes the will, as the motive power precedes the thing moveable, and as the active precedes the passive; for good which is understood moves the will."

he could only deduce that haecceitas was not nature's perfection. Since the will moves physical objects, he believed that its proximity to matter rendered it less perfect than the intellect.⁹²

Objection

Further, the rational powers extend to opposite things. But the will is a rational power, because the will is in the reason. Therefore the will extends to opposite things, and therefore is determined to nothing of necessity.

Reply

The will, so far as it desires a thing naturally, corresponds rather to the intellect as regards natural principles than to reason, which extends to opposite things. Wherefore in this respect it is rather an intellectual than a rational power.⁹³

Since the intellect is more noble than the will and its perfection lies in the apprehension of forms or quidditas, the will is ultimately commanded from above. What the mind holds "in common" with God is its perfection, and so the " . . . first act of the will is not due to the direction of the reason but to the instigation of nature, or of a higher cause" ⁹⁴ One should note, also, that Aquinas is not

⁹²Aquinas, op. cit., I, Q 82, Art. 2, Reply Obj. 3.

⁹³Ibid., I, Q 82, Art. 1, Reply Obj. 2. See also, II, Q 17, Art. 1, Reply Obj. 2; II, Q 12, Art. 3, Reply Obj. 3.

⁹⁴Ibid., II, Q 17, Art. 5, Reply Obj. 3; and, Q 9, Art. 4.

arguing against free will, but for the idea that its perfection rests in giving up that freedom to the Higher Intellect. The Thomist position that the intellect is passive is contrary to Scotus. But, true to pure logic, only contradictions cannot be resolved, and in Crashaw's emblematic conceit, the allegorical view implicit in the concept of the "higher Intellect" is resolved to the principle of an active intellect. For Crashaw, the greatest good rested in glorifying the "freedom [of] the Higher Intellect," and his devotional poetry certainly demonstrates his acquiescence to that Intellect.

Aquinas proposes that aesthetic enjoyment is an intellectual attribute, and so above the will:

Objection

Further, enjoyment implies a certain delight. But sensible delight belongs to sense, which delights in its object; and for the same reason, intellectual delight belongs to the intellect. Therefore enjoyment belongs to the apprehensive, and not to the appetitive power.

Reply

In delight there are two things; perception of what is becoming; and this belongs to the apprehensive power; and complacency in that which is offered as becoming: and this belongs to the appetitive power, in which power delight is formally completed.⁹⁵

⁹⁵Ibid., II, Q 11, Art. 2, Obj. 3, Reply Obj. 3.

This argument contains one possibility for resolving the conflict with Scotus. For example, Scotus also contends that delight is formally completed in the appetitive power but that it is an attributive of will, not intellect. However, this resolution will be difficult, for Aquinas is very specific about distinguishing between will and haecceitas:

The mover, then, of necessity causes movement in the thing moveable, so that its entire capacity is subject to the mover. But as the capacity of the will regards the universal and perfect good, its capacity is not subjected to any individual good. And is therefore not of necessity moved by it.⁹⁶

Thus, Aquinas will neither grant that haecceitas is nature's perfection, that beauty is a function of will, or even that will is an attributive of haecceitas. His hierarchy is Scotus' in exact reverse. It is in this total reversal, however, that the possibility of resolution lies. All that need be shown is that the two philosophies are irrelevant to each other. As long as they hold terms in common but contradict each other, there will be conflict. However, it may be shown that Scotus' haecceitas is not the same as that of Aquinas, and, thus, the conflict's middle term will be dissolved. Similar to the extrinsic quality of the emblem,

⁹⁶Ibid., I, Q 82, Art. 2, Reply Obj. 2.

the philosophies of Scotus and Aquinas are mutually exclusive. Although they overlap, it may be shown that their premises are not the same. Likewise, Crashaw is able to combine the intellectual aesthetic of the emblematic structure with the irrational principle of Incarnation. The concept of Divine Love, intrinsic to Incarnation, does not contradict the principle of intellect, because love holds nothing in common with intellect. Crashaw's poetry succeeds, because he dissembles the middle term of the confusion between intellect and love through the device of mixed metaphors. The effect is, of course, that of an extrinsic symbol. But, through independence each part illuminates the other.

Scotus believed that haecceitas is the final perfection of any creature and of God. He believed that it was above and independent of form and substance, and that the haecceitas of God is made manifest through the haecceitas of man. He argues that the delight in beauty is a function of will which is above intellect and which is equivalent to love and the fulfillment of haecceitas. This last argument is at the center of Ignatian teaching and Crashaw's devotional poetry. God's love was consummated and His haecceitas fulfilled in Christ, the Man unique among men, who was both this man and

the God.⁹⁷ In a single argument, Scotus distinguishes haecceitas from quidditas and ranks the former above the latter. In presenting his proof, he also demonstrates that God's ultimate truth cannot be known because of its haecceitas. The ultimate difference between God and Man is the major premise of the allegorical tradition, and Scotus' argument is a measure for distinguishing between allegory and metaphysical wit:

And I say that . . . since nothing can be more common than "Being," and that "being" cannot be predicted univocally and in quid of all that is of itself intelligible (because it cannot be predicated in this way of the ultimate differences or of its attributes); it follows that we have no object of the intellect that is primary by reason of a commonness in quid in regard to all that is of itself intelligible.⁹⁸

⁹⁷Karl Rahner, Spiritual Exercises, p. 102.

⁹⁸Duns Scotus, Philosophical Writings, Allan Wolter (ed.), p. 166. "Ultimate differences are denominative terms that are irreducibly simple. Irreducible simple concepts (Conceptus simpliciter simplices) are such as cannot be reduced or broken down into two more simple concepts that are first intentions, one of which is determinable and other determining . . . According to Scotus there are three types of ultimate differences: (1) the haecceitas or individuating difference: (2) certain kinds of specific differences: (3) transcendental differences, such as those which limit or contract "being" to the ultimate genera or categories, or such notions as "infinite," "Necessary," "accidental," etc." The present author believes that the conflict rests here. Aquinas and Scotus are talking about two different kinds of ultimate differences.

Scotus next expands this theme by referring to Augustine. He observes that, because God's word is unique and unheard of, it must be revealed, it cannot be simply found:

. . . every just law is transferred to the 'heart of man not by passing from one place to another, but by being impressed, as it were, even as the image is transferred from the ring to the wax without leaving the ring.⁹⁹

Thus, truth is definitely not a function of form, and Scotus' position is like that of the allegorist. However, Aquinas is not equating form with truth, but merely placing form above haecceitas, another reason for believing that Scotus and Aquinas were not arguing about the same thing. It seems that Aquinas was arguing that haecceitas is a function of the individuator, matter. Duns Scotus would certainly not agree as he argues that haecceitas is above either matter or form.¹⁰⁰ Crashaw, of course, never argues about the relationship of form to truth. But, the lengths to which he goes to develop sensuous imagery and then still further to disassemble its coherency, indicated that Crashaw would agree with Scotus. Crashaw denies neither form nor flesh. To the contrary, he

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 6.

develops them to the point that they dissolve themselves in the light of the Truth that transcends them.

Duns Scotus was known as the Subtle Teacher, and it is not possible in this study to lay bare all his quiddities. It must suffice to state that his argument premises the allegorical tradition as it asserts that God is unknowable and is absolute will.¹⁰¹ He cannot be deduced from quidditas,¹⁰² because He is above substance and form and so above the apprehensive faculty on which quidditas is based.¹⁰³ In terms of the later degeneration of allegory, Scotus would argue against Jonson, Hobbes and Davenant, that will is distinct from intellect,¹⁰⁴ and above it.¹⁰⁵ Thus, he takes a stand against any pretense of continuity in the mind. These latter writers would sacrifice the integrity of will, fancy, or even intellect to total continuity and perpiscuity. For Scotus, however, continuity would take care of itself if

¹⁰¹Ibid., pp. 14, 97, & 113; Husain, op. cit., p. 78.

¹⁰²Erdmann, op. cit., p. 496.

¹⁰³Wolter, op. cit., pp. 6, 139; Erdmann, op. cit., pp. 493-494.

¹⁰⁴Wolter, op. cit., pp. 60, 174.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 54, 80, 121, 172; Erdmann, op. cit., pp. 495, 499.

integrity were protected. Gardner summarizes the position when he writes that Scotus designated haecceitas or individuality as the "final perfection" of any creature. Foreshadowing Ignatius, Scotus believed that this individual may be known through intellect in union with the senses. Outlining the contrast between Scotus and Aquinas, Gardner says that Scotus contended " . . . that in man the Will, as the active principle of 'thisness,' has primacy over the intellect."¹⁰⁶ The link between Ignatius and Scotus is also one with Crashaw. But, Crashaw's use of the emblem structure, with its Thomist overtones, serves to relate Scotus and Aquinas. Hence, a link between Scotus and Ignatius demonstrates again the possibility of resolution. Similarly it illuminates the achievement of the counter-Reformation in accomplishing this resolution.

Erdmann is more specific in his summary of the conflict. He points to the view that these two philosophers share of matter as an "individuator," as their ultimate difference. For Thomas, it was materia signata that individualized. Scotus rejected Thomas' secondary conclusion, that, because matter

¹⁰⁶W. H. Gardner & N. E. Mackenzie, The Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins, p. xxi.

is a limit or defect, the hoc or haec of an object is an imperfection. He agreed that matter is an imperfection, but, then, concluded that haecceitas is beyond matter. Erdmann agrees with Gardner's assessment of the position, as he writes that, for Scotus the thing that makes a thing hoc, or haec, is something positive, and that the individual is the true end of nature. But, there is a potential resolution.¹⁰⁷

Aquinas is not arguing that haecceitas is an imperfection as such, but as a function of matter. Scotus readily grants that, as a function of matter, haecceitas would be an imperfection. But, by definition, haecceitas cannot be a function of matter of anything else. Aquinas had shown that, though haecceitas was constituent to will, it was not identical to it,¹⁰⁸ and his argument may be as well applied to form or matter. The argument is simply what is contingent is ultimately conditioned by what is free and absolute, and unconditioned. But, if it is unconditioned, it is an "ultimate difference" and absolute haecceitas.

Since Scotus rejects Aquinas' first premise, that matter is the individuating principle, the two systems are mutually

¹⁰⁷Erdmann, op. cit., pp. 491-492.

¹⁰⁸Summa Theologica, I, Q 82, Art. 2, Reply Obj. 2.

exclusive. Obviously, Aquinas and Scotus are speaking of two different things. Aquinas is defining something that Scotus contends by definition cannot be defined. However, that the two systems are contrary rather than contradictory is not the only basis for resolution. There is actually a direct, simple, but paradoxical relation between the two, and this paradox forms the first principle of the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises. The principle of matter as an individuator sheds much light on Crashaw's sensuous Baroque technique. On the one hand, he is accused of obscenity. But, on the other, he is accused of inconsistency for dissolving his sensuous metaphors in mixing images. Actually, his poetry represents a resolution between Scotus and Aquinas. By employing matter as the individuator, he clearly demonstrates that it is not. His conceits are characterized by their final cadential rupture that reveals the truth beyond them.

Logic is based on the science of relationships, of qualities and ultimately quidditas. If through this quidditas--that is, if through logic--haecceitas can be proved, as Scotus has done, then there is an affirmative relationship between the two. They are mutually exclusive, and one is completely other than the other; but, such a total contrariety belies contradiction and, in Aquinian terms, establishes absolute

claritas.¹⁰⁹ This paradox is the key to The Spiritual Exercises. Through ritual or form, an Application of the Senses, the uniqueness of time and place is recomposed. By establishing his own haecceitas the devotional poet such as Crashaw gives claritas to that of God. Thus, haecceitas and quidditas are independent but related by their mutual dependence on claritas. They are not a function of claritas, but, by coexisting free and independent, they give each other clarity. Erdmann argues that Scotus accommodated both the nominalists and the realists. By maintaining alongside of the conceptualistic formula in rebus, the realist ante res, Scotus made their conflict a thing of the past. He agrees that the form exists first as the original type. Paralleling the Thomist levels of apprehension, Scotus goes on to say that the form exists in objects secondly as the quidditas which gives them their nature. Thirdly, it exists in the object as it is discovered by the intellect. The intellect abstracts form from the object as that which is common to it and other objects.¹¹⁰ Thus, Scotus really agrees with Aquinas that

¹⁰⁹See Wolter, op. cit., pp. 17, 175, for Scotus' complete proof.

¹¹⁰Erdmann, op. cit., p. 491.

Nature's perfection is in quidditas. He merely asserts that that which lifts men above nature and places them only a little lower than the angels (e. g., their supernatural divinity), is in their haecceitas. By resolving the nominalist-realist conflict, Scotus demonstrates that philosophy and theology are mutually exclusive and, so, not contradictory.¹¹¹ But, such a relationship is, in its strictest sense, paradoxical. Though contraries may coexist, there is always tension between them, and on this tension Scotus builds his thesis about psychology and Crashaw constructs his devotional poetry. For Scotus psychology forms the bridge between ontology and theology. By recognizing one's own haecceitas, God's is fully clarified, and so a more perfect knowledge of him is obtained. Through psychology, the individual personality is given integrity. For Scotus, and later the Jesuits and Crashaw, psychology is the light or claritus of quidditas that illuminates haecceitas.¹¹² But, for the Jesuit emblem writers and for Crashaw, the key to psychology was a close attention to quidditas, to forms and relationships. Crashaw might have written devotional poetry in any form. But

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 490.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 495.

he chose the emblem structure, so that the object of his worship might be fully realized. The key to realization is claritas and hence, quidditas.

Together with Aquinas, Scotus provides the basis for the Ignatian Exercises. Aquinas, with his emphasis on form and intellect, is an analogue to metaphysical wit, and Scotus is an analogue to the Baroque style with its emphasis on sense and will. But, the two are not contradictory, for to be so they must hold major premises in common. The degeneration of both the allegorical tradition and, later, the metaphysical style is due largely to the confusion of the two. Baroque poets wrote from metaphysical premises and vice versa. The great poets of both schools always wrote within their own perimeter. Poets of the counter-Reformation, who wrote in both traditions, built their art squarely on the psychological bridge between the two. This bridge was manifest in the Ignatian Exercises and in the poetry of Crashaw. Similarly, it is not surprising that Donne was fully familiar with the conflict, and that before adopting the Aquinian position, he fully explored its alternative.

Donne was very impressed with the encyclopaedic learning and the penetrating intellect of Aquinas, whom he called
 " . . . another instrument and engine of Thine whom Thou hadst

so enagled that nothing was to mineral nor centric for the search and reach of his wit."¹¹³ Donne was familiar with the whole field of scholastic philosophy and theology and knew contemporary schoolmen such as Victoria, Soto, and Mannes. It is also true that Donne never owed complete allegiance to the Thomist School, and that " . . . he had widely read its opponents, the Nominalists, especially Duns Scotus"¹¹⁴

The conflict between allegory and metaphysical, therefore, has its antecedents in medieval controversy. But, its basis for resolution is also present in the arguments of the Schoolmen. Similarly, the counterparts of resolution were to be found in the Renaissance, in the counter-Reformation, and in specific writers, such as Crashaw. Scotus argues that:

In the present life no concept representing reality is formed naturally in the mind except by reason of those factors which naturally motivate the Intellect. Now, these factors are the active intellect, together with the sense image or the object revealed in the sense image.¹¹⁵

He believes that the active intellect is the Will, and thus defines the scope of natural intellect as it is exclusive of

¹¹³Quoted in Husain, op. cit., p. 37.

¹¹⁴Loc. cit.

¹¹⁵Wolter, op. cit., p. 22.

the supernatural. On this basis rests the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises. Related to Ignatius is the whole mystical Catholic conception of the universe, and, as Husain says, in this universe, the spheres of sense and spirit are indistinct as they melt into each other. She writes that, for the Catholic, there is always a physical element in the invocation of God. It becomes a "manipular invocation," as the devotee regards the natural universe as a receptacle for the spiritual rather than an antagonist.¹¹⁶ Probably the single factor most discussed in Crashaw's poetry, whether in praise or blame, is its technique of "manipular invocation." Hence, the following examination of The Spiritual Exercises, emphasizing its basis in the principle of Incarnation, justifies Crashaw's melting images. Similarly, it demonstrates why Crashaw's dominant imagery is liquid. Intrinsic to his devotion is the liturgy, and ultimately a belief in the "Real Presence" in Transubstantiation.

The Spiritual Exercises are based on a form of meditation that takes the best of the senses and spirit, and by emphasizing one, clarifies the other. It is only to the mind that they melt into each other. But if the mind is properly

¹¹⁶Husain, op. cit., p. 179.

illuminated through devotion, the line of demarcation is clarified, and both sense and spirit are glorified in their haecceitas. The relation is the same as that between poet and mystic, and the mystic and the Church. Each must adjust its claims to the other,¹¹⁷ although each may exist obscurely in its own haecceitas. But, by dissolving the obscurity in the claritas of Aquinas, the full haecceitas may be realized in the love spoken of by Scotus, or the cartharsis of Aristotle. The ritual of The Spiritual Exercises is structurally related to Aquinas, while its substance or purpose is found in Scotus. Therefore, a link between Crashaw and Ignatius offers a premise for reading his poetry in light of both the philosophical forebearers of the Exercises. On the one hand, the emblematic structure of his meditation poetry may be traced to the Thomist structure. On the other, his use of the musical idiom may be viewed as his way of creating a sense of haecceitas. The composition of "now" through music, together with the timeless qualities of his form or "cosmology" premise the thesis that Crashaw is a neomedievalist in his wit.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 177.

The meditation embodied in The Spiritual Exercises places its emphasis on the Incarnation of Christ. Through the Logos, the literal cupola between ontology and theology, a relationship of integrity is established between God and man. This relationship, which is Christ, is the absolute quidditas and haecceitas; He is this God and this Man. Ignatius believed that, because God was a Man, in history, His absolute haecceitas was fulfilled, and that meditation based on the same premise would refulfill this haecceitas and quidditas in worship. The structure of the exercises is the first key to this refulfillment. In his commentary on the Exercises, Hugo Rahner begins by emphasizing the importance of the Application of the Senses. He argues that the only reason men may not worship with the flesh is because the senses are sluggish and untrained. De Mourgues has argued that, for the most part, Baroque poetry fails in properly using the senses. She states that " . . . the baroque is a distortion of the universe through sensibility."¹¹⁸ However, one would argue with Rahner that this distortion occurs because of a misuse of the senses rather than an excessive use. Properly used, the sense of smell or touch may be used to ascertain

¹¹⁸De Mourgues, op. cit., p. 77.

the way to salvation as well as sight. Rahner concludes that there is a gap between the idea of prayer and the way it is pondered in the heart. Because the senses have been ignored, a sort of schizophrenia has developed in the core of meditation, and the "mysterious contacts between head and heart" may be reestablished only with the knowledge that " . . . all integral human attributes culminate in our physical senses."¹¹⁹ From this Application of the Senses, the harmony between head and heart that makes both transparent organs of worship, the exercitant moves to the second step, the contemplation of what he has already contemplated. Thus, the transcension of intellect begins by fully applying it to its own fruits and by giving it integrity through inner harmony: Ignatius assumed that the exercitant would spend some time each evening reviewing with both sense and mind what he had meditated and contemplated throughout the day.¹²⁰ There is a significant parallel between these first two steps, the Application of the Senses and the intellect, and the arguments of Duns Scotus and Aquinas. Aquinas' philosophy was the exact

¹¹⁹Hugo Rahner, op. cit., p. 184; see also Ignatius, The Spiritual Exercises, p. xvii.

¹²⁰Hugo Rahner, op. cit., p. 185.

reverse of Scotus'. Similarly, the second step of the Ignatian mediation is a reverse of the first. Where the first began with sense and moves to intellect, the second begins with intellect and moves to sense. Christ, the object of this contemplation, is revealed both in His earthly haecceitas and that of His divinity, and He is thereby doubly glorified. The parallel with Scotus and Aquinas implicit in the first two steps is more than accidental. It establishes a tension. Hence, there is a third step, and similar to Crashaw's poetry, it consists of a recapitulation of the second step in light of the first. Crashaw's final device is music, and by structuring sense to the glory of sense, he accomplishes a tertium quid in the nonsense of Incarnation.

There follows the third step of meditation where the exercitant assimilates a knowledge of the Divine by standing in " . . . the heart of the region where the things of the spirit and the things of the material world come together" Rahner interprets Ignatius as believing that the unity of humanity and the Logos can be " . . . seen, heard, and touched, and whose sheer sweetness can be tasted."¹²¹ Besides the obvious emphasis on haecceitas, the integrity of

¹²¹Loc. cit.

God and the worshipper, the tripartite structure of the meditation parallels Aquinas' theory of apprehension. In contrast with De Mourgues, Praz suggests that Baroque art in general and Crashaw's in particular mirror the third dimension of the Ignatian Exercises. He writes that Crashaw, better than any of his contemporaries, represents the Baroque passion for mixing poetry with music and painting and thereby creating one universal art. He points to Musicks Duell as an outstanding example of "plastic music," and argues that its effect transcends the blending of its parts as it produces a spiritual tertium quid.¹²² The third dimension of the Exercises places emphasis upon the intellect, and it is significant that the quid of his quidditas should be used by Ignatius to underscore haecceitas. Aquinas argues that, in the apprehension of beauty, an object is recognized first as one integral thing. It is separated from the universe. The mind divides the entire universe into two parts, the object, and the "other than" the object. Then, the mind recognizes that the object is an organized composite whole, an integral thing. Finally, when the mind apprehends this total composition and its focus, it recognizes that thing that it is.

¹²²Praz, op. cit., p. 251.

Its quidditas achieves claritas. Ignatius simply transcends the whole process with one step. By recognizing that the focus of form in the third step is centered on the oneness recognized in the first step, the cycle is completed and transcended. Haecceitas achieves claritas in quidditas. Thus, Ignatius and Crashaw look through the "whatness" of Aquinas to the "thisness" of Scotus. The "thisness" is Christ, and so, while the structure of the Exercises is Aquinian, the subject is related to Scotus. Ignatius says that:

If you wish to draw profit from these meditations, set aside all cares and anxieties. Lovingly and contemplatively, with all the feelings of your heart, make everything that the Lord Jesus said and did present to yourself, just as though you were hearing it with your ears and seeing it with your eyes. And then all that will become sweet to you, because you are reflecting upon it with longing and savouring it yet more. And even when it is related in the past tense you should contemplate it all as though present today. Go into the Holy Land, kiss with fervent spirit the earth on which the good Jesus stood. Make present to yourself how he spoke and went about with his disciples, with sinners; how he speaks and preaches, how he walks rests, sleeps and wakes, eats and performs miracles. Write down in your heart (describens titi in corde tuo) his demeanor and his actions.¹²³

Obviously, the purpose of the Exercises is finally always to return to the first object of contemplation, Christ.

¹²³Quoted in Hugo Rahner, op. cit., p. 193.

Foreshadowing Crashaw's imagery this contemplation is made possible by reclothing Him in the imagination, with His flesh and blood. By contemplating His actual Incarnation in time and flesh, His haecceitas is again realized. The universe is separated from this haecceitas as Christ is viewed with both intellect and sense. If He can be seen in both, He is beyond either. The haecceitas of Christ is demonstrated in the Exercises and in Crashaw's poetry by the transcension of the cycle of apprehension. The mind moves from oneness to whatness back through oneness to thisness. The Application of the Senses is both the first and last step and, concretely defines the perimeter of what God is not. In Crashaw's poetry, the first and last step are his use of the musical idiom. Rahner notes that the Application of the Senses runs through the entire Spiritual Exercises and sets the tone for prayer. "It comprises everything that Ignatius mentioned in regard to what he called the composition of place," preceding each individual meditation. It is a visualization of the "matter and significance of the particular mystery,"¹²⁴ and is the first premise of "a more intellectual motivation." However, all thought is reducible finally to

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 188.

its first premises, and so the "particular significance" is also the conclusion of worship.

In the Exercises and with the devotional poetry of Crashaw the integrity of worship is reestablished. Beauty and devotion are integrated.¹²⁵ Body¹²⁶ and Soul are harmonized by making each perfectly distinct.¹²⁷ As Rahner argues, mind is harmonized with devotion:

. . . for all understanding takes place through this fact, that the understanding does not remain frozen fast, but is set loose into that nameless mystery that supports understanding.¹²⁸

It is significant that, in speaking of the harmony of mind and devotion, Rahner's vocabulary should focus on mystery.

¹²⁵White, op. cit., p. 249.

¹²⁶Hugo Rahner, Ignatius the Theologian, pp. 198-199. "The Fathers of the early Greek Church found their point of departure for this doctrine of the spiritual senses, or 'pneumatic sense-perception' (aisthesis pneumatike), in two passages of scripture. The Greek Septuagint version of Proverbs 5:2 reads: 'My son, hold fast to my wisdom, incline your ear to my words, that you may keep a good intention: I will give you a sense perception (aisthesin) of my lips.' The second passage is Hebrews 5:14, which says of Christians who have become strong and perfect in their understanding of the doctrine of redemption: 'Solid good is for the mature, for those who have their faculties trained by practice (aistheteria gegumnasmena) to distinguish from evil'."

¹²⁷Ibid., pp. 182, 198.

¹²⁸Karl Rahner, op. cit., p. 98.

The Ignatian exercitant seems to stand in the same relationship to God that the allegorical poet had with the Word unheard of:

When we have said everything about ourselves that is definable, then we have still really said nothing unless we have at least implicitly said that we are essentially turned toward the incomprehensible God. This basic reference, which is therefore our very nature, is only understood if we freely let ourselves be seized by the incomprehensible. The free acceptance or rejection of the mystery that we ourselves are as the poor reference to the mystery of fullness, constitutes our human existence. The pre-given object of our accepting or rejecting free decision is the mystery that we are; and this mystery is our nature, because the transcendence that we are and that we exercise brings together our existence and God's existence--and both of them as a mystery.¹²⁹

As Aquinas argued, quidditas rests on the apprehension of oneness, but oneness rests ultimately on the mystery of haecceitas, and it is fulfillment in love, as Ignatius says in "A Contemplation to Obtain Love":

God dwells in the creature and in the elements, giving them being; in the plants, giving them growth; in the animals, giving them feeling; in man, giving him understanding; and so in me, giving me being, life, feeling and understanding; and likewise making a temple of me, since I am created in the similitude and image of His Divine Majesty.¹³⁰

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 100.

¹³⁰Quoted in E. Allison Peers, The Mystics of Spain, p. 55.

Ignatius accommodates neither Aquinas nor Scotus, nor by some myster, both. Rather, he builds on the paradox of the coëxistence of their arguments just as Christ was incarnated in the paradox of divine flesh, giving mortality to the Eternal and, thus, eternity to all mortals. That this love is the mystery never before heard of is evidenced by the fact that Ignatius used the word "love" only occasionally. He usually speaks of "humility"--the generous service of God. He feels that action and not words is the essence of love.¹³¹ Haecceitas, that which is undefinable by definition, is fulfilled in love, for " . . . the Incarnation is the unique case of the perfect fulfillment of human reality--which means that a man is only when he gives himself away."¹³² In the poetry of Crashaw this ultimate level of haecceitas is best represented in the St. Teresa poems. Love is the controlling motif of each poem, and through Incarnation personified, the act of giving oneself away is eternalized, as the flaming heart becomes one flaming wound of love.

Karl Rahner goes on to argue that intellect owns its whole existence to the presence of this mystery, that though

¹³¹Karl Rahner, op. cit., p. 196.

¹³²Ibid., p. 102.

it may be distinct from haecceitas, its claritas and, hence, its function rest in haecceitas. The questionless mystery, incalculable, astonishing, and therefore the only thing that is self-evident is what " . . . makes the conceptual and the abstract intelligible" Haecceitas is its own resolution with quidditas, because it is the basis of intelligence as well as the fulfillment of love.¹³³ For both Crashaw and Ignatius, man's essence was a constant fulfillment of his questionless and so "insurpassable" essence. Man prays, because he believes there is somewhere a similar questionless essence. When the questionless within man has questioned the Questionless Haecceitas of God, the Incarnation is complete and the Application of the Senses is complete with His Enfleshment.¹³⁴

The Spiritual Exercises, the emblem, and Crashaw's devotional poetry build on the paradoxical bridge of psychology between theology and ontology suggested by Scotus. With the Incarnation, the finiteness of man has been given infinite death and is no longer opposed to the infinite.¹³⁵ The

¹³³Ibid., p. 112.

¹³⁴Ibid., pp. 101, 103.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 109.

infinite has become the finite to open the door to all that is infinite, and God Himself has become the reality of what was nothing.¹³⁶ The final resolution of the Scotus-Aquinas conflict rests on this Incarnation. As God assumes the whatness of man, that is his mortality, as He speaks His Word of Love out into the emptiness of Godless nothingness,¹³⁷ and as "He states as His own reality just what we are, He opens up our essence and our history"¹³⁸ to the whole freedom of eternity.

Out of the counter-Reformation and The Spiritual Exercises grew a literature that linked poetry, mysticism, and ascetism.¹³⁹ The theme was devotion, and the age produced such great mystics as St. John of the Cross (1542-1591), Juan De Los Angeles (1536-1609), St. Teresa of Jesus (1515-1582), and Alonso Rodriques (1538-1616), as well as St. Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556).¹⁴⁰ In every case, the object was Christ, and the mode of worship was like that of

¹³⁶Loc. cit.

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 108.

¹³⁸Ibid., pp. 107-108.

¹³⁹Hugo Rahner, op. cit., p. 183.

¹⁴⁰Peers, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

Ignatius. Catholicism itself was tuned to the key of The Spiritual Exercises, and the rituals by which man introduced himself to the Questionless were much like those of the old allegorical poet, who constructed a cosmology by which the multitude could move gradually closer and closer to the Truth. The ancient initiation rites were translated by Catholicism into steps to the priesthood. There are seven steps to becoming a priest: tonsure, door-keeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, and deacon; each one of which has different assigned functions and dress.¹⁴¹ Beyond the ritual, the subject of worship for the Church, the counter-Reformation, and Crashaw's poetry becomes as simple but unique as the first step in the Ignatian Exercises. Again, the cycle is complete and transcended as Ignatius says:

See with gaze of the imagination the road from Nazareth to Bethlehem. Consider its length, its breadth, whether it is a level road or whether it goes through valleys or over hills. In the same way look at the cave of the nativity, was it big or small, or low or high? And how was it arranged?¹⁴²

Crashaw might easily have asked this question, for its answer is well illustrated in The Holy Nativity:

¹⁴¹Husain, op. cit., p. 179.

¹⁴²Quoted in Hugo Rahner, op. cit., p. 189.

Tity. Poor WORLD (said I.) what wilt thou doe
To entertain this starry STRANGER?

Is this the best thou canst bestow?
A cold, and not too cleanly, manger?
Contend, the powres of heav'n & earth.
To fitt a bed for this huge birthe.

Cho. Contend the powers

Thyr. Proud world, said I; cease your contest
And let the MIGHTY BABE alone.

The Phaenix builds the Phaenix' nest.
Lov's architecture is his own.

The BABE whose birth enbrives this morn,
Made his own bed e're he was born.

Thus, the Word unable to speak a word stands still above His creation.¹⁴³ As Eternity entered time, His haecceitas was glorified. Crashaw's use of rhetorical question is equivalent to the emblematic technique. The reader is asked to contemplate the whole world against the glory of this starry Stranger. The powers of heaven and earth are all contemplated in their relationship to the child and are found weak. Finally, paralleling the third step of the Ignatian meditation, the subject is again contemplated. Having looked upon earth, stars, and heavens, one realizes that this Child made them.

The Baroque, with its "application of the senses," granted creation its integrity. Rejecting the depravity of man and justification by faith alone, its representatives

¹⁴³Warren, op. cit., p. 83.

echoed the words of God after the creation: "He looked and saw that it was good." Through metaphors drawn from this creation, Crashaw has written devotional poetry. He grants creation is integrity and so grants that of God. Rather than "fusing" creation with the Creator, or analogously, form with content, and theme with decoration, he sets himself against creation--and sets creation against God. Thus, God becomes the tertium quid of Crashaw's devotional poetry. Through this poetry, Crashaw recaptures the integrity of medieval allegory, and especially the spirit of Dionysius the Areopagite. For Crashaw, poetry is not for its own sake, and so his poems lost that self-consciousness evident in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century emblem.

Since Crashaw's achievement is unique, it requires a special sort of criticism. His poetry embodies a dual principle of art and of devotion. Hence, if one is to comprehend this poetry, he must adopt a mode of criticism that accommodates both the elements intrinsic to it and those that appear outside the scope of standard formalistic criticism. It is significant that Crashaw's poetry may be read against the meditations of The Spiritual Exercises. The Exercises, in turn, embody the duality of flesh and form. Standing midway between the contrary aesthetic principles held by

Scotus and Aquinas, they represent the critical standard that one must adopt to understand a devotional poet such as Crashaw. It is, now, clear that to construct this critical standard, one must note the following philosophical antecedents: (1) the tripartite approach to aesthetic apprehension maintained by Aquinas; (2) the emphasis on structures, forms, and ultimately quidditas parallel to the Thomist position; (3) the concomitant emphasis on intellect over will and love, held by Aquinas; (4) the belief that the individual is the perfection of nature, held by Scotus; (5) Scotus' belief in the unknowable quality of the truth, its haecceitas; (6) the belief that will and love, but not intellect are the fulfillment of both the uniqueness of man and that of God; (7) the correspondence between seventeenth-century metaphysical wit and the Thomist position; (8) the relationship between the Scotus position, the allegorical tradition, and, later, the Baroque tradition; (9) the parallel between the emblematic aesthetic and that of Aquinas; (10) the relationship between the Baroque emphasis upon the senses and the Scotus position; (11) the accommodative position of the counter-Reformation and particularly of St. Ignatius. One observes, against these antecedents, that Crashaw reconciles the polarities of the controversy. On the one hand, his use of the emblem structure

embodies the psychology of apprehension advanced by Aquinas. On the other, his use of the sense emphasizes the subject of apprehension, the haecceitas of truth maintained by Scotus. Hence, his poetry embodies and harmonizes the duality of flesh and form. Ultimately, his devotional poetry represents a tertium quid of spirit that transcends and so renders irrelevant the conflict between flesh and form.

CHAPTER III

THE APPLICATION OF THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

IN THE STRUCTURE OF CRASHAW'S

EMBLEMATIC POETRY: AQUINAS REVISITED

Crashaw's use of the emblematic form is one of two links between his poetry and The Spiritual Exercises. There are many similarities between the form of the emblem and the teachings of Aquinas. In the context of the Scotus-Aquinas conflict, Crashaw's use of the emblem represents one form of resolution. The tripartite form of the emblem (to be explored in this chapter) parallels the three consecutive levels of aesthetic apprehension as they are presented by Aquinas. The second link between Crashaw's poetry and The Spiritual Exercises is his use of the musical idiom. With its result in the "composition of place" and the claritas of haecceitas, it complements the quidditas of the emblem structure. Hence, Crashaw's double relationship to The Spiritual Exercises parallels the duality intrinsic to the Exercises; and, therefore, his poetry embodies their reconciliation of quidditas to haecceitas. On the one hand, his use of musical devices relates him to Scotus. But, through the emblem structure, he is related to Aquinas. The present chapter deals with the

latter relationship and traces it to The Spiritual Exercises and the allegorical tradition.

Johnson's dictionary defines the emblem as an "inlay; enamel; anything inserted into the body of another . . . an occult representation; an allusive picture; a typical designation." This definition well frames the scope of the seventeenth-century controversy that surrounded the emblem and the associated allegorical tradition. As a definition, its significance rests in its ambivalence, suggesting that the emblem is both inserted and a typical designation. On the one hand, the defining attribute is artificial and, on the other, the ultimate characteristic is intrinsic. Johnson's definition is not self-contradictory, but rather reflects a whole series of paradoxes inherent to the emblem and its associated tradition. The illustrations that he uses boldly underscore these paradoxes, as follows:

She had all the royal makings of a queen,
The rod, the bird of peace, and all fresh emblems
Laid nobly on her. Shakespeare's Henry VIII
If you draw your beaft in an emblem, fhew a
landfcape of the country natural to the beaft.

Peachum on Drawing

Gentle Thames,
Thy mightier mafter's emblem, in whole face
Sate meeknefs, heighten'd with majeftick grace.

Denham.

He is indeed a proper emblem of knowledge and
action, being all head and paws.

Addifon's Guardian, No. 114

Although Johnson was not sympathetic to the emblem tradition, his illustrations do represent it in its most legitimate light. Moreover, this example from Shakespeare represents the emblem in the context of living allegory. Here, the symbols are superimposed but are so on a befitting subject, and accordingly represent the status of the emblem before the onset of its disintegration. For example, one detects a growing sense of awkwardness and self-consciousness in the item from Peachum. The appeal for a natural setting reflects a developing concern with style, structure, and proportion for their own sakes.¹⁴⁴ One should also note that Peachum makes no allusion to qualities of good or evil, truth or falsehood, but rather assumes the tone of a formalist. Johnson's example from Denham, however, recaptures the allegorical concern with absolute truth and the best means of its revelation. The Thames is an emblem of its creator in its "sate meekness" and majestic grace. Finally, the example from Addison, though of the post-emblem period, accurately represents the specific

¹⁴⁴See Henry Green, Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers, p. 4, for a study of the ancient origins of the emblem. Also compare the emblems on pp. 285, 288, 289, 53 and 54. These illustrate the gradual disintegration of the allegorical tradition as they evidence a more and more manneristic style.

function of the emblem within the structure of a poem. It was to be a pictorial representation of a quality of virtue or vice. These various concerns of wit, form, nature, and truth, set forth by Johnson, then, well illustrate the conflicts surrounding the emblematic tradition. It remains for one to relate this tradition to the poetry of Richard Crashaw, to the counter-Reformation as manifest in The Spiritual Exercises of St. Loyola Ignatius, and to the allegorical tradition.¹⁴⁵

In structure, style, and intention, The Spiritual Exercises illuminates what is the middle term between an emblem and a poem. Central to the paradox of Johnson's definition of the emblem was the question of simply how one puts two unlike things together. How is one thing changed to another?¹⁴⁶ This problem was paralleled by the controversy central to the Reformation counter-Reformation, and the medieval antecedents were those controversies of Incarnation and Transubstantiation. Consequently, the link through which Crashaw's poetry and the emblematic conceit relate to allegory is contained in The Spiritual Exercises

¹⁴⁵See Bennett, op. cit., pp. 93-107, for a description of Crashaw's growing sense of concrete wit. This is closely tied to the allegorical tradition.

¹⁴⁶See Warren, op. cit., pp. 83, 131, 192.

and, in turn, the link through which The Spiritual Exercises relates to the emblem and to Crashaw's poetry is the concept of Incarnation.¹⁴⁷ Finally, the controversies of natural and artificial wit, of form and style, of truth, or simply of how to make one thing another, focus on the issue of Transubstantiation, and in this vortex it will be seen that the poetry of Crashaw may be evaluated with the Baroque tradition.

But, before one leaves Johnson, he should compare him with a sympathetic representative of the emblematic tradition, before the onset of its disintegration. Francis Thynne, a generation before Crashaw, is a good example of the contemporary view of "false wit," and his poetry well represents the structure against which an exegesis of Crashaw's poetry may be made:¹⁴⁸

(17) WITT.

Nothing more smooth then artificiall glasse:
more brickle, yet there nothing may be founde;
nothinge more white or fairer is is on grounde
then congeald snowe, yet naught less firme can passe.
See, shining and fare witts, in which abound
Invention, quick conceit, and answering,

¹⁴⁷White, op. cit., pp. 233-234.

¹⁴⁸Frances Thynne's Emblems and Epigrams, pp. 18-19. See also G. Whitney, A Choice of Emblems, "The tramping Fteed," p. 38. The same theme is illustrated with an engraved emblem.

three chefest thinges, true praise deservinge,
 have their desert, and most doe run awrye,
 Since finest white doth soonest take all stains,
 and finest witts are ficklest of their braines,
 whose self-conceit ruynes the vtterlie;
 much like the Bees, whose honnie breedes their paines
 by surfetting theron Immoderatellie,
 for, from her sweet coms her perplexitie.
 Thus these rich witts, which fondlie deeme
 they all men do exceede
 By trusting to themselves to much,
 doe foyle themselves at neede.

Thynne is saying that false wit, although it is brilliant, finds its glitter in its transparency and lack of substance. It is not a poem of witty twist and device, but one of a straightforward simply comparison. It really does not compare to the illustrations used by Johnson, as they illustrate the technique in its various extremes and stages of degeneration. However, structurally, it offers a key to an exegesis of Crashaw's poetry in its relationship to the allegorical tradition and The Spiritual Exercises. Thynne's work is organized of three parts: the emblem, the poem, and the motto.¹⁴⁹ Thynne's emblem is the picture that he paints of artificial glass and congealed snow. Both are beautiful but brittle and ephemeral, and so relate to the fickle quality of Invention, quick conceit, and answering. The "three cheefest

¹⁴⁹De Mourgues, op. cit., p. 79; Freeman, op. cit., p. 18.

things" are the exegesis of the emblem; that is, its logical antitype. Thus, the picture is dissembled in intellection. But, contrary to the developments of later wit, the picture is not dissembled to illustrate the capabilities of wit, but to illustrate its limits. Hence, the motto follows, which is the antitype¹⁵⁰ of both emblem and poem and which illuminates both:

Thus these rich wits, which fondlie deeme
 they all menn foe excede,
 by trusting to themselves too much,
 doe foyle themselves at need.

The link between this simply tripartite structure and the sacrament of communion is direct, and thus the revelation of the motto through exegesis becomes parallel to the Transubstantiation of the bread and wine, emblems of Christ's passion and death, through ritual. As Richard Hooker argued in Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity:

. . . many times there are three things said to make up the substance of a sacrament, namely, the grace which is thereby offered, the element which shadowed or signified grace, and the word which expressed what is done by the element.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰An antitype in this sense is the fulfillment of exegesis. Christ is an antitype of the Old Testament, because He is its fulfillment.

¹⁵¹Quoted in Summers, op. cit., p. 1062; see The Cambridge History of English Literature, III, 413.

The element is the emblem, the physical shadow of the signified grace, the prayer or poem; and, the word is the motto, the mot. Similarly, there is a parallel with The Spiritual Exercises, because the "element" is the physical attribute of Divinity contemplated in the Application of the Senses. The tripartite ritual again reveals the Word. Although Crashaw wrote few actual emblems,¹⁵² his poetry often finds structural and stylistic parallels within the tradition, and his theme is invariably focused on the motif of Transubstantiation and Incarnation.¹⁵³ Wallerstein points to the Hymn to the One Name as an example of all Baroque aesthetic and suggests that it aims beyond the confines of the particular to the universal where all forms flow together and are transubstantiated. She further believes that this poem is related to Crashaw's sense of poetry as ecstasy, because it seeks the picturesque effects of architecture and plastic arts, and merges them with the musical effects of poetry.¹⁵⁴ Wallerstein shows that Crashaw blends and interchanges images from the various senses in this

¹⁵²Wallerstein, op. cit., chapt. 5.

¹⁵³Beechcroft, op. cit., p. 420.

¹⁵⁴Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 37.

hymn through the " . . . expanding intensity of his particular sense impressions;" thus, the poet " . . . sought to sink through them to something ampler, to an abstract capacity for intangible sensation and a sort of ideal presence of sensation."¹⁵⁵ A close examination of the poem demonstrates that the structure, style, and theme of Hymn to the One Name relate to both the emblem and The Spiritual Exercises, because of its emphasis on Transubstantiation.

The poem is constructed on a series of invocations, beginning with one to the individual soul, moving to nature and the universe, and, having harmonized the music of nature and the spheres with that of the soul, moving, thence, to an invocation of the Name to Incarnate itself in this universal harmony.¹⁵⁶ Each invocation mirrors the total supplication of the poem, and the ultimate structure parallels the the musical motif of theme and variations.¹⁵⁷ The first chord sounded in the first couplet immediately points to the haecceitas of the Word: "I Sing the Name which None can say /

¹⁵⁵Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁶Works, Wallers, op. cit., pp. 193-199.

¹⁵⁷Joseph H. Summers, The Heirs of Donne and Jonson, p. 110.

But touch'd with An interior Ray."¹⁵⁸ The Word may not be spoken, but it may be illuminated with the soul's interior light. Thus, from the outset, the resolution in Incarnation is foreshadowed. That which should be heard but cannot be, can be seen. One sense is substituted for another, and, through the claritas (light) of quidditas (harmony), the haecceitas of the Name is Incarnated in the music of the universe, and each soul. At the first sounding of this pregnant but unheard tone, the qualities which will awaken the song of the soul are awakened, e. g., haecceitas realized awakens quidditas and claritas:

I Sing the Name which None can say
 But touch't with An interiour Ray:
 The Name of our New Peace; our Good:
 Our Blisse: & Supernatural Blood:
 The Name of All our Lives & Loves.
 Hearken, And Help, ye holy Doves!
 The high-born Brood of Day; you bright
 Candidates of blisseful Light,
 The Heirs Elect of Love; whose Names belong
 Upon The everlasting life of Song;
 All ye wise Soules, who in the wealthy Brest
 Of This unbounded Name build your warm Nest.

Touched with the soul's interior ray (its own unique claritas), the chords of peace, goodness, bliss and supernatural blood are sounded. Next, through the harmony of these qualities,

¹⁵⁸Works, op. cit., p. 193.

the Doves, "the high-born Brood of Day," are awakened. These are the minstrels, the "Heirs Elect of Love." It is obvious, now, that Love is equivalent to music in this poem:

I have the Authority in Love's name to take you
 And to the work of Love this morning wake you;
 Wake; In the Name
 Of Him who never sleeps, All Things that Are
 Or, what's the same,
 Are Musically¹⁵⁹

With the "everlasting life of song," then, the first cycle of invocation is complete as the Name is reapproached. However, within these first twelve lines, one discovers that a change has taken place. For example, the "Name which None can say" has become, through the application of its own light and inherent song, the "wealthy brest" and "warm Neste" of the wise souls who will accept it. Thus, where the theme of Incarnation is foreshadowed in the first couplet, the element in which it takes shape (the Nest) is revealed in the sixth couplet, and the emblematic cycle is complete. An examination of the end-rimes further clarifies the poem's emblematic quality. Since the poem's emblem is the not (the Word revealed), it is not surprising that the first couplet should be coordinated with the say-ray rime. This illuminated-Word

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 194.

finds its exegesis in the Good-Blood, Loves-Doves, bright-Light, belong-Song Series. The recapitulation of the Word now Incarnate is well set forth in the last couplet's rime, Brest-Nest. In this manner, the theme of Incarnation is given exposition in the first twelve lines through the emblematic structure.¹⁶⁰

The second invocation is to the soul. It is told to awaken and examine itself for that of " . . . heavn may yet speak in it." But it is found wanting, " . . . nothing else but empty Me, / Narrow, & low, & infinitely less / Then this Great mornings mighty Busynes." With an obvious parallel to the purpose of The Spiritual Exercises, the soul is told to transcend itself and to sing the unspeakable Name to "Great Nature." First, to the "Sett of Sphears / (Which dull mortality more Feeles then heares," and, then, to the music of human ears, the soul is told to harmonize, with the one tone of the Name. Musica mundana and musica instrumentalis are, consequently, tuned to musica humana¹⁶¹ through the soul's

¹⁶⁰The present writer is, here, introducing musical terms that he will later use to develop Chapter IV. See Donald Jay Grout, A History of Western Music, pp. 203, 204, 297, 299-302, 419-420, 140-141, 98, 247-248.

¹⁶¹Hollander, op. cit., pp. 25, 30-31, 42, 47, 51, 127, 163.

invocation of the one Name. The first variation of invocation, accordingly, begins with the human soul. Found wanting in its "me-ness," which is obviously not the same as haecceitas in love, and the first theme is given the dimension of the sublunary and extra-lunary universe. Hence, another exegesis has been performed on the Word, and its antitypes are found everywhere. This indiscriminate reflection of the Word, again, foreshadows its ultimate transubstantiation:

Answer my Call
And come along;
Help me to meditate mine Immortall Song.
Come, ye soft ministers of sweet sad mirth,
Bring All your household stuffe of Heaven on earth;
O you, my Soul's most certain Wings,
Complaining Pipes, & prattling strings,
Bring All the store
Of Sweets you have; And murmer that you have no more.¹⁶²

All the instruments of heaven and earth are asked to contribute to the hymn. Consistent with the theme of Incarnation, they are not told to abandon their individual qualities, but rather to add them to the total orchestration, and to be sorry that they have no more to give. The presence of the Name's antitypes everywhere, and their mixing and dissembling in the first variation, parallel, the Ignatian Application of the Senses. The Exercises are characterized by their emphasis

¹⁶²Works, op. cit., pp. 194-195.

on haecceitas through emphasis on form and substance.¹⁶³ By contemplating the shadow of Truth, a worshipper may dissemble the confusion between that shadow and its corresponding reality.

The second variation is directly related to the first, as it develops each theme into a new level of transcendence. Here, the soul, brought out of its trivial "me-ness," is introduced more and more intimately to the reality of the Name. Lines 68-87 parallel the emblematic structure of the opening of the hymn but pick up the theme of the first variation. The opening of the poem pronounced the qualities that shine through the "interiour Ray" from the "Name which None can say." These qualities give claritas to the Name and so awaken the soul that, then, awakens the universe. The second variation now recapitulates the opening theme, as it has been illuminated by the first variation and, thereby, parallels the third part of the emblem, the motto.¹⁶⁴ It begins with the invocation and pronouncement of a paradox, immediately framing a new level of dissonance, both illuminating and deepening what has

¹⁶³Hugo Rahner, Ignatius the Theologian, p. 188.

¹⁶⁴It should be noted that the emblematic structure works on several levels at once. Sometimes augmented, compressed, or even inverted, it produces a canon-like effect.

come before as it links nature and art:

Come, ne're to part,
Nature & Art!
Come; & come strong,
To the conspiracy of our Spatious song.
Bring All the Powres of Praise
Your Provinces of well-united Worlds can raise;
Bring all [your] Lutes & Harp of Heaven & Earth;
What e're cooperates to The common mirthe
Vessels of vocal Joyes
Or You, more noble Architects of Intellectual Noise,
Cymballs of Heav'n, or Humane spears,
Solliciters of Soules or Eares.¹⁶⁵

The "Architects of Intellectual Noise" are the "Cymballs" of claritas that illuminate both heaven and "Humane spears." They are the coordinators of the Great Chain of Being, a new manifestation of the Peace, Good, Bliss, and Supernatural Blood originally revealed through the Name. But, whereas before the Name could not be spoken, it is now sung, awakening both "Soules and Eares." This intellectual noise is the quidditas, the absolute relationship by which soul and sense, and Nature and Art, are harmonized with the haecceitas of the Name. With the conjunction of "Souls and Eares" a new Application of the Senses begins as a new level of transcendence is reached, and the Name's haecceitas is fulfilled in love:

And when you are come, with All
That you can bring or we can call;

¹⁶⁵Works, op. cit., pp. 194-195.

O may you fix
 For ever here, & mix
 Your selves into the long
 And everlasting series of a deathlesse Song;
 Mix All your many Worlds, Above,
 And loose them into One of Love.¹⁶⁶

The sublunary and extra-lunary spheres (awakened in the theme and first variation of the poem to the resounding Name) are here mixed by its harmony into "One of Love." In these eight lines, the entire hymn has been recapitulated, again illuminating the parts but, again, in the deeper light of the paradox of Incarnation. Moreover, this one world of love seems to be the offspring of a violation. The haecceitas of the Name that cannot be spoken has been ravished in song. All things seem to have spoken it. To this point, a kind of reversal has occurred. Where the Name stood in a void in the beginning, it is now in the gaze of the whole universe. All things have been brought into the chorus of its praise, save Itself. The rest of the poem is devoted to invoking the Name itself. Lines 88 to 114 are a preparation for this invocation. The soul again regards itself, and, as in the beginning, it relates itself to the universe. The ideal Great Chain of Being is once again illuminated:

¹⁶⁶Loc. cit.

Chear thee my Heart!
 For Thou too hast thy Part
 And Place in the Great Throng
 Of This unbounded All-imbracing Song.
 Powres of my Soul, be Proud!
 And speake Lowd
 To All the dear-brought Nations This Redeeming Name,
 And in the wealth of one Rich Word proclaim
 New Similes to Nature.¹⁶⁷

Examining itself, the soul discovers that it has grown sufficiently to be able now to speak the unspeakable. The finite has found its infinite depth,¹⁶⁸ and in speaking the Name, it reenacts creation itself in "New Similes to Nature." New likenesses are found with the new light shed by the "Architects of Intellectual Noise." In this new light, the "dark Sons of Dust & Sorrow" stand equal with the Blest Heavens, and the song of their "inferior Lyres," has its place with the heaven's "Superior song." This new creation, or new harmony, that binds the greatest to the smallest, the "poor panting Turtle-Dove" to the "Same bright Busynes" of the "Third Heavens," is looked upon, and pronounced good. All are now an emblem of the Name, and the Name is now called upon to Incarnate itself in its creation. With the Name's invocation, the final movement of the poem begins, and the

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 195.

¹⁶⁸Karl Rahner, Spiritual Exercises, p. 109.

paradox of Incarnation approaches resolution, simply in its accomplishment:

Come, lovely Name; life our hope!
 Lo we hold our Hearts wide ope!
 Unlock the Cabinet of Day
 Dearest Sweet, & come away.¹⁶⁹

These two couplets relate directly to the opening couplet of the hymn, but, the "I" has disappeared, and the "Name which None can say," is invoked now through its qualities. The "interior ray" has become the "Cabinet of Day," and, like the soul's heart, it is to be unlocked and opened. The final resolution is foreshadowed as the poem parallels both the aforementioned emblematic and allegorical traditions in their "revelation" of truth. This revelation is accomplished in Transubstantiation, as the "Weary liddes of wakeful Hope /" of "Loves Eastern windowes" are filled with tears. Tears, shed in the pain of love and martyrdom, become the veil through which the Word is clearly seen:

Lo how the laboring Earth
 That hopes to be
 All Heaven by Thee,
 Leapes at thy Birth.
 Th' attending World, to wait thy Rise,
 First turn'd to eyes;
 And then, not knowing what to doe;
 Turned them to Teares, & spent Them too.

¹⁶⁹Works, op. cit., p. 196.

Come Royall Name, & pay the expence
 Of All this Pretious Patience
 O come away
 And kill the Death of This Delay.
 O see, so many Worlds of barren yeares
 Melted & measur'd out in Seas of Teares.
 O see, The Weary liddes of wakefull Hope
 (Love's Eastern windowes) All wide ope
 With Curtains drawn,
 To catch The Day-break of Thy Dawn.¹⁷⁰

The soul has assumed the role of the priest, performing a mass. The tears shed in pain are like the blood of Christ and are used to call Him. In their promise, the "Golden Showres" of His redeeming blood cause the whole world to leap up and become one watching eye. But in the Death Delay, this eye is changed to a tear, and so the world sheds its shower of sorrow. The heart has broken "wide ope" and with its tears calls for the Name to unlock its Cabinet of Day, shed its Golden showres of blood, and draw the curtains of the dawn. Hence, Transubstantiation (the changing of wine to blood and tears through love) becomes the revelation of Day and the Interiour Ray. The soul-priest now turns to the element of the sacrament, the "Dust and Sorrow" of this dark world that is to become the "Womb of Day." As in The Spiritual Exercises and the emblem, the senses are constantly returned

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 196-197.

to as the spirit is given flesh and Truth is made concrete. Only now, the world itself has taken part in the harmony. Where the "Me" was found empty, "Narrow and low" at the hymn's beginning, and out of harmony with the spheres, the spirit has become like the diligent bee, orderly and a fit microcosm to the Divine arrangement. Claritas and quidditas, the music of love, have joined the Soule with the Ear and tuned sense with spirit. Sense has been sanctified, and the spirit made concrete.¹⁷¹ Lines 153 to 183 represent the first level of sanctification, as the Name becomes Incarnate. In an image suggesting the Virgin Birth, the dark world becomes a Hive of Honey fit for "fair Conceptions" of "our Bright Joyes," as a "Womb of Day." Consequently, the dark is changed to light, and the senses become the ultimate level of Incarnation:

O fill our senses, And take from us
 All force of so Prophane a Fallacy
 To think ought sweet but that which smells of Thee.
 Fair, flowry Name; Is none but Thee
 And thy Nectareall Fragrancy,
 Hourly there meetes
 An universal Synod of All sweets
 By whom it is defined Thus
 That no Perfume
 For ever shall presume

¹⁷¹Wallerstein, op. cit., pp. 83-90, 136.

To passe for Odoriferous
 But such alone who sacred Pedigree
 Can prove it Self some kin (sweet name) to Thee.¹⁷²

Therefore, the senses, though the end of meditation, are not an end in themselves, and this logic clearly demonstrates that meditation is likewise not its own end.¹⁷³ Each odor and sound must be measured against the harmony of the Name before it is called beautiful. If it does not invoke the Name to sing its own Name, it is profane. This ultimate but secondary role of sense is well illustrated in lines 184 to 201, as the senses are invoked a thousand times and, thus, so dissembled that they only magnify one thousand times that which transcends them:

A Thousand Blest Arabias dwell;
 A Thousand Hills of Frankincense;
 Mountains of myrrh, & Brides of species,
 And ten Thousand Paradises,
 The soul that tastes thee takes from thence
 How many unknown Worlds there are
 Of Comforts, which Thou hast in keeping!
 How many Thousand Mercyes there
 In Pitty's soft lap by sleeping.¹⁷⁴

Thus, the soul-priest pronounces the mass over the elements, and the senses magnified one thousand times serve to magnify the thousandfold mercy of the sacrifice. Like the soul and,

¹⁷²Works, op. cit., pp. 196-197.

¹⁷³Hugo Rahner, Ignatius the Theologian, p. 183.

¹⁷⁴Works, op. cit., pp. 197-198.

then, the universe, these mercies are awakened through the awakened senses. "Happy he who has the art / To awaken them, / And to take them / Home, & lodge them in his Heart." But the sacrifice has yet to be made, and the Incarnation is not complete. This heart must be broken open in martyrdom, and the wine must be changed to real blood. The Incarnation of Christ as a man would not have been real had He not died, for man's mortality is his ultimate attribute, and the revelation of Christ as this God rests on His existence as this Man.¹⁷⁵ Death is that which reduces generalities to realities, and quidditas and haecceitas. But, Scotus contended that haecceitas is the ultimate good of creation as it shows God capable of creating something unique, beyond Himself. It follows that Christ's death was a necessary condition of His Incarnation and love, and the soul's last invocation to the Name is appropriately framed in the metaphor of martyrdom:

Where Rocks & Torments striv'd, in vain, to reach Thee,
 Little, alas, thought They
 Who tore the Fair Brests of thy Freinds,
 Their Fury but made way
 For Thee; And serv'd them in Thy glorious ends.
 What did Their weapons but with wider pores
 Inlarge the flaming-brested Lovers
 More freely to transpire

¹⁷⁵Karl Rahner, Spiritual Exercises, p. 102.

That impatient Fire
That Heart that hides Thee hardly covers.¹⁷⁶
(11. 210-220)

Martyrdom is the last step of Incarnation. In death, one thing is not changed into another, but rather all that is not itself falls away.¹⁷⁷ To the world's intellect, this is a change, because the soul's haecceitas is inconceivable. Everything conceivable has Fallen away. Thus, in death, the paradox of Incarnation is resolved, as it is consummated. In this last step of the mass, the Nothing, which is other than the Name, falls away. Crashaw's hymn ends like many musical pieces, with the harmonies transposing themselves back and forth from the dominant to the tonic. The key to the resolution is the absolute harmony between the similar motifs played in the two different keys. All the quiddities must match, and when they do, the two unique motifs may be sounded together without dissonance. The quality of dissonance is that it sheds no light on the musical fabric. Dissonance rather makes the fabric opaque. It bears no relationship and, consequently, has literally no harmony. Dissonance is Nothing. In Crashaw's poem, the conflict between haecceitas and

¹⁷⁶Works, op. cit., p. 198.

¹⁷⁷Karl Rahner, Spiritual Exercises, pp. 100-101, 107-108.

quidditas is resolved as quidditas (harmony, music, love, and Incarnation) becomes the proof of haecceitas. What is not there cannot reflect the light of the "Architects of Intellectual Noise:"

For sure there is no Knee
That knowes not Thee.
Or if there be such sonns of shame,
Alas what will they doe
When stubborn Rocks shall bow
And hills hang down their Heavn-saluting Heads
To seek for humble Beds
Of Dust, where 'in the Bashfull shades of night
Next to their own low Nothing they may be,
And couch before the daseling light of thy dread majesty.
They that by Love's mild Dictate now
Will not adore thee,
Shall Then with Just Confusion, bow
And break before thee.¹⁷⁸

Wallerstein suggests that The Hymn to the Name Above

Every Name, The Name of Iesus, was inspired by the $\text{\text{Τερί Ονοματ\text{ω}\text{ρ}}$ of Dionysius the Areopagite.¹⁷⁹ The opening couplet certainly seems to support her remark, but the subsequent development of this theme of via negativa offers a standard for the exegesis of Crashaw's other poems. Its theme relates to Incarnation, and the structure of the sacrament that it presents is like that of The Spiritual Exercises and the

¹⁷⁸Works, op. cit., p. 199.

¹⁷⁹Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 145.

emblematic conceit. Hence, the via negativa, the negative light of The Glorious Epiphany, and the haecceitas of the Name, through Incarnation is revealed as the only real light. Finally, through the tripartite ritual of the emblem and the Application of the Senses, ritual and sense are transcended, in Incarnation. The concomitant theme of Transubstantiation is well illustrated in To our Lord, upon the water made to Wine,¹⁸⁰ The Tear,¹⁸¹ and Upon Lazarus his tears.¹⁸² Together, these poems illustrate Crashaw's obsession with certain images. Rickey argues that Crashaw wrote with an unusual emphasis on the end-rime, that it controlled the whole fabric of his verse.¹⁸³ Similarly, one might say that Crashaw devoted extraordinary attention to his imagery.¹⁸⁴ Like the "thousand fragrances" of the Hymn to the One Name, his constant use of metaphor built on liquid imagery seems to dissemble that metaphor. The changing liquid becomes special vocabulary

¹⁸⁰Works, op. cit., p. 78.

¹⁸¹Ibid., p. 71.

¹⁸²Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁸³Mary Ellen Rickey, Rime and Meaning in Richard Crashaw, p. 24.

¹⁸⁴George Williams, Image and Symbol in the Sacred Poetry of Richard Crashaw, Chapt. 5.

that points beyond itself.¹⁸⁵ Together, these three poems are variations on the same emblem. To our Lord is an excellent example of the emblem as it offers picture, exegesis and motto:

Thou water turn'st to wine (faire friend of life)
 Thy foe to crosse the sweet arts of thy reigne
 Distils from thence the tears of wrath and strife,
 and so turnes wine to water back again.

The theme of transubstantiation is given a unique variation as it is reversed. The parenthetical appositive ("faire friend of life") completes the series of water, wine, and blood. But, the foe crosses the purpose, and in wrath and strife changes the wine to tears. Yet, again, the damage is undone in the last line as one is reminded that tears are water, and by implication that from Christ's pierced body flowed water. Although wine is changed to water in wrath, it is still the life-water of the heart. One is reminded of Occam's famous proof of the "real presence" in the "element." When the neo-Aristotelians had scientifically tested the bread and wine for the presence of flesh and blood, and having negative results had inverted the Platonic argument to infer that the form had not changed, Occam said simply that God's

¹⁸⁵Warren, op. cit., pp. 187-188.

will was beyond form or substance.¹⁸⁶ In divine passion, water may flow from the heart, and the foe's wrath may become a source of salvation.

The Tear represents the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises in its Application of the Senses. An element is contemplated until it seems to change, and, then, in recalling its true nature, in reapplying the senses, its significance does change. The tear is Mary Magdalene's, the prostitute whom Christ saved, and is, therefore, a tear of shame. The first stanza foreshadows this changed significance as it speaks of the signification of a term:

What bright soft thing is this
 Sweet Mary thy faire eyes expence?
 A moiste spark it is,
 A watery Dismond; from whence
 The very terme I thinke was found,
 The water of a Diamond.

Through metaphor, the narrator avoids Mary's guilt, by avoiding the tear's reality. Christ had told the crowd that the one without sin could stone her, and the "I" narrator accepts this admonishment. Rather than let the tear fall to the dust, he compares it to a falling star and, giving it

¹⁸⁶ Stephen Chak Tornay, Ockham: Studies and Selections, pp. 119.

divinity, allows the Sun to "stoope and take it up."¹⁸⁷ The second stanza ends as the Sun gives the star to his Sister, the moon, and the diamond image returns as she places it as a Jewell in her ear. But it is the eye's Jewell and so is a tear, and the narrator is, finally, forced to face its reality as such:

O 'tis a teare,
 Too true a teare; for no sad eyne
 How sad so e're
 Raine so true a teare as thine;
 Each drop leaving a place so dear,
 Weeps for it self, is its own tear.

Unable to avoid the reality of the tear, the narrator has changed the significance of the shame. The tear weeps itself for having to leave Mary's eye, and so, again, she is absolved. Her act has not changed, but its significance has, and her profane passion is changed to divine love. The sexual imagery of the fourth stanza is the object of much ridicule, both as it appears, here, and in the twenty-seventh stanza of The Weeper.¹⁸⁸ The present author believes, that, since Crashaw used the image twice, he must have well considered its meaning.¹⁸⁹ The key to its exegesis is in the second stanza

¹⁸⁷This is probably a pun.

¹⁸⁸Works, op. cit., p. 264.

¹⁸⁹White, op. cit., p. 248.

and the pun on sun. The Sun is Christ. Having taken up this tear-star-jewel and given it to His sister, He has given it the pearl-like qualities of the moon. As a result, it slips from His breast to the leaves of the Rose bud:

Such a Pearle as this is
 (Slipt from Aurora's dewey Brest)
 The Rose buds sweet lip kisses;
 And such the Rose it self when vext
 With ungentle flames, does shed
 Sweating in too warme a bed.

But, the sun's flame causes the Rose to give back the pearl. Now, the image of Mary Magdalene's profane love has been exchanged for that of Mary's divine conception. God has taken this tear of shame and Incarnated Himself in it, making its profanity divinity. Hence, the gross image of the last line is justified as it underscores purity of the Maiden in stanza five. Still, the sense of earthly passion is not lost, and this tear, "the Maiden gem," put on by the "wanton spring," blushes on the "watery Sun."¹⁹⁰ The Sun sees the blossom as "watery," and changes the tear to wine. To the modern sense, the poem causes amusement, but to the seventeenth-century consciousness, the nature of Transubstantiation was a more critical issue. Its complete exegesis seem justified, and

¹⁹⁰William Empson, Seven Types of Ambiguity, p. 116.

its graphic comparison of divine and profane love was taken seriously. The purpose of the present writer has been to illustrate Crashaw's emblematic motifs, and the farfetched imagery of this poem underscores this emblem structure as the conceit is resolved in the last stanza:

. There thy selfe shalt bee
 An eye, but not a weeping one,
 Yet, I doubt of thee,
 Whether th' had'st rather there have shone,
 An eye of heaven, or still shine here,
 In th' Heaven of Maries eye a teare.

The tear changed to a diamond, star, pearl, and, then, to wine, is here changed to the eye of heaven. But in the manner of the Spiritual Exercises, the tear's reality as a tear is again acknowledged. This is not the eye of heaven of its own virtue, but in significance. It is actually more than the eye of heaven, because in reality it is the tear of one whom Christ forgave. The meditation cycle is thereby completed and transcended. By assuming a divine signification for the tear, and, then, facing the reality of its source in shame, it becomes the "element" of Christ's "real presence" in forgiveness.

Upon Lazarus his teares is another example of guilt associated with liquid imagery. In the context of the emblematic structure, this poem relates to the motto. The tear's

exegesis is simple, and the whole effect is epigrammatic.¹⁹¹

Rich Lazarus! richer in those Gems thy Teares,
 Then Dives in the roabes he weares:
 He scorns them now, but they'l sute full well
 With th' Purple he must weare in hell.

The emblematic technique in this poem is exactly like that of The Tear and To our Lord, upon the water made Wine. Again, drawing a comparison between the gem and the tear, Crashaw brings home the full reality of the tear as he couples it with the purple robes of hell. In the innocent eye of Lazarus, it is a gem, but on the purple robes of guilt, it is blood. In three poems the tear has been an emblem. Its significance lies in its consistency in meaning. Regardless of the similes and metaphors built around it, Crashaw always brings the focus back to its reality as a tear. Paralleling the allegorical tradition, it is truth that is important.¹⁹² In contrast to the metaphysical conceit, Crashaw's meaning rests in the dissemblance of the radical. Whereas the metaphysical wit often places stock in the significance of the radical, Crashaw places his in the contrast between the sophistry of the conceit, and the truth. But, since absolute

¹⁹¹Beechcroft, op. cit., p. 410; Wallerstein, op. cit., pp. 11 & 63; Warren, op. cit., pp. 73, 80, 87, 89.

¹⁹²Freeman, op. cit., pp. 4, 20, 24.

truth is always "other than" the contingencies of form and content, because it is contingent to nothing,¹⁹³ such a revelation is miraculous. Warren suggests that Crashaw believed in the miraculous, that although the sense was enticing, it revealed a world of shifting appearances only. He further argues that Crashaw's "rhetoric of metamorphosis" is predicated upon this belief. Crashaw extends the principle behind Christ's first miracle of water changed to wine and His last miracle of wine changed to blood, as he turns tears to pearls, into lilies, and finally, lilies into pure Innocents. Warren further insists that style must incarnate spirit and that the Catholic faith is best articulated through the rhetorical figures of oxymoron, paradox, and hyperbole. He argues, finally, that Crashaw's concetti, through their " . . . infidelity to nature, claim allegiance to the supernatural; his baroque imagery, engaging the senses, intimates a world which transcends them."¹⁹⁴ In his argument, Warren intimately links Crashaw to The Spiritual Exercises. One recalls that the Application of the Senses is the first and last step by which the miracle of revelation is performed.

¹⁹³Wolter, Duns Scotus, op. cit., p. 54.

¹⁹⁴Warren, op. cit., p. 192.

The application of the intellect, the intermediate step, is manifest in the oxymoron, paradox, and hyperbole of the conceit and serves only to intensify the return to the sense. In other words, the truth is not to be found in the intellect or the senses, and by applying both to the same object, they become like the tear. Given many references, its real reference is emphasized. Sense and intellect, given the aspect of truth, serve to intensify beyond them its real presence when this aspect is shed. As in the theme of martyrdom in To the One Name, before the truth can be known, what truth is not must die. This emphasis upon truth (beyond form and content) in both the emblem and The Spiritual Exercises, coupled with an emphasis upon ritual, places Crashaw on the highwave of the counter-Reformation.¹⁹⁵ Beechcroft agrees with this opinion as she says that the whole conception of emblems is ritualistic. She associates the emblem with medieval realism as it reveals occult divine meanings in instances of nature. Behind this realism is the Platonic view that absolutes exist before particulars.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, as a counter-Reformation figure, Crashaw is a

¹⁹⁵Ibid., p. 189.

¹⁹⁶Beechcroft, op. cit., p. 420.

medievalist, and it is also significant that in his search for truth, he accommodates both the position of the nominalists and the realists. One recalls that the nominalist had argued that particulars exist before universals, but Crashaw neutralizes this position and that of the realist by noting that truth must lie beyond both.¹⁹⁷ In this resolution, his poetry parallels The Spiritual Exercises, nor is it surprising to discover that his religious interest led him toward the themes of the Jesuit emblem books.¹⁹⁸ The imagery of his poetry with its bleeding and flaming heart, may be traced to these books, and more significantly, so may his structures. As has been already noted, the structure of the emblem and The Spiritual Exercises is fundamental to the resolved conflict between Scotus and Aquinas. Structure means relationship and, finally, quidditas. Freeman notes that one of the finest examples of a well wrought structure in Jesuit literature is the Partheneia Sacra of Henry Hawkins.¹⁹⁹ Freeman says that like Crashaw, this English Jesuit's first concern was with devotion. Devotion was so essential to him,

¹⁹⁷Wolter, op. cit., p. 139.

¹⁹⁸Freeman, op. cit., p. 149.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., Appendix 3, p. 243.

that, as in The Teare, even the profane was turned to its purposes. In outlining the emblematic structure, Hawkins correlated sense with structure, and mirroring The Spiritual Exercises en masse, he demonstrates the relation of quidditas to haecceitas. Freeman notes that Hawkins believed the Impreses, Mottoes, Characters, Essays, Emblemes, and Poesies to be profane devices. But, when he incorporated them into the emblem, they were rendered divine.²⁰⁰

Thus, he relegates even the devices of the intellect and of wit to the level of profanity. Anything other than the truth is obscene;²⁰¹ yet, by its very nature it may be used to reveal the truth. Therefore, the light of the intellect, though it is false, may clarify the negative light of haecceitas. Freeman also notes that, for Hawkins, ". . . light was a quality in objects, not merely a transparent medium through which they are seen."²⁰² It is clear that Hawkins believed in the haecceitas of every object, or substance as well as of intellect. By acknowledging it for what it was (calling a tear a tear) in his emblematic poetry he

²⁰⁰Quoted in ibid., p. 174.

²⁰¹Summers, "Herbert's Form," op. cit., p. 1060.

²⁰²Freeman, op. cit., p. 196.

contrasted it with the haecceitas of God. The structure of the Parthenia Sacra well illustrates the lengths to which he would develop the profanity of structures. Freeman says that the poems were divided into nine distinct parts consisting of two pictures, a poem, and six passages of prose. The elaborate development of the tripartite form illustrated by Thynne, was predicated on a desire for the reader to discover only slowly and gradually the significance of the Garden.²⁰³ Hawkins maintains that:

. . . being so mysterious and delicious an Object requires not to be rashly lookt upon, or perfunctoriously to be slighted over, but, as the manner is of such as enter into a Garden, to Glance at first thereon with a light regard, then to reflect upon it with a better heed, to find some gentle mysterye or conceipt upon it, to some use or other; and then liking it better, to review the same again.²⁰⁴

The constant return to the real image of the Garden is directly related to the Application of the Senses.²⁰⁵ By constantly reaffirming the reality of the "element," one makes its Transubstantiation more and more miraculous. In the Parthenia Sacra, the effect of the recurring Garden image is

²⁰³The Garden is the controlling emblem of the work. See ibid., p. 184.

²⁰⁴Ibid., p. 185.

²⁰⁵Warren, op. cit., pp. 67 & 69.

intensified by the acute intellectuality of the intermediate discourse. The Character, The Moral, The Essay, The Discourse, The Theories, and Apostrophe, all examine, to a profound philosophical and theological depth, the significance of The Device and The Embleme. But, the recurrence of the real image, especially the concluding passage, The Poesie, intensifies the independence and uncaused nature of the truth. The six passages of prose, the poem, emblem and devise do not condition truth. Rather, they build a concrete frame of intellect and sense through which truth may be distinctly seen.²⁰⁶

Besides relating to The Spiritual Exercises, the Jesuit emblem works are related structurally to the allegorical tradition.²⁰⁷ It will be remembered that medieval allegory was only a facade for truth and that the vehicle was the view of the cosmos in the Great Chain of Being. Freeman says that the Ars Memorative illustrates the importance of this structure in relaying the semblance of truth to the many. The principles that underly it are like those of the Parthenia

²⁰⁶See Freeman, op. cit., pp. 181-191 for a detailed description of the function of these parts.

²⁰⁷Ibid., pp. 19-20.

Sacra.²⁰⁸ They are based on the science of mnemonics in their substitution of a single image, one that could be subdivided into unlimited parts, for the set of ideas to be remembered. Freeman points out that "a common device among the Greeks and Romans . . . was to substitute a house with all its contents for the different things to be called to mind."²⁰⁹ This cosmology of medieval allegorical poets, besides being a common ground of communication, thus established a highly complex set of relationships, multiplying significances to infinity. And, for both these poets and the emblem writer these were all profane shadows against which to view the true light.

Crashaw's Catholic conversion almost certainly indicates his interest in Jesuit emblem writers, and the Parthenia Sacra, published in 1633, undoubtedly came into his hands either at Laudian Peterhouse or during one of his many visits to Little Gidding.²¹⁰ In addition to the thematic similarities between Crashaw and the Jesuits centering on the motif of Incarnation, there are obvious structural and stylistic

²⁰⁸Ibid., p. 201.

²⁰⁹Loc. cit.

²¹⁰White, op. cit., pp. 205-229; Wallerstein, pp. 21-22; Bennett, op. cit., p. 95.

evidences of the Jesuit emblem in Crashaw's poetry. For example, Wallerstein goes so far as to suggest that Crashaw's whole spiritual and intellectual development are parallel to the developing theme of an emblem or impressa.²¹¹ Be that as it may, Crashaw's poetry certainly reflects the divine-sensuous 'spirit of the seicento in its "spiritualizzamento del sense."²¹² For Crashaw, the sensuous was the basic constituent of theme, even of truth, as well as of style.

If Crashaw constantly holds up the forward movement of his theme to enrich some centrifugal detail--in contrast to Donne whose thought is analyzed through his figure with the drive of a high-voltage current,--it is because in him it is the details of sensations, rising like varied fumes, that constitute perception.²¹³

The allegorical nature of this style is well illustrated as Crashaw's version of Sospetto is compared with Marino's original.²¹⁴ Crashaw's English paraphrase of the Italian original reminds one again of the musical motif of theme and variations.²¹⁵ In Sospetto there exist two opposing tendencies.

²¹¹Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 135.

²¹²White, op. cit., p. 252, paraphrasing Mario Praz.

²¹³Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 127.

²¹⁴Ibid., pp. 74-75, 81, 92, 97, 139.

²¹⁵Ibid., p. 108; Warren, op. cit., p. 102.

On the one hand, Crashaw abstracts imagery from its sensuous context. On the other hand, he uses a rich and sensuous embroidery for background.²¹⁶

Stylistically, then, Crashaw's poetry is related to the emblem, medieval allegory, and The Spiritual Exercises. Specific examples are unlimited. Warren points to Crashaw's epigram as a reflection of Jesuit influence. Again, using the theme and variation motif, Crashaw constructs an epigram that seems to "Transubstantiate" Gospel texts into present truths. Warren says that Crashaw employed "far flying conceits" to accomplish this sense of Eternity in the now. An example is Crashaw's development of the parable of the seed is the Word. The cares, riches, and pleasures of the world are the thorns among which the seed falls. "Crashaw, choosing to take the seed figuratively and the thorns literally, derives the 'Verbe inte spinas'--the Logos crowned with thorns."²¹⁷ Warren concludes that the style of Crashaw's epigrams, especially those in Latin, removed them from the realm of English poetry and placed them on a level with the poetry of all Europe. Although they never transcend the theology of High

²¹⁶Ibid., p. 122.

²¹⁷Warren, op. cit., p. 87; Works, Wolter, p. 24.

Anglicanism, their method is of the Jesuits and their spirit is of the counter-Reformation.²¹⁸

Besides the epigram, there are more specific devices that relate Crashaw with both the Emblem and the Jesuits. As they are more limited in their range, they approach ultimate sense.²¹⁹ By arbitrarily classifying them as sense and structural devices, one may underscore the conflict between quidditas and haecceitas, or "this" and "what," as it is resolved.

Crashaw's use of end-rimes are of almost emblematic quality. Certain rimes are employed from poem to poem and, like the tear, seem to represent a truth beyond any exigencies of present forms and substances. For example, the association of light-sight or night-bright with day is used in the Hymne of the Nativity.²²⁰ When one considers that almost all of Crashaw's later poetry was written in the paragraph stanza form, the significance of these end-rimes grows, for they become the sign posts by which the theme is developed.²²¹

²¹⁸Ibid., p. 89.

²¹⁹Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 124; Freeman, op. cit., p. 192.

²²⁰Rickey, op. cit., p. 14.

²²¹Ibid., p. 16.

The Flaming Heart, for example, contains an end-rime scheme with distinctive emblematic overtones.²²² Rickey's observation on the heart-dart-art rime sequence is particularly relevant to this poem; she observes that Crashaw uses the word heart, 120 times in his poetry, and as a rime, 35 times, matching it with part, apart, dart, depart, mart, impart, desert.²²³ The art-heart-dart group seems to be the one most frequently used, art appearing as a rime word 21 times; heart, 45; and dart, 12. Heart is used with dart 10 times and with art 16 times.²²⁴

An examination of The Flaming Heart reveals that it fits with the patterns cursorily outlined above. The words used as rime more than once are a part of Crashaw's major rime vocabulary. The words used most frequently appear to be of almost emblem quality as they weave together the sound and sense of the poem. Dart (5), fire (4), him (4), Seraphim (4), flame (3), heart (3), and thee (3) lead the list of words used most for rime. The couplets employed more than once are heart-dart (3), him-seraphim (4), desire-fire (2), and things-

²²²Works, op. cit., p. 274.

²²³Rickey, op. cit., p. 8.

²²⁴Ibid., p. 11.

sings (2). It should be noted that the major paragraph divisions of the poem turn on these major rimes, and so they take on the quality of mottoes as well as of emblems. The first paragraph ends with the Dart-Heart type, the second with the art-dart, the third, atypically with the show-below type, the fourth, with flame-shame, the fifth, with the Dart-Heart, and the last with the I-dy. The show-below type is a perfect epigram for the second paragraph and is an obvious foreshadow for a change of emphasis in the next, that culminates in the I-dy of the last. Consequently, it parallels almost exactly Crashaw's changing mood signaled by the Give-him sequence of the beginning. The following chart summarizes the major rime words of the poem sufficiently to show their key function. Crashaw's tendency to use some words only for riming indicates their peculiar value for him. He evidently kept them in mind as he wrote, for his lines move to and from these words. Their function is emblematic as they form both a start and finish for the metrical excursion. Ultimately all the "sense" of each line (the poetic and prosaic rhythms), is focused on these words.

The Flaming Heart reveals a progression of the narrator from passive observation to active self-immolation. Each

Rime Word	Times Used Separately	Times Used as Rime	Percent as Rime
art	2	2	100
be	7	2	29
dart	8	5	63
day	2	2	100
desire	2	2	100
fire	6	4	68
flame	4	3	75
her	15	2	13
him	9	4	44
love	11	2	18
me	2	2	100
part	2	2	100
seraphim	8	4	50
thee	5	3	60
things	2	2	100
wings	2	2	100

step in this shifting mood is signaled by a musical cadence of rimes immediately related to the controlling images. Hence, the poem becomes an exercise in counterpoint between Crashaw and his images in which he finally achieves total submersion. Warren observes that Crashaw's technique of paraphrase is exactly like "A Pathetical Descant upon the Devout Plainsong . . ." (explanatory subtitle of "To Sancta Maria").²²⁵ Beginning with pure spirit, analogues to the austere plainsong (again reminiscent of Origen), he weaves it through a series of images, as voices are added at the intervals of a fifth and octave in the Descant. Just as at the end of each bar " . . . the descant must omit the pitch in plain relation to the melody," so there is a necessity for repeated rimes at significant points in the poem's development. Warren alludes specifically to the Adoro Te of Aquinas, as an example of Crashaw's contrapuntal technique in paraphrase (Warren calls it "transfusion").²²⁶ Crashaw's use of end-rimes leads both to an emblematic and a musical effect. As will be seen, later, together with the prose rhythm and

²²⁵Warren, op. cit., p. 153; Works, op. cit., p. 237.

²²⁶Warren, p. 102; see also Beechcroft, op. cit., p. 416.

the meters, these end rimes produce an almost fugal form of counterpoint.

The structural and thematic emphasis on Incarnation and Transubstantiation implicit in the emblem, the Spiritual Exercises, and medieval allegory, points finally to haecceitas and salvation through love. Scotus pointed to will as a constituent to love and the fulfillment of haecceitas, and many of Crashaw's poems show the relation between Incarnation and salvation. Examples of statements of Transubstantiation directly linked with healing and salvation are The blind cured by the word of our Saviour,²²⁷ Upon the Sepulcher of our Lord,²²⁸ and Upon Easter Day.²²⁹ The levels of healing range from wounds to the illness of death itself, and within each poem a radical is resolved to reveal truth, as demonstrated above in The Tear.

The first poem is an example of transferred sense. The illness is manifest in the eye, but the key to its healing is in the ear. Thus, is made manifest the presence of truth beyond either eye or ear:

²²⁷Works, op. cit., p. 78.

²²⁸Ibid., p. 73.

²²⁹Ibid., p. 89.

Thou speaks't the word (Thy word's a Law)
 Thou spak'st and streight the blind man saw.
 To speak thus was to speake (say I)
 Not to his eare, but to his eye.

The last two lines of this poem form an exegesis of the first couplet. The nature of this development is again revealed in the end-rimes. Taken by themselves, they make an epigram and are a controlling metaphor for the whole poem. First, there is the Law-saw rime with Law significantly capitalized. The see-thee rime is an imperative directed to the say-I-eye. Thus, the eye that is blind is called to see itself and be healed, because the Law has seen it. The paradox of the blind eye's seeing is resolved by an even greater one, that of its hearing. The particular revelation or Transubstantiation is again built upon the purging of impurities. In the presence of the absolute Word, the senses transcend themselves. The eye is not blind, because it need not see. The same inversion is used in the second poem, which is but of one couplet. Its brevity intensifies the inversion and revelation:

Here where our Lord once laid his head
 Now the grave lyes buried.

Its theme is closer to salvation than to healing. But, as in The Blind cured, something is left behind. Death, which only seemed permanent is revealed as permanent, as it is left

in the grave. Upon Easter Day develops the same theme, again through the device of the dissembled conceit. The cosmology of this poem is, however, based upon Biblical exegesis. For example, Christ is viewed as the antitype of Moses, and as Moses gives the Israelites water in the desert by striking his rod against a stone, so Christ gives the water of life by being crucified. The sequence is reversed in the poem, first, to universalize the experience, and, then, by inversion, to transcend the universal by particularizing it:

Rise heir of fresh eternity
 From thy virgin Tombe
 Rise mighty man of wonders, and the world with thee.
 Thy Tombe the universal East
 Natures new womb,
 Thy tombe faire immortalities perfumed Nest.

The first couplet renders an obvious parallel between the Virgin Birth and Christ's death. As Mary had conceived of the Holy Spirit and so remained inviolate, so was Christ's grave. The grave conceived of the Holy Spirit and so of life. Consequently, it remained Virgin, because death had not violated it. Death has been replaced by its exact opposite, and so the tomb becomes "Natures new womb" of immortality. The image of the Tomb is the poem's emblem, and by minutely contemplating whose it was (that is, whose death it received), the life it gives up is more intensely

realized. The second stanza prepares for this revelation by casting backwards for its Old Testament antecedent:²³⁰

Of all the glories make Noone gay,
 This is the Morne
 This Rock bud's forth the fountaine of the streames
 of Day,
 In joyes white annalls lives this howre
 When life was borne,
 No cloud soule on his radiant lids, no tempest lower.

It is Easter morning, but the image is of Moses striking the rock in the Wilderness, and, thus, all time is seen imaged in this time. The poem does not lose its sense of time but, on the contrary, intensifies it by making all time relevant to it. But Easter is the day when Eternity was ultimately Epiphanized in time, and since all time has been focused here, it fully partakes of communion with Eternity. Paralleling the Hymn to the One Name, the poet now turns to what has been left behind. As all time has been revealed in this time and so in Eternity, other time has ceased to exist, and with it death:

Life, by this light's Nativity
 All creatures have,
 Death onely by this Dayes just doome is forc't to Dye
 Nor is Death forc't; for may he ly
 Thron'd in thy Grave
 Death will on this condition be content to dye.

²³⁰See Karl Rahner, Spiritual Exercises, p. 104 for a discussion of the historicity of Christ.

Recapitulating the image of the first stanza, the poem returns to the subject of the Virgin Birth, the Nativity. The Tomb has given birth to all creatures with its reception of Christ. The instant of this conception is revealed as the death of death. Thus, as death loses its immortality, mortality loses itself. This is the motif of all three of these poems: incarnation is revealed not as a change, but as an admission of what already was. One reality, be it blindness or death, becomes the shadow of another, the revelation of life. All three poems evidence the emblematic structure and emphasis, and each parallels the allegorical tradition as it stands as one of three different emblems for the same truth.²³¹ In contrast with the metaphysical conceit which gains its uniqueness from its own form, Crashaw's emblem succeeds as it reveals that which is unique. The uniqueness of the devotee is "clarified" only as that of God is revealed. Haecceitas and quidditas are resolved as the finite is given infinite depth, and the universal is singularized.

In Charitas Nimia,²³² Crashaw demonstrates the link between Transubstantiation, salvation, and love. Christ's

²³¹Freeman, op. cit., p. 13.

²³²Works, op. cit., pp. 234-235.

blood is shed instead of the sinner's. In punishing the lamb for the wolf's guilt, the guilt is absolved. By exchanging one thing for another, changing innocent blood into blood shed for guilt, salvation is accomplished. However, whereas the blood was shed by the wolf in guilt and death, in its atonement, it becomes the blood of life and love. The antecedent to this resolution is the paradoxical relation of sacred and profane love, the image on which the poem opens:

Lord what is man? that thou hast over bought
 So such a thing of nought
 Love is too kind, I see; and can
 Make but a simple merchant man.
 'Twas for such a sorry merchandise
 Bold painters have put out his eyes.

Empson argues that this mutual comparison of Christ and Cupid affects one as a pun. Here, sacred and profane love are coupled because of their mutual generosity.²³³ Thus, one becomes a measure of the other. The obvious effect is to prostitute the love of God. What is divine is pulled down to the level of a sinner; but, through this prostitution, a sinner is able to partake of the divine. The twist in this poem is in the fact that the only real comparison between profane and divine love lies in their mutual generosity.

²³³Empson, op. cit., p. 116.

Both give freely, one of lust, and the other of forgiveness. If the consummation of lust is conception and life, it is potentially the opposite of death. But, only through forgiveness may man hope to overcome death, and so lust and forgiveness are conjoined in love:

What if my faithlesse soul & I
 Would needs fall in
 With guilt & sin
 What did the Lamb, that he should dy?
 What did the lamb, that he should need?
 When the wolf sins, himself to bleed?
 If my base lust,
 Bargain'd with Death & well-beseeming dust
 Why should the white
 Lamb's bosom write
 The purple name
 Of my sin's shame?
 Why should his unstaind brest make good
 My blushes with his own heart-blood?
 O my Saviour, make me see
 How dearly thou hast payd for me
 That last again my Life may prove
 As then in Death, so now in love.

With the end of the poem, the conceit is ruptured. As in Crashaw's other poetry, the final revelation occurs with the breaking of the comparison. Thereafter, what is not the truth falls away, and in Charitas Nimia the profane is left unlinked with the divine, because it is made divine. Though they may be compared mutually in the conceit, the final Transubstantiation is well prepared by the rhetorical question that controls the poem:

If I were lost in misery,
 What was it to thy heavn & thee?

What was it to thy pretious blood
 If my foul Heart call'd for a floud?

The answer is in love as it transcends justice. Where the wolf should have suffered, he is forgiven, and the bond of generosity between profane and divine love may be related only in the generosity of the Lamb's love. The ultimate likeness and perfection is in the difference, the haecceitas. Although there is a qualitative likeness between profane and divine love, the difference is that divine love is not a quality, but a Person whose haecceitas is Love. The union is complete only as Love is loved, as its quidditas is given claritas in consummation, e. g., haecceitas. The inverse of this theme gives it further illumination as it is presented in On a treatise of Charity:²³⁴

This shall from henceforth be the masculine theme
 Pulpits and pens shall sweat in; to redeeme
 Vertue to action, that life-feeing flame
 That keepe Religion warme; not swell a name

These two couplets directly contrast with the opening of Charitas Nimia, and so prepare for a contrary thematic resolution. Hence, the present author believes that the couplets below from Charitas Nimia are not accidental in their inversion of the theme of On a treatise of Charity; rather he is

²³⁴Works, op. cit., p. 111.

convinced that they demonstrated the allegorical quality of Crashaw's poetry. Two separate vehicles, one the contrary of the other, both serve the same truth:

Still would those beauteous ministers of light
 Burn all as bright,
 And bow their flaming heads before thee
 Still thrones & Dominations would adore thee
 Still would those ever-wakeful sons of fire
 Keep warm thy prayse
 Both nights & Dayes
 And teach thy lov'd name to their noble lyre.

As these lines prepare for the resolution in Love loved, the couplets from On a treatise of Charity inversely prepare for its rejection. The latter work is emblematic as its ending becomes a motto in its negation of love. In a loose paraphrase of I Corinthians 13 (very loose because the whole theme is inverted), love is placed below faith, hope, and by implication, the justice that it transcends in Charitas Nimia:

. . . not swell a name
 Of faith, a mountain word, made up of aire,
 With those dear spoiles that wont to dress the faire
 And fruitful Charities full breasts (of old)
 Turning her out to tremble in the cold.
 What can the poore hope from us, when we bee
Uncharitable even to Charitie?

Love's haecceitas is glorified as He is loved. This is the theme of Charitas Nimia and represents the ultimate Transubstantiation or revelation. Christ's haecceitas, as it relates to Incarnation, salvation and love, is well demonstrated

in Crashaw's paraphrase of Matthew xxvii, And he answered them nothing.²³⁵ Here, the Word that is Love, that when spoken had created all things, in silence saves them:

O Mighty Nothing! unto thee,
Nothing, we owe all things that bee.
God spake once, when he all things made,
He sav'd all when he Nothing said.
The world was made of Nothing then
'Tis made by Nothing now againe.

The Word unheard of, spoken in frustration by the prophet, and veiled by the allegorical poet, is here veiled by Itself to preserve men. In the face of Truth, death would die and with it, men. But it is Christ's intention to save men by destroying death with His own, and so He remains silent, leaving death alive for the time, but with it, men for eternity. In a poem that illustrates this same theme, Crashaw voices a challenge to all false wit. His paraphrase of Matthew xxii, Neither durst any man from that day, aske him any more questions,²³⁶ is emblematic as it offers a Biblical text for contemplation and exegesis. It parallels The Spiritual Exercises as it transcends this contemplation and

²³⁵Ibid., p. 78.

²³⁶Ibid., p. 79.

intellection in a return to the real object.²³⁷ In this case, the real object is transcension itself,²³⁸ the silence of Christ that silenced death. To Crashaw, the veil of allegory that the false wanted to break, was a sacred necessity. The ritual of the emblem was there to preserve the integrity of the truth it obscured. And so, he sees Christ's silence in Matthew x as the ultimate saving Word. But, when revealed to the profane in Matthew xxii, it gives them their true aspect of nothing, and so silences them in death:

Twas time to hold their peace, when they
 Had ne're another word to say,
 Yet is their silence unto thee,
 The full sound of thy victorie;
 Their silence speaks aloud, and is
 Thy well pronounc'd Panegyris.
 While they speak nothing, they speak all
 Their share in thy Memoriall.
 While they speake nothing, they proclame
 Thee, with the shrillest trump of fame.
 To hold their peace is all the wayes
 These wretches have to speake thy praise.

Crashaw's use of the emblem led him naturally to a transcendence of its aesthetic. Moreover, the tripartite structure of intellection by which the truth is clarified leads ultimately to a negative knowledge of the truth. As

²³⁷Warren, op. cit., pp. 67 & 69.

²³⁸Hugo Rahner, Ignatius the Theologian, p. 183; Karl Rahner, Spiritual Exercises, p. 109.

Crashaw mastered the emblem, he also moved beyond it. This theme is actually embodied in Matthew xxii. In the presence of the Word never before heard, the crowd grows silent, and their silence illuminates the ultimate unknowable quality of the Word. Hence, Crashaw has employed a form of intellection designed to transcend itself. One notes that the emblematic structure exactly parallels the Aquinian emphasis upon quidditas and its realization in claritas. However, Crashaw's use of the emblem does not account for his shifting dissolving metaphors. In fact, Crashaw's ever changing imagery seems completely contrary to the intellectual bias of Aquinas embodied in the emblem. The solution to this inconsistency rests in a distinction between the faculty of apprehension and its subject. Consequently, Crashaw's subject was the Word. Since the Word is forever "unheard," Crashaw employed an idiom of music. It was not his purpose to hear the Unheard, but to so glorify what could be heard that what is beyond is doubly glorified.

CHAPTER IV

THE APPLICATION OF THE SENSES IN THE MUSICAL

IDIOM OF CRASHAW'S POETRY:

SCOTUS ACCOMMODATED

To his title, "Third Method of Prayer," St. Ignatius Loyola adds the subtitle, "A Measured Rhythmical Recitation,"²³⁹ In The Spiritual Exercises, the third method of prayer represents the ultimate level of devotion. It is, therefore, significant that its immediate core is the Application of the Senses, and this importance is increased as one notes that the senses are focused in a framework of music. The rhythmical recitation of the Lord's Prayer that immediately precedes the contemplation of the "Mysteries of the Life of Our Lord"²⁴⁰ and that culminates four weeks of exercises becomes not a strange form of meditation when placed against the frame of contemporary counter-Reformation developments. Martz has noted similar patterns even in Puritanism²⁴¹ and argues that there are exact parallels between the devotional poetry

²³⁹St. Ignatius Loyola, The Spiritual Exercises, p. 112.

²⁴⁰Ibid., p. 115.

²⁴¹Luis L. Martz, The Poetry of Meditation, pp. 153-175.

of Herbert,²⁴² Donne,²⁴³ and Vaughan,²⁴⁴ and the Application of the Senses in The Spiritual Exercises.²⁴⁵ It may similarly be contended that the musical idiom that controls this final level of devotion is in the ordinary,²⁴⁶ because there is direct relationship in seventeenth-century thinking between music, allegory, and the whole surrounding context of religious devotion. Hollander points to Marvell's "Musicks Empire," as an example of "a prophetic allegorization (and encomium) of the role of the Commonwealth in the cosmos, as well as in the body politic."²⁴⁷ Meyer-Baer argues further that the seventeenth-century philosophy of music was used as a deliberate framework for coordinating the trivium and quadrivium²⁴⁸ and cites numerous works to demonstrate the long-standing practice of coordinating the various cosmological

²⁴²Ibid., pp. 249-288.

²⁴³Ibid., pp. 211-249.

²⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 81-90.

²⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 75-83.

²⁴⁶Wilfred Mellers, Caliban Reborn, pp. 12-13.

²⁴⁷Hollander, op. cit., p. 299.

²⁴⁸Kathi Meyer-Baer, Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death, p. 189.

views to the single metaphor of the "music of the spheres."²⁴⁹ Therefore, a method of prayer coordinating rhythm with the final levels of the contemplation of the Holy Mysteries well mirrors the spirit of the age. In fact, St. Ignatius stands in the mainstream of the counter-Reformation and its affirmation of medieval traditions when he writes:

With each breath or respiration, one should pray mentally while saying a single word of the Our Father, or other prayer that is being recited, in such a way that from one breath to another a single word is said. For this same space of time, the attention is chiefly directed to the meaning of the word, to the person who is addressed, to our own lowliness, or the difference between the greatness of the person and our own littleness. In this way, observing the same measure of time, he should go through the other words of Our Father.²⁵⁰

St. Ignatius's suggestion for meditation is in keeping with the Platonic view of the cosmology, transmitted from Dionysius through centuries of modification and controversy.²⁵¹ It is consistent with the views of both Scotus and Aquinas, and, together with the "composition of place,"²⁵² it demonstrates

²⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 188-202.

²⁵⁰Ignatius, op. cit., p. 112.

²⁵¹Robert Lathrop Sharp, "Some Light on Metaphysical Obscurity and Roughness," Studies in Philology, XXXI (October, 1934), 506.

²⁵²Ignatius, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

the final link between Crashaw's poetry and the emblematic-allegorical tradition. In this rhythmic prayer, in the Word measured in cadences of time, rests the final Incarnation. With the systemizing of sense comes a revelation of what is beyond both sense and system. Crashaw's use of the musical idiom, or the "composition of place" of The Spiritual Exercises, through formed sense, is, thus, his most intimate link with the counter-Reformation.

Music as a form of prayer is a method as old as the Christian Church. As a mode which harmonizes sense with non-sense it transcends the intellect, as Ignatius insists. On several occasions in The Spiritual Exercises, he writes, that, regardless of the exercitant's age, strength, or intelligence, the Application may be made to fit his needs.²⁵³ The universal nature of this prayer reflects a view of God that is distinctly medieval. Being other than all that is conceivable, it is the embodiment of the via negativa of Dionysius. The following citation from St. John Chrysostam demonstrates the long historical tradition of this view of prayer:

For where there are psalms, and prayers, and the dance of the prophets, and singers with pious intentions, no one will err if he call the assembly a church.

²⁵³Ibid., p. 56.

Even though the meaning of the words be unknown to you, teach your mouth to utter them meanwhile. For the tongue is made holy by the words when they are uttered with a ready and eager mind. Once we have acquired this habit, neither through free will nor through carelessness shall we neglect our beautiful office; custom compelling us, even against our will, to carry out this worship daily. Nor will anyone, in such singing, be blamed if he be weakened by old age, or young, or have a harsh voice, or no knowledge of numbers. What is here sought for is a sober mind, an awakened intelligence, a contrite heart, sound reason, and clear conscience. If having these you have entered into God's sacred choir, you may stand beside David himself.

Here there is no need for the cithara, or for stretched strings, or for the plectrum or for art, or for any instrument; but, if you like, you may yourself become a cithara, mortifying the members of the flesh and making a full harmony of mind and body. For when the flesh no longer lusts against the spirit, but has submitted to its orders and has been led at length into the best and most admirable path, then will you create a spiritual melody.²⁵⁴

Hollander argues that this statement represents a view of harmony between body and soul that is the product of the "spiritual music of prayer"²⁵⁵ Consequently, it represents a direct parallel with The Spiritual Exercises. Both Meyer-Baer and Hollander present extended arguments and numerous examples of the philosophy of music and its

²⁵⁴Quoted in Oliver Strunk (ed.), Source Readings in Music History, St. John Chrysostom, Exposition of Psalm XLI, pp. 69-70.

²⁵⁵Hollander, op. cit., p. 270.

relationship to medieval views of education, allegory, and in fact, every aspect of human conduct.²⁵⁶ What is of concern, here, is the simple breakdown of this musical hierarchy.²⁵⁷

The basic divisions of the musical hierarchy are the musica mundana, musica humana, and musica instrumentalis.²⁵⁸ In their relationships, they are like a syllogism with the musica instrumentalis acting as a middle term between God and man. Williams leaves no doubt that Crashaw was well acquainted with this view of music and with the general medieval view of the cosmology.²⁵⁹ He cites numerous examples, such as the

²⁵⁶Meyer-Baer, op. cit., pp. 40 & 125; Hollander, op. cit., pp. 162-245.

²⁵⁷James Grassineau, A Musical Dictionary (1740), p. 154. " . . . that treats only of the sounds, examines their natures, properties, and effects, having no regard to the executive part." Meyer-Baer, op. cit., pp. 78, 117-121. The present author makes no attempt to recapitulate the arguments of these two critics, but only presents what is of immediate concern to a reading of Crashaw's poetry and to an understanding of the allegorical conflict that frames the poetry. Meyer-Baer traces the development of "speculative music" through both Scotus and Aquinas and, thus, demonstrates that a musical reading of Crashaw's poetry will shed light on their controversy.

²⁵⁸Hollander, op. cit., pp. 24 & 31; Grassineau, op. cit., pp. 154-155.

²⁵⁹George Williams, Image and Symbol in the Sacred Poetry of Richard Crashaw, pp. 132-134. For an example of contemporary views of musical cosmology, see Eric Werner, "The Last Pythagorean Musician: Johannes Kepler," in Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music, edited by Jan LaRue, p. 868.

"Epiphany Hymn," "Musicks Duel," and the "Hymn to the Name of Jesus."²⁶⁰ The question in this chapter concerns how Crashaw applies this view of music and why it is important. The answer is actually fairly simple. Music is heard only as it is performed and is, thus, completely contained in the present.²⁶¹ Since it is composed of both sense and structure, it gives a sense of continuity to this present. Crashaw's use of music is his way of "composing place" and, thus, his particular way of applying the senses. Hollander frequently intimates that musica mundana and musica humana are harmonized in musica instrumentalis,²⁶² and when one compares Crashaw's use of the emblematic conceit with contemporary musical forms, he has little doubt that Crashaw wrote his poetry with a view toward accomplishing this harmony. The exact relationship between his poetic form and that of the church music that he must have constantly heard points to his conscious effort to "compose place" through the musical

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 133.

²⁶¹ Mellers, op. cit., p. 3.

²⁶² Hollander, op. cit., pp. 263, 271, 296.

idiom.²⁶³ An examination of Crashaw's poetry will demonstrate that the application of the musical sense for him was the way to ultimate communion. This mystical relation of God to man through music and its whole historical development as a concept is well summed up in a statement by Julius Portnoy.²⁶⁴ The historical continuity of this concept is underscored by the fact that he makes it with no reference to Crashaw, the Jesuits, or even the seventeenth century:

In religious worship we take refuge in a mighty fortress that God has wrought for us. In loving someone else we feel secure that we are loved in return or will be loved in time. But in music we are alone; there is no dependence on Heaven or man, but only on ourselves. Music cannot give us the factual knowledge about ourselves that science presumably can. Music does not give us what religion feigns to with dogmas and decrees. Music helps us measure our needs, weigh our hurts and joyous states, and, in this process of bare-faced confession, often saves us from spiritual destruction. In the mystical experience of becoming one with music, not detached from it as purists insist, life is unraveled, re-examined, and then put together again.

Hence, music isolates the worshipper, forcing him to reveal his thisness in the face of that of God. By allowing himself

²⁶³For a study of the conscious aesthetic relations between contemporary church music forms and the allegorical tradition, see Donald Grout, A History of Western Music, p. 105. As an example he alludes to general similarities between the polyphonic form of the motet and the Divine Comedy. See also Kathi Meyer-Baer, "Music in Dante's Divina Commedia," in LaRue, op. cit., pp. 614-628.

²⁶⁴Julius Portnoy, Music and the Life of Man, pp. 246-7.

to be caught up in music, the worshipper is forced into the eternity of the present. Rather than escaping from time, he is caught in its flow and, thus, partakes of the creation and becomes an element of the Incarnation.²⁶⁵ In this sense, Portnoy's statement is like that of St. John Chrysostom. Actually to hear music, the listener himself must become the performer or the instrument.²⁶⁶

This universal view of the relationship between prayer and music is well demonstrated by general trends in seventeenth-century music²⁶⁷ and by particular structures. On the one hand, Palestrina and other composers of the counter-Reformation show attitudes towards the relation of music to worship that parallel the similar attitudes of Baroque poets.²⁶⁸ For instance, whereas instrumental music had been viewed with suspicion during the Middle Ages,²⁶⁹ Renaissance music had

²⁶⁵Mellers, op. cit., "Revelation and Incarnation: The Legacy of the Past," pp. 1-33.

²⁶⁶Ibid., p. 3.

²⁶⁷See Helena Mennie Shire, Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI, p. 162, for a discussion of current ideas of musical cosmology.

²⁶⁸Grout, op. cit., p. 265.

²⁶⁹Meyer-Baer, op. cit., pp. 188-203.

begun to transcend words. Grout notes that this development extended itself "without a break through the Baroque and beyond," and, to illustrate his argument, he points to the use of solo instruments as vehicles for dramatic expression.²⁷⁰ The assertion of the solo voice, the development of opera; the cantata, and the oratorio, are all evidences of the counter-Reformation. They are Catholicism's answer to the Reformation's assertion of the individual. But, this answer involves the framing of the soloist in an emblematic structure that ultimately points to the glory of God. The use of the solo instrument was the last step in this development, and the whole pattern of music history is of interest as it parallels that of the emblem.

Palestrina was a contemporary of the Council of Trent and so represents the first wave of the counter-Reformation.²⁷¹ It is, thus, not surprising that his techniques in rhythm, orchestration, and a deemphasis of the solo voice,²⁷² should closely parallel Crashaw's poetry. Grout's statement about Palestrina's use of vertical sonorities might be easily

²⁷⁰Grout, op. cit., p. 265.

²⁷¹Ibid., p. 237.

²⁷²Ibid., pp. 239-249.

applied to Crashaw's A Song: Out of the Italian,²⁷³ or to the last sixteen lines of The Flaming Heart.²⁷⁴ Grout says that Palestrina's harmonic vocabulary was very limited. His effects are purely in the realm of sonority, and by combining six unaccompanied voices in various distribution he could produce almost infinite effects in vertical sonority on the same chord. Grout notes that Palestrina's dramatic effects were not accomplished by simple devices of particular spacing and registering.²⁷⁵ When he wished to change the sound of a passage, he did not change its harmony. For instance, he did not change a chord from primary position to a position of second inversion. Rather, he would change the orchestration and thus the color of the sound. The sonorities to which Grout refers are a product of the way in which the color of each voice shades the other. If, for instance, in a choral work for four voices, the tenor is kept in the upper part of his range for most of the time, the chordal timbre will be altered accordingly.²⁷⁶ Or, if the four voices are kept in

²⁷³Works, op. cit., p. 151.

²⁷⁴Ibid., p. 274.

²⁷⁵Grout, op. cit., p. 243.

²⁷⁶See George Lansing Raymond, Rhythm and Harmony in Poetry and Music, pp. 3, 280-300 for a discussion of the aesthetic of sound "color" involved here and its relationship to poetry.

close proximity, with the alto and tenor occasionally cross voicing, the effect will be much different from that of an even distribution of voices at intervals of a third, fourth, or fifth. In close voicing, the transparency of the chords is often obscured by the way the pitch frequencies of each voice overlap with the others. There may be a sense of dissonance even in a major triad.²⁷⁷ The same effect occurs if the voices are too widely spaced, because their frequencies are too far apart to define a coherent relationship. These simple factors of frequency are complicated by the individual over tone series that each voice has. If the bass is singing a low A, then the frequency is 110 vibrations per second, as opposed to 880 for a soprano on a high A. This difference is compounded by the fact that one is a male and the other a female; one is singing in the middle of his range, and the other in the top of hers. These considerations, in addition to many others, ranging from the performer's idiosyncracies to the curve of a melodic line, make the potential development of a single chord almost unlimited.²⁷⁸ To demonstrate this

²⁷⁷See Eric Werner in LaRue, op. cit., p. 868, for a discussion of the essential subjectivity of consonance and dissonance. See also Raymond, op. cit., pp. 221-228.

²⁷⁸Raymond, op. cit., pp. 178-191.

point in Crashaw's poetry, one need but compare the effect of the end-rimes of one of his poems with those of another. As the rhythm and metre change, and rhythm stresses are changed in relation to pitch stresses, there is an evident difference in the emphasis on the end-rimes.²⁷⁹ A Song: Out of the Italian is a poem worthy of comparison with the work of Palestrina, because it is a paraphrase and so resembles the descant on a plainsong that was the core to 79 of Palestrina's 102 Masses.²⁸⁰ Its theme is very close to that of The Flaming Heart, but the execution is quite different:

To thy Lover,
Deer, discover
That sweet blush of thine that shameth
 (When those Roses
 it discloses)
All the flowers that Nature nameth.

As in The Flaming Heart, the narrator, here, is calling upon the lover to "discover" the blush of his innocence. The images are the same. The flame, the blush, and the arrows are the controlling emblems of both poems, but the changing orchestration gives each a different "vertical sonority,"²⁸¹

²⁷⁹See ibid., pp. 38-52, for a discussion of the musical aesthetic as it relates to technical considerations of versification.

²⁸⁰Grout, op. cit., p. 240.

²⁸¹Raymond, op. cit., p. 107.

and the result is that while The Flaming Heart is Crashaw's most devotional poem, A Song rises hardly above the level of profane love:

But had thy pale-fac't purple took
 Fire from the burning cheeks of that bright Booke
 Thou wouldst on her have heap't up all
 That could be found Seraphicall;
 What e're this youth of fire weares faire,
 Rosy fingers, radiant hair,
 Flowing cheek, & glistering wings,
 All those fair & flagrant things,
 But before all, that fiery DART
 Had fill'd the Hand of this great HEART.

Doe then as equall right requires,
 Since His the blushes be, & her's the fires,
 Resume & rectify thy rude design;
 Undresse thy Seraphim into Mine.
 Redeem this injury of thy art;
 Give Him the vail, give her the dart.²⁸²

The iambic tetrameter with occasional lapses into pentameter, the masculine ending,²⁸³ and the paragraph stanzaic form, give a dramatic quality to these lines that lifts the theme of seduction to a level of divinity. The sense of composition of place and the structuring of sound are far different from the lyrical melody of A Song, which sounds almost like a madrigal with its alternating lines of dimeter and tetrameter, its rimed feminine endings, and the resulting

²⁸²Works, op. cit., p. 275.

²⁸³Raymond, op. cit., p. 46, for a discussion of the musical effects of feminine, masculine, and double endings.

emphasis on pitch stress rather than on rhythm. In the last analysis, it sounds like a "round" with the melody being rapidly thrown from voice to voice: "In free Ayre, / Flow the Hair" has four beats altogether, but has eight stressed syllables that form an antiphonal voice to "That no more Summers best dresses." The effect is a fast duple metre that acts as an underpin to the two part structuring of the voices. However, although the dimeter couplets render an effect of a single tetramic line that is broken by a caesura, and although this line seems coupled with another tetramic line without a caesura, the resultant skipping effect clearly demonstrates that the alternating breaks make the whole something other than a two-line stanza. In fact, the broken four beat line gives each rime word an unprepared rhythmic stress, and the result is in an unnatural pitch stress. Consequently, beholden, Golden, and by a process of acceleration, Tresses, are all lifted in pitch above the level of the other words of the second stanza. There is a similar effect in the third stanza:

O deliver
 Love his Quiver,
 From the Eyes he shoots his Arrowes,
 Where Apollo
 Cannot follow:
 Featherd with his Mothers Sparrowes.

The theme is exactly like that of The Flaming Heart, and in this poem, it is in a similar stage of development. But, the stress on the end-rimes is so much greater, here, that the effect is similar to that of a ballad. One can almost hear a solo voice rising and falling in a musical canzon. ²⁸⁴ Such a development is really not inconsistent with Crashaw's emblematic conceit, but is rather an example of its Baroque qualities, and closely parallels similar developments in music. The ballad is one of the forerunners of the keyboard canzona, the rondeau, and finally the classical sonata-allegro. ²⁸⁵ Resembling the emblem, the ballad's form is tripartite, with two themes, and a recapitulation and synthesis. Each section is in a different rhythm, and the variation in harmony and orchestration is thereby deepened. ²⁸⁶ Each

²⁸⁴Grassineau, op. cit., p. 20. "Canzone, in general signifies a song, wherein some little fugues are introduced, but it is sometimes used for a sort of Italian poem usually pretty long, to which music may be composed in the stile of a Cantata."

²⁸⁵Grout, op. cit., p. 300.

²⁸⁶Raymond, op. cit., p. 223, argues that ultimately orchestration and its effect on harmonic sonorities is really a function rhythm: "In fact, there is ground enough for holding the theory that music is no more than an artistic adaptation of the laws of rhythm, of a part of which, as related to pitch--ie., to the rhythm resulting from tone-vibrations,--it is unconscious."

section is developed on a fugal basis of contrapuntal imitation.²⁸⁷ In essence, the theme never changes. As with Palestrina's music, Crashaw's work merely represents a variation in rhythm and orchestration on a single chord. However, one must not overlook the difference between the two poems. While in The Flaming Heart the sonorities are vertical, that is chordal and homophonic, they are horizontal in A Song. Crashaw's use of rimes in the former work gives an ever deepening quality to its images and renders the poem almost liturgical in its effect. But, by abbreviating the stanzaic form in A Song, and by compressing and simplifying the same rhythms, rimes, and images used in The Flaming Heart, the depth is replaced by a quickened pace and sense of horizontal movement.²⁸⁸

When to end mee
 Death shall send mee
 All his Terrors to affright me:
 Thine eyes Graces
 Gild their faces,
 And those Terrors shall delight mee.

²⁸⁷For an excellent discussion, in laymen's terms, of the relation of counterpoint to the plainsong and finally to language, see Arthur Tillman Merritt, Sixteenth-Century Polyphony, pp. 1-28. His discussion of rhythm, pp. 8-9, sheds much light on Crashaw's "imitative" technique of paraphrase and its underlying musical aesthetic.

²⁸⁸Raymond, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

The ultimate difference between this stanza and the corresponding movement in The Flaming Heart is in the point of view and, finally, the composition of place. In A Song, the narrator is speaking of rapture in the future tense. The devotion has not been consummated, and he is but projecting himself into it imaginatively. However, in The Flaming Heart, the narrator is actually being ravished by the saint. Thus, the relation of time to events is altered, and the result is that A Song is lyric while The Flaming Heart is dramatic. An examination of the "orchestration" of the latter work well demonstrates where the difference has its origin:

O sweet indendiary! shew here thy art,
 Upon this carcasse of a hard, cold, hart,
 Let all thy scatter'd shafts of light, that play
 Among the leaves of thy larg Books of day,
 Combin'd against this BREST at once break in
 And take away from me my self & sin,
 This gracious Robbery shall thy bounty be;
 And my best fortunes such faire spoiles of me.²⁸⁹

Whereas most of the poem is in iambic tetrameter, these lines, preceding the final colloquy, are in pentameter, and the second line of the first couplet has six beats with the last three stresses on the three last words. The effect is just the opposite of that of A Song. The pace is slowed, and

²⁸⁹Works, op. cit., p. 276.

the depth of each image is developed. The emphasis falling upon the rimed words is dramatic rather than lyric, and though the narrator is in a high level of excitement as he directly addresses the saint, there is no corresponding upward modulation in the melodic line. The pitch stresses are well prepared, as the metric stresses are symmetrically spaced through what are in effect heroic couplets.²⁹⁰ When in the final sixteen lines the pitch and rhythmic emphasis is focused wholly on the end rimes, the stress is due to rhetorical parallelism and not to the compression of abbreviation. The rippling syllabic melody of the final lines of A Song underscores effectively the profound change in one theme that may be achieved through different treatment. Different rhythms and resulting sonorities lead to a different sense of space and time, and the result is a different view of the object of worship:

When my dying
Life is flying,
Those sweet Aires that often slew mee

²⁹⁰Raymond, op. cit., p. 3. Raymond presents, here, a diagram that relates the parallelism of heroic couplets to the higher faculties of artistic development. In relation to the discussion of Chapter II in this study, Crashaw's increasing reliance on the paragraph stanzaic form and the heroic couplet would thereby link him with the less formalist and more allegorical artistic traditions.

Shall revive mee,
Or reprove mee,
And to many Deaths renew me.²⁹¹

The difference in time is, of course, immediately evident, as this stanza sustains the sense of future that has framed the whole poem. There is, consequently, no sense of convergence in the "now" and no sense of cadential resolution such as characterizes the end of The Flaming Heart. This difference in the dramatic sense of time is well underscored in the progression of the last four stanzas of A Song. In four of six lines of the poem's sixth stanza, the rime-word is thee. But, then, with a digression into the conditional mood that is signaled in the seventh stanza, the last two stanzas are entirely in the key of mee, with eight of the last twelve lines built upon that rime. Mee is in the objective case, and when placed in a melodic line of dancing duple meters, the sense of dramatic moment is rather dissembled than composed. The effect is far different from that in The Flaming Heart wherein the final cadence falls in the subjective case. In this last poem by Crashaw, the sense of drama and moment converge in the narrator's sense of now, and with this composition of place, the prayer is consummated in vision:

²⁹¹Works, op. cit., p. 152.

O thou undanted daughter of desires!
 By all thy dower of LIGHTS & FIRES;
 By all the eagle in thee, all the dove;
 By all thy lives & deaths of love;
 By thy larg draughts of intellectuall day,
 And by thy th[ir]sts of love more large then they;
 By all thy brim-fill'd Bowles of feirce desire
 By thy last Morning's draught of liquid fire;
 By the full kingdome of that finall kisse
 That seiz'd thy parting Soul, & seal'd thee his;
 By all the heav'ns thou has in him
 (Fair sister of the SERAPHIM!)
 By all of HIM we have in THEE;
 Leave nothing of my SELF in me.
 Let me so read thy life, that I
 Unto all life of mine may dy.²⁹²

Again, the end-rimes parallel the sense of dramatic progression. The desire-fire couplet announces the recapitulation of the opening theme, now applied to the narrator rather than to the image of the Seraphim. It is repeated, again, in the fourth couplet, giving voice to the final resonant self-immolation. Consequently, it is the middle term of the whole poem, as it links passion to passion, underscores progression, and finally becomes itself the controlling cadence. It sets the pace and the key for the final grammatical shift from his-him-Seraphim, to Thee-me, and finally to I-dy. In all, The Flaming Heart is emblematic in its structure. Its controlling image rests in the desire-fire rime, and compared with A Song,

²⁹²Ibid., p. 277.

its development clearly demonstrates Crashaw's growing counter-Reformation spirit.

The difference between these two poems demonstrates Crashaw's growing sense of medieval wit. Like Palestrina, Crashaw finally rejected many of the advances of the sixteenth century. Grout's evaluation of Palestrina is also an approach to criticism of Crashaw. Grout asserts that Palestrina's " . . . art fulfills two of St. Thomas's three requirements: it possesses, to a supreme degree, harmony and radiance; but as to wholeness, that is another matter."²⁹³ He notes that Palestrina rejected many of the achievements of Renaissance polyphony, and that his purpose was to express " . . . medieval mysticism in an intentionally restricted, and in some respects archaic, Renaissance musical vocabulary."²⁹⁴ Crashaw's rime vocabulary, used so consistently as to become his own private cosmology, is worthy of the same criticism. He is Baroque, but is so in his own way, and his poetic development evidences a more and more strict and medieval sense of devotion. The difference between A Song and The Flaming Heart is equivalent

²⁹³Grout, op. cit., p. 246.

²⁹⁴Loc. cit.

to that which separates a Renaissance Madrigal and a medieval Motet.²⁹⁵ In fact, The Flaming Heart may be technically viewed in light of the latter form, and its full allegorical quality may be thereby illuminated. Grout explains the format of the motet in terms reminiscent of the emblem. He says that the composer would begin with a passage from a Gregorian chant, perhaps a portion of the graduals, alleluias, or responseries of the Notre Dame organum compositions. Then, he would arrange this theme into a pattern appropriate to one of the rhythmic modes. The resulting motif would be used as a cantus firmus for one, two, or even as many as eight other counter melodies. In itself, the cantus firmus was similar to Crashaw's epigram. It would never change or develop itself. Paralleling Crashaw's use of rimes, the motet composer would repeat the entire melody as many times as might be necessary to complete the presentation of an extrinsic religious theme.²⁹⁶

The first essential characteristic of the motet is thus

²⁹⁵Grassineau, op. cit., p. 144. Though the following definition is loose and cannot serve as a basis for explication, it does serve to relate Crashaw to the Italians and Marino on a basis of musical form. "When the composer [of the motet] gives a loose to his fancy, without confining himself to any rules, subjects, or passions, the Italians call Fantasia, or Ricercata."

²⁹⁶Grout, op. cit., p. 89.

its rhythm. The equal periods to which Grout refers are defined by Grove's Dictionary as isorhythms,²⁹⁷ and they are the characteristic that gives the motet its distinctive allegorical quality. Developed in France in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the isorhythmic motet's essential difference from the sonata of the eighteenth century is exactly the difference between the Baroque and Metaphysical conceit:²⁹⁸

The essential difference between sonata-form recapitulation and the repetition of the tenor tune in a motet needs stressing. The sonata recapitulation comes as a relief from the great tension caused by the workingout, whereas the recurrent tenor tune appears as just another piece of melody.²⁹⁹

The difference between allegory and conceit, and A Song and The Flaming Heart is clearly defined by Grove's Dictionary. It indicates that in the isorhythmic motet, the rhythm was more important than the melody.³⁰⁰ The lyrical quality of the

²⁹⁷Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, IV, p. 551.

²⁹⁸See Mellers, op. cit., p. 16 for a discussion of the relationship between isochronous rhythm patterns and the Platonism that underlies the allegorical tradition. Also for general information on the isorhythmic motet which points to the same conclusion, see Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Age, p. 339.

²⁹⁹Grove's, op. cit., p. 551.

³⁰⁰Loc. cit.

melodic line is the most important difference between A Song and The Flaming Heart. As in the later sonata, the emphasis is placed on the form itself. The tension and working out of a theme through exposition, modulation, and recapitulation are reminiscent of the metaphysical conceit. The tension and resolution are the center of attention. In the earliest motets, melody is subordinate to rhythm and both are servants to the cantus firmus, which is in turn bound to the liturgy. The Flaming Heart is obviously built on a rhetorical cantus firmus from the Anglican Prayer book, and the isorhythms of the last sixteen lines fulfill the requirements of a motet completely, as they underscore the final cadence. They do not themselves embody a release of tension.

The history of the motet is as significant as its final form in the discussion of the emblem. Grout notes that the term motet derives from the French mot, meaning "word," and was originally applied to only one of the voices added to the original descant.³⁰¹ Often each voice was given a line in a different language, and occasionally there would be secular lyrics sung simultaneously with the original Latin. This

³⁰¹Grout, op. cit., p. 89.

development came to an end with the Council of Trent,³⁰² and the purity to which Palestrina brought the motet and similar forms parallels the difference between A Song and The Flaming Heart. The Flaming Heart is much higher in its level of devotion. The motet had developed in a direction similar to that of the metaphysical conceit, and the counter-Reformation returned it to its simple form, designed to reveal truth and not to constitute its own end. However, one should note that although the motet was purified after the Council of Trent, it was not divorced from the world of sense. The Latin texts used are exactly like those of the emblem in their Baroque quality. It is significant that the description Wallerstein gives to the musical qualities of The Name is exactly like that given by Grout to the text of a motet.³⁰³ She points to trochaic inversions of iambics, staccatto phrases, alliteration

³⁰²To compare motets before and after the Council of Trent, see Parce, Domine, Jacob Obrecht (c. 1430-1505) in Masterpieces of Music before 1750, (ed.) Carl Parrish and John F. Ohl, p. 55; and, Regina caeli, Philippi Rogerii (c. 1561-1595), in Eleven Motets, (ed.), Lavern J. Wagner, p. 106. These two are significant in their use of isorhythms, and if one follows the rhythmic modal patterns outlined in the tenor lines, he may see a clear parallel with A Song and The Flaming Heart.

³⁰³Grout, op. cit., pp. 91-93.

that produces an astonishing effect of polyphony, spondees, clustered stresses and feminine endings followed by trochaic inverstions. One would point to the last device as having the same effect in sound that a "crab canon" has. As an example of "composition of place," it is particularly strong. Trochaic inversion gives through a contrapuntal context the effect of time turned backwards. Two melodies seem to pass each other in opposite directions.³⁰⁴ Wallerstein notes that the " . . . effect secured in such passages is almost like the accentuation in symphonic or ensemble music of a melodic phrase by the coming in of another instrument, or by imitation in counterpoint."³⁰⁵ Hereafter, are brief highlights of Wallerstein's explication of The Name. Although it is a good reading, one suspects that it is guilty of the same limitation of which Hollander and several other critics are guilty, who, in each case, avoid the significance of the musical form.³⁰⁶ To this point, one has deliberately avoided

³⁰⁴See Reese, op. cit., p. 321, for a discussion of similar rhythmic effects in the motet caused by truncation and hoquetus. The latter device, often referred to as the "hiccup," may be compared to the "bob and wheel" device of medieval English poetry.

³⁰⁵Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 47.

³⁰⁶Hollander, op. cit., pp. 223-237; Beechcroft, op. cit., pp. 416-417.

a discussion of such specific techniques as vowel slides and smoothness, feeling that the most important particular is the result, the "composition of place." Music is important in poetry because of its effect upon the listener's sense of time; and, in devotional poetry, its highest significance rests in its Incarnation of Eternity in time.

Wallerstein's major points of analysis center on (1) Crashaw's use of iambic pentameter together with initial inversion in a trochaic, or its musical equivalent, initial truncation; (2) the relation of pitch stresses, alliterations, metric stresses, and syllabic beats; (3) vowel slides and smoothness.³⁰⁷ But, such an analysis is important only if it is viewed in terms of the aesthetic of music itself. Such qualities might be found in any poetry. But, it does not follow that the poetry is musical. As Hollander argues, music and poetry are not the same simply because they both employ sound.³⁰⁸ One further argues that musical devices do not automatically render a "composition of place." Only through the proper combination of devices and theme does poetry

³⁰⁷Wallerstein, op. cit., pp. 41-49.

³⁰⁸Hollander, op. cit., p. 7. See also Raymond, op. cit., pp. 1-24.

become music. Much metaphysical poetry exhibits the same qualities that Wallerstein attributes to The Name, but there is a profound difference in the final result. The difference rests in Crashaw's sense of allegory. Through the aesthetic of music, the composition of Eternity in the present moment, Crashaw's poetry finds a place in the allegorical cosmology. Its place is composed only as it is eternalized through harmony with the music of the Spheres. Crashaw's poetry parallels the resolution of the Scotus-Aquinas controversy in The Spiritual Exercises. He succeeds in harmonizing this music with all music. Haecceitas is given claritas through quidditas. Musicks Duell,³⁰⁹ although not explicitly devotional, embodies the conflict between haecceitas and quidditas. No examination of Crashaw's musical idiom would be complete without a consideration of this poem. The present author closes this study with a reading of Musicks Duell as a final example of Crashaw's "composition of place." This ultimate attribute of the musical aesthetic is the key to the reconciliation of quidditas and haecceitas. It is significant that in this poem the resolution is consummated in love and death. The theme so often found in all Crashaw's poetry and particularly the

³⁰⁹Works, op. cit., p. 110.

St. Teresa poems, is here sounded to the harmony of the Spheres.

In Musicks Duell the narrative and theme are actually organic manifestations of the musical idiom. Music is given its embodiment in narrative structure, stanzaic form, imagery, and rhetorical devices. These strictly poetic structures would seem far removed from music, but upon closer examination one may see that their relation to musica instrumentalis is similar to that of musica mundana and humana. These rhetorical devices form a frame of potential resolution and, as in The Spiritual Exercises, the final link is sense. Haecceitas is clarified through the metric peculiarities and other devices that contribute to the poem's sound sense. While one here defines, describes, and illustrates some of these devices, the significance of the poem is deeper than the musical form itself. This form, together with the musical theme, must be considered with the rhetorical devices appearing so often in Crashaw's poetry. Antithesis, paradox, homoioteleuton, and oxymoron deepen the significance of the music. Musicks Duell, although secular, is emblematic, and its total effect is above the level of narration, imagery, or even symbol. Crashaw has actually written an allegory of man's relation to God. The musical idiom, representing both action and its motive, and

being beyond the province of either the Lute master or the Nightingale, becomes a universal force. The result is an allegory of ritual. As the lone Nightingale makes her challenge to the Music of the Spheres, the poem's real music is translated from the level of sense to the musical instruments of those spheres, and pure music is created. The strife between the Lute master and the Nightingale is the germ of dissonance out of which the poem grows. This dissonance, together with the final progress from mortal to divine music, parallels the flaming heart motif so often developed by Crashaw. The poem is, consequently, an analogue to The Spiritual Exercises. The concept of haecceitas, that is implicit in these exercises is the controlling motif of Musicks Duell. The uniqueness of both the minstrel and the Nightingale is the source of both dissonance and resolution, and consequently, this uniqueness or haecceitas is the first cause of music.

One should first examine the simple narrative structure. What happens when, why, and to whom is often overlooked in an explication deliberately oriented to a poem's technique. Such an oversight regarding this poem would produce an irrelevant explication. One cannot too often emphasize that the importance of music is in its "composition of place," and finally

its relation to the total drama. The poem's narrative falls basically into five parts. Lines 1-14 comprise an introduction of setting, the Lute master, the nightingale and their relationships:

There stood she listening, and did entertaine
The Musicks soft report; and mold the same
In her own murmers, that what ever mood
His curious fingers lent, Her voyce made good:³¹⁰

Crashaw has created a verbal emblem, here. Static yet vibrant in character, it is different from other narrative settings. There should be no strife between a resting minstrel and a small bird, but the title and the setting comprise the controlling chord, and although peace seems to reign in this introduction, a supernatural conflict exists as the nightingale murmurs antiphonally to the minstrel's aires. Musicks Duell is no peaceful pastoral hymn, for, in the course of the next eleven lines (15-26), both the minstrel and the Nightingale have given and accepted a musical challenge. What follows is similar to the mature form of the Baroque keyboard canzona, as two motifs, melodically similar but harmonically disjointed, battle until one is resolved into the other.

Stanza three contains the third and fourth parts of the

³¹⁰Loc. cit.

narrative as the Nightingale and Lute master each perform twice. One should note that, each time she sings, the Nightingale seems to blend into the preceding minstrel's song. Her song seems born from his. There is a distinctly consonantal antiphonal quality underlying the strife. Her song is always an answer to his, and this relation foreshadows the final resolution of the poem. Both conflict and resolution are intrinsic to the uniqueness of the Divine Music and the song of the Nightingale. At the poem's end, the resolution is accomplished through the Nightingale's death, her silent answer to the music of the spheres.

In stanza two, the minstrel awakens his Lute. This is a significant personification, as he or it plays with a capering cheerfulness through the first four couplets of stanza three. This personification points again to the essential emblematic quality of the poem. The personification is given dimension as the Lute master " . . . negligently rash / throwes his Arme, and with a long drawne dash / Blends all together" The music of the Lute master is as much his Lute's as it is his. This development is the first indication that the Nightingale is dealing with more than her match. However, she confidently comes in on the second half of the stanza's fourth couplet, and so from the outset blends

her voice with the Lute's. As the minstrel blended his song "altogether" with the Lute's, so she "measures every measure everywhere / Meets art with art." But, there is a note of doubt in the next couplet, and a whole new level of imagery emerges:

. . . sometimes as if in doubt,
 Not perfect, yet, and fearing to be out,
 Trayles her plaine Ditty in one long spun note.
 Through the sleek passage of her open throat, . . .³¹¹

A challenge has been given and received; consequently, there is a duel. But intrinsic to a duel, there is antiphony, and so potential resolution. At this point in the poem, these two levels of relationship give birth to a third level, that of love and seduction. The Nightingale's insecurity gives her a distinctly feminine quality and, carried through the poem, adds a new dimension to her death. On one level, it is death in love's consummation. But, on another more attuned to the poem's total structure and Crashaw's religious temper, it is the Christ-Virgin-Church relationship.

Paralleling the relationships of musica mundana, humana, and instrumentalis, the distinctive mortal quality of the Nightingale's song separates her from the Lute master. His

³¹¹Ibid., p. 120.

music is divine. Hers is only natural, and she does not sing with the music of the spheres, but rather strives with herself:

Through the sleeke passage of her open throat,
A clear unwrinckled song; then doth shee point it
With tender accents, and severely joynt it
By short diminutives, that being rear'd
In controverting warble's evenly shar'd,
With her sweet self she wrangles.³¹²

This is a song of innocence, and although the minstrel is amazed at her voice's torrent melting into a melody of sweet variety, her song is characterized only by "short diminutives" and not by the "rare art" of "tattling strings," a "grumbling Base" and "high-percht Trebles Grace." The song is her own and not that of a symphony's mighty concourse, as is the minstrel's song (43-56). His finger, the "Moderatour" of this concourse, chides finally the trumpets of the "Hot Mass to th' Harvest of Deaths field." The foreshadowing, here, is obvious, and the following mighty song of the Nightingale (56-105), although beautiful and representing nature's best, is from the beginning tragic. She is, here, contending with more than nature's best. Again, although her song rises to the heights of nature's ability and rings with tragedy, it is a song of simplicity and innocence. The imagery that Crashaw

³¹²Loc. cit.

uses to describe the music is sensuous. But, it is a sensuousness that precludes sin. It is rather consistent with the

Application of the Senses of The Spiritual Exercises:

Then starts shee suddenly into a Throng
 Of short thick sobs, whose thundring volleyes float,
 And roule themselves over her lubrick throat
 In panting murmers, still'd out of her Breast,
 That ever-bubbling spring; the sugred Nest
 Of her delicious soule, that there does lye
 Bathing in streames of liquid Melodie;
 Musicks best seed-plot, where in ripen'd Aires
 A Golden-headed Harvest fairely reares
 His Honey-dropping tops, plow'd by her breath
 Which there reciprocally laboureth
 In that sweet soyle, it seems a holy quire
 Founded to th' Name of great Apollo's lyre,
 Whose silver-roofe rings with the sprightly notes
 Of sweet-lipp'd Angell-Imps, that swell their throats.³¹³

The individual images of these couplets are sensuous, and a distinctly sexual note is emerging. But, these are images and metaphors that mix and run together and so dissolve each other. Through her song, she is ravishing Musick out of whom "reciprocally" reares "new repined Aires." Through these mixing images, sense is not being emphasized, but the distinctive living quality of music. It is a life of this earth, a natural life, born for the "Eares of men, / To woo them from their Beds, still murmering / That men can sleepe while they their Mattens sing." Her song is innocent, because it is

³¹³Loc. cit.

natural, and has not been before ravished by Divine Musick.

The personifications of the end of the stanza further reinforce her innocence. Helicon, Hebe's, Apollo, Mars, nor the sisters of music conspire with her against the minstrel. These are the musicians of the Lute master's consort, while an examination of each couplet of her song demonstrates that she alone is always the subject and the musician. Finally, she emerges with "Her little soule ravisht: and so pour'd / Into loose extasies, that shee is plac't / Above her self, Musicks Enthusiast," but it is a soul ravished in innocence. This innocence may be more easily comprehended, if one views the poem as an allegory of conflict, of seduction between the Microcosm and the Macrocosm. The Nightingale, although ravished by natural music, is still innocent, because she has not been touched by the Divine. However, she has seen the Divine. The Lute master has fascinated her, and she is now "Musicks Enthusiast." On the other hand, the Lute master is music and, as such, finally seduces his admirer.

An examination of the imagery of the last stanza demonstrates a definite parallel with the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises, particularly the doctrine of the Application of the Senses. With this last parallel, the allegorical quality of the poem is established and a distinctive emblematic

quality emerges.

One should notice, first, that while the song of the Nightingale is sensuous and the technique of the Lute master is sensuous, his music is not. Hence, a pattern emerges from the whole poem. Through the glorification of sense, "the composition of time and place" in The Spiritual Exercises, the Divine is given claritas and glorified. The Nightingale's song lifts her above herself in meditation, paralleling the third step of the Application of the Senses as sense transcends itself. The Application is to the music of the spheres what the minstrel's technique is to his music. Each woos the other, and in the ensuing struggle, music is conceived:

Trembling as when Apollo's golden haires
Are fan'd and frizled, in the wanton ayres
Of his own breath: which marryed to his lyre
Doth tune the Sphaeres, and make Heavens self looke higher
From this to that, from that to this he flyes
Feeles Musicks pulse in all her Arteryes,
Caught in a net which there Apollo spreads
His fingers struggle with the vocall threads,
Following those little rills, he sinkes into
A Sea of Helicon; his hand does goe
Those parts of sweetness which with Nectar drop.
Softer then that which parts in Hebe's cup.³¹⁴

In this final conception is a union of natural and supernatural music:

³¹⁴Ibid., pp. 121-122.

In musick's ravish't soule he dares not tell,
 But whisper to the world: thus do they vary
 Each string his Note, as if they meant to carry
 Their Masters blest soule (snatcht out out as his Eares
 By a strong Extasy) through all the sphaeres
 Of Musick's heaven³¹⁵

Out of this consort of natural and supernatural music is born pure Harmony, and out of this "so long, so lovd a strife / Of all the strings," of which the Nightingale is one, evolves the "sweet rise" and sweet fall of a "full-mouth Diapason," swallowing all. The last image of the fourth stanza is particularly powerful as it represents the simultaneous ascension and descension of modal themes from dominants in unison to the tonic in complete concord. As in the canzona, the two themes in strife are ultimately resolved in the diapason. Both are swallowed up in the chord of new sonorities. It is a chord in the key of the first melody in the canzona, and in this poem it is in the key first sounded by the Lute master. But the orchestration has changed. In this final diapason the song of nature has been swallowed, and the allegory is complete with the Nightingale's death. True to the flaming heart tradition, it is not a death of destruction and corruption, but one out of which new music is born. It

³¹⁵Ibid., p. 122.

is the death of love's consummation in "composition of place"
and the claritus of haecceitas through the harmonies of
quidditas.

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