*John Donne Journal*
Vol. 6, No. 1 (1987)

# *Phosphore Redde Diem*: Ancient Starlight in Quarles' *Emblemes* I.14

Dale B. J. Randall

Francis Quarles' "Wil't Nere Be Morning?" (*Emblemes* I.14) is arguably the most attractive poem in what has been called the most popular book of poetry in seventeenth-century England.[1] No one today is likely to place the poem high among literary achievements of its time, and yet it deserves to be ranked among the best of the literally countless examples of verses in its genre—the emblem poem. Moreover, since it provides a particularly good illustration of the convention that an emblem should have enough obscurity to pique the curiosity and challenge the intelligence of a reader, it surely has earned a few words of commentary. The following pages therefore attempt to trace the appeal of Quarles' "Wil't Nere Be Morning?" to its single most striking element, and then to trace that element itself to its ancient origins, in the hope that some of the traditions which resonate in Quarles' lines may, once we know about them, enhance the poem for us.

While Quarles' verses are sometimes pedestrian, they are nevertheless, as F. E. Hutchinson noted long ago, touched occasionally by "an unexpectedly musical quality" and "brightened by some daring epithet or felicitous turn of expression."[2] Furthermore, as Hutchinson remarks, one of the brightest and most musical touches of all is prominently displayed in a repeated formula in the fourteenth of the poems in Book I of his *Emblemes*: "Sweet *Phospher* bring the day." The poem opens thus:

> Wil't nere be morning? Will that promis'd light
> Nere breake, and cleare these Clouds of night?
> Sweet *Phospher* bring the day,
> Whose conqu'ring Ray
> May chase these fogges: Sweet *Phospher* bring the day.[3]

In fact, the prominence of the "Phospher" allusion is heightened because the engraver William Marshall presents "*Phosphere redde diem*" as the Latin *subscriptio* beneath the emblem's picture (Fig. 1).

*Typus Mundi*, which has long been recognized as the source for much of Quarles' Book I, did not furnish him with the idea of using Phosphorus.[4] Nor (and more strikingly) could Quarles have found any mention of Phosphorus in the verse of Spenser, Shakespeare, or Donne—or, for that matter, in the verse of Chaucer. Unlike many emblem allusions, Phosphorus in 1635 had a certain brightness and freshness.[5]

"Phospher," of course, is the morning star, and Quarles alludes to Christ. ("Let not the tender Eye checke," warns the poet in his preface, "to see the allusion to our blessed Saviour figured, in these Types.")[6] Although the so-called morning star is not really a star at all but the planet Venus, which in its orbital swing west of the sun appears before dawn and thus serves as the harbinger of a new day, it is, nevertheless, one of the brightest objects in the sky. Indeed, it is said to be so bright that it "maketh shadowe when the weather is faire and cleere," sometimes being seen well after sunrise.[7] Complicating its tradition considerably was the early discovery (credited to Pythagoras of Samos late in the sixth century B.C.) that depending on whether it was viewed at dawn or dusk, Venus was either the morning star (Phosphoros) or the evening star (Esperos, i.e., Hesperus). Even after the discovery, however, men found themselves able to conceive quite differently of what appeared to be two separate phenomena. The Greeks, claiming that the morning star was the offspring of Eos, goddess of dawn, and the titan Astraeus, gave it the name of Eosphoros or Phosphoros—that is, *φωσφορος*, the light-bringer. In time, understandably, this proved to be an epithet attractive for borrowing by Christians for their own "light of the world" (John 8:12).

If we set aside for a moment the name "Phosphoros" or "Phosphorus," of course we may find English writers before Quarles who refer to the morning star. Spenser's Gloriana herself appears "As bright as doth the morning starre" (*FQ* I.xii.21), and Shakespeare's Puck tells how ghosts "Troop home to churchyards" when "yonder shines Aurora's harbinger" (*MND* III.ii.380-82). In his *Second Anniversary* Donne tells how the flight to heaven of the "enfranchised" soul is unretarded by, among other cosmographical questions, the riddle of Venus, namely, "how she / Can, (being one star) Hesper, and Vesper be" (ll. 179, 197-98). And Milton, who reaches back for the Roman name of the star, writes in his poem "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" that the stars, amazed, "will not take their flight, / For all the morning light, / Or *Lucifer* that often warn'd them thence . . ." (ll. 72-74). The point, however, is not

that the English were totally unaware of the name "Phosphorus." In the closing moments of *Oberon*, in fact, Ben Jonson introduces the figure of Phosphorus himself to deliver the final spoken words of the masque—a very ingenious device for bringing a night's revels to an end: "To rest, to rest; the *Herald* of the day, / Bright PHOSPHORVS commands you hence" (ll. 434-35).

It should be noted also that any Englishman who was capable of reading Cesare Ripa (and Jonson, of course, again comes to mind) might have come upon the emblem of "Oriente," which depicts a "fanciullo di singolar bellezza," above whose head is a "bellissima stella," the morning star (Fig. 2).[8] More striking still is Ripa's emblem of "Crepusculo della Mattina," portrayed as a winged boy holding an inverted torch and scattering the dew of morning from an urn (Fig. 3).[9] Just above the boy's head is the morning star. Star and torch alike are intended to reinforce the idea that the morning twilight is the precursor of day, and the traditional quality of the symbolism here is suggested, by the fact that the torch bears a striking resemblance to the upward-turned and downward-turned torches in an ancient representation, now in the Louvre, of Hesperus (on the left) and Phosphorus (on the right), each of whom is depicted as a youth beneath a star (Fig. 4).[10] Also in Ripa is an emblem that depicts a beautiful, sumptuously clad woman with the star of Venus above her head: this figure—who in her right hand holds a scepter and in her left a cornucopia of fruit—is none other than "Italia" herself (p. 273).

If one considers that Ripa's *Nova Iconologia* contains an "Indice delle MEDAGLIE Antiche citate nell'opera" ($f2^{r\&v}$), some questions might well come to mind concerning the nature of Italy's past as glimpsed in her coins. At first it might seem coincidental, but investigation proves relevant the fact that (to cite just one example) a denarius of L. Lentulus from about 12 B.C. depicts Augustus placing a star above the head of Caesar much as the stars are depicted in Ripa above the heads of the three figures just mentioned (Fig. 5).[11] It turns out that a star on early coins could suggest the heavens or the planets or individual gods, and particularly Venus, whose brilliant orb had long attracted special attention.[12] Furthermore, a star had sometimes been used to indicate the divinity of a Hellenistic ruler. In Rome, then, Julius Caesar moved naturally and very cannily when he adopted as his own the star of Venus, his divine ancestress. Whatever ambiguity there may have been about Caesar's own divinity during his lifetime, furthermore, the comet which shone for seven nights at the time of his death (44 B.C.) was taken as confirmation that he had entered into heaven. His divinity was officially decreed (42 B.C.), and a star was one means of indicating the fact. In 23 B.C. or a little earlier Horace wrote of Caesar as "Iulium sidus" (*Carm.*

I.xii.47), and in later years Augustus and Nero were both depicted with stars above their heads, and Caligula and Claudius were referred to as stars.[13] The fact is, however, that the star reference in the Quarles emblem now under consideration derives from Martial, and in the original it alludes to the emperor Domitian.

In the eighth book of Martial's *Epigrams* the twenty-first poem begins "Phosphore, redde diem"—precisely the words of the emblem's *subscriptio*. Martial's entire poem grows out of this line and proves to be based on the conceit that Phosphorus is the absent emperor, presently (A.D. 92-93) away on his campaign against the Sarmatians in Dacia.[14] Most ancient examples of flattery of the powerful will come as no shock to readers familiar with seventeenth-century English epideictic writing, but Domitian attracted a particularly fulsome outpouring because he had gone so far as to establish a temple to the Flavian family and to make it known that he himself was to be addressed by the formula "dominus et deus noster."[15] That is, Domitian not only allowed but encouraged worship of himself, and time and again in Martial's verse we find the poet taking the stance of a worshipper.[16] It is only natural, then, that Martial would avail himself of the implications stored up in the image of the morning star. Statius, who wrote at the same time as Martial, exclaimed on the occasion of the emperor's seventeenth consulship in A.D. 95 that Domitian arose with the sun and the great constellations, shining more brightly than the morning star itself.[17]

Whatever the true characteristics of Domitian (historians tend to depict him as a reasonably good emperor who turned into something of a monster during his final years), the poets wrote that his coming marked the dawn of a new golden age. With Quarles' emblem in view, this is a point worth pondering. Some years after Caesar's death Vergil referred to the good effects of his star upon the fields and vineyards of the Roman farmers (*Ecl.* 9.47). Then in subsequent years it seems to have become easier to associate emperors, divinity, and the long-awaited start of a new *saeculum*. In any case, the accessions of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian were each, in turn, compared with the start of a fresh golden age. No earlier time, wrote Martial, had surpassed that of Domitian (V.19.1-2). In particular, Domitian was lauded as a peacemaker. In bringing the gift of peace to Rome, according the Martial, Domitian was like a new and greater Hercules (IX.101.21).

For Christians, of course, early or late, the idea of a peacemaker was very attractive, but the divinization of Domitian was to be deplored.[18] Hence we find John of Patmos decrying followers of the pagan imperial cult as marked by the beast, or anti-Christ (Rev. 13.16-17).[19] However far one may comfortably press this last point, it surely is true that, viewed

from most perspectives, Martial's Phosphorus and Quarles' are stunning antitypes.

Although it is clear that Quarles' controlling concept in *Emblemes* I.14 owes much to a poem by Martial about Domitian (because English students of Quarles' day studied Martial, this discovery is not surprising[20]), we should not overlook what he could have read about stars elsewhere. In particular, we ought not overlook the major source behind all his work—the Bible. Of the many scriptural references to stars, those of greatest interest here are Numbers 24:17, II Peter 1:19, and Revelation 2:28 and 22:16.[21] The first of these records Balaam's famed prophecy that "There shall come a starre out of Iacob, and a Scepter shall rise out of Israel," on the basis of which text one of the traditional, though lesser, titles of Christ came to be "star."[22] The first of the New Testament passages, that in II Peter, urges readers to be constant in their faith and to "take heede, as vnto a light that shineth in a darke place, vntill the day dawne, and the day starre [*φωσφορος*] arise in your hearts." A perplexing problem that is present both here and in Quarles' poem concerns the nature of the day that is to come. Since Peter is writing to those who are already Christians, he is not using "until the day dawn" to imply "until you are converted." What, then, does he mean? The commentary of Calvin, among others, is helpful in opening up some of the implications of both Peter and Quarles:

> . . . this passage must necessarily be applied to the faithful who have already taken service under Christ and have been given their share in the true light. Therefore I extend this darkness of which Peter speaks to cover the whole span of life, and I understand the day to dawn upon us when we see face to face what we now perceive through a glass darkly. Christ, the Sun of righteousness, does indeed shine forth in the Gospel, but in such a way that the darkness of death always partly possesses our minds until we are released from the work-house of the flesh (*e carnis ergastulo*) and carried off into heaven. The brightness of the day will be when no clouds or mists of ignorance veil the clear sight of the sun. Certainly we are as far from the full day as our faith is from perfection. It is therefore no wonder if the present state of our life is called darkness, since we are far distant from that knowledge to which the Gospel calls us.[23]

The two other scriptural passages are equally significant. In Revelation 2:28 the Holy Spirit is said to have promised the Christian believer, "I will giue him the morning starre"; and in Revelation 22:16, clearest of all, in the very last chapter of the Bible, we have Christ's statement, "I Iesus haue sent mine Angel, to testifie vnto you these things in the Churches. I am the roote and the offspring of Dauid, and the bright and morning starre." Here, certainly, are passages essential to an understanding of Quarles' emblem.

One ought to bear in mind these varied Hellenic, Roman, and Judaeo-Christian traditions associated with the morning star when one turns to view also the traditions concerning the star that shone at Christ's Nativity and the Epiphany.[24] In his Christmas sermon of 1622, for instance, Lancelot Andrewes had no hesitation about merging Balaam's star with the star that shone at Christ's birth: the wise men "knew, it was *Balaam's Starre*."[25] On the other hand, Andrewes writes also that there are really three stars to consider at the time of the Nativity: "1. The first, in the *firmament*: That appeared unto them, and in them, to us: (. . . *bringing salvation to all men*. . . .) 2. The second, heer on *earth*, is *Saint Peter's Lucifer in cordibus*. . . . 3. The third is CHRIST Himselfe (*Saint Iohn's starr,*) . . . *the bright morning starr*, CHRIST" (p. 140). Such a multi-faceted treatment of stars is, of course, not original with Andrewes. A particularly rich blend of traditions is discernible, for instance, in a certain sixth-century Palestinian ampulla which depicts the infant Jesus seated in the lap of the Virgin, with magi and shepherds on either side (Fig. 8).[26] Above the Virgin's head, where one might expect a dove amid rays of light, there is, instead, a large star. It is, of course, the star that guided the shepherds and magi to the manger, but it is also a general symbol of the presence of divinity. Furthermore, because it is placed between torches held by figures which have been identified by Grabar as personifications of the sun and the moon, both of whom look away, dazzled, the star may well be a representation of Phosphorus, the morning star.[27] Such a reading is reinforced by the presence at the Virgin's side of Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, known for his declaration that "the day-spring from on high hath visited vs, To giue light to them that sit in darknes, and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace" (Luke 1:78-79). Thus we appear to have here not only an early pictorial representation of the Christianized Phosphorus, but also a reminder of yet another apposite scriptural passage.

No one can assert which or how many traditions or passages, pagan or Christian, Quarles had in mind when working on Emblem I.14. He was obviously struck, however, by the possibilities inherent in juxtaposing a direct quotation from Martial with Christian ideas called up by the name

"Phosphorus," and he clearly hoped to make the juxtaposition emphatic: by placing at the head of his poem a motto slightly modified from Psalm 13:3 ("*Lighten mine eyes, O Lord, lest I sleepe the sleepe of death*"); by placing immediately after the poem two *sententiae*, one from Augustine ("*God is all to thee; . . . If in darknesse, hee is light . . .*") and another from Alanus ("*God is a light that is never darkned . . .*"[28]); and by including a four-line epigram on light and dark.

Quarles also elected to add one small but important component to the line he borrowed from Martial. In each of his five stanzas, Quarles twice inserts an epithet for "Phospher" which simultaneously qualifies Martial's tone and serves to produce a choric line of regular iambic trimeter. Anyone tempted to dismiss the coupling of the epithet "sweet" with "Phospher," either as an easy means to metrical regularity or as a sentimental gesture, should be reminded that it is suggestive of Christ's great love and sacrifice. Quarles' use of the word "sweet" is justified by traditions both ancient and widespread.[29] Indeed, Quarles' own last words are reported to have begun, "*O dulcis Salvator mundi, sint tua ultima verba in Cruce, mea ultima verba in luce: In manus tuas Domine. . . .*"[30]

Since a major point of Quarles' emblem is that "Sweet *Phospher*" has yet to appear, all five stanzas of his poem are concerned in one way or another with aspects of the still-present darkness—that is, with "fogges," "shades," and "Mists" (ll. 5, 7, 16), all of which hinder clear vision. The paradoxical use of such elements here is more than a little striking, since the primary purpose of emblems, after all, is to help us see. At the same time that this emblem takes care to suggest hindrances to seeing, moreover, its first and second stanzas ask, in effect, how long it will be before dawn. The third expresses the wish that those who like night may have it, whether to hide their sins or "take a Nappe / . . . in Ignorances lappe" (ll. 21-22). And the fourth concedes that even at present some light is available, though it is a "dull," "dangerous," "dying sparke" (ll. 32, 30), depicted in the emblem's picture as a candle and referred to in the emblem's poem as a "poore morall blaze . . . / . . . whose flames are darke" (ll. 30-31). All the light we have from morality without divinity, the poem seems to say, is "As melancholly as the night" (l. 33).[31] In subsequent editions, however, the word "morall" is modified to a more readily explicable "mortall," and one thinks at once of man's handicap when his vision is limited to worldly things.[32] Because burning candles were sometimes used to signify nocturnal scholarship, both the drawing and the verse of this emblem may incline one to think in particular of the limited nature of the worldly learning that man may hope to achieve.[33] In the *Hieroglyphikes*, furthermore, published three years after his

*Emblemes*, Quarles' major theme is the similarity of mortal life itself to a burning candle. In whatever way the passage is approached, however (perhaps preferably from various directions), the poem says that man will continue to subsist only with a limited, "darke" kind of light until the light of Christ dawns for him.

Then in the fifth and final stanza "Ignorance" is addressed directly, and its threat is somehow strengthened by its development now into a personification:

> Blow Ignorance, O thou, whose idle knee
> Rocks earth into a Lethargie,
> And with thy sooty fingers hast bedight
> The worlds faire cheekes, blow, blow thy spite;
> Since thou hast pufft our greater Tapour doe
> Puffe on, and out the lesser too. . . . (ll. 39-44)

Since Christ is a taper that Ignorance first tried to extinguish long ago, Ignorance now might as well puff out whatever other flame remains for man. The command "Blow Ignorance" is certainly toughened by irony, but soon it is followed and qualified by the epigram, which brings the entire emblem to a close with a still more strikingly ironic touch:

> My Soule, if Ignorance puffe out this light
> Shee'll do a favour that entends a spight:
> 'Tseemes darke abroad; But take this light away,
> Thy windowes will discover *breake a day*.

That is, the dull, mortal flame of both the picture and the poem must be altogether extinguished, bringing on still greater darkness and presumably obligating everything that has been seen here thus far, in order that we may begin to glimpse the first gleame of a better light to come.

There is something very interesting going on here. The present "horrid" (l. 16) and "melancholly" (l. 33) darkness, which is relatively lighter than the dark that may shortly ensue, is conveyed by the emblem both verbally and visually, but the star that is contrasted to this dark in every stanza throughout the poem is not and cannot be depicted in the picture. In fact, one of the star's most important characteristics—and this in a picture book—is its present invisibility. Marshall's engraving depicts the yearning, afflicted soul sitting against the backdrop of a mainly darkened world, beneath a night-time sky dotted randomly with inconspicuous white spots suggestive of stars. But *the* star, necessarily, is not to be seen. Whereas Martial and Quarles are alike insofar as both

create unfulfilled, expectant worlds of nocturnal darkness in their poems, Martial's proves to be far less threatening, far more ceremonial and assured, perhaps in part because Martial could be sure that many Romans had previously seen the imperial star with their own eyes, or at least carried coins on which sidereal signs of deity were explicit. Quarles' emblem, on the other hand, urgent and anxious, would have a reader know that the coming of the "promis'd" (l. 1) but not-yet-present star is a matter of life and death.

Anyone concerned with English emblem books is indebted to Rosemary Freeman, and yet it seems fair to point out that the present emblem is too complex to fit her generalization that "In Quarles's *Emblemes* the poetry simply deduces ideas from a given image; it consequently requires the presence of an actual picture for the verse to analyse in detail and build its argument upon."[34] Something much more subtle than this is going on in Quarles' *Emblemes* I.14. As Ernest Gilman writes, "The interest of Quarles' *Emblemes* . . . lies, at crucial moments, precisely in . . . their failure to accommodate the illustrations to the texts."[35] Despite the dominance of Phosphorus in the verse here, no brilliant star is depicted by Marshall because Phosphorus has not yet appeared. In Quarles' verse, then, we discover in what way Marshall's picture is anticipatory, and even that the poem itself is a sort of dark rumble of announcing drums, both a forerunner and a foil to the ineffable new picture that will come at "*breake a day.*" If one hesitates to call the images that *do* appear here—verbal and pictorial alike—self-consuming, it is not merely because one may return to them again and again or because they are so insistently and universally durable, but also because the poem itself suggests that a continuing awareness of the nature of the meager light which illumines this world is necessary for anyone who aspires to enjoy the brilliance of the light that is to come.[36]

In Quarles' *Emblemes* I.14, in short, we may say that the poet has achieved more than, quite literally, first meets the eye. In order to write about one of the brightest sources of light in the sky, he has borrowed both the Roman lens of Martial and the Christian lens of Scripture, each of which brings its own complex aura of associations, and with these potent devices from the past he reminds his readers of their own brightest hopes for the future while at the same time crying out against that darkness in which the human race at all times has lived.

*Duke University*

## Notes

[1] Scholars have long recognized the unusual contemporary popularity of Quarles. See, e.g., Felix E. Schelling, *Shakespeare and "Demi-Science"* (Philadelphia, 1927), p. 145; and G. Richard Dimler, "The Jesuit Emblem Book in 17th Century Protestant England," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 53 (1984), 359. Karl Josef Höltgen, in *Francis Quarles 1592-1644: Meditativer Dichter, Emblematiker, Royalist* . . . (Tübingen, 1978), observes: "Mit Quarles' *Emblemes* nimmt ein neuartiges und epochemachendes Werk seinen Platz in der Geschichte der englischen Literatur ein: das einzige wirklich erfolgreiche englische Emblembuch, zugleich der wohl beliebteste Gedichtband des 17. Jahrhunderts und die Editio princeps von vierzig oder fünfzig weiteren Ausgaben bis zum Ende des neunzehnten" (p. 196).

[2] *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, ed. A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (New York, 1932 printing), VII, 54.

[3] *Emblemes*, STC 20540 ("Printed by G. M. and sold at Iohn Mar[riot's] shope in St. Dunstans Church yard fleet [street], 1635"), p. 57; the verbal text (pp. 57-59) is preceded by its accompanying picture (p. 56). Fig. 1 and all quotations here from the text of the emblem are from the copy in the Rare Book Room of Perkins Library, Duke University.

[4] Published by the Jesuits in Antwerp, *Typus Mundi* probably appeared first in 1627. Gordon Haight notes, however, that the picture for *Emblemes* I.14 is one of ten for which no original has been traced. Observing that I.14 has an "anomalous" subject, Haight reports that Professor Spamer has searched for its source without success in Dresden and Berlin. Haight also passes on a suggestion Mario Praz once made to him, viz., "that a few elements . . . seem to have been borrowed from *Amoris Divini et Humani Antipathia* or *Flammulae Amoris S. P. Augustini*" ("The Sources of Quarles's *Emblems*," *The Library* 16, 4th ser. [June, 1935], 191). Having pursued Praz's hints as well as possible, I can suggest only that perhaps he noticed in the former an emblem depicting God as the North Star (Michel van Lochom, *Amoris Divini et Humani Antipathia* [Antwerp, 1636; earlier editions in 1626 and 1629], p. 158). Also worth noting is that in composing Books II-V Quarles leaned heavily upon Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria* (Antwerp, 1624), in which No. 1, with a motto from Isaiah 26:9 ("*Anima mea desiderauit te in nocte*"), depicts a soul in "*terribilis nox*," imploring help from a winged figure carrying a bright lantern. In No. 36 a soul is pictured sitting on a globe (both figure and globe being somewhat similar to those in Quarles' I.14), with the motto "*Quid enim mihi est in caelo, et a te quid volui super terram*?" (Psalm 73:25).

[5] It does not occur in Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1967).

[6] *Emblemes*, A3$^{r}$. While the morning star is a specific emblem of Christ, it could also be used in other ways. For example, Thomas Adams writes, "*Iohn Baptist* was that *Phosphorus*, or Morning starre, to signifie the Sunnes approching" (*The Workes of Tho: Adams* [1630], p. 1209).

[7] *Batman vppon Bartholome, His Booke de Proprietatibus Rerum* (London, 1582), Ziiii$^{v}$.

[8] *Nova Iconologia di Cesare Ripa Perugino* (Padua, 1618), pp. 637-38. Reproduced here from the copy in the Rare Book Room, Perkins Library, Duke University.

[9] Ripa, p. 113; also from the Perkins copy. A different but similar picture appears in the first illustrated edition (Rome, 1603), p. 96. The bird is a swallow which begins "à cantare auanti giorno nel crepusculo" (p. 114). All things considered, the various symbols here bear a striking resemblance to those of the funerary Eros described by Edgar Wind in a passage on inverted torches (*Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* [London, rev. ed., 1968], p. 160). See also Franz Cumont, *Lux Perpetua* (Paris, 1949), p. 296.

[10] The picture is reproduced here through the courtesy of Editions E. de Boccard, from Fernand Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une Déesse* (Paris, 1935), p. 277. Hesperus and Phosphorus are shown on either side of the moon goddess Selene, who in turn is placed above a head suggestive of the ocean. Noted in Etienne Michon, *Musée National du Louvre: . . . Catalogue Sommaire des Marbres Antiques* (Paris, 1922), p. 29.

[11] From Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971), plate 10, no. 8; discussed on p. 102. Figs. 5, 6, and 7 of the present essay are reproduced through the courtesy of Oxford University Press.

[12] Weinstock, pp. 376, 378. Weinstock writes: "There was an old oriental belief in the divinity of the stars, which was adopted by, among others, the Pythagoreans and inspired them to create the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and its descent from, and ascent to, the stars at the times of birth and death respectively. The frequent metaphor that a distinguished man was a brilliant star ultimately rested on such beliefs. The astronomers went even further in giving individuality to the stars. They first subjected the planets to the control of the principal gods and later identified them: the 'stella Veneris,' for instance, became Venus" (pp. 371-72).

[13] Fig. 6 depicts a coin issued under Tiberius in A.D. 14-15 and shows a star over Augustus' head (reproduced here from Weinstock, plate 28, no. 11). Fig. 7 shows Augustus ca. A.D. 15-16 with a star and the legend "Divus Augustus pater" (Weinstock, plate 29, no. 1). Also see Weinstock, pp. 378, 381, 384; and Martin Percival Charlesworth, "Some Observations on Ruler-cult Especially in Rome," *Harvard Theological Review* 28 (1935), 5-44. As Elias Bickermann writes, "Der Kaiserkult war die Religion der politischen Übermacht" ("Die römische Kaiserapotheose," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 27 [1929], 28).

[14] The original reads:

> Phosphore, redde diem: quid gaudia nostra moraris?
> Caesare venturo, Phosphore, redde diem.
> Roma rogat. placidi numquid te pigra Bootae
> plaustra vehunt, lento quod nimis axe venis?
> Ledaeo poteras abducere Cyllaron astro:
> ipse suo cedet nunc tibi Castor equo.
> quid cupidum Titana tenes? iam Xanthus et Aethon
> frena volunt, vigilat Memnonis alma parens.
> tarda tamen nitidae non cedunt sidera luci,
> et cupit Ausonium luna videre ducem.
> iam, Caesar, vel nocte veni: stent astra licebit,
> non derit populo te veniente dies.

This may be translated:

> Phosphor, bring us back day; why puttest thou off our joys? Now Caesar comes, Phosphor, bring us back day, Rome begs thee. Doth the sluggish wain of slow-twisting Bootes bear thee, that thou comest with too slow an axle? Thou mightest have withdrawn Cyllarus from Leda's constellation; freely will Castor now yield his steed to thee. Why stayest thou eager Titan? Already Xanthus and Aethon look for the reins; Memnon's kindly Mother wakes. Yet the slow stars yield not to glowing light, and the moon longs to see Ausonia's Chief. Now, Caesar, come thou, even by night; let the stars stand still; the people, when thou comest, shall not want for day.

(*Epigrams*, ed. and trans. Walter C. A. Ker, II [rev. ed., London, 1968], 16-17.) Martial also beseeches the emperor to return in *Ep.* VII.5.1-6. The relation between *Ep.* VIII.21 and *Emblemes* I.14 is noted by Höltgen (p. 334), but not discussed.

[15] See Louis Matthews Sweet, *Roman Emperor Worship* (Boston, 1919), pp. 77-78; Charlesworth, pp. 34-35; Kenneth Scott, *The Imperial Cult under the Flavians* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1936); Kenneth D. Matthews, Jr., "Domitian, the Lost Divinity," *Expedition* 8, no. 2 (1966), 30-36; and Leslaw Morawiecki, "The Symbolism of Minerva on the Coins of Domitianus," *Klio* 59 (1977), 190.

[16] Franz Joseph Dölger has analyzed Martial's many references to Domitian as divine ("Die Kaiservergötterung bei Martial und 'Die heiligen Fische Domitians,'" *Antike und Christentum* Vol. I, pt. 1 [Munster, 1929], pp. 163-73. See also Franz Sauter, *Der Romische Kaiserkult bei Martial und Statius* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1934), esp. "Der Kaiser als Sidus," pp. 137-53; and Hanna Szelest, "Domitian und Martial," *Eos* 62 (1974), 105-14. In a recent collection of essays on *Le Culte des Souverains dans l'Empire Romain* (Geneva, 1973), edited by Willem den Boer for the Fondation Hardt pour l'Etude de l'Antiquit Classique, one finds a warning that the rhetoric of poets is by itself insufficient evidence of cult (Bickermann, p. 3) and also the counterbalancing reminder that "Domitian is positively attested as applying the word *deus* to himself" (Fergus Millar, p. 157).

[17] *Silvae*, IV.i, 1-4. Numerous other passages with astral imagery are cited by Scott (pp. 113-14).

[18] Besides noting that the concept of the ruler "as founder of a golden age had long been associated with the ruler cult," Scott observes that "peacemaker" had been "a characteristic title of the savior in Egyptian and Jewish prophecy" (pp. 96, 94).

[19] If one accepts the view of most modern authorities, that John wrote during the reign of Domitian, the passage may imply that just as Christians are by some means, probably figuratively, "marked" as followers of Christ, so the pagan followers of Domitian are "marked" with the sign of the beast Domitian, whose imperial stamp is required for official documents and whose image they carry about on their coins for buying and selling.

[20] T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana, IL, 1944); and T. K. Whipple, *Martial and the English Epigram from Sir Thomas Wyatt to Ben Jonson*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol. 10, no. 4 (1925), pp. 279-414.

[21] A reference in Isaiah 14:12 is something of a red herring but should be noted. It is a denunciation by the prophet—"How art thou fallen from heauen, O Lucifer, sonne of the

morning?"—which came to be misapplied by some of the Fathers to Satan's fall (Luke 10:18), for which reason the arch-devil was sometimes called Lucifer. Isaiah, however, was merely employing a metaphor to cry down the splendor of the king of the Babylonians.

[22] See Jean Daniélou, *Primitive Christian Symbols*, trans. Donald Attwater (Baltimore, 1964), esp. "The Star of Jacob," pp. 102-23.

[23] Quoted from *Calvin's Commentaries: The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews and The First and Second Epistles of St. Peter*, trans. William B. Johnston, ed. David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 341. The point is not, of course, that Quarles was a Calvinist or even a reader of Calvin—though it might be noted that the Anglican church of his day was strongly influenced by Calvinism. Other men have had other views of the passage. According to *The International Critical Commentary*, "Some commentators, taking vers. 5-8 as the key, think that the apostle is speaking of the day when faith is made perfect in love. But it is more probable that the day of the Parousia is meant" (Charles Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude* [2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1910], XVII, 269).

[24] See J. Noiville, "Le Culte de l'Etoile du Matin Chez les Arabes Preislamiques et la Fête de l'Epiphanie," *Hespéris* 8 (1928), 363-84.

[25] Andrewes, *XCVI. Sermons* (London, 1629), p. 144. For a discussion of Milton's treatment of the star in his Nativity ode, see Jonathan Goldberg, "Hesper-Vesper: Aspects of Venus in a Seventeenth-Century Trope," *SEL* 15 (1975), 37-55.

[26] Reproduced here from Andre Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, Bollingen Series 35 (Princeton, 1968), plate no. 320. The ampulla is now in the Treasury of the Collegiale, Monza, Italy.

[27] In fairness to Grabar I should note that this perception is mine, not his. According to a different interpretation, the "sun" and "moon" figures here are merely angels (Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. Janet Seligman, I [London, 1971], 104).

[28] Although it is probable that Quarles found his *sententiae* in some florilegium such as the *Flores Doctorum* of Thomas Hibernicus (Haight, pp. 206-07), the first passage may be traced to Augustine's thirteenth lecture on St. John, and the second to Alanus' *Liber de Planctu Naturae (Lectures or Tractates on the Gospel According to St. John*, trans. John Gibb [Edinburgh, 1873], I, 185; and Alanus de Insulis, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, 2nd series, ed. Jacques Paul Migne, CCX [Paris, 1855], 451-52).

[29] Consider, e.g., the Song of Solomon, 5:16: "His mouth is most sweete, yea he is altogether louely," or II Cor. 2:14-15 and Eph. 5:2.

[30] *The Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Francis Quarles*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, I (Edinburgh, 1880), xlv, xxiii.

[31] Augustine may be helpful at this point: "We must fear the darkness,—not the darkness of the eyes, but that of the moral character; and even if it be the darkness of the eyes, it is not of the outer, but of the inner eyes, of those by which we discern, not between white and black, but between right and wrong" ("Tractate XXXV," I, 451; the passage alludes to John 8:12).

[32] "Mortall" accords better with both Quarles' own idea here of "dying sparke" and with interpretations such as Calvin's of the passage in II Peter. Consider also Augustine: "What means 'in the morning'? When the night of this world is over, when the terrors of temptations are over, when that lion which goeth about roaring in the night, seeking whom it may devour, is vanquished. . . . Now what do we think, brethren, to be our duty for the present time, but what is again said in the psalm, 'Every night through will I wash my couch; I will moisten my bed with my tears'? [Psalm 6:6]" ("Tract XXXIV," I, 446; in a discussion of John 8:12). In his Christmas sermon of 1621, John Donne takes a similar stance: "Every man is so far from beeing *tota lux*, all light, as that he hath still *within him*, a darke vapor of *originall sinne*, and the cloud of *humane flesh without him*"; and "to become *vera lux, tota lux*, true light, thorough light, requires *perseverance* to the end. So that till our naturall light goe out, wee cannot say that wee have this light . . ." (*Fifty Sermons, Preached by . . . John Donne* [London, 1649], pp. 323, 324).

[33] See Robert J. Clements, *Picta Poesis* (Rome, 1960), p. 94. In the discussion of II Peter 1:19 cited here previously, Calvin writes that "Peter condemns all human wisdom so that we may learn humbly to seek the true rule of understanding elsewhere than in our own power of perception, for apart from the Word nothing is left for men but darkness" (p. 342).

[34] *English Emblem Books* (London, 1948), pp. 154-55.

[35] "Word and Image in Quarles' *Emblemes*," *Critical Inquiry* 6 (1980), 386.

[36] Since emblem-book writers borrowed from one another freely, it is best to speak of similarities, not sources, but in such terms it may be helpful here to note Robert Farley's *Lychnocausia sive Moralia Facum Emblemata*, which appeared in London three years after Quarles' *Emblemes* and took for its seventeenth emblem the motto "*Phosphore redde diem*." The picture shows a guttering

candle in a holder and, in the background, a star, and it has for *subscriptio* "O Morning Starre shew forth day." The speaker of the verse is the dying candle, representative of the "holy servants" commanded by Christ "Conspicuous to the world, like lights, to stand . . ." ($D2^{r}$).

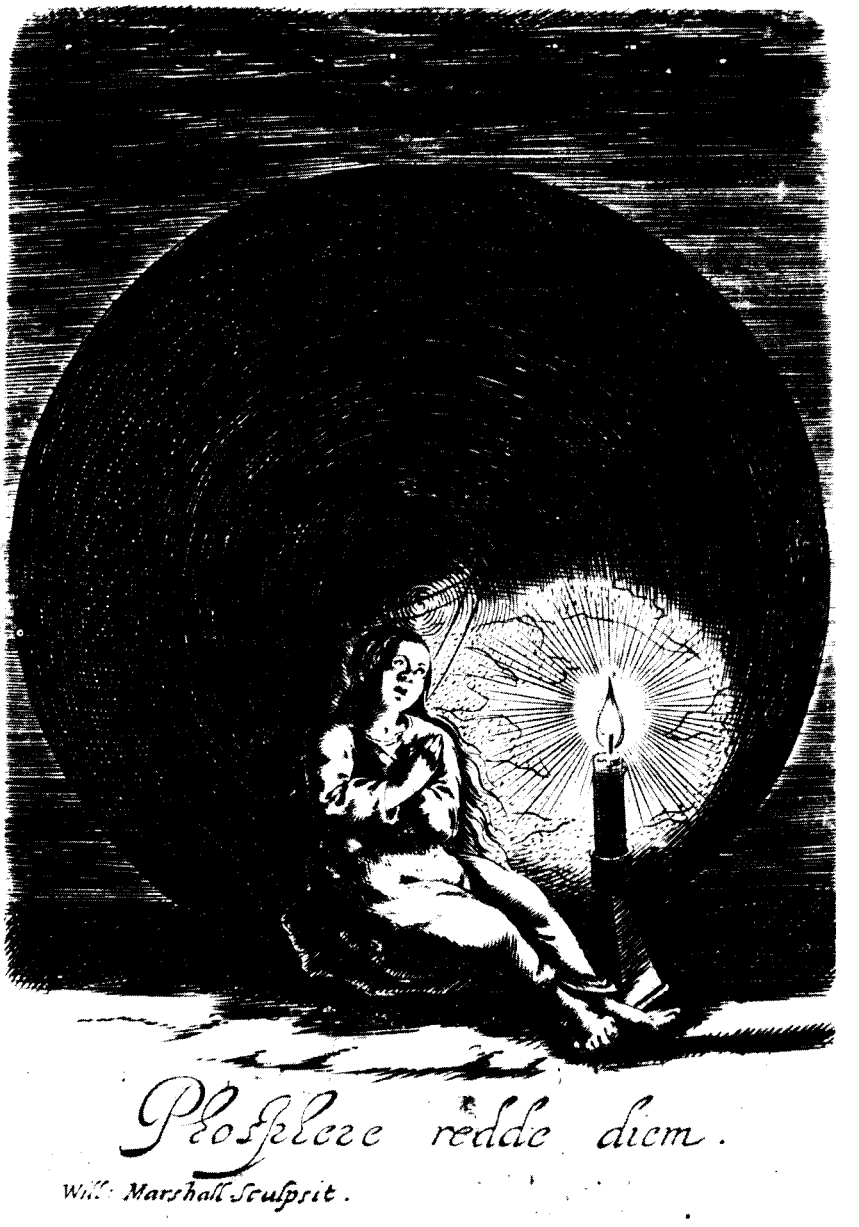


Figure 1


Figure 2


Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8