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"A Tomb your Muse must to his Fame supply": Elegizing Donne in Manuscript and Print

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"POEMS, *By* J. D. WITH ELEGIES ON THE AUTHORS DEATH": so reads the title page of nearly every early edition of John Donne's collected poetry. Long ignored, and jettisoned by most modern editions, the poems that make up the longer part of this title are now increasingly read within a lively outburst of scholarship interested in seventeenth-century reading practices, the development of the single-author book of poetry, and Donne's early reputation and reception.[1] The "Elegies'" conspicuous

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[1]The title was replicated in all seventeenth-century editions except that of 1669, which includes Donne's full name. The slightly altered title of Jacob Tonson's 1719 edition of Donne's *Poems on Several Occasions.* [. . .] *With elegies on the Author's Death* is the last to retain a clear outward reference to the elegies, which are referred to in a variety of ways by scholars. Following Herbert Grierson, and the majority, I will call them "Elegies upon the Author" or simply "Elegies." Unless otherwise stated, my quotations also refer to Grierson's 1912 edition of *The Poems of John Donne*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press), in which the "Elegies" are included, 1:371–95. Wesley Milgate's edition of Donne's *Epithalamions, Anniversaries and Epicedes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) includes them (pp. 81–107) for what "might interest students,

inclusion in *Poems*, in typography that "competes" with its enigmatic single author and title, is recognised as just one aspect of many by which *Poems* was in 1633 fashioned as a memorial companion volume to the quarto edition of Donne's final sermon, *Deaths Duell*, printed the previous year.[2] The book's front matter describes it both as "A scatter'd limbe" for "the eye of a discerner," and as "winding sheets" in which Donne is yet "living," adopting and adapting commonplace notions of "reliquary embodiment" within the materiality of textual forms.[3] Moreover, that its first and second (1635) editions adopt remarkably different yet highly sophisticated editorial, rhetorical and emblematic strategies in order to re/shape and re/package this corpus, and to make explicit and implicit claims upon Donne's biography, has captured a good deal of recent attention.[4]

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not of the writers of the elegies, but of Donne himself," p. lxiv. The most recent edition to include the "Elegies" is Ilona Bell's 2012 edition of Donne's *Collected Poetry* (London: Penguin Classics), pp. 322–46.

[2]Ramie Targoff, "Poets in Print: The Case of Herbert's *Temple*," *Word & Image* 17 (2001): 140–52 (p. 140). On the title pages specifically, see Stephen B. Dobranski, *Readers and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) p. 124; Sidney Gottlieb, "*Elegies Upon the Author:* Defining, Defending, and Surviving Donne," *John Donne Journal* 2 (1983): 22–38 (p. 23). For a more general response to Donne, print, and his seventeenth-century reception, see Katherine Rundell, "'And I am re-begot': The textual afterlives of John Donne" (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2016). *Deaths Duell*, subtitled "The Doctors owne funeral sermon," was printed in 1632 by Thomas Harper for Richard Redmer and Benjamin Fisher.

[3]Leah Marcus considers such instances of "authorial presence" in *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (London: Routledge, 1996), particularly pp. 194–95.

[4]McCarthy has explored the influential biographical construction of 1635 in "*Poems, by J. D.* (1635) and the Creation of John Donne's Literary Biography," *John Donne Journal* 32 (2013): 57–85. For more on biography in the 1635 edition, see Catherine J. Creswell, "Giving a Face to an Author: Reading Donne's Portraits and the 1635 Edition," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 37 (1995): 1–15 (p. 12); and Kevin Pask, *The emergence of the English author: Scripting the life of the poet in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Yet the story behind these editions remains opaque. What attempts have been made to reconstruct it have tended to consider their inclusion of "Elegies" as incidental to the broader commemorative and biographical inflections so evident in them, despite a general consensus that the "Elegies" are marshalled around points of contention very similar to those articulated within those bibliographical features: namely, the degree to which the idiosyncratic and often profane manuscript poet Donne could be reconciled (or otherwise) with the Dean of later years, and whether or not he provided a poetic model that it was possible or decorous to imitate.[5] This essay begins by suggesting that *Poems*, *By J. D.* was in fact highly unusual in its inclusion of these tributes, and that it—and they—contributed significantly towards a seventeenth-century vogue for elegiac posthumous publication in later decades. Seeking a rationale for this, the essay surveys key literary and intellectual contexts for the "Elegies" afresh and with reference to hitherto unstudied analogues and manuscript witnesses for them. To date, these poems have not been considered in manuscript; in doing so, the essay corroborates an observation first made by the late Robert Thomas Fallon, that they come out of a lively poetic manuscript culture associated particularly with the University of Oxford and its satellite academic circles, within which their strongly intertextual arguments are most fruitfully read.[6] Finally, it presents new and unexplored materials—including other elegies on Donne—that show how widely and playfully, even facetiously, the terms and dynamics established in the printed "Elegies" were interpreted and developed by other elegists, readers and manuscript compilers interested in Donne.

The key unanswered question about *Poems*, *By J. D.* concerns editorship, and it will be useful to offer an initial sketch of what is known about this before returning to the "Elegies" themselves. Though Izaak Walton exerts a clear influence on the 1635 edition, arguing in his new prefatory poem "This was for youth" for the lasting

[5]McCarthy is a notable exception with respect to the second edition, arguing that the "Elegies" seem to have been a catalyst for its major revisions to the first.

[6]Robert Thomas Fallon, "Donne's 'Strange Fire' and the 'Elegies on the Authors Death,'" *John Donne Journal* 7 (1988): 197–212.

hagiographical portrait of Donne that would feature again in his *Life*, no one has yet been identified as the principal shaper of the 1633 *Poems*, despite relatively broad recognition that that edition's text was carefully constructed, probably by a poet.[7] Walton's ostensible discomfort with the first edition's juxtapositions of secular and sacred verse—grouped generically and biographically in 1635 so as to imaginatively distance Dean Donne from his younger self—suggests that he was probably a more peripheral figure in its construction. That said, as a member of Donne's St Dunstan's-in-the-West congregation, Walton could have been close to fellow elegist Henry Valentine, Donne's parish lecturer there, whose early sermons had already been published by Thomas Marriot and sold at his St Dunstan's churchyard bookstall.[8] Henry King, one of Donne's executors and the first of his elegists in both *Poems* and *Deaths Duell* (where he was joined only by Edward Hyde), has long been thought a plausible candidate.[9] A third possibility is John Donne Jr., who would later publish a number of his father's works with the Marriots, having perhaps obtained copies from King against his wishes—though this probably occurred at a later

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[7]See Gary Stringer, "Editing Donne's Poetry: From John Marriot to the Donne *Variorum*," in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne,* ed. Dennis Flynn, M. Thomas Hester and Jeanne Shami (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 43–55 (pp. 43, 52). Walton's *Life and Death of Dr Donne, Late Deane of St Pauls London* was first printed for Richard Royston and Richard Marriot by Miles Flesher in *LXXX Sermons* (1640), sigs. A4v–C1v.

[8]Jonquil Bevan, "Henry Valentine, John Donne and Izaak Walton," *Review of English Studies* 40 (1989): 179–201 (p. 187).

[9]David Novarr explores each possibility in *The Making of Walton's* Lives (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958), pp. 31–33. He notes that King's elegy is "one of the few that do not differentiate between the secular and the religious poetry." King's two best-known modern editors disagree over whether he edited Donne's poems. Margaret Crum plays down the possibility, given a lack of evidence and King's apparent reticence about the later publication of his own poems; Mary Hobbs follows Grierson's lead and cites the "idiosyncratic rhetorical punctuation" of 1633 in support. See *The Poems of Henry King*, ed. Margaret Crum (Oxford: Clarenden Press, 1965), pp. 14–15; Mary Hobbs, "King, Henry (1592–1669)," *ODNB*. On the appointment of King and Thomas Mountfort as Donne's executors, see R. C. Bald, *John Donne, A Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 391–92.

date.[10] Herbert Grierson's suggestion that King, as one of Donne's executors, would have been "responsible for or at any rate permitted" the issue of *Deaths Duell* and the elegies included in it seems a relatively secure basis from which to speculate that King was at least passively involved early on.[11] *Deaths Duell*'s gaunt frontispiece engraving of Donne, by Martin Droeshout, was probably drawn from the same sketch used as a basis for Donne's marble monument, which King and Thomas Mountfort commissioned Nicholas Stone to make.[12]

How unusual were the "Elegies upon the Author," and what more can they reveal about the 1633 edition? Though a rich store of classical precedents existed for the praising of the dead in verse, the practice of printing substantial "critical elegy" anthologies on poets, or posthumous single-author editions of poetry containing them, was in 1633 both unusual and, where it had previously occurred, explicable. That it was to become far more common over subsequent decades for such verses to be included in posthumous publications without explanation points to the extent and nature of the influence of *Poems, By J. D.*[13] The many volumes printed in commemoration of Sir Philip

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[10]King wrote to Walton explaining that Donne's papers had "got out of my hands" and were "lost both to me and your self." See Bald, pp. 532–33. Donne Jr. is known to have petitioned Archbishop Laud for the copyright of Donne's poems in December 1637, though this might not have been a straightforward gesture. See Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr John Donne, Dean of Saint Paul's*, 3rd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), p. 73. On Donne Jr.'s literary activities in the 1630s and later, see Daniel Starza Smith, "Busy Young Fool, Unruly Son? New Light on John Donne Junior," *Review of English Studies* 62 (2010): 538–61 (pp. 539–43).

[11]Grierson, *Poems*, II, p. 255.

[12]Stone's extant records attest to this. See Richard S. Peterson, "New Evidence on Donne's Monument: I," *John Donne Journal* 20 (2001): 1–51 (p. 2). For more on Donne's monument, see Helen Gardner, "Dean Donne's Monument in St Paul's," in *Evidence in Literary Scholarship: Essays in Memory of James Marshall Osborn*, ed. R. Wellek and A. Riberio (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 29–44.

[13]Based on a chronological search of single-author volumes of poetry listed in the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) between 1550 and 1700. See also Avon Jack Murphy's "Selective, Annotated Checklist of Critical Elegies Written in England Between 1600 and 1670" in "The Critical Elegy of Earlier Seventeenth-Century England," *Genre* 5 (1972): 75–105 (pp. 97–105). In the

Sidney in the 1590s bear little resemblance to the "Elegies" for Donne, responding primarily to Sidney's status as a Protestant military champion and the extraordinary state-sponsored extravagance of his funeral.[14] Sir Thomas Overbury's *The Wife*, to which elegies on Overbury were added in later editions, is a far closer precedent to *Poems*, *by J. D.*, given especially that this inclusion is advertised on their title pages; yet, again, it is Overbury's death as a sensationalised public event that provides a clear rationale for it.[15] Of course, Donne's death was also a subject of keen public interest—deliberately cultivated in *Deaths Duell*—but though many of the "Elegies" concern themselves overtly with Donne's later life, they are titled "Elegies on the Author's Death," not the Dean's.

After Donne's poems were published, posthumous editions of poetry and plays began increasingly to include sizeable collections of critical elegies as a matter of course. As Andrea Brady notes, the two most substantial were the 1647 folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, containing 39 commendatory and elegiac poems; and William Cartwright's *Comedies and Tragi-Comedies* (1651), which contains 55 over 107 pages.[16] The preface to the latter namechecks Donne ("the highest Poet our language can boast of"), and defends its posthumous portrayal of the author with direct reference to Donne's life and career.[17] Most strikingly, it argues that Cartwright wrote some poems

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preceding essay Murphy discusses his coinage of the term "critical elegy," along with some structural and thematic characteristics of the subgenre.

[14]On Sidney's funeral and the many elegies written for him, see Dennis Kay, *Melodious Tears: The English Funeral Elegy from Spenser to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 67–78.

[15]The seventh edition, published in 1616, presents the expanded title: *Sir Thomas Ouerburie his wife, with new elegies vpon his (now knowne) vntimely death. Whereunto are annexed, new newes and characters, written by himselfe and other learned gentlemen.* The subtitle given to the elegies themselves is even more specific: "Elegies of seuerall Authors, on the vntimely death of SIR Thomas Ouerburie poysoned in the Tower." Para. 4.

[16]Andrea Brady, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century: Laws in Mourning* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 139.

[17]A. J. Smith describes this "memorial edition" in "Donne's Reputation," in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. A. J. Smith (London: Methuen & Co Ltd), pp. 1–27 (p. 3). The preface to the edition describes these verses as "more than before other Books, and yet we give you not all we have," pp. 5–9.

"before He was twenty years old, scarce any after five and twenty," leaning on the trope of (pre-clerical) poetic precociousness as a biographical rationale for the single-author book of poetry. This has a clear precedent in Walton's Donne: "Did hee (I feare / The dull will doubt:) these at his twentieth yeare?" (31–32). The explicitly commemorative 1659 edition of Richard Lovelace's *Lucasta* was appended with *Elegies Sacred to the Memory of the Author: By several of his Friends* (printed 1660)—eight poems attempting, in part, to defend Lovelace against the notion that he became a burden in later life.[18] Thomas Beedome's posthumous *Poems: Divine and Humane* (1641) contains eleven elegies commending its author, and quite closely resembles Donne's early editions.

As this brief survey makes clear, those with university or Royalist affiliations were most likely to be published this way after death; the printer Humphrey Moseley, known for Royalist sympathies, favored it, and would eventually print several works by Donne (not, surprisingly, including his poems). The Cartwright edition, published by Moseley, even depicts the poet in a university "Cloak," defending this "before a Book of Poems" with reference to classical poet-scholars and their archetypal modern imitator, Ben Jonson, "*our ablest Judge & Professor* of Poesie." In years of fluctuating political and religious tension, posthumous authorship was a commodity not only on London's bookstalls, but in competing ideologies, social affectations, and literary identities. To fuse it with the anthologised critical elegies of living wits, as publishers like Moseley increasingly did, was to impose a political unification upon it and the social capital of the literary.[19] It also gives amplification to the idea that the unusual composition of Donne's 1633 *Poems* forms "part of a larger strategy to create an

[18]Raymond Anselment, "Lovelace, Richard (1617–1657)," *ODNB*. The 1659 edition did not actually appear until 1660, when it was published with the elegies, despite the different dating given: see *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*, ed. C. H. Wilkinson, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. lxi–ixll.

[19]Discussed in Brady, p. 139. John Curtis Reed argues that Moseley sought to "assert his own position as a critic and guardian of good literature" in "Humphrey Moseley, Publisher," *Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings & Papers* 2 (1927–30): 57–142 (p. 69).

intimate text, evoking a manuscript miscellany."[20] The printed work's elegiac design could be woven into its styled miscellanaeity, evoking a sense of coterie familiarity between the elegists and the dead laureate.

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Demographics offer the first clues as to why and how Donne was the first English poet to be published this way. Between the 1633 and 1635 editions a total of fifteen elegies on Donne appear (twelve in 1633; fourteen in 1635), the latter seeing an elegy by one Thomas Browne dropped and three others added.[21] These include a Latin elegy by Daniel Darnelly, which replaces Browne as second, and elegies in English by Sidney Godolphin and James Chudleigh. The latter two were inserted into the very middle of the sequence, between those of Izaak Walton and Thomas Carew. In one final change, the elegy of "R. B." (usually identified as Richard Busby) was switched with that of Endymion Porter at the end of the "Elegies."[22] Other than this, the elegists include Henry King, Edward Hyde, Richard Corbett, Henry Valentine, Jasper Mayne and Arthur Wilson. As Fallon notes, of these fifteen, eleven were associated in some way with the University of Oxford; and of these eleven, six attended or held posts at Christ Church, where an active poetic community was

[20]Dobranski, pp. 119–36 (p. 119 in particular). See also McCarthy, p. 61.

[21]It should be noted that the apparently unsigned "*Epitaph*," pp. 403–04, which follows R. B. is sometimes counted as a separate poem by a sixteenth elegist, though it is more frequently assumed to be part of R. B.'s elegy. The latter possibility is certainly more likely, given that the "*Epitaph*," though bordered off from R. B.'s elegy, is given on the same page as it in the 1633 *Poems*, with a large blank space following. If by a different writer, it would also be the only unsigned elegy in the sequence.

[22]Milgate follows Geoffrey Keynes here, whose identification of Busby is based on Giles Oldisworth's extensive annotations in a 1639 copy of Donne's *Poems* (Keynes B. 4. 8. at Cambridge University Library). See Milgate, p. 229; Keynes, *A Bibliography*, p. 157. See also Grierson, who suggests several possible authors of R. B.'s elegy in *Poems*, II, p. 259; and John Sampson's entertaining account of Oldisworth's annotations, which considers the identity of a number of Donne's elegists: "A Contemporary Light upon John Donne," in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* 7 (1921): 82–107.

flourishing in these years. A good number also contributed poems towards anthologies of epideictic and commemorative verse that were printed at Oxford.[23] Other than R. B., the elegists that have hitherto proven hardest to identify are the Edward Hyde first printed in *Deaths Duell* and the Thomas Browne some have even recently believed to be the famous physician and author of *Religio Medici* (1643).[24] These attributions become relatively straightforward when the Oxford context is taken into account. Browne, for instance, is much more likely to be the Christ Church graduate and later Chaplain of Charles I, because this Browne appeared in several verse anthologies from Oxford—including, more than once, alongside Donne Jr. and other elegists of Donne.[25] At least one such anthology has gone hitherto unrecognised in discussions of Donne's elegists: this is the 1624 collection for John Stanhope, where a Latin poem by Donne Jr. features a single page turn apart from the Christ Church Browne, who would then have been in the final year of his BA.[26] The Donne Jr. elegy is not recorded by Geoffrey Keynes in his appendix on him.[27] For purposes of comparison Browne's elegy on Stanhope is worth quoting:

> Eclipse thy selfe, O thou Diaphanous Light,
> Let sable darknesse canopied in Night,
> Baptize thee throughly: drawe and suck vp heere

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[23]These publications include "*Carolus Redux* in 1623, celebrating the return of Charles, the *Camdeni Insignia* in 1624, on the death of William Camden, and the *Oxoniensis Academiae Parentalia* in 1625, on the death of James I." See Fallon, pp. 198–201.

[24]Claire Preston suggests that Dr Browne "might have the stronger claim" in *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 25–26. See also Andrew William Barnes, *Post-closet Masculinities in Early Modern England* (Lewisburg: Brucknell University Press, 2009), pp. 56–57.

[25]See Milgate, p. 221, and Fallon, pp. 199–200, 203–05.

[26]Dates on Browne are taken from Marika Keblusek, "Browne, Thomas (1604–1673)," *ODNB*.

[27]Keynes, pp. 192–98. The anthology's full title is *Fvnerall Elegies, Vpon the Most Vntimely Death of the Honourable and most hopefull Mr. Iohn Stanhope, Sonne and Heire to the Right Honourable Philip Lord Stanhope, Baron of Shelford: Who Deceased in Christ-church at Oxford, the 18. Iuly, 1623* (London: Ralph Mab). Donne Jr.'s elegy is on p. 40; Browne's is on pp. 42–43.

> Such Sublunarie moisture to thy Sphere,
> That, with a pious prodigie, thy beames
> May transubstantiate themselues to streames (19–24)

These lines reverberate with some of the playful theological conceitedness of Donne's own poetry, and Browne's elegy on Donne. In the latter, provocatively titled "To the deceased Author, Upon the *Promiscuous* printing of his Poems, the *Looser sort*, with the *Religious*," Browne celebrates the messy and difficult nature of Donne's character and that edition (both punningly described as his "phansie,") while mocking the "sharper eyes" of "Those" who wished to bowdlerise either:

> When thy *Loose* raptures, *Donne*, shall meet with Those
> That doe confine
> Tuning, unto the Duller line,
> And sing not, but in *Sanctified Prose*;
> How will they, with sharper eyes,
> The *Fore-skinne* of thy phansie circumcise?
> And feare, thy *wantonnesse* should now, begin
> *Example*, that hath ceased to be *Sin*?
>
> And that *Feare* fannes their *Heat*; whilst knowing eyes
> Will not admire
> At this *Strange Fire*,
> That here is *mingled with thy Sacrifice*
> But dare reade even thy *Wanton Story*,
> As thy *Confession*, not thy *Glory*.
> And so will envie *Both* to future times,
> That they would buy thy *Goodnesse*, with thy *Crimes*.

In its argumentative obscurity, the boldness of its second person address, the intricacy of its stanzaic construction and the brilliant, taut energy of its meter, this poem imitates a very recognisable Donne.[28] Browne's poem engages with the issues at the heart of the "Elegies"

[28]Lukas Erne notes how even in the early 1660s Donne's style of metrical and linguistic "compression" attracted competitive imitation. See "Newly Discovered Adaptations of Poems by John Donne, Printed in 1662," *Review of English Studies* 67 (2015): 679–712 (p. 709).

and the 1633 edition—the legacy of Donne's poetical and biographical "*Loose* raptures" in print, and the religious sensibilities that modulate responses to them—more directly than any other poem. Given also that it was the only elegy to be cut in the 1635 edition, and that it has an extraordinary propensity for straightforward misreading, the poem requires careful attention.[29] The best readings tend to see in it a proposition to read Donne's secular "*Example*" as his "*Confession*," not his "*Glory*"—as part of a larger Augustinian conversion narrative (a "teleological" conceptualisation of Donne's biography that informs a number of the elegies, as McCarthy notes).[30] But such interpretations generally admit that this is not without significant ambiguity. Benjamin Saunders, for instance, notices how, despite containing these "disruptive erotic energies within the theological box of the confessional," "something of Donne's subversive desire" remains at large.[31] Kevin Pask likewise admits of "signs of struggle" between the kinds of reading the poem distinguishes.[32] Interpreting these as signs of irony, Fallon uniquely suggests that Browne's poem in fact mocks the need for any "ingenious rationalizations" as a prerequisite for the prudish to read Donne's amorous poetry.[33]

The poem is tense with interpretive possibilities: does Browne mean only to deride the justifications of the censorious reader, or also of the "knowing" literary exegete who yet feels it necessary to regard Donne as a repentant sinner? There is something in the verb "buy"

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[29]It has been called "tactless" (Milgate, p. 221), "tasteless" (MacColl, p. 32), and "almost disagreeable" (Preston, p. 26), to cite just a few responses. Edgar Daniels notes that certain aspects of the poem are perhaps deliberately "cryptic": "obscure ellipses, ambiguous pronoun references, a shocking conceit, and a puzzling summing up" among them. See "Browne's TO THE DECEASED AUTHOR," *The Explicator* 45 (1988): 19–20.

[30]Benjamin Saunders, *Desiring Donne: Poetry, Sexuality, Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 44; Pask, pp. 115–17; McCarthy, pp. 63–65.

[31]Saunders, p. 44. Saunders goes on to discuss the circumcision conceit at length, suggesting that whilst equating "phallic potency and literary prowess," it also recalls post-Reformation debates about the validity of Old Testament Law.

[32]Pask, p. 117.

[33]Fallon, pp. 204–05.

that seems to cheapen the rationale of excusing the 1633 book on the basis that it witnesses to an Augustinian conversion; it may be an allusion to Marriot's prefatory poem "Hexastichon Bibliopolae" (cited above), which compares the book's "sheets" with the "sheet of stone" wound around Donne's "Statue" in St. Paul's: "Those sheets present him dead, these if you buy, / You have him living to Eternity."[34] Likewise, "ceased" feels somehow ironically defunct, as if to expose the contrivance of arguing that verse itself might "cease" to be sinful. Either way, whether or not the real "sharper eyes" of those behind the more biographical 1635 *Poems* (such as Walton) misread the poem's "teleological" argument, or read in its bright irony a satire against all such reasoning, or cut it merely because it no longer accurately described the revised book, this was, ironically, almost certainly a confirmation of its argument.

Browne's poem serves as a useful starting point also because it so clearly contradicts a general consensus that elegies on Donne are unusually meagre and taciturn, characterised by "exhortation to silence" and "self-obviating" restraint.[35] Further study of the contexts and conventions underpinning them provides some suggestive lenses through which to read behind the more orthodox elegiac diffidence apparent elsewhere, and to begin to take seriously Sir Lucius Cary's exhortation to his fellow elegists (as well as their responses):

> Poets attend, the Elegie I sing
> Both of a doubly-named Priest, and King:
> In stead of Coates, and Pennons, bring your Verse,
> For you must bee chiefe mourners at his Hearse,
> A Tombe your Muse must to his Fame supply,
> No other Monuments can never die. (5–6)

Graham Roebuck has begun to explore how the presence of Cary alongside the second long-unknown elegist (the Edward Hyde published also in *Deaths Duell*) may be significant to the intercon-

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[34]*Poems*, *By J. D.*, sig. A2v.

[35]Brady, p. 140; A. E. B. Coldiron, "'Poets be silent': Self-Silencing Conventions and Rhetorical Context in the 1633 Critical Elegies on Donne," *John Donne Journal* 12 (1993): 101–13 (p. 109).

nected stories behind the "Elegies" and the 1633 *Poems*.[36] This is most likely the man who would become first Earl of Clarendon, later Chancellor of the Exchequer, and who was a student at the Middle Temple in the early 1630s. Two seventeenth-century sources state that the future Clarendon was King's "junior elegizing partner" in *Deaths Duell*.[37] A further possible source is a manuscript miscellany of poems largely by Donne and William Strode, once in this Hyde's possession, whose flyleaves contain, alongside signatures and jottings by him, several phrases reminiscent of the elegy for Donne, possibly including its title.[38] While the manuscript may have been through many hands over a considerable period, the identification of this as the pre-gout handwriting of the future Clarendon appears to be

[36]See two essays by Roebuck: "Elegies for Donne: Great Tew and the Poets," *John Donne Journal* 9 (1990): 125–35; "From Donne to Great Tew," *John Donne Journal* 32 (2013): 25–54.

[37]These are annotations in Giles Oldisworth's 1639 copy of *Poems*, and a short biography in Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops Who have had Their Education in The Most Ancient and Famous University of Oxford*, ed. Philip Bliss, 4 vols, (London: Rivington et al., 1813–20), 2: p. 502. The quotation is from Roebuck, "Elegies for Donne," p. 127. In some ways, the future Clarendon might seem a surprising person to find elegizing Donne. Grierson argues that the elegist is his cousin, the clergyman Edward Hyde (or "Hide," 1607–59), son of the Salisbury lawyer Sir Lawrence, given both that Clarendon is not otherwise known to have written elegies and that the elegy's original publication context (a sermon) would have better suited a clergyman. See *Poems*, II, p. 255.

[38]The manuscript is Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 8470. These arguments are set out by Geoffrey Keynes in "A Footnote on Donne," *The Book Collector*, xxii (1973), Summer, pp. 165–68. See also Sampson, pp. 98–103. One thing to note here is that the first poem copied into this volume is titled "On the death of L Anne," a title similar to Hyde's elegy on Donne as it appears in *Poems* ("On the death of Dr DONNE.") While Hyde might simply have been copying the closest thing to hand, it is also possible that this page reveals him exploring revisions of his elegy for Donne in preparation for *Poems, By J. D.*, perhaps even borrowing the format of his revised title. Hyde's elegy originally appeared as "An Epitaph on Dr DONNE" in *Deaths Duell*—one of several textual variants which led Milgate to suggest that Hyde "supplied an altered copy for the later volume," p. 222.

persuasive, which at least strongly suggests that he was an active reader of Donne's poetry at this time.[39]

More revealing, however, is that this Hyde was closely associated with Cary and other Donne elegists through the intellectual circle of Great Tew, some twenty miles from Oxford, where Thomas Carew and Sidney Godolphin, as well as (possibly) Henry Valentine and Jaspar Mayne, busily debated the theological "problem of Pyrrhonism" in the 1630s.[40] The group included Brian Duppa, who was made Dean of Christ Church in 1628, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford in 1632, and was a prominent influence behind many volumes of occasional poetry produced there. Duppa also edited the memorial verse anthology for Ben Jonson, *Jonsonus Virbius* (1638), to which Godolphin, Mayne and King would all contribute elegies.[41] The Tevians' association with Jonson is well-known, but Roebuck's suggestion that Donne's legacy was also significant to their increasingly Erastian thinktank presents the intriguing possibility that "an Oxford-Great Tew collaboration" was mobilized in assembling the "Elegies upon the Author" for the press.[42] While the question of which individual, or individuals, oversaw this (and how) remains tantalisingly open, it offers a plausible way of approaching the possible relationships, methods and motivations behind the poems. At the same time, however, any notion of "collaboration" needs to be used carefully: while men from both institutions jointly animate and populate the "Elegies," such affiliations may also underpin some of their characteristically agonistic and discursive qualities.

Donne's own verse is widespread in Oxford-based miscellanies, despite the fact that he was physically absent from Oxford for most of his life. His death and the publication of *Poems* seem to have excited

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[39]I am grateful to Paul Seaward for offering me his opinion on this.

[40]On Valentine's possible connection to the group via Gilbert Sheldon, see Bevan, pp. 188, 190–91.

[41]See Raymond A. Anselment, "The Oxford University Poets and Caroline Panegyric," *John Donne Journal* 3 (1984): 183–201, (pp. 185–86). Roebuck explores the possibility that *Jonsonus Virbius* was itself "conceived" at Great Tew in "From Donne to Great Tew," p. 42. Also printed in 1638 was George Sandys's *Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems*, which contains commendatory verses by King, Carew and Godolphin.

[42]Roebuck, "Elegies for Donne," pp. 128–31.

rather than displaced this craze.[43] Arthur F. Marotti's recent study of Christ Church and the circulation of manuscript verse anthologies suggests two unsurprising conduits through which Donne's verse could have "got from a London coterie environment to an academic one, where it was frequently copied": Donne Jr. and Henry King.[44] Like Richard Corbett, King was a prolific disseminator of his own manuscript verse and that of other poets, which he commissioned notable scribes such as Thomas Manne to copy and circulate with unusual care.[45] As Leah Marcus notes, his similar investment in the "memorial gesture" of Donne's *Poems* and the "Elegies upon the Author" may be implied by the fact that he gave a copy of the book to his nephew John King, personalising it with an autograph cut and pasted from one of Donne's letters.[46] All this should be kept in mind when reading King's elegy for Donne, the first in the sequence and a deceptively assertive poem.

It has been noted that the predominant ordering principle in elegiac anthologies was that they would imitate heraldic procession,

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[43]See Peter Beal, "John Donne and the circulation of manuscripts," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, *Volume 4*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 122–26 (p. 122). On other key Oxford and Christ Church poets, and the frequency with which they appear in Oxford miscellanies, see Christopher Burlinson, "Richard Corbett and William Strode: chaplaincy and verse in early seventeenth-century Oxford," in *Chaplains in early modern England: patronage, literature and religion*, ed. Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood and Gillian Wright (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 141–58 (pp. 142–43).

[44]Arthur F. Marotti, "'Rolling Archetypes': Christ Church, Oxford Poetry Collections, and the Proliferation of Manuscript Verse Anthologies in Caroline England," *English Literary Renaissance* 44 (2014): 486–523 (pp. 500–01).

[45]Mann was a Christ Church student, Henry King's chaplain, and later rector at St. Olave's in London. See Mary Hobbs, *Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992). For more on the "impetus" King gave to Christ Church poetry, see Henry Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 169–70.

[46]This is the "Pforzheimer" copy held at the University of Texas. See Marcus, pp. 194–95. Targoff describes another 1633 copy (at Harvard) modified in this way, p. 141.

with those of high rank and intimacy with the deceased coming first.[47] Subtle arguments about personal and poetic authority are woven into King's elegy alongside its more noticeable political and professional language. This is apparent even in its title—the only in the "Elegies" to use the possessive determiner "my" or to make any claim of personal intimacy with Donne—and its opening lines, which immediately introduce the subject of the "eminent" life "Beyond our lofty'st flights" (1–2), which draw attention to King's seniority among the elegists. Likewise, building towards the poem's final and most memorable conceit ("So Jewellers no Art, or Metall trust / To forme the Diamond, but the Diamonds dust." [57–58]), the commonplace topos of inexpressibility is the very device by which King obliquely *re-states* his executorship of Donne's estate:

> Commit we then Thee to Thy selfe: Nor blame
> Our drooping loves, which thus to thy owne Fame
> Leave Thee Executor. Since, but thine owne,
> No pen could doe Thee Justice, nor Bayes Crowne
> Thy vast desert; Save that, wee nothing can
> Depute, to be thy Ashes Guardian. (51–56)

Critics have hit on a central poetical conflict between this poem and the famous elegy of Thomas Carew, which is believed to have circulated in manuscript before *Deaths Duell* was printed. The argument goes that in poetically opposing Carew's various and highly sexualised imitations of Donne, King betrays his acknowledgement that Carew's poem was sufficiently well-known to justify public rebuke, and attempts to defend Donne's name from such "unauthorised" and "non-ecclesiastical" elegists who would draw attention to his youthful misdemeanours and overwrite his status as a paradigm of holy dying.[48] Such imitations are not hard to find in Carew:

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[47]Brady, pp. 135–36.

[48]Michael P. Parker, "Diamond's Dust: Carew, King, and the Legacy of Donne," in *The Eagle and the Dove: Reassessing John Donne*, ed. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pp. 191–200 (pp. 191–96). Scott Nixon notes that a 1632 verse letter from Aurelian Townshend to Carew figures the Carew's elegy for Donne

> Of thy brave Soule, that shot such heat and light,
> As burnt our earth, and made our darknesse bright,
> Committed holy Rapes upon our Will,
> Did through the eye the melting heart distill (15–18)
>
> Since to the awe of thy imperious wit
> Our stubborne language bends, made only fit
> With her tough-thick-rib'd hoopes to gird about
> Thy Giant phansie, which had prov'd too stout
> For their soft melting Phrases (49–53)

As if in direct response to this provocation, King depicts Donne as a restive "Spirit" "Which may revenge" these "Rapes upon [his] Merit" (25–26). Such mirrored conceits and vocabularies indeed make the poems' strong intertextuality highly likely, but their precise sequencing and motives are difficult conclusively to establish. It is possible, for example, that King's defensively authoritarian tone was intended to pre-empt any repeat of the kind of controversy he endured over a decade earlier when his father John (who ordained Donne) was accused of deathbed conversion to Roman Catholicism.[49] Taken together, however, King's apparent proximity to Donne's papers and his own fellow elegists, his reputation as a manuscript poet, the early appearance of his elegy in *Deaths Duell*, and the assertive rhetorical strategy of that poem prompt a reappraisal of its more conspicuous arguments and reservations. That most other elegies for Donne also engage with issues of literary imitation and biographical control strongly suggests that such arguments are highly self-reflexive, even proleptical, and only loosely based on literary or ideological discord. We might ascribe to them the kinds of "playfully adversarial"

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falling "like manna on the Hearse," revealing that it was in circulation by that date: "Carew's Response to Jonson and Donne," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 39 (1999): 89–109 (pp. 99, 108). See also John Lyon, "Jonson and Carew on Donne: Censure into Praise," *The English Renaissance* 37 (1997): 97–118 (pp. 105–06). On the homoerotic imagery of Carew's elegy, see Brady, pp. 167–68.

[49]I would like to thank Jonathan F. S. Post for suggesting this to me. On this episode, see James Doelman's essay in this volume.

"metapoetics" evident in Donne's own occasional and commemorative verse.[50]

Two further pieces of evidence reinforce the assumption that elegies for Donne were written and circulated very soon after his death, suggesting an initial period in which the Oxford and Great Tew poets jostled openly to publish their efforts.[51] On the first folio sheet of Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, a large composite volume of major early-seventeenth-century poets compiled by the later Royalist captain Nicholas Burghe (d. 1670), is an alphabetical "Index of authors names, by WHB. 4/6/31," in which Corbett's elegy on Donne is listed. Given that this manuscript is known to have been later owned by Elias Ashmole (1617–92), and these initials probably refer to a relation of Burghe, the dating of this index as sixty-five days after Donne's death (as opposed to the same date in the following century) appears to be valid.[52] The second piece of evidence is that Walton added a composition date of 7 April 1631 to his elegy when he reprinted it in later versions of the *Life*.[53] Within this narrow period it may be impossible to say with certainty which of the elegists was the first to compose and share their work; but the fact that Corbett's poem survives in far more manuscript copies than any other elegy on Donne surely puts it in the frame.[54] A self-effacing description of Donne's would-be epitaphist, it adopts the basic inexpressibility topos used in King's elegy, but adds rather sardonically the impossible prerequisite that such a poet "must be dead" to qualify.

Elegy was in this period deeply invested in conventions of imitation and contestation, drawing on classical precedents such as the poetry of the *agon*; the death of the poet would conventionally precipitate a level of agonistic elegiac negotiation over notions of

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[50]These terms are borrowed from Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet*, rep. ed. (Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1986), particularly pp. 20–22.

[51]"The Printer to the Understanders" states that "it hath pleased some, who had studied and did admire him, to offer to the memory of the Author, not long after his decease," sig. A2r.

[52]Dates and provenance information for this and other manuscripts are taken from the *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts* (*CELM*), www.celm-ms.org.uk, unless otherwise stated.

[53]Milgate, *Epithalamions*, p. 224.

[54]Nineteen, according to *CELM*. I have not discovered any more.

poetic lineage and legacy, amplified by the fact that such poems were often anthologised.[55] Forms of competitive and corroborative intertextuality can be seen working throughout the printed "Elegies" and others not printed, many of which take cues from King and Carew in particular. For example, Walton's elegy seems to begin by directly opposing Carew's praises of Donne's "language" and "imperious wit": "I would not praise / That [his language] and his vast wit (which in these vaine dayes / Make many proud)" (3–4). Shortly afterwards, it stages a prophetic conceit evocative of King's admonition to those who would "wake" Donne's "learned Spirit":

> God hath rais'd Prophets to awaken them
> From stupifaction; witness my milde pen,
> Not us'd to upbraid the world, though now it must
> Freely and boldly, for, the cause is just. (15–18)

Browne's triple pun on Donne's circumcisable "phansie" undoubtedly relates somehow to Carew's phallic description of the same, girded, "giant," and "stout." Likewise, Carew's emphatic epitaph is immediately paraphrased in Lucius Cary's opening description—following Carew's poem in the sequence, as it does—of "a doubly-named Priest, and King" (2). Carew's epitaph is the best known and most influential part of the "Elegies," and was sometimes transcribed into commonplace books as a standalone poem:[56]

> *Here lies a King, that rul'd as hee thought fit*
> *The universall Monarchy of wit;*
> *Here lie to Flamens, and both those, the best,*
> *Apollo's first, at last, the true God's Priest.* (95–98)

Though he was a close friend of Donne, Edward Herbert's elegy was not printed in *Poems*. Whether or not this tribute pre-dates that publication or responds to it, it is the only elegy explicitly to praise, or

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[55]See Brady, pp. 131–33.

[56]See, for example, Folger MS V.a.219, fol. 15v, in which a margin note describes it as "An Epitaph on D[r] Donne." I would like to thank Abbie Weinberg for her help with this and other manuscripts held at the Folger Shakespeare Library.

even name, a fellow elegist. As Joshua Scodel has argued, this reference may be covertly nuanced by the subtle poise through which Herbert positions himself socially and poetically in his elegy. While ostensibly siding with Carew's sophisticated imitative elegiac mode, ridiculing the unlettered tributes of other elegists, he seems also to complicate that endorsement by staging a "self-effacing imitation" of both Carew and Donne.[57] Like King's elegy, this offers an intriguing example of how the agonistic conventions of critical elegy shadow its more obvious forms of argumentation:

> Havinge delivered now what Prayses are
> It rests that I should to the world declare
> Thy Praises Donne. Whom I so loved alive
> That wth my witty Carew I should strive
> To celebrate thee dead, did I not neede
> A language by it self, w^{ch} should exeede
> All those w^{ch} are in use, for while I take
> Those comon words w^{ch} men may even rake
> From dunghill witts, I find them so defild,
> Slubberd and false, as yf they had exild
> Truth and propriety, such as doe tell
> So little other thinges, they hardly spell
> Their proper meaninge, and therefore unfitt
> To blazon forth thy merrits, or thy witte.[58]

Elegists cannot circumvent their own rhetoric, whether though modesty, or satire, or both. Mockery of fellow elegists—and contemporary poetry in general—is, like modesty topoi, pervasive in elegies for Donne: Jasper Mayne attacks certain "Poor Suburbe wits" (37) unable to write without alcoholic stimulation (perhaps a less-than-subtle reference to the Great Tew contingent); at the end of a 49-line digression against Donne's "doctrine-men" abusers (33) and

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[57]Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), pp. 133–34.

[58]The poem was eventually printed in Herbert's posthumous *Occasional Verses* in 1665. Its sole known manuscript witness (quoted here) is in British Library MS Add. 37157, fols. 19r–20r (fols. 19v–20r quoted), a notebook containing Herbert's poems and miscellaneous family documents, with some autograph corrections.

"learn'dst sort" enviers (54), R. B. even apologises for being "strai'd to Satyre, meaning Elegie" (64). Imitative and competitive, or "eristic," intertextual dynamics are the defining feature of this cluttered field.[59]

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Given that *Poems, by J. D.* (1633) was probably designed to resemble a manuscript miscellany, it is strange that manuscript elegies about Donne have yet to be systematically considered.[60] Peter Beal's *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts* (*CELM*) and the *Union First Line Index* between them list 31 items containing "Elegies upon the Author," and a further four in which only unprinted elegies on Donne are extant. One of these contains Edward Herbert's elegy, two contain an elegy by John King (Henry's brother, 1595–1639), and a further lone elegy by one "L: de: C:" survives in the fourth, Bodleian Eng. poet. 160.[61] Another hitherto unexplored elegy by Francis Kynaston (1586/7–1642), travels alongside many other manuscript elegies on Donne, mostly unremarked in *CELM*, in London Metropolitan Archives, ACC/1360/528.[62] After Richard Corbett's poem (nineteen witnesses), the best-represented of the printed elegies in manuscript is that of Henry King (nine). Thomas Carew's and Jaspar Mayne's elegies are present in some way in six, Lucius Cary's in three, and

[59]G. W. Pigman describes the idea of "eristic" literary imitation in "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 1–32.

[60]My use of terms such as "miscellany," "compilation," "composite volume" and "collection" generally follows definitions set out by Peter Beal in his *Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology: 1450–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[61]Dates given in Peter McCullough, "King, John (d. 1621)," *ODNB*. The John King poem appears in Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 317, fol. 157r, and British Library MS Harley 6918, fol. 6v. *CELM* does not list the elegy in this latter volume, but the *Union First Line Index* (https://firstlines.folger.edu) does. It is also cited in A. J. Smith, *John Donne: The Critical Heritage*, 2 vols, (London: Routledge, 1983), 1:82. British Library Add. MS 58215 includes John King's elegy alongside other elegies on Donne, fol. 82v.

[62]*CELM* lists only the elegies of Richard Corbett and Jasper Mayne, but it in fact contains five elegies on Donne, including this poem.

Izaak Walton's in two. No manuscript witnesses appear to survive of the elegies of Browne, Daniel Darnelly, Sidney Godolphin or James Chudleigh.[63] It must be added, however, that these figures may well be underestimations, given both that *CELM* and the *Union First Line Index* are evidently not altogether comprehensive, and that poems such as these are often quoted, retitled or adapted in manuscript miscellanies, rather than reproduced intact.

Even taking into account Henry Woudhuysen's caution that manuscript archives are skewed in favor of the universities, it is noticeable how far miscellanies associated with Oxford make up the total containing witnesses for these poems.[64] Though no manuscript other than Bodleian MS Ashmole 38 is datable to earlier than 1633, the majority are from around that decade—the period in which, according to Mary Hobbs, verse miscellanies "reached the height of their popularity."[65] Ashmole 38 itself reveals deep interests in Christ Church poetry, literary reputation and the power of poetic commemorations to dictate it. The first poem in the volume is titled "Doctor Donns valediction to the worlde," a poem often (mistakenly) attributed to Donne in manuscript, and which here sets a thematic tone for much of the entire collection.[66] Other notable examples are British Library Additional manuscripts 58215 and 78423, Egerton MS 2725 and Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poet. 26, all of which also contain one or more elegies on Donne and numerous other poems with clear

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[63]I would like to thank Marika Keblusek for corroborating this with regard to Thomas Browne.

[64]Woudhuysen, p. 157. Woudhuysen describes four main categories of extant poetic miscellanies: courtier collections, those associated with the Inns of Court, those from universities, and those held by private collectors. See pp. 153–73.

[65]*The Stoughton Manuscript: A Manuscript Miscellany of Poems by Henry King and his Circle*, circa 1636, ed. Mary Hobbs (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990), p. ix.

[66]The poem represents something of a subgenre in this manuscript and, perhaps, contemporary poetry generally. Amongst commemorative poems on Sir Francis Bacon (p. 59) and Ben Jonson (p. 97) are "verses Made by Sr Walter Raleigh the night before hee was beheaded" (p. 59) and "Mr Robert Herricke his farewell unto poetrie" (pp. 106–07). Other epideictic poems misattributed to Donne include "Jo: Felton's Epitaph Made by D: Donn" (p. 20) and "A Corrination wrighten by D. Donn" (p. 49).

Oxford and Christ Church affiliations. As Marotti has shown, the "clusters," or "rolling archetypes" perceptible in Oxford poetic manuscripts offer up "a set of group attitudes, values, and interests represented in the verse being transmitted through the manuscript system": these were masculine, sometimes misogynistic, "Bawdy and obscene," merged sycophancy with satire, and, as many of his examples show, travelled frequently on the currents of elegiac poetry.[67] Donne is a predictable meme to find here.

Multiple elegies on Donne exist in seven miscellanies, in which they are (with a single exception) always grouped together.[68] The elegies of King and Carew co-occur in two 1630s volumes, and are in each case copied in the reverse order to that of print. One of these, British Library Add. MS 58215, is written principally by Thomas Manne, and appears to be a carefully produced document intended as a copy for further transcriptions.[69] Marotti has shown that it was used thus in the creation of British Library MS Harley 6917 and 6918: a run of poems in both follows roughly the same order to a section of the Manne collection, witnessing to "a confluence of poetry from both universities with texts produced in courtly and urban environments."[70] The other volume, St. John's College, Cambridge, MS S. 23, is very similar to Mann's in its neat presentation, particularly in how it indents and subtly enlarges Carew's epitaph for emphasis.[71] It seems reasonable to suggest that in the 1630s the poems might have been considered companion pieces in more than just subject matter, but in witnessing to a sequence of elegiac dialogue that was understood by certain manuscript scribes and readers. The largest single collection of manuscript elegies on Donne, Folger MS V.a.219, preserves how one later reader of *Poems* copied various excerpts "Out of the poems

[67]Marotti, "'Rolling Archetypes,'" pp. 506–09.

[68]The Carew epitaph of Folger MS V.a.219 cited above (fol. 15v) is separate from the other sections of elegies on Donne copied into this manuscript.

[69]Beal refers to this as the "Thomas Manne MS".

[70]Marotti, "'Rolling Archetypes,'" p. 503–04. The elegies on Donne (by Carew, Corbett, Henry King and John King) cover fols. 80r–83v.

[71]See fols. 38v–42r.

written vpon Dr Dunne" in a single italic hand: Hyde, Valentine, Walton, Carew, Cary, Mayne, R. B., and Porter are all represented.[72]

Manuscript elegies for Donne reinforce the factional and competitive strains evident in the printed poems, and reveal how they engendered other forms of remembrance and appropriation in the years and decades following his death. John King's elegy, "An Epitaph upon D^{r} Don," follows those of Carew, Corbett and Henry King in British Library Add. MS 58215. Like many of Donne's own commemorative and epideictic poems, it explores a bold typological parallel between its subject and Christ, building an abstracted analysis of Christ's final words on the cross—his "Epitaph"—towards a paraphrase of those words that puns on Donne's name:

> That Epitaph Christ utterd on the Crosse
> may be his servants here, in whose great losse
> somewhat he seemes to loose for gaine of soules,
> for which perswasiue power heaven him inrolls;
> Christs consummatum was his last best word,
> by his worke actuated; what that Lord
> purchac'd, this Legate preacht, Salvation;
> finisht his course, rests in his Christ; 'tis Donne.[73]

King's justification for this is deliberately subtle. His speaker introduces the poem's real subject (Donne) with an elusive unstressed pronoun ("this") in only the penultimate line, adding surprise to the witty turn waiting on the final word. While the elegy is one of several to pun on Donne's name (Arthur Wilson [4] and perhaps Browne [1] are others), its last line so strongly recalls that of another unprinted elegy—Kynaston's—that it seems highly likely that these poems, like those of Carew and King, engage in some sort of metapoetical dialogue. While King obfuscates his real elegiac subject in order to announce it more prominently in this way, his subsequent biographical identification of that subject is distinctly ordinary, pertaining simply

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[72]So too are excerpts by Thomas Randolph, Edward Francis and Robert Herrick. While these are included with the elegies on Donne, they are in fact mostly commendatory poems taken from Thomas Randolph's *The Jealous Lovers* (Cambridge, 1632).

[73]Quoted from British Library MS Harley 6918.

to Donne's role as a preacher of "salvation." Kynaston's much longer elegy goes much further. In a likely parody of the extraordinary typological arguments of Donne's *First Anniversary*, his final lines figure Donne both as Christ crucified and as the God of Genesis, eschewing any such clarification or restraint:

> O yet (great Donne) if thy great spirit moues
> Vpon the deepes of Ignorance or yet loues
> Our soule deprived bodies: may it see
> By thy owne light this Epitaph of thee
> Fiat the first word when the world begunn
> Now chang'd to consummatus est. Tis Donne.[74]

The poem is accompanied by a dedicatory verse epistle, "To his most worthily honourd M[r]. Thomas Carey," which situates it unequivocally within the contestatory context described above, insisting that Carew, not King, is Donne's "sole executor" (the word "executor" appears twice in the poem).[75] The elegies for Donne that accompany Kynaston's (Corbett, Carew, Hyde and Mayne) may be partially transcribed from a copy of *Poems*—though the inclusion of these unprinted poems and some minor textual discrepancies between the manuscript and *Poems* complicates this. At any rate, the scribe reveals a deep interest in Donne and in elegiac poetry in general. While Kynaston, these poems and this manuscript demand a much fuller examination than I am able to give them here, these analogues readily highlight the playfully competitive literary-cultural contexts in which the "Elegies" were written and read.[76] The same caveat must apply to the final manuscript elegy on Donne that I have (only recently)

[74]London Metropolitan Archives ACC/1360/528, fol. 4r rev.

[75]This poem covers fols 2v rev.–3v rev.

[76]Kynaston is an interesting literary figure in his own right, known, among other works, for his 1635 translation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* into Latin (*Amorum Troili et Creseidæ*): a nostalgic, Royalist, university-affiliated literary production that is also prefaced by fifteen commendatory poems by other Oxford poets, including William Strode, Dudley Digges and William Cartwright. Kynaston's poetry and circles of influence—particularly relating to his own academy of learning, the *Musaeum Minervae*—are subjects to which I will turn in future work. For now, the best overview of his life is R. Malcolm Smuts, "Kynaston, Sir Francis (1586/6–1642)," *ODNB*.

discovered, by "L: de: C:," which states this elegist's intention "to show / the abler pens w^{ch} way they ought to flow," not unlike Cary's elegy.[77]

Several later manuscripts show how *Poems*, *By J. D.*, and the "Elegies upon the Author" were read and used as sourcebooks for elegiac poetry, and that these re-appropriations of Donne and his elegies occurred for surprisingly diverse socio-political ends. One is Princeton University Library, CO 199 No. 812, in which the imprisoned Puritan Robert Overton commemorates his wife by commonplacing and subtly editing numerous poems by and about Donne in order to give them "a more elegiac cast" befitting his staunch Fifth Monarchist beliefs.[78] Another is British Library Add. MS 78423, a commonplace book compiled by the Royalist officer Sir Thomas Tuke in the 1650s, which contains a two-page opening under the heading "Doctor Dunns Poems" that are almost certainly copied from printed sources.[79] The selection is themed around afterlife and the endurance of verse: Donne's celebrated "well-wrought urn" couplet is followed by such lines as "Meete blinde philosophers in heauen whose merritt / Of strict life may bee imputed faith," "Verse embalmes virtue," and lines from Mayne's elegy on Donne of a typically anti-Puritan sensibility. The so-called "Hannah MS" (Bodleian MS Eng. poet. e. 30), compiled by Manne, and containing King's elegy on Donne, has, like Overton's volume, a clear commemorative purpose. It closes with a funeral sermon "Preached at the solemne Funeralls of the Right Honorable Katherine Countess of Linstr July 3. Anno Domi: 1657" (fols. 106r–7r), King's elegy on her (fol. 106r) and a further elegy, beginning "Sleepe Pretious Ashes, in thy sacred Urne" (fol. 108r).

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[77]Bodleian Rawl. poet. 160, fol. 43r. I have not yet been able to identify "L: de: C:," but will look to do so, and to publish a detailed account of this elegy, in forthcoming work.

[78]See David Norbrook, "'This blushinge tribute of a borrowed muse': Robert Overton and his Overturning of the Poetic Canon," *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, 4 (1993): 220–66 (particularly pp. 234–37, 256). The manuscript contains parts of the elegies of King, Valentine, Walton, Godolphin, Chudleigh, Carew, Cary, Mayne and Wilson, transcribed and adapted from a 1635 copy of *Poems*.

[79]British Library Add. MS 78423, fols. 43v–44r.

More conceptually, Donne was also "elegised" in adaptations, misattributions and appropriations of poetry not originally by or about him. Deborah Aldrich Larson has shown how manuscript compilers of this period, often in the habit of taking such liberties, would biographize manuscript materials in certain ways—in particular by juxtaposing "the sermon writer and the love poet" (like the 1633 *Poems*), or by finding ways to emphasise the importance of Donne's marriage to his writings.[80] Likewise, I would suggest, juxtaposing and attributing commemorative, prosopopoeical or valedictory manuscript poetry to Donne are ways through which Donnean authorship, his dying voice and spiritual presence, were sustained into the 1630s and 40s beyond critical elegy. That these poems also frequently travel alongside the other kinds of verses identified by Larson suggests that the moribund or elegised "Donne" was, like the amorous or religious "Donne," a recognisable literary trope in these years. For example, in Folger MS V.a.97 the commonly misattributed "D^{r} Dunn's farewell to y^{e} world," is followed by another, "To his young Mistress."[81] A similar sequence occurs in Corpus Christi, Oxford, MS 328, a Royalist compilation of Oxford poetry in a single, neat hand, which contains the same first poem (fols. 20r–20v) followed by Corbett's "Epitaph" on Donne and an unattributed pastiche of "The Sunne Rising," here titled "To his m.^{es}."[82] British Library Add. MS 30982, which also contains Corbett's elegy alongside a number of Donne's actual commemorative poems, includes another prosopopoeical poem attributed to Donne, "J: D: to his paper," and, immediately preceding the correctly attributed "Dr Dunns Litany," a re-worked version of "Go and catch a falling star" titled "9 song."[83]

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[80]Deborah Aldrich Larson, "Donne's Contemporary Reputation: Evidence from Some Commonplace Books and Manuscript Miscellanies," *John Donne Journal* 12 (1993): 115–30. (p. 121).

[81]Folger MS V.a.97, pp. 66–67.

[82]Corpus Christi MS 328, fol. 94v. Another poem evocative of "The Sunne Rising" can be found in British Library Add. MS 25707, fol. 18v, written vertically into the margin shortly before Donne's original.

[83]British Library Add. MS 30982, fols. 45v, 13v–14r, 29r.

At least two manuscript miscellanies containing elegies for Donne also contain written notices singling these out as poems of particular interest, not unlike the title page of *Poems*, *By J. D.* The best example is in Bodleian MS Malone 22, where that volume's (supposed) provenance is proudly stated: "This Book was wrote by D[r]: H: King And the Elegie on the Death of his friend Doctor Donne. will be found printed in the Edition of his \Donne's/ works, publish'd by Henry Herringman, at the anchor, in the lower walk of the New Exchange 1669." A brief biography of King follows, along with a citation of a print miscellany, *The Poetical Farrago* (1794), that includes a poem by King copied, the writer claims, from this manuscript.[84] Such citations reveal how elegies for Donne have provoked forms of literary reception study across a surprisingly broad historical period. They also suggest how, as canonical authorship has emerged into a modern institution, the "Elegies" have exerted a quiet but continuous influence on the shape it has taken. Even Walton's *Life*, the dominant influencer of Donne's reputation since the seventeenth century, is written into a communal and contestatory commemorative dynamic that the "Elegies upon the Author" first established. Moreover, the *Life* derives much of its persuasive force from how it selects and reproduces source materials, including the "Elegies," that corroborate its account.[85]

One further seventeenth-century elegy for Donne, which survives only in print, and numerous other elegies that refer to him, also reveal

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[84]Bodleian MS Malone 22, fol. 1r. The other manuscript I have seen with such a notice is Bodleian MS Eng. poet. e. 30, fol. 2r, under the heading "Elegy for Donne." Incidentally, the *Union First Line Index* notes that a fragment of King's elegy for Donne was printed in another eighteenth-century source, Giles Jacob's *The poetical register: or, the lives and characters of all the English poets* (London, 1723), p. 48.

[85]An excerpt from Chudleigh's elegy is included from 1658 that attests to the quality of Donne's preaching, and the elegies of Corbett and Henry King are also reprinted in that edition's closings pages. See *The Life of John Donne, Dr. in Divinity, and Late Dean of Saint Pauls Church* (London: Richard Marriot, 1658), pp. 48–49. Walton's own elegy is later added to in the 1670 edition. None of these appear in the first edition of the *Life* that prefaces Donne's *LXXX Sermons*. Pask argues that Walton's biography is "the prose rendition of the embryonic life-narrative of the early elegies," pp. 122–23.

the extent of this influence. The former, by Thomas Beedome, was printed in his posthumous *Poems*—a publication which, as we have already seen, appears to have been modelled on *Poems, by J. D.* in its inclusion of elegies on Beedome himself. The elegy's title, "*To the memory of his honoured friend Master* John Donne, *an Eversary*," strongly resembles that of King's elegy on Donne, as do its opening remarks addressed to Donne's "Blest dust," and its insistence that Donne's "ashes" be kept from poetical disturbance (1, 19–20).[86] George Daniel's "A Vindication of Poesie," argues that God's own wit was "flamed" in Donne's ("'Twas but warm vpon / His Embers; He was more; and y^{t} is Donne"), evoking Carew's image of Donne's "crowne of Bayes" (84).[87] Even more strikingly, Sir John Suckling's "A Sessions of the Poets" adapts Carew's epitaph on Donne with the intention, Roebuck argues, of claiming Lucius Cary (by then Viscount Falkland) as "a successor to Donne as defender of the English Church against the infallibility claims of Rome":

> He was of late so gone with Divinity,
> That he had almost forgot his Poetry,
> Though to say the truth (and *Apollo* did know it)
> He might have been both his Priest and Poet.[88]

Thomas Shipman's elegy for Abraham Cowley shows how in 1667 Donne was a still-conspicuous trope in critical elegy, and the well-subscribed terms of Carew's epitaph:

> Who justly can pretend that *Monarchy*.
> Donne's Judgement, Fancy, Humour, and his Wit,
> Strong, searching, happy, and before ne're hit
> Gives him a fair pretence to climb the Throne.[89]

In the same way, an anonymous elegy on William Davenant, written onto the flyleaves of a copy of John Denham's *Poems and Translations*,

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[86]Beedome, *Poems*, sigs. G7v–G8v.
[87]See *Critical Heritage*, I, p. 123.
[88]Quoted in Roebuck, "From Donne to Great Tew," pp. 43–44.
[89]*Critical Heritage*, I, pp. 147–48.

published the following year, also refers to Donne. This stanza reveals how Donne's inimitability remained central to his reputation:

> He out of breath himself did run,
> When with high rapture he begun,
> By emulating Doctor Dunne—
> I mean the father, not the son.[90]

Anyone who takes the time to browse the late John R. Roberts's exhaustive "Annotated Bibliography of Modern Criticism" will readily appreciate how Donne's twentieth and twenty-first-century resurgence as a major canonical poet has run parallel with his re-emergence as an elegiac subject in popular culture, perhaps most famously in works by Joseph Brodsky and Van Morrison.[91] But a careful reading of both scholarship and elegies upon the author also reveals how, since 1631, each kind of literary remembrance has also reinforced and inspired the other. This is perhaps best illustrated in the distinctly pentametric closing sentence of R. C. Bald's biography, which subtly inverts Walton's ("But I shall see it re-inanimated"), and could easily have been lifted from the "Elegies" themselves: "But let us leave him in his quiet grave."[92] The "Elegies" still weave their quiet influence nearly four hundred years on.

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[90]Ibid., p. 140.

[91]Available in four volumes on the Digital Donne website: donnevariorum.tamu.edu/toolsandresources.

[92]Bald, p. 536. Walton's final sentence is unchanged in all editions of the *Life*.