

The Politics of Traducianism and Robert Herrick

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the English theological scene witnessed a revival of one of the old controversies as to the origins of the soul. This was a problem about when and how man came to have his soul at birth.¹ There were three main factions, which upheld the theory of the preexistence of the soul, Creationism, and Traducianism respectively. The first one, stemming from Plato and Origen, maintains that God created the souls of *all* human beings at an early stage of His creation of the universe, and that each individual soul waits in a prior state of existence until its turn comes to enter the earthly body at conception or at birth. The General Council of Constantinople (553) rejected this doctrine as a heresy. The other two doctrines, too, claim that the soul enters the body at conception or at birth, but while in the case of Creationism each soul is held to be immediately and specially created by God for each body, Traducianism asserts that in the process of generation the soul is transmitted to the offspring by the parents. Creationism was most widely accepted in the middle ages, and was virtually a Roman Catholic doctrine with Saint Jerome, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas and others as its authorities. Saint Augustine, on the other hand, defended a more spiritual variant of Traducianism, sometimes distinguished as Generationism, according to which the soul of the offspring originates from the parental soul in some mysterious way analogous to that in which the organism originates from the parent's organism.

It was Tertullian who was the most important advocate of Traducianism, that is, the materialistic doctrine of the transmission of the soul by the organic process of generation. He explained, for example, the reason why one experienced faintness or/and dimness of sight immediately after having reached orgasm by saying that it was because one had just lost a small portion of one's soul which had been contained in the semen.² In Renaissance literature, given the context of the revival of Traducianism, the familiar sexual connotation of the word 'die' would become stronger. To contemporary readers, it must have been more than a figure of speech. It was biologically, and theologically, true that men died when they ejected their souls at the sexual acme.

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In the seventeenth century, the serious controversy largely concerned the debate between Creationism and Traducianism. In *Scepsis Scientifica* (1665), Joseph Glanvill said: ‘Whether [the soul] be immediately created, or traduced, hath been the great ball of contention to the Later Ages’.³ John Donne eventually favoured Creationism, but in the process of his choosing, wrote:

If I will aske, not meere *Philosophers*, but *mixt Men*, *Philosphicall Divines*, how the *soule*, being a *separate substance*, enters into *Man*, I shall finde some that will tell me, that it is by *generation*, & *procreation* from *parents*, because they thinke it hard, to charge the *soule* with the guiltinesse of *Originall sinne*, if the *soule* were infused into a *body*, in which it must necessarily grow *foule*, and contract *originall sinne*, whether it *will* or *no*; and I shall finde some that will tell mee, that it is by *immediate infusion* from *God*, because they think it hard, to maintaine an *immortality* in such a *soule*, as should be begotten, and derived with the body from *Mortall parents*. (the 18th Meditation of his *Devotions*)⁴

Here, Donne makes it clear that the debate between Creationists and Traducianists was deeply bound up with the notions of original sin and the immortality of the soul. On the one hand, the idea that the soul has been traduced from father to son makes it easier to explain that original sin has been inherited from Adam through the filthy act of sexual intercourse. On the other, however, the idea that God creates and infuses each new soul individually supports the theological view that the soul itself has preserved its purity until its point of entrance into the body. If you want the immortality of the soul, then you must be a Creationist. Conversely, if you are a Traducianist, you are likely to be labelled by your opponents Mortalist, Materialist, Epicurean, or Atheist at worst.

Sir Thomas Browne was haunted by an objection to the orthodox opinion which denied Traducianism. The ground of his argument in his *Religio Medici* is, predictably, scientific:

And this is a conclusion from the equivocal and monstrous productions in the copulation of man with beast: for if the soul of man be not transmitted and transfused in the seed of the parents, why are not those productions merely beasts, but have also an impression and tincture of reason in as high a measure as it can evidence itself in those improper organs?⁵

Traducianism was nearly ignored in the Middle Ages, but in the Reformation was upheld by Lutherans, and in the seventeenth century espoused by many intellectuals including John Milton. He maintains that ‘the human soul is not created daily by the immediate act of God, but propagated from father to son in a natural order’ on the grounds that, after the sixth day when God ‘breathed into [Adam’s] nostril the breath of life . . . [and] man became a living soul’ (Genesis 2:7), on the seventh ‘God ceased from his work, and ended the whole business of creation’:

God would in fact have left his creation imperfect, and a vast, not to say a servile task would yet remain to be performed, without even allowing time for rest on

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each successive sabbath, if he still continued to create as many souls daily as there are bodies multiplied throughout the whole world, at the bidding of what is not seldom the flagitious wantonness of man. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the influence of the divine blessing is less efficacious in imparting to man the power of producing after his kind, than to the other parts of animated nature; Gen.i. 22,28.⁶

Traducianism, then, not only prevents God from being a Sabbath-breaker, but also allows man and nature independent actions regarding generation. It may be assumed that this doctrine is part and parcel of the belief in the autonomy of nature – in other words, the notion that the natural world is governed by secondary causes independently of the first cause. And Milton thinks that man's free agency is a kind of built-in law of nature – that 'law of nature so implanted and innate in [man], that he needed no precept to enforce its observance' – so that man can choose right or wrong free from God's wilful exercise of Providence.⁷ If man's will was controlled by God, the blame for the Fall would be placed, not on Adam and Eve, but on Himself. The Father asserts in Book III of *Paradise Lost* that 'they themselves decreed / Their own revolt, not I'.⁸ In order for the free will to be literally free, nature should be independent of interference by any supernatural agents including God. Similarly, in his *Man's Mortallitie* (1643), Richard Overton argues that the doctrine that 'whole man [i.e., both body and soul] is generated, and propagated by Nature' is 'true *secundum actum natura*': 'as Fish, Birds, and Beasts each in their kinde procreate their kinde without any transcendency of nature: So man in his kinde begets man'.⁹ To the objection which argues for 'a supernatural immediate assistance essential, without which the soul cannot be', he denies God's immediate hand: 'else he should have a special and immediate hand in Adultery: And so Whoremongers and Adulterers set God aworke to create Souls for their Bastards, which is to make God a slave to their lusts'.¹⁰ Thus, Overton argues that Traducianism helps God to be exculpated from committing sexual sins, just as Milton has pointed out that Creationism is tantamount to God's cooperation in 'the flagitious wantonness of man'.¹¹

Given the mere fact that Robert Herrick was an Anglican cleric, it is difficult to believe that he was unaware of the contemporary religious controversy. And, interestingly enough, a careful study of *Hesperides* (1648) shows that the poet frequently refers to souls especially when his lovers enjoy sexual intercourse. In 'To Electra', for example, the poet-lover, having had a friendly chat with her, says:

Which done, then quickly we'll undresse
To one and th'others nakednesse.
And ravisht, plunge into bed,
(Bodies and souls commingled)
(lines 7–10)¹²

Or in 'To Anthea':

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Come *Anthea*, know thou this,
Love at no time idle is:
 Let's be doing, though we play
 But at push-pin (half the day)
 Chains of sweet bents let us make:
 Captive one, or both, to take:
 In which bondage we will lie,
 Soules transfusing thus, and die.

The pseudo-scientific belief that the lovers' souls are commingled was advanced by Arabian philosophers in the ninth century, and can be found in the literature of troubadours. For instance, Ibn Hazm wrote in the eleventh century: 'Thus it is proved true that love is a spiritual approval and a mutual commingling of souls And the soul of the one . . . is asking for [the soul of the other], endeavouring to reach it when it can – like magnet and iron'.¹³ Electra and her lover, their bodies and souls together, seem to be united in the bed, which might be represented by the parenthesis in the text. And the image of Herrick's embracing lovers indicates that his definition of love involves a sense of touch. The reader can think of two forms of contact between them. One is kissing, and it was Plato who said that a kiss makes the lovers' souls rise up to their lips: 'My soul was on my lips as I was kissing Agathon, / Poor soul! She came hoping to cross over to him'.¹⁴ Herrick adopts this idea in his 'Love Palpable': 'I prest my Julia's lips, and in the kisse / Her Soule and Love were palpable in this.'

Another form of contact these two poems indicate is, of course, a copulation. The ecstasy *Anthea* and her lover enjoy is clearly expressed not only by the word 'die', but also by the phrase 'Soules transfusing'. It should be recalled that the verb 'transfuse' is also the term Sir Thomas Browne used when he explained Traducianism. The death which occurs due to the separation of the soul from the body is both physiological and theological here.

One more poetic expression of Traducianism is detectable in 'The Night-piece, to Julia', where the poet-lover invites Julia to a secret rendezvous in the night:

Her Eyes the Glow-worme lend thee,
 The Shooting Starres attend thee;
 And the Elves also,
 Whose little eyes glow,
 Like the sparks of fire, befriend thee.
 No *Will-o'th'-Wispe* mis-light thee;
 Nor Snake, or Slow-worme bite thee:
 But on, on thy way
 Not making a stay,
 Since Ghost her's none to affright thee.
 Let not the darke thee cumber;
 What though the Moon do's slumber?

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The Starres of the night
Will lend thee their light,
Like Tapers cleare without number.

Then *Julia* let me wooe thee,
Thus, thus to come thee,
And when I shall meet
Thy silv'ry feet,
My soule Ile poure into thee.

The lover is wishing that the light in the wood and the sky will successfully guide her, and that the power of darkness will not obstruct her so that she may come to him. The last stanza is significant for our concerns: what the lover will meet is not Julia herself but her 'feet'. The poet's choice of the word discloses the ultimate purpose of this assignation. Furthermore, the lustre of silver with which Julia's feet are shining in the starlight, while giving rise to an air of dream, suggests that Julia is still cold, metallic and inorganic until the lover 'poure[s]' his soul into her. Richard Overton, trying to prove Traducianism by the testimonies of Scripture, quotes at one point Job 10:10–12, and 'Here', he interprets, '*Job* sets forth exactly the manner of mans procreation, from the act of generation to his breathing'. The first half of Verse 10 reads: 'Hast thou not poured me out as milke, . . . ?' and Overton expounds: 'First, *poured out as milke*, that is, the seminarie evacuation of both Sexes in conjunction'; and after several sentences he puts the same in other words: 'the evacuation of seed in carnal copulation'.¹⁵ And in order to defend his Mortalist position, Overton twice quotes Isaiah 53:12: 'he hath poured out his soul unto death'.¹⁶ Here, Isaiah is prophesying that Jesus Christ will give himself up to death. Similarly, Herrick's lovers 'transfusing [souls] . . . , die' ('To Anthea', line 8), though, in this case, in sexual ecstasy.

Curiously enough, Herrick's Traducianist souls appear only in *Hesperides*, and not in *His Noble Numbers or his Pious Pieces* (1647). In the latter, the destination of the soul's migration is not another body, but Heaven: for example, he writes in 'Upon a Maide':

Hence a blessed soule is fled,
Leaving here the body dead:
Which (since here they can't combine)
For the Saint, we'l keep the Shrine.

Here, the soul does not seem to be corporeal, nor is it the mortal one that sleeps after death until it wakes at the Resurrection. It seems correct to assume that Herrick is dealing with two theoretically distinct souls. As John Donne said, 'Man before he hath his *immortall soule*, hath a *soule of sense*, and a *soule of vegetation* before that' (*Devotions*, ed. Raspa, p. 93). The great Christian Aristotelian Thomas Aquinas thought that the vital (i.e., vegetative) and the sensitive souls are transmitted in the semen while the rational or intellectual soul is incorporeal, and created and infused by God at the completion

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of man's coming-into-being (*Summa theologiae*, I. q.118. a.1–a.3.).¹⁷ It may seem reasonable to think that while Herrick's collection of religious poems deals with the immortal soul, we can find Traducianism in *Hesperides* because it is a collection of mainly secular poems. But in fact *Hesperides* is, as its subtitle shows, '*the Works both Humane & Divine*', and it has been noticed that even one poem can be categorized into the religious and the secular at the same time. We may recall that 'Delight in Disorder', for example, conveys a religio-political message when beloved Julia's petticoat functions as a subtle attack against Puritans who were 'too precise in every part' (line 14).¹⁸

It should be reasonable to ask, I presume, to what purpose Herrick employed Traducianism. The way in which he adapted it in *Hesperides* suggests that his purpose was highly ideological, though on the whole I concur with Jonathan F. S. Post who says that the charm of Herrick's verse is that '[i]t can, in short, be a little bit political without becoming frantic or repressive' and that Herrick's name 'rhymes with lyric, not Laud', who sought to enforce *The Book of Sports* in the 1630s.¹⁹ It may be argued that Herrick might have appropriated the theological implication of Traducianism, by parodying it, or at least making it less serious, so as to reflect a Royalist's values. For Calvinists, as we saw, Traducianism was useful in explaining the transmission of original sin, but for Royalists it could be a representation of the continuation of the good old days. For the reprobate, life is despair, or what can only be confronted with a defiant attitude, because of the inheritance of corrupted souls, but for merry Royalists like Herrick the moment of souls being traduced from one body to the next is that of an ecstasy of pleasure and joy. Tradition was a positive and indeed a fundamental value for the Anglican, as was the notion of succession for Royalists. The Anglican Joseph Hall, for example, employing a Traducianist expression, commends the Royalist Richard Lovelace's 'publishing of his ingenious poem' thus:

If the desire of Glory speak a mind
More nobly operative, & more refin'd,
What vast soule moves thee? Or what Hero's spirit
(Kept in'ts traduction pure) dost thou inherit,
That not contented with one single Fame,
Dost to a double glory spread thy Name?

(lines 1–6)²⁰

And for those Royalists like Herrick who feared that what was once familiar had become strange and changed especially in the revolutionary period, the importance of the succession of noble blood is evident. That is why Herrick's 'Epithalamie to Sir Thomas Southwell and his Ladie' ends with an image which reverberates with Traducianist implication:

Let bounteous Fate your spindles full
Fill, and winde up with whitest wooll.
Let them not cut the thread
Of life, untill ye bid.

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May Death yet come at last;
 And not with desp'rate hast:
 But when ye both can say,
 Come, let us now away,
 Be ye to the Barn then born,
 Two, like two ripe shocks of corn.
 (lines 161–170)

Although the primary reference here is biblical – ‘Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in in his season’ (Job 5:26) – there may also be a connection between Herrick’s two shocks of corn and picture 44 of George Wither’s *Collection of Emblemes* (1635), which depicts two large bound sheaves in the foreground against a background scene in which mowers labour to harvest the grain (see Figure 1). Wither suggests an optimistic conclusion which implies that in losing this life we shall be reborn into a better one. That the grain of wheat must fall into the earth before it can bring forth fruit is the comforting coda to a sobering meditation on the theme of ‘all flesh is grass’:

The Plow’d and Harrow’d Field, which, to thine eyes,
 Seems like to be the Grave, in which the Seeds
 Shall (without hope of rising) buried lye,
 Becomes the fruitfull Wombe, where Plenty breeds.
 There, will be Corne, where nought but Mire appears
 (lines 21–25)²¹

In the last couplet of Herrick’s poem, it is obvious that ‘the Barn’ represents Heaven, and the ‘two ripe shocks of corn’, the man and wife. And, given the fairly common emblematic subtext, this final image, although, and because, it is implicit, would evoke strongly in the reader’s mind the hope and promise of their seeds, i.e., their children. As Bishop Edward Reynolds explains, ‘To have Being by Traduction, is, when the soule of the Child is derived from the soule of the Parent, by the meanes of Seed’.²²

Considering the occasional nature of a poem celebrating the social event of marriage, referring to death can be a taboo in this context. The allusion to the resurrection of the couple and Traducianism, however, helps to tame Death even in the genre of epithalamium. Here, a usually cruel and plunderous Fate becomes ‘bounteous’, and Death – which is normally inevitable and absolute – obeys the married couple’s command to ‘come’ and their decision to pass ‘away’. Here is a wishful augmentation of the power of the free will, which, to use Milton’s words in *Paradise Lost*, God ‘ordained . . . / By nature free, not over-ruled by fate / Inextricable, or strict necessity’ (Book V, lines 526–528). The way in which the deterministic power of Fate and Death is virtually nullified in a series of optative sentences in the last stanza seems consonant with the ideological aspect of the use of Traducianism in the seventeenth century, which I shall discuss in the remaining part of this paper.

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In his *Man's Mortality*, Richard Overton condemns Creationism in the following terms:

. . . if the Soul come immediately from God, or there be an immediate worke of his in it's production, then of necessity, that immortal thing, and not our mortal flesh, is the Author of all sin, and it onely prone to all sin, and not the flesh, no more then a conduit, though a meet instrument to convey water, is the author, or fount of water, or prone to spring: And so Gods immediate hand is the cause of all sin, that man had better been without this soul; for it must needs be some damnable wicked spirit, or some Devil that God puts in him; for such as the fruit is, such must the tree be: but the fruit is damnably wicked: Therefore, the Soul must be some damnable wicked thing: No marvel then if Reprobates must needs sin and be damned, since God *infuses* such a *malignant Soul*, that counsels them with *Jobs* wife to *curse* God, *and die*, yea such a one as wholly workes out their condemnation: This is as if a man should break his horses legs, and then knock out his brains for halting.²³

In the seventeenth-century doctrinal controversy, theodicy was frequently employed by Arminian camps to prove that the doctrine of predestination was wrong. They argued that Calvinistic determinism, precluding a human free agency, makes God responsible for sin. In the passage quoted above, Overton's argument suggests further that Creationism, as it were, colludes with the doctrine of predestination, and conversely that Traducianism is consistent with Arminianism, which allows the human free will to function independently of God. Overton was a General Baptist who believed in the general redemption of humanity. This belief reflected the influence of the Dutch theologian Jacob Arminius, who taught that Christ had died for all people. As a consequence General Baptists believed that individuals possessed the free will to accept or reject salvation.

Once we accept that the rivalry of Traducianism and Creationism is the same confrontational relationship as that between Arminianism and Calvinism, we can understand why in the early seventeenth century Peter du Moulin, attacking the Arminian doctrine in his *The Anatomy of Arminianisme* (1620), took the side of Creationism: 'the reasonable soule is . . . formed, by God, in the fruit, and in the rudiment of mans body'. According to Du Moulin, Arminianism makes 'the election of God . . . depend on mans free-will', so that 'the saluation of man is a thing meerely contingent & not necessary, because it depends vpon a thing that is contingent & mutable, *to wit*, vpon mans wil'. And likewise '*Arminians* doe deny that faith it selfe is infused, or imprinted on the heart by God, but [argue] that the will is inuited to beleeeue onely by a morall perswasion, and by a courteous allureme[n]t'. In other words, their doctrine is predicated upon the rejection of '*the immediate prouidence of God*'.²⁴

This may explain why the Puritan Andrew Marvell, ridiculing Holland 'that scarce deserves the name of land', wrote:



Figure 1 Emblem 44 of George Wither's *Collection of Emblemes* (1635).

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Glad then, as miners that have found the oar,
 They with mad labour fished the land to shore;
 And dived as desperately for each piece
 Of earth, as if 't had been of ambergris;
 Collecting anxiously small loads of clay,
 Less than what building swallows bear away;
 Or than those pills which sordid beetles roll,
 Transfusing into them their dunghill soul.

(lines 9–16)²⁵

Here, Marvell derogatively compares Traducianist souls to the tumble-dung beetle's eggs, and in effect denies the possibility of the transmission of human rational souls. As far as this particular poem is concerned, his antagonism towards Traducianism comes not only from the Creationist position which is evident in his 'A Dialogue, Between the Resolved Soul, and Created Pleasure' and other poems, but also, especially given the contemporary political context, from his Cromwellian position at the time of the composition of the poem. Marvell's theology, like Milton's, upheld the Arminian doctrine of the free will, but here in this nationalistic poem composed in the context of the Anglo-Dutch War he had a good reason to mock and attack the *Dutch* Arminianism associated with Traducianism.²⁶

And, finally, we may understand why, in the middle of the seventeenth century when the New Model army went into battle crying 'Providence', Royalist poets like Robert Herrick who were on the losing side, and thus not surprisingly more prone to deny the direct intervention of God in this world, might find it more rational and intelligible to resort to Traducianism rather than to Creationism. The former, even in the mid-seventeenth century, could have been used as a cogent explanation of the inheritance of original sin, and therefore as associated with the Calvinistic doctrine, but, as we have witnessed in Herrick's Traducianist expressions and Richard Overton's treatise, what came to be emphasized in the mid-seventeenth-century theological controversy seems to have been the Arminian view that Traducianism rejects determinism and predestination. Furthermore, the espousal of Traducianism may be linked to the mid-seventeenth-century revival of Epicureanism which facilitated, and was facilitated by, the advancement of scientific thinking, for behind both of these ideas is the basic, modern principle of the separation of the natural, phenomenal world and God's (and therefore, religion's) domain.²⁷ Evidently, considering Marvell's example, we should not be categorical in stating that all supporters of the Arminian doctrine are Traducianists. We may safely conclude, however, that it is highly probable that Traducianism could be used as an anti-Calvinistic and anti-deterministic weapon, and that it was so at least in Herrick's Epicurean poems.

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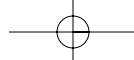
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Notes

- 1 This, of course, includes a gender problem from a feminist point of view because many, though not most, theologians had seriously doubted, and the seventeenth-century misogynists sarcastically disbelieved, that women had souls. For example, in 400 AD, Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo, denied that women had souls, and in the sixth century, the Council of Macon debated whether or not women possessed souls. (On this matter, see for instance, Karen Armstrong, *The Gospel according to Woman: Christianity's Creation of the Sex War in the West* (New York, Doubleday, 1986)). In the early seventeenth century, John Marston had Countess Isabella say in *Insatiate Countess* (1613) 'Women are made / Of blood, without souls' (*The Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, John C. Nimmo, 1887), III, 199). And in 'To the Countesse of Huntingdon', John Donne said 'Nor finde wee that God breath'd a soule in her [i.e., Eve]'. (*The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters*, ed. W. Milgate (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 85). Likewise, referring to Genesis 2:7, 'And the LORD God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul', Henry Nevile jocularly explained women's inferiority: 'God breathed into Adam, and he became a living soule; but woman was made of man, participating only of his earthly substance, no mention of any soule infused into her' (*The Ladies, A Second Time, Assembled in Parliament. A Continuation of the Parliament of Ladies, Their Votes, Orders, and Declarations* (London, 1647), p. 9).
- 2 See Tertullian, *A Treatise on the Soul*, chapter 27 in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, vol. XV (Edinburgh, 1870).
- 3 Joseph Glanvill, *Scepsis Scientifica* (London, 1665), p. 14.
- 4 John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Oxford, OUP, 1987), p. 91.
- 5 Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici, Hydriotaphia and The Garden of Cyrus*, ed. R. H. A. Robbins (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 39.
- 6 *The Works of John Milton*, vol. XV, *De Doctrina Christiana*, trans. Charles R. Sumner, ed. James Holly Hanford and Waldo Hilary Dunn (New York, Columbia UP, 1933), pp. 43, 45.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 8 John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book III, lines 116–7, ed. Alastair Fowler (New York, Longman, 1986), p. 149. All quotations from *Paradise Lost* are taken from this edition.
- 9 I am using the second edition 'by the Author corrected and enlarged', with a new title *Man Wholly Mortal* (London, 1655), pp. 117, 104.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7.
- 11 According to Stephen M. Fallon, *Milton among the Philosophers: Poetry and Materialism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Ithaca, Cornell UP, 1991), p. 58, note 23: '[Henry] More's *Conjectura Cabbalistica*, George Rust's *Letter of Resolution concerning Origen* (1661), and Glanvill's *Lux Orientalis* (1662) are related philosophical theodicies that share the provocative and audacious claim that the preexistence of souls is necessary to acquit God of the injustice of consigning innocent souls to a fallen world. Instead, they argue that postlapsarian human souls sinned before their incarnation.'

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- 12 All quotations from Herrick's verse are taken from *The Poems of Robert Herrick*, ed. L. C. Martin (London, OUP, 1965).
- 13 See Ruth H. Cline, 'Heart and Eye', *Romance Philology*, 25:3 (February, 1972), 283–4.
- 14 *The Greek Anthology*, trans. W. R. Paton, Loeb Classical Library (1916, rpt., London, Heinemann, 1960), I, 167.
- 15 Richard Overton, *Man Wholly Mortal* (London, 1655), pp. 118–9.
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 124.
- 17 See Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, trans. M. J. Charlesworth (New York and London, Blackfriars, 1970), XV, 144–61.
- 18 The work that provides greatest assistance in reading contemporary religio-political significance in Herrick's poems is still Leah S. Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986).
- 19 Jonathan F. S. Post, *English Lyric Poetry: The Early Seventeenth Century* (London, Routledge, 1999), p. 122.
- 20 *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*, ed. C. H. Wilkinson (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 9.
- 21 George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne: Quickened with Metrical Illustrations, both Moral and Divine* (London, A. M., 1635), p. 44. The picture in question was the work of the Dutch engravers, Crispin van de Passe father and son. It was first used in Gabriel Rollenhagen's *Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum* (1611–1613). On this matter, see *A Collection of Emblemes*, introd. Michael Bath (Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1989), p. 3. Since Herrick's 'Epithalamie' for Sir Thomas Southwell and Margaret Fuller was written presumably in 1618, it seems highly probable that the picture was familiar to the poet, and to Southwell's and Fuller's relatives.
- 22 Bp. E. Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (London, 1640), pp. xxxii, 393.
- 23 Richard Overton, *Man Wholly Mortal*, pp. 101–2.
- 24 Peter du Moulin, *The Anatomy of Arminianisme* (London, 1620), pp. 67, 87, 305, sig. Ar.
- 25 *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed. Nigel Smith (London, Longman, 2003), p. 250.
- 26 In Peter du Moulin's words, 'this pernicious doctrine torne the bowels of the Churches of the Low-Countries' (*The Anatomy of Arminianisme*, p. 165). In his copiously annotated edition (*ibid.*), Nigel Smith says of 'The Character of Holland' that 'Nearly every line in the poem has a source or an echo in anti-Dutch writing from the previous twelve years' (p. 247). In the note to lines 15–16, he points out that 'according to one representation, the Dutch were first bred from horse excrement' (p. 250), but does not notice Marvell's mock Traducianist expression.
- 27 For example, Reid Barbour, *English Epicures and Stoics: Ancient Legacies in Early Stuart Culture* (Amherst, Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1998) sums up the Epicureans' belief by saying of the gods that 'Their tranquillity entails a noninvolvement in creation and providence and so accounts for the radical contingency of the world' (p. 14). He also points out that in early Stuart England 'in blunt polemics and in careful meditations, the Epicureans are brought to bear . . . on the admission of human will and contingency into the schemes of salvation and providence' (p. 11).



TRADUCIANISM AND ROBERT HERRICK

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