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Samuel Daniel: HIs Importance as a Literary Figure

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846

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The age into which Samuel Daniel was born was destined to become one of the most productive and significant periods in English letters; it was the age of William Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe, and Sir Philip Sidney--the Elizabethan Age. Though not as passionate and turbulent as his associates, Daniel's quiet and unobtrusive voice was one that was heard and was noted by both his contemporaries and later scholars.

Within all of the genres that Daniel utilized, one of his most characteristic qualities is the purity of his language. Since the Elizabethan Age critics have recognized this trait in his work. His contemporaries commended the purity of his diction. Some of Daniel's contemporaries found his language flat and unemotional, unlike the passion-charged poetry of many of his associates, and better fitted to prose; however, more recent critics believe this prosaism is caused by preciseness and exactness with the language.

Though the purity of his language is widely recognized, it is rarely evident what is meant by it. In this study the concept of the purity of his language will encompass several different aspects of Daniel's work. First it will mean an investigation of his command of language; Daniel seemingly has a preference for Latinate diction. His vocabulary--his

fondness for common words over colorful and often archaic words--and his style, flat and prosaic, will be examined. Another aspect of his use of language includes his use of imagery, or as Cecil Seronsy in "Well-Languaged Daniel: A Reconsideration" says, his lack of imagery,[1] and his affinity for abstract and muted images, especially in his maturer works. In addition to imagery, his use of rhyme--he often uses weak or approximate rhyme to indicate the mood of calmness and thoughtfulness and to emphasize the sweetness of sounds--and his selection of alternate rhyme in nearly all his poems will be investigated. Some of Daniel's identifying habits, such as his use of oxymoron and paronomasia, will also be examined in relation to his purity of language. Still another facet of his use of language will be his utilization of connectives; he uses so many relative pronouns, conjunctions, and repeated or near-repeated lines that many critics think one must read his work as though it were one large unit connected by several links. Finally, his purity of language will be studied in light of the revisions he made. Daniel, who was a constant reviser, changed his punctuation, eliminating that which was unnecessary and de-emphasizing it where possible in order to give his work more unity, and replaced many of his earlier feminine endings.

An investigation of Daniel's use of literary conventions will provide a second criterion for the evaluation of his

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[1] Cecil Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel: A Reconsideration," Modern Language Review, LII (October, 1957), 490. Hereinafter referred to as "Well-Languaged Daniel").

literary importance. Many of Daniel's ideas coincide with those of the Elizabethan tradition, such as his concern for virtue and/or the transience of beauty; however the way he maneuvers these ideas is not always in keeping with that tradition. To many of the motifs Daniel added his own innovations. Some of the most dominate themes in Daniel's work are these: the effects of time as a destroyer of physical beauty and material objects, variations of the carpe diem theme, praise of virtuous qualities in men and women, emphasis on the power of knowledge as in "Musophilus" (1599), ability of verse to immortalize, glorification of England and the English language, and the plague of recurring errors. All of these themes appear in Daniel's work; often many are in one work.

Another criterion in evaluating the literary importance of Daniel is the examination of the way he uses the various genres. For instance, in the "Delia" (1592) sonnet sequence, one of Daniel's earliest and most widely read pieces, the conventional Petrarchan love themes are utilized; however the situations and emotions, in keeping with Daniel's own personality, are refined beyond that of nearly all other Elizabethan writers. A survey of these love themes and the way in which they are used will be provided in a later chapter. In the employment of the Ovidian complaint, Daniel makes some significant innovations as well as some didactic comments on the nature of morality. Another poetic form in which Daniel does a considerable amount of moralizing, as Martha H. Shackford has demonstrated in "Samuel Daniel's Poetical Epistles," is in

the epistle. Shackford shows that not only does he use it for moralizing, but also to give intellectual descriptions of the people to whom the epistles are written, as in "To Lady Ann Clifford" (1603) and "To Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Southampton" (1603).[2] Daniel, who is believed by C.S. Lewis in English Literature in the Sixteenth Century - Excluding Drama to be a rather truthful historian as well as poet because of his habit of adding little more to the history than moral speeches,[3] employs his epic "The Civil Wars" (1594-1609) to record and to document English history and to make moral and ethical comments to his readers. His Senecan dramas, drama probably being his weakest genre, are significant mainly because of character development and because of their presentation of his historical view. His pastoral dramas, in keeping with many of the other Elizabethan pastorals, are primarily concerned with decoration and spectacle; however Hymen's Triumph (1615), one of his best, has been cited for its beautiful verse. Daniel's critical work A Defence of Ryme (1602), classical in its form and argument, according to Marsue M. Johnson in "The Well-Rimed Daniel: An Examination of 'Delia' and a 'Defence of Ryme,'" not only is a well-written

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[2]Martha H. Shackford, "Samuel Daniel's Poetical Epistles," Studies in Philology, XLV (1948), 189.

[3]C.S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century - Excluding Drama (Oxford, 1944), p. 526. (Hereinafter referred to as English Literature).

and rousing treatise but also a significant Renaissance critical document and a statement of lasting importance on the nature of poetry.[4]

An investigation of the literary conventions and an evaluation of the way they are employed by Daniel will help to provide some indication of his literary importance. To examine the traditional conventions he uses will, to some degree, indicate where Daniel fits into the literary society of the Elizabethan Age. A study of some of his innovations and a few of his distinctive ways of using traditional motifs will help to demonstrate his overall importance to literature.

Daniel, a quiet and reserved gentleman and writer, has been overlooked as a literary figure important to his age and to the entire scope of literature. The study of these areas--the purity of his language and his use of literary conventions and genres--will be the criterion for an evaluation of his importance and will, perhaps, provide the key which will unlock the door to Daniel's place in literature.

Little is known of Daniel's early life. He was born in 1562, in the early stages of Elizabeth's reign, in Somersetshire and lived until 1619. Though there is a large void in the early background of Daniel, some critics believe that he was the son of a music master and that this exposure to harmony and to rhythm aided in preparing his mind for poetry. This

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[4]Marsue M. Johnson, "The Well-Rimed Daniel: An Examination of 'Delia' and a 'Defence of Ryme'" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arkansas, 1965), p. 77. (Hereinafter referred to as "Well-Rimed Daniel").

may or may not be true; however Daniel's younger brother John did become a musician and composer of some relevance.

Significant knowledge of Daniel's life begins in 1581 when on November 17 he matriculated at Magdalen Hall (now Hertford College), Oxford University. While at Oxford, the already quiet and reserved Daniel was probably exposed to people and ideas which not only affected his work but also his life and his personality. One of these influential persons was John Florio, an instructor of Latin at Oxford who was, perhaps, Daniel's brother-in-law. In 1582 Florio published a group of Latin proverbs entitled "Giardino de recreatione" which contained some short, playful Latin verses by Daniel, indicated by Cecil Seronsy in Samuel Daniel to be his earliest published work.[5] Another person, though greatly different in personality from Daniel, whom the author came to know was Giardino Bruno, the vehement Italian humanist and philosopher, who lectured at Oxford in 1583.[6] From him Daniel possibly learned his earliest philosophical concepts. These early associations indicate an interest in languages and in Renaissance philosophy and possibly explain his early interest in translations of Italian literature.

Although he apparently had a deep interest in the study of history, as is evidenced by its dominating appearance in many of his works, Daniel, as is noted by Anthony à - Wood in Athenae Oxonienais, did not seem to enjoy the arduous study

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[5]Cecil Seronsy, Samuel Daniel (New York, 1967), p. 14.

[6]Ibid.

tasks of Oxford. Wood indicates why Daniel left school by 1582 or 1583:

> He [Daniel] continued about three years, and improved himself much in academical learning, by the benefit of an excellent tutor. But his geny being more prone to easier and smoother studies, than in picking and hewing at logic, he left the university without the honour of a degree, and exercised it much in English history and poetry, of which he then gave several specimens.[7]

In the years just prior to his announcing himself to the world as a poet, most critics agree--though there is little evidence--that Daniel travelled in France and Italy. The importance of these sojourns on a young man of poetic temperament can only be envisioned when one realizes that these two areas were, at this time, producing many of the models and much of the material for English poets. Influences from these two sources continually enter into the work of Daniel. Joan Rees, in Samuel Daniel: A Critical and Biographical Study, indicates that he appears to have used the French influences (specifically Desportes and du Bellay) in his earlier work, particularly in the sonnets and in the drama, and that the Italian influence (specifically Petrarch, Tasso, Tonsillo, and Gaurini) appear early and continue into his later writing.[8] During his travels, Daniel was probably stimulated by direct

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[7]Anthony à - Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, ed. by Philip Bliss (4 vols.; London: F.C. and J. Rivington, 1813), II, p. 268. As cited in The Complete Poetry and Prose of Samuel Daniel, ed. by Alexander Grosart (5 vols.; New York, 1963), I, p. iv.

[8]Joan Rees, Samuel Daniel: A Critical and Biographical Study (Liverpool, England, 1964), pp. 22-23. (Hereinafter referred to as Samuel Daniel).

association and conversation with his French and Italian contemporaries. Though the influences are present, it must be understood now, as will be indicated more thoroughly in later chapters, that Daniel was not a mere imitator of foreign models.

When Daniel returned from travelling, his poetic mood had matured so that it needed only direction and inspiration before blooming into production. In about 1592 Daniel found in Mary, Countess of Pembroke, sister of Sir Philip Sidney, the guidance and promotion that was to launch him on his literary career. While in her company and that of her friends, a society later called the Pembroke or Wilton circle, Daniel likely absorbed more literary influences and ideas; moreover, as John Buxton in Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, cites, he matured more in mind and personality.[9] His conservative and restrained qualities, which typify his verse, must have appealed to his admirers, for he, in later life, was rarely without a highranking patron. A.H. Bullen, in Elizabethans, conjectures that Daniel, who lacked the turbulence and passion of many of the Elizabethan writers, had the gentle and easy spirit which allowed him to get aid from his powerful friends (and probably prevented him from offending

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[9]John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance (New York, 1966), pp. 191-192. (Hereinafter referred to as Sir Philip Sidney). Buxton also notes that though Sidney was probably absent from the circle, his sister continued his work in English poetry; therefore Daniel had ample opportunity to be influenced by Sidney. He believes Daniel, instead of learning verse forms and styles from Sidney, learned broad-minded independence and experimentation with poetry instead of being content to follow previous poetic examples. See pp. 191-192 for further explication.

them) and exempted him from many of the woes of other writers.[10]

Daniel's thought corresponds to his easiness, gentleness, and calmness; however he maintains beneath this relaxed and dignified front a slight, but continuous, strain of pessimism. Daniel's thought can be described by dividing it into four categories: he is a conservative thinker who has a deep respect for the past, especially the Middle Ages (an age usually scorned by the Elizabethans), a regard for order in politics, art, life, or any other area, and a hopefulness for the future; he is a patriot who demonstrates an affection for England (much of his work deals with its history) and for the English language, a facet of his philosophy easily demonstrated in his A Defence of Ryme; he displays a nobility of character and of thought in his unobtrusiveness as a poet and a thinker and in his deep love of knowledge ("Musophilus" is a poem which debates the power of knowledge); and he is a humanist, in the Renaissance tradition, with a deep respect for human virtues and dignity.

The strain of pessimism which enters much of Daniel's work comes from his view of history, a view present in his non-historical as well as his historical verse. As William Blisset in "Samuel Daniel's Sense of the Past" explains, he has a "sense of the past, its opportunities and pitfalls, the lessons for the present, its place in the continuity of

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[10] A.H. Bullens, Elizabethans (New York, 1962), p. 27.

history."[11] In "The Doctrine of Recurrence and Some Related Ideas in the Works of Samuel Daniel," Cecil Seronsy explains Daniel's historical philosophy in terms of the classical, but popular, cycle of recurrence, a theory familiar to many Elizabethans because of the work of two popular French historians Jean Bodkin and Louis LeRoy. The cyclic theory, in its simplest sense, means that the new is repetition of the old; therefore there can never be any real improvement or progress. As Daniel uses it, it appears that he believes God is ultimately in control; however he sometimes allows man to take charge, thus the cycle of good and evil, progress and decay. Since this happens continually, man can only improve on his potential for learning, he cannot ultimately improve his potential, thus a strain of pessimism. Daniel, however, is not wholly pessimistic, for he believes that, though men cannot have ultimate progress, he can improve the cycle by learning from the mistakes of the past. Because of this recognition that man will ultimately make mistakes yet can improve within the limits of his potential, Daniel is often termed a Christian-Stoic.[12]

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[11] William Blisset, "Samuel Daniel's Sense of the Past," English Studies, XXXVIII (1957), 50. (Hereinafter referred to as "Sense of the Past").

[12] Cecil Seronsy, "The Doctrine of Recurrence and Some Related Ideas in the Works of Samuel Daniel," Studies in Philology, LIV (July, 1957), 388-389. (Hereinafter referred to as "The Doctrine of Recurrence").

CHAPTER II

THE PURITY OF HIS LANGUAGE

Practically all critics, both those who view Daniel's work favorably and unfavorably, have found what they term the "purity" of his language meriting praise. Even those scholars who have severely criticized Daniel for being prosy at times have, simultaneously, been quick to call him "well-languaged." Seronsy, a critic who recently has done much favorable criticism on Daniel, explains this near juxtaposition of critical opinions in this way: the critics, in general, find Daniel's gracefulness of phraseology and smoothness of versification balanced against a want of vigor and lack of imagination.[1] Therefore what they praise in Daniel is the way he manipulates the language, and what they do not apparently appreciate is the inornate, proselike, "pure" way he expresses his ideas. In an age that is famous for its use of decorous and colorful language, it is significant and important that this poet felt it necessary to express himself in a much purer language than that of his contemporaries. This purity of the language in Daniel can be best exemplified by examining various aspects of his work.

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[1]Cecil Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel: A Reconsideration," Modern Language Review, LII (October, 1957), 481.

One of the most revealing factors in illustrating Daniel's purity of language is his diction. The qualities of proper diction as listed by Thrall, Hibbard, and Holman in A Handbook to Literature are the apt selection of the word for the particular meaning to be conveyed, the use of legitimate words accepted as good usage (excluding all solecisms, barbarisms, and improprieties), and the use of words which are clear-cut and specific.[2] Being a meticulous craftsman with the language and a continual reviser, Daniel probably labored carefully to achieve the proper selection of words for the meanings he wished to convey. That he met the second requirement for good diction is evidenced by Coleridge's statement that he finds the language in the "Delia" sonnets to be so faultless as to be imperishable English.[3] Daniel's preference for Latinate diction, which is general in meaning and less vivid in description, indicates his attempt to rid his poetry of confusion. Seronsy in his study of Daniel's use of language has especially found this preference to be illustrated in Daniel's revisions, for changes and replacements that he makes seem to favor Latinate diction. For instance Seronsy found in a study of the 1609 revision of "The Civil Wars" that the author made these changes in order to gain precision and smoothness: "labour" for worke," discerne" for "judge," "receiv'd this fall" for "had this foule fall," and "confirm him king" for

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[2]William F. Thrall, Addison Hibbard, and C. Hugh Holman, A Handbook to Literature (New York, 1960), p. 141.

[3]Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century, ed. by Robert F. Brinkley (Duke University, 1955), p. 507.

"crown this chosen king." Seronsy claims that this shift to a more Latinate diction indicates the author was striving for generalization and purity in the language, for it frequently removed harsh and awkward sounds, smoothed the rhythm, attained more precise meaning, and sharpened antithesis. Thus, when the poet breaks up a string of monosyllables in "A base meane man whom few or none would misse" and writes "A base companion, few, or none would misse," he greatly improves the smoothness of the verse, ridding his work of the staccato monosyllables. Likewise his alteration from "Conclude some hope of quiet, to take breath" to "Gave some calm leisure to recover breath" is seen as elimination of harsh consonants and an improvement in assonance.[4] This fondness for Latinate diction is also important in understanding a part of Daniel's alleged prosaic qualities, for this diction frequently replaced more descriptive terms with those that are abstract.

Seronsy's study reveals an interesting idiosyncrasy that Daniel practiced in his preference for Latinate diction. This peculiarity is that he had a strong predilection for words prefixed by "en" and "in," in most cases verbs that intensify the original idea, and for words with "un" and "dis" prefixes. Though many of these compounds were probably familiar to Daniel and widely accepted in the Elizabethan Age, he possibly introduced many into the language. Some of these compounds are now obsolete (for instance "unbetter," "incheering," and "incommon"); however some that he possibly introduced such as

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[4]Cecil Seronsy, Samuel Daniel (New York, 1967), p. 156.

"infolded" (with folded arms), "innovate," and "inchaines" (binding the emotion) have remained an active part of the language.[5]

Perhaps the abstractness of the Latinate element has caused many critics to say that Daniel occupies a middle ground in diction. Coleridge felt Daniel's diction as well as his style was somewhere in that middle ground between prose and poetry and yet common to both.[6] This middle diction is free from the extremes of homely realism and of decoration and artifice that is often prevalent in many of Daniel's associates. An example of middle diction can be seen in Daniel's "The Civil Wars." While many Elizabethan writers describe vividly the ugly, gory realistic details of battles, Daniel treats the horror of the warfare generally and, usually, briefly and as objectively as possible. Douglas Bush in English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century discusses an important point that must be kept in mind when reading Daniel's work. He is more interested in mundane cause and effect and in delivering a moral verdict than he is in the action of the event;[7] therefore from Daniel's viewpoint there is no reason to use what he calls "gay wordes."[8] Even when he describes the exploits of Hotspur and Talbot, one of the

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[5]Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 482.

[6]Coleridge, p. 509.

[7]Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (Oxford, 1962), pp. 226-227. (Hereinafter referred to as Earlier Seventeenth Century).

[8]Joan Rees, Samuel Daniel: A Critical and Biographical Study (Liverpool, England, 1964), p. 174.

most realistic and active portions of "The Civil Wars," Daniel remains as distant and detached as possible. Only a flash of Elizabethan extravagance is evident when in iiii. 83 he describes the battle of Shrewsbury and the death of Talbot in these terms:

> For in their wounds, our goarie swords shall write
> The monumentes of our eternitie.[9]

F.P. Wilson notes in Elizabethan and Jacobean that after this momentary boldness, Daniel returns to a less active and more reflective study of the causes, morals, and politics involved.[10] The lack of realistic diction is probably another reason for his alleged prosaism, and its absence in "The Civil Wars" prompted Ben Jonson, who had little praise for Daniel as a poet, to say "Daniel wrott civill warres, and yet hath not one battle in all his Book."[11] This concern for substance over action marks most of Daniel's work, with the exception of his pastoral drama. And though Daniel loses some effect by shunning the vividness of realistic diction, he regains it through unity and clarity, and through the use of middle diction. Daniel avoids the particularities of contemporary diction as well as some of the language difficulties of his associates.

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[9] The Complete Poetry and Prose of Samuel Daniel, ed. by Alexander B. Grosart (5 vols.; New York, 1963), II, 166. (All of Daniel's quotations are from this edition which hereinafter will be referred to as Complete Works).

[10] F.P. Wilson, Elizabethan and Jacobean (Oxford, 1960), p. 62.

[11] Works of Ben Jonson, ed. by Herford and Simpson (Oxford, 1925-52), I, p. 138. As cited in Rees, Samuel Daniel, p. 134.

Another aspect in examining the purity of Daniel's language is manifested in his vocabulary. Like William Wordsworth, Daniel believed that common words, the vernacular of the common man, were well-suited to poetry, so he chose for his works those words which were of more common or permanent acceptance. One need not know the particular vocabulary habits of the Elizabethan writers in order to read Daniel, for the words that he selected, which, for the most part, were understandable to the common Elizabethan, are still meaningful to modern readers. Coleridge found Daniel's language similar to that of Wordsworth and described it as imperishable and pure English.[12] Seronsy, in his study of Daniel's vocabulary, points out that he often chose more common words over older words which were available and popular in other Elizabethan writings. Some particular ones he points out are "man" for "wight," "burden" for "fordels," and "commotion" for "garboil."[13] This preference keeps Daniel's work from being plagued by the archaisms which are found in many Elizabethan poets such as Spenser and Camden.

Conspicuously absent from Daniel's vocabulary is the vernacular of specialized groups.[14] Although one can read Shakespeare and often get a glimpse of Elizabethan life, Daniel eschews the vocabulary of all specialized groups. Rarely is there any reference to the occupations, trades, or amusements of the Elizabethans.

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[12] Coleridge, p. 507.

[13] Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 482.

[14] Ibid., 482.

In addition to shunning specialized vocabulary, he also avoids the use of description. Seldom are there any references to nature or to the English countryside. Even in his descriptive portraits, as Buxton and other critics note, whether they be historical, mythical or contemporary, Daniel allows the reader to see them morally and intellectually rather than physically. "The Funerall Poem" (1606) on the death of Lord Mountjoy is a good example of this, for in it though the reader is given some idea of Mountjoy physically, the emphasis of the poem describes Mountjoy's virtues, love of knowledge, and well-governed character.[15] This dislike for particulars in description may give some insight into the reason Daniel had a disinclination for the stage.

Another unique factor contributing to the pureness of Daniel's language which Seronsy has observed is the absence of the common pun, a popular device in the Elizabethan Age and one which causes a loss of meaning after a period of time.[16] In nearly all Elizabethan poets there are extreme puns which, though witty and popular in their own day, tend to lose their effectiveness in succeeding generations. Daniel, however, rarely used the pun as a part of his literary language. Whether Daniel felt that punning was an insult to the language or whether its absence is another indication of his fastidiousness and craftsmanship with language is not known. When he does

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[15]John Buxton, Sir Phillip Sidney and the English Renaissance (New York, 1966), p. 216.

[16]Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 483.

use the pun, which is rare, he keeps it within respectable and acceptable levels of meaning; thus the reader of today usually understands Daniel's puns without special explication. The level on which Daniel's puns operate can be illustrated by observing this line from iii. 49 of "The Civil Wars": "Aumarle became the man, that did all marre."[17] Another pun in that same work iiii. 16 was praised by Coleridge for its subtlety; it is "Anion and Marne (the name that foule appears;/ Th' eternall scarre of our dismembered Land)."[18] The clearness and acceptability of these puns indicate the method by which Daniel, when he did rarely pun, used them. Daniel's caliber of puns, when brought into comparison with the widely used, but short-lived puns of his associates, drew this comment from Coleridge: "Had Puns never been used less judiciously than in this sentence [referring to the pun in iiii. 16, "The Civil Wars"] and that of the fallen angels in the sixth book of Paradise Lost, they would still have been considered as beauties."[19] Often Daniel's puns are even more transparent than those already cited, as in iii. 11 "The undertakers have been over-took."[20]

Daniel's fondness for oxymoron, the employment of paranomasia (variation in the use of the meaning of a word or root-word through successive phrasing) and the arrangement of

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[17] Complete Works, II, p. 118.

[18] Ibid., 141.

[19] Coleridge, p. 514.

[20] Complete Works, II, p. 101.

phrases and units of thought in threes not only enhance his effectiveness with the language but also give some characteristics of his style. That Daniel had an affection for oxymoronic word play is evidenced by Caesario's speech in Cleopatra (1594), one of Daniel's Senecan closet dramas,: "Then wretched greatness, proud rich misery,/ Pompous distress, glittering calamity" (iv. ii. 1001-1002).[21] The utilization of paranomasia, an extremely basic trait of Daniel's work, is, according to Seronsy, a literary gimmick that Daniel used to enhance the clarity and antithesis of his verse.[22] Examples of it abound in his lines:

> But having leave, I must go take my leave
> (Cleopatra iv.i.1099)[23]
> For most of all the rest, toyld in unrest
> ("The Civil Wars" i.9)[24]
> For now the Spaniard hath possesst three partes
> The most important of this Ile say they
> And sooner fresh supplyments, Spaine transports
> ("Funeral Poem." 243-245).[25]

In addition to these other forms of word play, Daniel, like many other poets, frequently arranges phrases and units of thought in threes, as in his description in the "Funeral Poem" of how death laid Lord Mountjoy "there where neither greatness, pomp, nor grace" is present, or as in the same poem his description of how "nettles, thistles, brakes (the poorest workes of nature)" grind man's materialistic inventions

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[21] Complete Works, III, p. 67.

[22] Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 284.

[23] Complete Works, III, p. 71.

[24] Complete Works, II, p. 13.

[25] Complete Works, I, p. 181.

into dust. Claes Scharr in An Elizabethan Sonnet Problem indicates that he believes Daniel does this for balance and for emphasis;[26] however this might as easily be a relatively unconscious process in Daniel's work since it is so prevalent. Whatever Daniel's reason for using these devices, the word play rather than being distracting is used in such taste that it seems to fit into the context of the work and enhance the meaning.

Still another aspect which gives rise to Daniel's purity of language is his poetic style. Since the first publication of his work, Daniel's poetic style has often been criticized. In comparison with his fellow Elizabethans, it is found by many to be flat and prosaic. Ben Jonson, who seems to have had a personal dislike for Daniel, in a letter to Drummond of Hawthornden called him a "good honest man but no poet."[27] Michael Drayton, a poet who was a contemporary of Daniel and who was possibly influenced by him, in an epistle to Henry Reynolds had this to say of his style:

> His rhymes were smooth, his metres well did close,
> But yet his manner better fitted prose.[28]

Since Daniel's poetry was not of the same spirit as that of other Elizabethans, many of the earlier critics questioned his style. Bullen points out that Daniel's poetry lacked the rich imagery (a facet that will be treated later in this chapter)

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[26]Claes Schaar, An Elizabethan Sonnet Problem (Copenhagen, 1960), p. 120. (Hereinafter referred to as Sonnet Problem).

[27]Letter cited in A.H. Bullen, Elizabethans (New York, 1962), p. 27.

[28]Ibid.

and gorgeous coloring of Spenser's poetry and the fervor and exaltation of spirit that ennobled the sonnets of Sidney.[29] Because he lacked this passion, emotion, and turbulence, many critics find his work to be too prosaic.

However, just because Daniel's verse lacks the color of his contemporaries, he cannot be cast off as too prosaic for poetry. Many facets of his work must be weighed. First, as has been previously noted, Daniel's preference for abstraction and generalization aided his flat, prosy style. Second, Daniel perhaps used this pure and direct style because he sought to imitate a portion of the mature Spenser's style as found in Astrophel and Stella. Buxton finds that, of all Elizabethans, the styles of Daniel and the mature Spenser are very similar.[30] Third, the reader must consider the type of person Daniel was. As Hallet Smith in Elizabethan Poetry: A Study in Convention, Meaning and Expression has said, a great deal of spirit and passion in his style would have been incongruous with his disposition and philosphy. He was simply not capable of the fiery spirit of many of his fellow Elizabethans.[31] Finally, and most important, it must be remembered that what a writer is trying to say and to do often dictates the style of his poetry. G.A. Thompson, in Elizabethan Criticism of Poetry,

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney, p. 125. For furhter discussion on this point see pp. 191-192.

[31] Hallet Smith, Elizabethan Poetry: A Study in Convention, Meaning and Expression (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), p. 160. (Hereinafter referred to as Elizabethan Poetry).

points out that Daniel, a very serious, scholarly, conservative person, was more concerned with the meaning of what he said than with the way, colorful or bland, that he said it.[32] Lewis has remarked that Daniel's passion does not stir the reader; it is the thought which hold his attention. Daniel, always serious, has better matter than manner.[33] Another point which Lewis stresses in discussing Daniel's style is that he is a poet of ideas, not only of the accepted and inherited wisdom of Spenser and Chaucer, but of some deep and often original thoughts. He is moving out of the Golden Age in his poetry, not in the "Metaphysical" directio, but towards ideas with a greater severity and weight; thus he has a less colorful style.[34] Daniel, in keeping with his reserved personality, used, most often, a type of reflective and meditative style; even his sonnets seem to fall, by and large, into this category. Therefore his style of poetry is more prosaic. Perhaps it should be stressed here that though Daniel's stylistic spirit was relatively quiet, he, like Sidney, liked to experiment with poetry, a point emphasized in his A Defence of Ryme, for he did not want poetry to become stagnant. However, as Buxton says, Daniel was broadminded in this area without becoming eccentric.[35]

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[32] G.A. Thompson, Elizabethan Criticism of Poetry (Menosha, Wisconsin, 1914), p. 90. (Hereinafter referred to as Elizabethan Criticism).

[33] C.S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century - Excluding Drama (Oxford, 1944), p. 528.

[34] Ibid., pp. 530-531.

[35] Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney, pp. 191-192.

Later critics have been a little more patient in their evaluation of Daniel's style. Coleridge called his work "exquisite specimens of that style which, as the neutral ground of prose and verse, is common to both."[36] Bullen finds Daniel's verse to "read with pleasure, but leave no trace in the memory" (except for 'Care-charmer Sleep, son of Sable Night," a popular sonnet).[37] Lewis finds him often uninspired, sometimes obscure but rarely bad.[38] L.C. John in Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences: Studies in Conventional Conceits says that his style, which is often pervaded by gentle longing and mild unhappiness, often has genuine beauty, yet it is so smooth, restrained and correct that mediocrity is often the result.[39] It cannot be denied that Daniel's style is prosaic and smooth; however this is not an indication of poor poetic ability or ineffective handling of the language; instead it seems to project Daniel's personality and philosophy, his concern for and ability to use the language, his concern for thought and his admiration of other poets.

One of the reasons for Daniel's prosaism grows out of another aspect of his employment of the language, his utilization of connective devices. Seronsy points out that often a

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[36]Coleridge, p. 507.

[37]Bullen, Elizabethans, p. 31.

[38]Lewis, English Literature, p. 530.

[39]L.C. John, Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences: Studies in Conventional Conceits (New York, 1964), pp. 175-176. (Hereinafter referred to as Sonnet Sequences).

prose-like effect is given by the too frequent use of connective devices in some of his passages.[40] Many of Daniel's stanzas are introduced by words such as "which," "whose," "whereon," "where," "that," "since," "as if," and "lest." Because of the vagueness and generalities of these, many of his stanzas appear as component parts rather than as independent units. The vagueness of these combined with his preference for generalization, especially in substantives, often forces great demands on the reader.

Daniel's use of too much connection often damages his poetry, as it did in "Musophilus," otherwise a fine poem. In it Daniel uses a large number of pronominal connectives instead of introductory nouns, verbs, proper names, or repetition of ideas; thus, as Seronsy explains, the stanzas become confused, and this, in turn, causes the reader to often lose meanings.[41] A sample of this confusing transition can be seen in this example:

> They present with the shape of Enire straine
> To wound them with reproaches and despight:
> And for these cannot have as well as they,
> They scorne their faith should daigne to look that way
> ("Musophilus." ii. 462-465).[42]

The ample sprinkling of "they's," "them's," and "these's" keeps the reader confused as to what or to whom the author is referring.

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[40] Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 484.

[41] Ibid., p. 485.

[42] Complete Works, I, p. 240.

A form of specialized connection which is especially found in Daniel's sonnets is what Schaar calls homophony, the repetition of same or identical sounds. According to Schaar, Daniel uses this device for three main reasons, two of which are concerned with connection: to establish a connection between concepts which naturally belong together as in the "Delia" sonnet VII, "But my degraded hopes, with such disgrace" (l.11) or as in sonnet XXVII, "And shut those waies my friendly foe first entred" (l.3); to establish, in a few cases, a connection between words less easily associated with each other as in sonnet XII, "Behold what hap Pygmalion had to frame" (l.1); and (not dealing with connection) to show contrast between differing elements as in sonnet XLVI, "A happy convoy to a holy Land" (l.6).[43]

In addition to these types of connection, Daniel employs a form of connective device, which is found almost exclusively in his sonnets, that gives distinction and also adds unity to his work. This connection, as Rees points out, is the echoing of the last line, entire or a portion, of one sonnet in the opening line of the next, giving the effect of picking up, after a pause, a continuing line of thought.[44] This habit is seen several times in the "Delia" sonnet sequence, for example the last line of sonnet XXXIX, "But love now whilst thou maist be lov'd againe" (l.14) is repeated as the first line of sonnet

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[43]Schaar, Sonnet Problem, pp. 121-122.

[44]Rees, Samuel Daniel, p. 30.

XL. In fact all of the sonnets from XXXIX through XLIII, a group of sonnets on the passing of youth and beauty are connected in this way.[45]

Daniel's fondness for connectives, especially pronouns, and for dependent clauses is, furthermore, related to another feature of his language, his frequent use of parentheses. When the relationships of various clauses or phrases seems cloudy, he attempts to clarify them by the use of parentheses. Seronsy believes that Daniel uses them much more than most Elizabethan writers and that this strong feeling for sentence building points to his later switch from verse to prose.[46]

Another aspect of Daniel's use of language is his rhyme. Daniel believes that rhyme, which adds to the smoothness of his language was necessary to all poetry; in fact his Defence of Ryme, an essay that will be treated more fully in the following chapter, establishes the basis for this belief. Briefly, he uses rhyme because he believes that English is well-suited to certain metrics, that rhyme enhances the power of poetry, and that it is part of the nature of poetry. However, as Thompson indicates, Daniel does not believe that a poet should be a slave to rhyme but that he should use it as an instrument.[47]

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[45]For further examples see sonnets VI and VII. A variation in this connection, the repetition of an idea, is seen in sonnets XII and XIII, XVII and XVIII, and XLV and XLVI.

[46]Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 486.

[47]Thompson, Elizabethan Criticism, p. 206.

Since the tone of Daniel's poetry was that of calm and thoughtful reflection, his rhyme had to be of a type that was not too heavy and insistent. Apparently Daniel found alternate rhyme best suited for those requirements. Seronsy, in his investigation of Daniel's use of rhyme, discovered a predilection for the form by the poet in nearly all the sonnets (Rees found five which were not[48]), in the rime royal stanza of the "Complaint of Rosamond," in the ottava rima of "The Civil Wars," and in the stanzaic forms of the verse epistles and of his dramas.[49] A danger inherent in using alternate rhyme is that it will become over-regular and too rhythmic, two things for which Daniel in A Defence of Ryme tells what he did to try to vary his alternating rhymes:

> I have said in some of my Epistles to alter the usuall place of meeting, and to settle it further off by one Verse. . .but as yet I cannot come to please myself therein: this alternate or crosse rhyme holding still the best place in my affection.[50]

This quotation not only indicates Daniel's fondness for alternate rhyme and its variations but also his interest in experimenting, within limits, with rhyme, possibly, as hinted at by Johnson, an interest he received from Sidney.[51]

Daniel's experimentation led him to use two six line stanza forms in two of his epistles, "To the Lady Anne

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[48]Rees, Samuel Daniel, p. 30.

[49]Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 488.

[50]Complete Works, IV, p. 65.

[51]Marsue M. Johnson, "The Well-Rimed Daniel: An Examination of 'Delia' and 'A Defence of Ryme'" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arkansas, 1965), p. 14.

Clifford" (1603) and "To the Lord Henry Howard" (1603), which have schemes of abc abc. Other experiments similar to this are found throughout Daniel's work; however he is far from a great experimenter in verse.

Daniel used several forms of experimentation in rhyme other than different arrangements. Frequently, in his hope to alter the rhyme, Daniel toned down the rhyme so that it was suggested rather than felt. In nearly all of his later poems, as has been discovered by Seronsy, the rhymes are often deliberately weak and inexact;[52] however Daniel, as revealed in N.M. Carson's "The Literary Reputation of Samuel Daniel," eschewed his earlier feminine and ion rhymes in particular and substituted stronger end rhymes for them.[53] Frequently, Daniel uses unaccented sounds in order to make a faint rhyme as in mysteries, subtleties, and situations of sympathy. This fondness for approximate rhyme and weak rhyme creates a smoothness which is characteristic of the poet's calmness and thoughtfulness.

This smoothness is consistent with Daniel's sweetness of sound. Lewis lauded Daniel's subtle use of alliteration,[54] while Seronsy found him to be a "master of assonance more than alliteration."[55] J.W. Lever in The Elizabethan Love Sonnet

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[52]Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 488.

[53]N.M. Carson, "The Literary Reputation of Samuel Daniel" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University Graduate School, 1962), p. 84.

[54]Lewis, English Literature, p. 493.

[55]Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 489.

compliments Daniel's use of sonorous monosyllables, and he praises him as a "master in the evocative use of long vowels and in the harmonies of assonance and alliteration."[56] Daniel's ability to use sound is evidenced by the wide variety of vowel sounds in this line from sonnet IV (ll. 9-10):

> No Bayes I seeke to decke my mourning brow,
> O cleer-eyde Rector of the holie Hill.

Not only can Daniel use sound for sweetness, he can also convey power by interposing words with strong, suggestive sounds as in sonnet LIV (l.7) "The shipwrecke of my ill adventured youth."

A distinctive characteristic that marks much of Daniel's rhyme is his habit, as Seronsy has noticed, of rounding out rhymes with the words "the same."[57] This--plus his previously mentioned habit of whole line repetition, a device which Johnson feels makes rhyme a structural device,[58] his use of alternate patterns and their variations, his employment of weak and inexact rhymes, along with his overuse of connectives--tends to make Daniel's rhyme so very smooth that it often appears to be one long discourse lacking vigor and force.

Critics have reacted differently to this smoothness at the expense of force. George Saintsbury in his A History of English Literature said "It shows [in referring to how well Daniel stayed within the standards of his own A Defence of Ryme] that the defender of rhyme possessed the theory: all

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[56] J.W. Lever, The Elizabethan Love Sonnet (London, 1966), p. 153.

[57] Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 486.

[58] Johnson, "Well-Rimed Daniel," p. 9.

his political works show that he was the master of the practice."[59] Coleridge in discussing the rhyme of "The Civil Wars," in particular reacted this way: "It is perhaps worth noticing as an excellence suited to the style of Poetry that the accents and scansion of Daniel's Line more assist the reading and the sense, than in any work, I know. If the Line runs ill to you, you may be sure, you have not read it in its exact sense. The whole represents a grave, easy man talking seriously to his friends."[60] All, however, have not found the smoothness to be so pleasant. After praising the purity of Daniel's language and metrical skill in "The Civil Wars," Bullen remarked "I am not aware there is much more to be said. . . The narrative flows on and on, smooth, clear, without a wrinkle on the surface, until we wish it had never been begun, we see no reason in the world why it should ever end."[61]

Another quality which lends to the purity of Daniel's language is the way he employs imagery, one of the few areas in which poetic taste and practice seems to have made any great change. Daniel's early poetry, the "Delia" sonnets and the "Complaint of Rosamond," inherited the conventional imagery of the sonnet tradition. In this tradition the imagery, which is made up primarily of Petrarchan conceits (a discussion of Daniel's use of these conceits in the "Delia" poems will be in the following

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[59]George Saintsbury, A History of English Literature (London, 1891), p. 136.

[60]Coleridge, p. 513.

[61]Bullen, Elizabethans, p. 40.

chapter) in concrete. As Daniel's poetry matured and as he revised his earlier verse, his work, as Seronsy illustrates, shows a gradual loss of concrete imagery and makes a marked drift towards more abstract, and often more prosaic, forms.[62] Even in the early poetry which is supposedly filled with traditional concrete images, many critics, such as F.P. Wilson, find it, in comparison with other Elizabethan writers, to be rather limpid.[63]

As early as the "Complaint of Rosamond," Daniel's use of abstract imagery is evident, as illustrated by these lines:

> Treason was in my bones my selfe conspying,
> To sell my selfe to lust, my soule to sinne:
> Pure-blushing shame was ever in retiring,
> Leaving the sacred hold it glory'd in.
> Honor lay prostrate for my flesh to win
> (II. 309-313).[64]

The nouns, treason, shame and honor, are obviously abstract; however in this poem the verbs are, primarily, forceful and concrete. Both vividness and abstraction are present. Nevertheless, as later poems were written, in keeping with Daniel's earlier mentioned predilection for generalization in vocabulary, the imagery usually became more abstract; however there are poems and portions of poems in Daniel's most mature work which do have vivid concrete imagery.[65]

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[62]Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 489.

[63]Wilson, Elizabethan and Jacobean, p. 62.

[64]Complete Works, I, p. 92.

[65]The imagery of the first five books of "The Civil Wars" is especially vivid and successful.

Daniel has received some criticism because of his lack of variety of images; however Seronsy argues that this seeming lack of images is possibly caused by a failure to detect metaphors that are closely related to abstractions.[66] An example of a possible instance of this can be seen in Hotspur's speech in "The Civil Wars" (VI. 81):

> The day (saith he) o' faithful valiant friends,
> Whatever it doth give, shall glorie give:
> This day with honor frees our state, or endes
> Our misery with fame, that still shall live.[67]

Henry Wells in his Poetic Imagery calls this extremely obscure and restrained image, a trait he also finds and praises in Shakespeare, a "sunken image." A sunken image, according to Wells, is "one which powerfully affects the imagination without conveying a definite picture."[68] "Sunken imagery" is not faded imagery, for in its the imagination is not stimulated nor is any picture conveyed.

The use of the restrained imagery seems attuned to elevated thought. Daniel, who displayed in his verse and life moral dignity, modesty and grace, found subdued imagery fitting not only his verse but also his personal temperament. By the use of subdued imagery, the poet attempts to stimulate the imagination of the reader to rise to his powerful, liberal and prophetic thought.[69] Examples of this elevated thought

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[66] Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 490.

[67] Complete Works, II, p. 244.

[68] Henry Wells, Poetic Imagery (New York, 1961), p. 76.

[69] Ibid., p. 98.

can be seen in much of Daniel's verse, for instance in the "Epistle to the Lady Margaret":

> And that unless above himself he can
> Erect himself, how poor a thing is a man.

It is also evident in "The Civil Wars" (l. 97):

> But God forbid we should so nearly pry
> Into the low-deep-buried sins long past.[70]

That Daniel used subdued imagery which indicates an elevation in thought is in keeping with his belief that lasting poetry should deal only with noble thoughts and noble affections, as noted in "Musophilus" (ll. 183-184):

> For these lines are the veins, the arteries
> And undecaying life-stump of those hearts
> ["hearts" being the mind of the great].[71]

Often though Daniel takes his progression of abstract images too far without enough concrete images to sustain them. In "Musophilus," a poem about the power of knowledge, for instance, the long account of the abstract battle between the ignorant and cunning man and the man of learning, the thought, as Seronsy has indicated in his study, becomes a tangle of abstractions:[72]

> I grant, that some unlettered practique may
> (Leaving beyond the Alpes, Faith and Respect
> To God and man) with impious cunning, sway
> The courses fore-begunne with like effect,
> And without stop, maintaine the turning on,
> And have his errours deem'd without defect:

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[70] Complete Works, II, p. 47.

[71] Ibid., I, p. 231.

[72] Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 491.

> But when some powerfull opposition
> Shall, with a found incountring shocke, disjoynt
> The fore-contrived frame, and thereupon,
> Th' experience of the present disappoynt,
> And other stirring spirits, and other hearts
> Built-huge, for action, meeting in a poynt:
> Shall drive the world to sommon all their Artes,
> And all too little for so reall might,
> When no advantages of weaker parts
> Shall beare out shallow councels from the light:
> And this fence-opening action (which doth hate
> Unmanly craft) shall looke to have her right.
> Who then holdes up the glory of the State
> (Which letred armes, and armed letters won)
> Who shall be fittest to negotiate,
> Contemn's Justinian, or else Littleton
> (ll. 862-84)?

The use of so much abstraction here destroys any clear train of thought.

Seronsy has further indicated that many of Daniel's "Epistles" are somewhat weakened by over abstraction even though they are largely sustained by the recurring building image, which will be discussed shortly.[74] "To Sir Thomas Egerton" is a poem which is weak because of too frequent abstraction. In the poem Egerton is compared to an Isthmus dividing the oceans of Rigor and Uncertainty; however instead of establishing an identity between the image and the idea, the author keeps relating to both through complicated action. Since the reader cannot keep up with the two simultaneous actions, the poem is damaged. On the other hand, he does not always dwell on abstract imagery for his poem to the Earl of Southampton, one of Daniel's boldest, on his release from prison after the Essex affair, is free from vague connectives, and the images are tangible and solid.

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[74] Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 492.

The imagery of the plays is naturally more sensuous, yet, for the most part, not nearly as sensuous as his contemporaries would have used in the same genre. Drama, even closet drama like Cleopatra, demands concreteness in language. Daniel's "Come gentle cunning thief" (Cleopatra V.ii.1535) in his description of the serpent concentrates the imagery. Hymen's Triumph, one of his few works about which Jonson said something good, is seen by W.W. Greg in Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama as containing some sensuous verse in the description of the love between Thrisis, a constant lover of the pastoral convention, and Silvia:[75]

> . . .sleepe thy fill, sweet love,
> Let nothing trouble thee; be calme oh windes,
> Lest you should wake my love: thou gentle blanke
> That thus are blest to beare so deare a weight,
> Be soft unto those dainty lymmes of his:
> Phi tender grasse, and render sweet refresh
> Unto his weary senses, while he rests.
> (Hymen's Triumph III.iii.1420-1427).[76]

Here the images are quiet and sensuous.

Whatever the kind or name attached to Daniel's imagery, one thing is clear--for the most part, his imagery is vague and muted as in this quotation from "Musophilus":

> For emulation, that proud nurse of wit,
> Skorning to stay below or come behind,
> Labors upon that narrow top to sit
> Of sole perfection in the highest kind
> Envie and wonder looking after it,
> Thrust likewise on the selfe same blisse to find:
> And so long striving till they can no more,
> Do stuffe the placce or others hopes shut out,

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[75] W.W. Greg, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama (New York, 1959), p. 260.

[76] Complete Works, III, p. 381.

> Who doubting to overtake those gone before
> Give up their care, and cast no more about;
> And so in skorne leave alas fore-possest,
> And will be none where they may not be best
> (259-270).[77]

Less vague is an image in "To the Lady Anne" (l.55)

> Confusion only rowles,
> Order sits hie.[78]

Usually, in keeping with his fondness for a generalized vocabulary, his imagery is abstract and often centers upon actions and objects of smoothness and repose.

Two images recur in Daniel's work, the building or house-image and the river or water image. These structures, as Seronsy has pointed out, are much more than chance similies or metaphors, for they are often the extended structural components of an entire poem, and in some poems, they comprise almost all of the imagery.[79]

Daniel uses the river image to depict different states. For instance in the first "Delia" sonnet, the never ending flow of the river to the sea is equated with his poetry which, though it reveals much of his love, can never reveal all of it. In sonnet LVIII (11.13-14) the image is used to portray his singular and undaunted devotion to his love:

> Avon shall be my Thames, and she my Song,
> No other prouder Brookes shall heare my wrong.

Most often, however, Daniel uses the image as an epic similie to suggest continuous movement, as in "The Civil Wars." At

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[77] Ibid., I, p. 233.

[78] Ibid., p. 214.

[79] Seronsy, "Well-Languaged Daniel," p. 493.

the beginning of the poem in l.17, Rome's hard beginnings are compared to the Rhine cutting its way through rocky mountains. In ll.27, when certain leaders flock to Bolingbroke, the poet uses a river metaphor to imply their foolishness:

> As stately Thames, enricht with many a Flood
> And goodly Rivers (that have made their Graves,
> And buried both their names and all their good
> Within his greatnes, to augment his waves)
> Glides on with pompe of Waters, unwithstood,
> Unto the ocean (which his tribute craves)
> And layes up all his wealth, within that poure,
> Which in it selfe all greatnes doth devoure.[80]

Again in V.l.18 this metaphor occurs when Talbot struggles against the swelling stream and powerful current of his enemies. An interesting point which Seronsy has found is that Daniel seems to enjoy the use of this smooth, flowing type of image and that he rarely uses any violent images.[81] Possibly this again is indicative of his restrained personality.

The house or building image, equally popular in Daniel's verse, depicts a stately edifice or stronghold which offers protection from the barbarous forces from without or from Time itself. It is often a symbol of an order, a stability, or an immortality that is safe from all the mad striving of ignorance and opinion, a key idea in Daniel's poetry and thought.

In "Musophilus" Stonehenge is a symbol of the wrong building, an edifice erected out of arrogance which now

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[80] Complete Works, II, p. 64.

[81] Seronsy, Samuel Daniel, p. 165.

baffles man. Also in "Musophilus" Daniel says that those men who rise to power on blood and deception are building their dwellings on weak foundations. One of the best representations of the building is in the epistle "To the Lady Margaret." Here the image takes, as Shackford points out, a Stoic calmness in the midst of turbulence.[82]

> Thus, Madame, fares the man that hath prepar'd
> A rest for his desires, and sees all things
> Beneath him, and hath learn't this booke of man,
> Full of the notes of Frailtie, and compar'd
> The best of glory with her sufferings,
> By whom I see you labour all you can
> To plant your heart, and set your thought as neare
> His glorious mansion, as your powres can beare
> (11.60-67).[83]

In "To the Ladie Lucie" (1603) the building image occurs again; this time the building, which is in open sight, is the life of virtuous action. There are many other uses of the house image in Daniel's work; it occurs, for instance, in his "Funeral Poem" and in some of his occasional verse. Most always it represents permanence, calmness and stability.

The final aspect of Daniel's work that might give further insight into his purity of language is his revisions. Since in discussing some of the other points many of Daniel's revisions have been discussed, this will serve primarily as a brief summation of his main revisions. Daniel, a continual reviser, did most of his revision in three areas--vocabulary, rhyme, and punctuation. In vocabulary, as has been mentioned,

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[82] Martha H. Shackford, 'Samuel Daniel's Poetical 'Epistles,' Especially That to the Countess of Cumberland," Studies in Philology, XLV, 1948, 186.

[83] Complete Works, I, p. 227.

Daniel replaced vivid words with those that were of a more general nature and of Latinate diction. In rhyme Daniel often revised entire lines, sometimes eliminating good lines and replacing them with weaker ones; however his most prevalent revision was the elimination of feminine endings, a revision which helped cause his prosaic verse. In punctuation Daniel made some slight revisions which usually allowed a smoother rhythm in his work and which nearly always enhanced the unity of it. Rees sees Daniel's continual revisions as a possible sign that he doubted his own work and was insecure.[84] But this revision could, perhaps, indicate a very sensitive man--sensitive to language as well as people--who was a craftsman with language and who continually worked to refine it.

Daniel's purity of language entails many things; it cannot be narrowed to one area. His preference for Latinate diction and a relatively calm rhetoric, his fondness for common, but lasting, words, his predilection for the use of connectives to such an extent that it causes a work to lose its individuality, his preference to write in an unelevated, rather prosaic style, his selection of muted and abstract imagery over the more colorful and vivid imagery, all help to perfect the purity of his language. It is pure because he did not twist it, fill it with popular fads, or use it in any derogatory manner; rather he took the purest language he could find and used it to illustrate in an unelevated style his rather restrained and pure thoughts.

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[84] Rees, Samuel Daniel, p. 172.

CHAPTER III

LITERARY CONVENTIONS AND DANIEL'S WORK

No other age except, perhaps, the modern has combined energy and knowledge for such explosive results as the Elizabethan Age. Inaugurated at the height of the English Renaissance, practically all facets of Elizabethan life are steeped in ideas and traditions of the "rebirth." Nowhere are the forces of the Renaissance more evident than in the literary conventions entrusted to the Elizabethan authors. Many of the literary styles and genres, now thought of as being the creation of English authors, were the result of the interest in classical learning and foreign languages. A great number of the ideas which recur in Elizabethan literature, including the praise of knowledge, the glorification of human virtues, and the theory of recurrence, have their basis in the Renaissance tradition.

The writers of the Elizabethan Age used the material made available during this "rebirth" in many different ways. Many writers simply translated the works of the foreign and classical authors, making few, if any, changes from the originals. Others made use of their foreign contemporaries and of the classical sources in a radically different, but often misunderstood, way. These authors, such as Daniel and Shakespeare, used these simply as sources for ideas, plots,

characters, and legends, a common practice in the Elizabethan Age. That they borrowed ideas and materials, however, does not particularly mean that they were any less creative than their forebears. Often the idea borrowed would appear in such new dress that it was virtually impossible to identify the origin of many thoughts and ideas; in fact there is still much disagreement among scholars and critics as to original sources. That the typical Elizabethan author borrowed does not imply that he made no innovations, for he made many; however much of his material was the common property of the Renaissance tradition.

Daniel, who began his literary career by imitating Latin verses and by translating foreign poetry, serves as a good illustration of both the borrowing and innovating principles of Elizabethan poets. Many of his ideas and verse forms are easily traceable to other sources; nevertheless he also made some significant contributions to poetry in his own right.

Daniel's sonnet sequence "To Delia," his earliest significant work, demonstrates both his innovative skill and his borrowing in the area of literary conventions. The sequence, which is steeped in Renaissance literary conventions, is not a base imitation; however as Rees's study has indicated, Daniel owes credit, particularly in the area of form and ideas, on the French side to Desportes and de Bellay and on the Italian side to Petrarch, Tansillo, Tasso, and Guarini.[1] Claes Schaar in

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[1]Joan Rees, Samuel Daniel: A Critical and Biographical Study (Liverpool, England, 1964), p. 22.

"A Textual Puzzle in Daniel's 'Delia'" has also found Daniel to be indebted to Bernardino Rota, an Italian sonneteer who, like Daniel, devoted his love poetry to one single lady.[2]

The "Delia" poems, which first appeared in 1591 when some twenty-eight sonnets were attached to an unauthorized version of Sidney's Astrophel and Stella, first came out in full in 1592 along with an apology to his patron for having them published. Oddly, Daniel was a mature poet in many ways in this early work. Rees comments:

> By 1592, Daniel had taken to himself, at one step, so it seems, all the wealth of new material and new expressive power which came into English literature in the golden decades of the Elizabethan Age. Out of them he made his own instrument which he played beautifully. There was little left for him to do in this line and "Delia" contains the seeds of his future development. Henceforth Daniel will develop intellectual powers already present in handling tightly woven patterns of imagery and enlarge the interest in the reading of character foreshadowed in the emotional states of "Delia."[3]

The "Delia" poems are written predominantly in what is termed the Elizabethan or Shakespearian sonnet form, three unlinked quatrains followed by a couplet. William Minto in Characteristics of English Poets, 1874-1875, cites this series of sonnets as being the first in this form.[4] The sequence concerns a conventional Elizabethan sonnet idea, the poet trying to win the favor of a disdainful lady. The character of Delia, who

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[2]Claes Schaar, "A Textual Puzzle in Daniel's 'Delia,'" English Studies, XL (1959), 383.

[3]Rees, Samuel Daniel, p. 34.

[4]William Minto, Characteristics of English Poets (London, 1874-1875), p. 192.

unites the entire sequence of sixty sonnets, is thought by Buxton to be the Countess of Pembroke, Daniel's patroness and object of the apology attached to the sonnets;[5] however Seronsy believes that Delia is much too shadowy a person to be identified as the Countess of Pembroke or anyone else and that the tone of deep despair which marks many of the poems would not be that which Daniel would adopt towards a patroness.[6] Daniel's tone is more objective and more impersonal than it is personal.

The tone which Daniel adopted in his sonnets can be termed an innovation within a convention. Whereas Sidney, an early trend-setter in Elizabethan poetry, uses his sonnets to bring forth a reality and vitality which he thought Elizabethan love poetry lacked, Daniel, one of his first followers, does just the opposite in his use of the sonnet. Sidney dramatizes his speakers and makes his conceits colorful, but Daniel's sonnets are quiet and rather colorless, lyrical rather than dramatic. Though Daniel uses the love convention, he is not nearly as interested in action as other Elizabethan sonneteers; in fact, as Smith asserts in his work, he uses it primarily to express his own gentle melancholy personality, to celebrate the lasting power of verse against the ravages of time and barbarism, and to show that themes and devices of French and Italian sonneteers had grace and dignity also in English. The love situation in Daniel's cycle is a pretext for the poetry;

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[5]John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance (New York, 1966), p. 192.

[6]Cecil Seronsy, Samuel Daniel (New York, 1967), p. 25.

his main theme is the eternity of verse.[7] While Sidney's sonnets are filled with desire and reason, Daniel's love is chaste, and his style is elegiac. Daniel merely makes use of the tone of the personality offered by the sad lover to offer his own views. In the entire sequence there are few real attempts to show reasons for the despair of the lover.

Though the use of the unrequited love convention is a pretext and the character of Delia is somewhere between a real person and a poetic device, the presence of Delia and the despairing lover meeting disdain throughout serves as a thread which links the sonnets together. As Seronsy has pointed out, there are no climaxes, no personal encounters suggested, no reconciliations as in Sidney or Shakespeare; in fact there is no dramatic progression in the sequence at all; nevertheless the sequence with its persistent, though undramatic, theme has continuity, an appearance of organic life.[8] Adding to the unity of the sequence, the author's use of outer structural devices shows a skilled artist striving towards completeness.

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[7]Hallet Smith, Elizabethan Poetry: A Study in Conventions, Meaning, and Expression (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), pp. 157-158. Smith notes that authors give varying reasons as to why Daniel broke the fashion of his age. The main reasons are that he derived the method from the Countess of Pembroke, that he was less robust physically and emotionally than a good Elizabethan, that Fulke Greville tricked him into a hostile attitude toward poetry and made him loyal only to philosophical and scientific knowledge, and that, in keeping with his A Defence of Ryme, he was against vanity and decoration in verse. Also, there is some sound philosophic logic in a poet's decision to avoid ornament and turbulence, choosing quiet thought instead. Eliot, for instance, has moved in this direction.

[8]Seronsy, Samuel Daniel, p. 29.

One of the outer structuring devices that aids the unity of the sequence and that Daniel used widely in his early writing was the Petrarchan conceit, a device which he soon gave up for a purer, more abstract imagery. Thrall, Hibbard, and Holman describe the Petrarchan conceit as a device widely used by Elizabethan writers which rests upon elaborate and exaggerated comparisons expressing in extravagant terms the beauty, cruelty, and charm of the beloved and the suffering, sorrow, and despair of the forlorn.[9] Johnson, in her study of "Delia," divides the conceits used in the sequence into two categories--the plaintive heart conceits and the cruel fair conceits. The plaintive heart conceits center on the author, the lover. They entail the effects of love on him, on his physical and mental beings, his skill in verse, and his purpose in writing. Meanwhile, the cruel fair conceits deal with Delia herself, descriptions of her appearance and of her personality, comparisons based on her, and love themes developed about her.[10] Nearly all the sonnets deal in one or both of these conceits.

To discuss each of the Petrarchan conceits used in "Delia" is beyond the scope of this paper;[11] however a sampling of the more prevalent ones found in the sonnets will show how

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[9]William F. Thrall, Addison Hibbard, and C. Hugh Holman, A Handbook to Literature (New York, 1960), p. 350.

[10]Marsue M. Johnson, "The Well-Rimed Daniel: An Examination of 'Delia' and 'A Defence of Ryme'" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arkansas, 1965), p. 3.

[11]For an extensive study of the use of conceits in "Delia" see M.M. Johnson's work.

extensively Daniel used this convention in his early work. Daniel depends greatly on these conceits for an interdevelopment of structure since he uses so little drama. One thing should be noted before discussing the conceits in depth. Though Daniel uses the conventional Petrarchan conceits, he uses them in a more refined and more gentlemanly way than his contemporaries. Lu Pearson in Elizabethan Love Conventions indicates that Daniel's use of the conceit is in a rather Platonic spirit and that the way he uses conceits shows an influence of Castiglione's Courtier, a kind of handbook for gentlemen.[12]

One of the most common Petrarchan conceits used in "Delia" is a plaintive heart conceit that concerns the purpose involved in writing the poems. As John has offered in his comments on Elizabethan love conventions, the poet's primary purpose is usually to celebrate the beauty of the lady; however Daniel, by revealing the beauty and cruelty of his lady, is using the verse as a plea for favor or grace as well.[13] Sonnet II reveals the hope that, perhaps, his beautiful, but disdainful lady will take pity on him:

> Go wailing Verse, the Infants of my love,
> Minerva-like, brought fourth without a mother:
> Present the images of the cares I prove,
> Witness your Fathers griefe exceedes all others.
> Sigh out a Storie of her cruell deedes,

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[12] Lu Pearson, Elizabethan Love Conventions (New York, 1966), pp. 152-153.

[13] Leslie C. John, The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences: Studies in Conventional Conceits (New York, 1964), pp. 129-130. (Hereinafter referred to as Sonnet Sequences).

With interrupted accents of despaire:
A Monument that whosoever reedes,
May justly praise, and blame my lovelesse Faire
(11.1-8).

This last line also brings in a popular conceit in Daniel that will be treated more fully, the eternizing effect of verse. Though Daniel may write poetry to praise his lady's beauty, he would never, in keeping with Elizabethan convention and a personal belief of his own, write verse as an attempt to gain fame.[14] He wrote only to lighten his own heart and to celebrate his lady, as is noted in sonnet IV:

These lines I use, to unburthen mine own hart;
My love affects no fame, no steames of Art
(11.13-14).

Another reason which justifies the writing of the sequence is the eternizing conceit; poetry has the power to immortalize the beauty of the lady in verse. This idea of the immortality of verse became an integral part of Daniel's poetic theory. Though all things, especially physical beauty and material objects, are transient, his poetry has the power to immortalize her, as in sonnet XXXVIII:

Your firy heate lets not her glory passe,
But (Phoenix-like) shall make her live anew
(11.13-14).

In sonnet XLV the immortality of life in verse is again illustrated:

That grace which doth more then in women thee,
Lives in my lines, and must eternall bee
(11.13-14).

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[14] Johnson, "Well-Rimed Daniel," p. 7.

Still another representation of it is in sonnet LV:

> These are the Arkes, the Trophies I erect,
> That fortifie thy name against old age
> (11.9-10).

Many other sonnets in "Delia" continue the concept of the power of verse to give immortality.[15]

In keeping with the Elizabethan tradition of using conceits, some of Daniel's plaintive heart conceits concern the effects that love has on the physical and mental aspects of the lover. As John discusses, the conventional manifestation of love was stressed in the medieval code of sleeplessness of the lover, an Ovidian inheritance.[16] One of the most beautiful lyrics in Elizabethan poetry, Daniel's "Care-charmer Sleepe, sonne of the sable night" (Sonnet LIV), is a serious rendering of this concept of the power of sleep. The poem ends with the wish that he may not wake from his dream of happiness:

> Still let me sleepe, imbracing clouds in vaine,
> And never wake to feele the dayes disdaine
> (11.13-14).

Sonnet XV states this conceit but leaves it undeveloped in "If I have wept the day and sighed the night." The weeping noted here is another characteristic convention. Often the sleep conceit takes the form of a lament on the awakening to reality, as in sonnet XVI:

> Happy in sleep; waking, content to languish;
> Embracing clouds by night; in day time mourn
> (11.1-2).

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[15]Other sonnets which clearly deal with this concept are XVII, XLI, XLII, and XLIV.

[16]John, Sonnet Sequences, pp. 91-92.

Another effect which love has is to force the lover to waste in despair and have moods of deep depression. Sonnet VII depicts the lover with his senses oppressed, and Sonnets VII, IX, XXIV, XXXII, XLIII and XLIV portray the lover as wasting away in despair. Often the effect of love is to confuse the lover, and sonnet IX reveals the lover having a confusion of moods. In only exception is the lover a bold, courageous person and that is in sonnet XXXII, but even in that sonnet there are notes of despair. All the other sonnets reveal the lover as a rather melancholy person.

Other conventional conceits, categorized under cruel fair conceits, concern the description of the personality and the appearance of the lady and the development of love themes about her. The use of the disdainful, but beautiful, lady as the subject of the sequence is the most conventional idea in the "Delia" poems, for nearly all Elizabethan sonnet cycles had the haughty lady love, in some aspect, as their subject. The appearance of Daniel's lady is fairly conventional with Elizabethan tastes. As Johnson has contributed in his work, "her caprice enhances the power of love, she delays to yield (or may never), she must be mercurial, haughty, disdainful and proud." Yet she is chaste also. Her virtues are especially embodied in her beauty--her lips are rosy, her throat is white, her (usually) blond hair is curly and her skin is marble smooth.[17] Often the qualities and objects which make up her beauty form extravagant, yet conventional comparisons. For

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[17]Johnson, "Well-Rimed Daniel," pp. 36-37.

instance sonnet XII compares Delia's eyes to stars:

> Where blaze those lights fairest of earthly things,
> Which cleere our clouded world with brightest flame
> (11.3-4).

In sonnet XXXII he compares the lady to a star:

> The Starre of my mishap impos'd this paine
> To spend the Aprill of my yeares in griefe
> (11.1-2).

Sonnet XIX, like many others, compares her to a gem or valuable ore, one of literature's oldest conventions in "Restore thy tresses to the golden Ore." Yet another convention which is used is the comparison of the lady to goddesses (particulars or generalities) to point out her more than mortal fairness. For instance in sonnet V, she is compared to Diana because of her chastity:

> All unawares, a Goddess chaste I finde,
> (Diana-like) to worke my sudden change
> (11.3-4).

And in sonnet X Delia is compared to a more general "Laughter loving Goddess."

As Louis Salomon has noted in his The Devil Take Her: A Study of the Rebellious Lover in English Poetry, the more concrete aspects of beauty are often treated in concerts in which beauty and the ravages of time are combined.[18] As previously mentioned, Daniel, as well as many other Elizabethan poets, used the theme of the evanescence of beauty as a springboard for his ideas on the eternalizing power of poetry. In keeping with the time and beauty conceits, Daniel describes the

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[18]Louis Salomon, The Devil Take Her: A Study of the Rebellious Lover in English Poetry (Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 262-263.

beauty of Delia's golden hair in sonnet XXXVIII, and yet he warns later in that sonnet that this hair "shall change to silver wire." In sonnet XXXIX he compares her beauty to a rose (an image frequently used by Italians in poetry but thought by John to be of special significance in Daniel because of the Romance of the Rose and the Wars of the Roses and their place in the Middle Ages[19]) which blooms in the summer, but again he warns that:

> Swift speedy Time, feathered with flying houres,
> Dissolves the beauty of the fairest brow
> (11.11-12).

As Seronsy has noted, often the theme of beauty, especially the transience of it, is combined with the carpe diem theme, one of the most popular conventions of the Elizabethan Age.[20] It appears in sonnet XXXIX:

> Then do not thou such treasure wast in vaine,
> But love now whilst thou mayst be lov'd againe
> (11.13-14).

Sonnet XL is built almost entirely on the carpe diem theme as can be noted from these opening lines:

> But love whilst thou mayst be lov'd againe,
> Now whilst thy May hath fild thy lap with flowers,
> Now whilst thou beauty beares without a staine;
> Now use the Sommer smiles, ere Winter lowers
> (11.1-4).

Note the repetition of the last line in sonnet XXXIX as the first line in sonnet XL; this is another method by which Daniel keeps his sequence unified.

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[19]John, Sonnet Sequences, p. 148.

[20]Seronsy, Samuel Daniel, p. 29.

Delia's personality is in keeping with the conventional disdainful lady of the unrequited love tradition. No where is her personality more in evidence than in Daniel's use of the heart conceit, for as Johnson has noted, Delia's hard heart is a constant factor throughout the sequence.[21] It is described in sonnets XI and XXVI as being "flinty" and in sonnet XIII as being as hard and cold as stone. Not only does her heart give insight into her personality, but also the effect she has on her lover's heart does so. His heart, or possibly his poetry, is like a temple in sonnet XLVI (one of the earliest uses of the recurring building image in Daniel's work) which she ruins with her disdain, nevertheless it is still a place where "her name was honour'd still." Often her proud looks and cold words torment him by breaking his heart.

The most prominent love theme in "Delia," other than those noted already in connection with other conceits, is the theme of fideltiy. The sonneteer is always faithful in his love for his lady even though she is capricious and disdainful. This fidelity of the lover is illustrated in sonnet LVII:

> For no ground else could make the musicke such,
> Nor other hand could give so true a touch
> (11.13-14)?

Sonnets LVII and XL also reiterate this same idea.[22]

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[21] Johnson, "Well-Rimed Daniel," p. 36.

[22] Several additional conceits are present in the "Delia" poems; however they are not nearly as significant as structuring devices as those already discussed. For the sake of completeness, however, some of the less significant conceits may be specified: the mirror conceit (XXXIV), the military conceit (XIV), the legal conceits (XXVI, VIII), the separation or absence conceits (XLVII, XLVIII), and the storm conceits (XLII, VI, XXVIII).

Though "Delia" lacks the dramatic progression of Sidney's or Shakespeare's writing, it is a structurally unified sequence. One of the main ways by which Daniel has achieved this non-dramatic unity is manifested in his carrying certain ideas throughout the entire sequence, like the ideas which relate to the plaintive heart and cruel fair conceits. As Johnson has pointed out in her study of the structure of "Delia," the beauty of the lady, the hard heart or cruelty of the lady and the transitoriness of beauty are the major binding themes in the sequence. This structuring is aided by whole and part line repetition and by the relationships between certain conceits and the rhyming words. For instance the cruel fair conceits are usually expressed by such rhyming words as "paine," "wane," "disdaine," "vaine" and "againe." Conceits concerning the purpose are often expressed by "name," "fame," "blame," "shame" and "same."

An identifying literary innovation which Daniel made in the "Delia" sequence is what Seronsy calls a "submerged mythological allusion."[23] Douglas Bush in Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition has noted that the common Elizabethan attitude toward mythology was "mainly ethical and humanistic," but Daniel's psychological treatment of it distinguishes him by his subtlety and seriousness.[24] Sonnet V illustrates the psycho-

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[23]Seronsy, Samuel Daniel, p. 27. This term means Daniel had the unusual habit of using a myth to suggest the psychological feelings of the lover in the unfulfilled love relationship.

[24]Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition (New York, 1963), p. 71.

logical use of the Diana-Actaeon myth, for in the lover's "wanderings," he comes across his Diana. She disdains to see him "in that place," and because of her scorn his sport is changed to "a Harts dispaire." In this poem the Diana-Actaeon story interweaves with the personal experience of unrequited love. Wording and ideas within the body of the poem also help to interlock the two stories. Many times Daniel is less specific in his use of myth and only implies it, as in sonnet LIV:

> Still let me sleepe, imbracing cloudes in vaine,
> And never wake, to feel the days disdayne
> (ll.13-14).

These lines refer to the myth of Ixion.

Many other sonnets in the sequence make similar specific or implied references to mythology.[25] Rees has suggested that perhaps the reason Daniel often does not give the names in his reference to myths is that without the names the metaphor is given a wider range of association, thus making it particularly evocative and meaningful.[26] More important than the immediate concern for his use of myth is the realization that this concern for inward action is characteristic of his poetry in general, for his concern is always less with outward event than with characters.

Daniel's "Delia," probably his most enjoyable and important poetic work, has many of the characteristics of his

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[25]See sonnets XXVII, XXVIII, XXXII, XXXVIII, XXXVII, and XLVI.

[26]Rees, Samuel Daniel, p. 32.

later verse. As Pearson has shown, the "Delia" sequence is full of Platonic spirit; there are no sharp cries of protest, no appeals to the turbulent and passionate depths of the heart; instead there is placidness and smoothness in his sonnets.[27] In his thought the familiar and sweet graces of human relationships are displayed. Though he uses conventional literary conceits, he uses them in a more gentlemanly way, and his concern for chastity and morality, which will become more profound in later works, tends to reinforce this atmosphere. Though Daniel deals in subjects and imagery which were common to all Elizabethan writers, he employs a rather different way, toning down the imagery and treating the subject somewhat more detachedly. Lever has commented that Daniel showed the latent potentialities in the Elizabethan sonnet form by being more concerned with detached observation than ideal concepts.[28]

Whether one agrees or disagrees with Daniel's treatment of the subject in the sequence, the cycle is no less enjoyable to read. Often the sonnets are criticized because of their noticeable lack of color and passion; however Lewis, in his comments on "Delia," points out the true merit of the sequence:

> It offers no ideas, no psychology, and of course no story. It is simply a masterpiece of phrasing and melody....Those who think it commonplace should listen to it. In him as in Shakespeare, the most ordinary statement turns liquid and

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[27] Pearson, Elizabethan Love Conventions, pp. 155-156.

[28] J.W. Lever, The Elizabethan Love Sonnet (London, 1966), p. 153.

> delicious....In abstract prose he would be commonplace, in poetry he is not. In that medium all the Petrarchan gestures become compulsive invitations to enormous sorrows and delights. That he borrowed from Desportes matters not, for his trivial changes often alter the lighting of the whole piece.[29]

Daniel, taking Spenser's advice to attempt "Tragick plaints and passionate mischance," next wrote, and attached to "Delia," a poem called "The Complaint of Rosamond,"[30] a poetic type inherited from the Ovidian tradition and based on the old Mirror for Magistrates. "Rosamond," which uses the then new technique of having a woman's ghost make the appeal for sympathy, is written in the royal troilus stanza of seven lines each. Daniel sets his story in the first sixty-three lines. Rosamond has been seduced by a lustful king, she has been remorseful and has died, and now her ghost has returned to claim our sympathy. In using the ghost complaint Daniel fuses many traditional literary conventions and makes many slight, but very significant innovations.

The old complaint, which had dealt with the fall of nobles, had constantly behind it the moral imperatives of shunning ambition, high place and the vagaries of fortune in the world. As Smith points out, Daniel, however, by using the ghost of a woman, substituted gentleness, sweetness and pathos for this stern and grisly background.[31] Also, as noted

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[29]C.S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century - Excluding Drama (Oxford, 1944), pp. 491-492.

[30]Hereinafter referred to as "Rosamond."

[31]Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, p. 116.

by Seronsy, Daniel's use of the misused woman is the first combination of the Renaissance erotic narrative and the medieval complaint.[32] Important, also, is the character of Rosamond; she is not the traditional faithless or "bad" woman; she is more appealing than this.

Another noteworthy idea lies in the opening stanzas of "Rosamond." Earlier complaints had dealt with probability and imagination; whereas in "Rosamond," as Seronsy notices, all pretenses are dropped and the poet is placed, along with the reader, imaginatively in the same world as the character.[33] The ghost mentions the "Delia" poems, Delia herself, her hardness and even some of the themes in "Delia," thus tying the complaint and the sequence together, a fashion followed by nearly every complaint writer after the publication of "Rosamond," and making the poem more believable.

Though women had been used as the subjects of complaint poems prior to "Rosamond," Daniel was the first to inaugurate the downfall of a woman, not because of her "badness," but because of her nature, youth and beauty. Rosamond is described by Daniel as a young woman who has learned of her beauty "That it had the powre to make the winters green" (l.109). The character of Rosamond which Daniel tries to establish is that of an innocent and beautiful young girl who is deceived; however as Seronsy emphasizes, he is not completely successful for the conflict in "Rosamond" is at last determined by the

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[32] Seronsy, Samuel Daniel, p. 35.

[33] Ibid., p. 38.

fear of the world's false opinion if she rejects the king. And yet he continues, she is not merely a victim of fickle fortune, but a person who has been wronged and asks for some vindication at the hands of posterity.[34] This task falls to the poet; thus Daniel is not wholly setting up examples of wickedness; he is also striving to present a partial vindication of the complaint and to enlist the reader's sympathy.

After Rosamond has caught the lustful eye of the king, Daniel makes some innovations on older literary conventions to aid him in the unfolding of his tale. An old matron is substituted for the traditional messenger who brings the stories of his master's love to the girl.[35] The old matron woos the young girl with the deceptive, but traditional, "carpe diem" ideas:

> Thou must not thinke thy flowre can alwayes
> flourish,
> And that thy beauty will be still admired
> (ll. 246-247).

She later reminds Rosamond that:

> Our frailties doome is written in the flowers,
> Which flourish now, and fade ere many howers
> (ll. 251-252).

Not only is this use of the carpe diem theme conventional, it also serves to tie, by theme similarities, the complaint and the sonnet sequence together. This innovation also allows him to go into one of his popular moral debates on chastity.

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[34]Cecil Seronsy, "Daniel's 'Complaint of Rosamond': Origins and Influences of An Elizabethan Poem," Lock Haven Bulletin, No. 2 (1960), 42. (Hereinafter referred to as "Influences of An Elizabethan Poem.")

[35]Seronsy, Samuel Daniel, p. 36.

One of the most discussed conventions in "Rosamond" is the casket which the king sends to her. Engraved on the casket are scenes portraying the sufferings of amorous Neptune and Jove. As Seronsy has indicated, the casket, which foreshadows death, makes the tragedy more subtle for external fate and internal urge seem to interlock, forming one source.[36] Thus it appears that Daniel is pointing out that the fall is from without but that it only happens after subscription of our responsible selves.[37] Rosamond sees the sin she is advancing into, but she lacks the power to prevent it.

The use of the solitary grange as a place of assignation and seduction prior to her seclusion in the labyrinth, which only the king can get into by following a thread, is another innovation in Daniel's work. After the seduction, the queen visiting and forcing Rosamond to take poison are also innovations. Seronsy believes that Daniel is probably the first to assign the poisoning to a queen.[38]

Some of the best verse in "Rosamond" finds its culmination when Rosamond, on her death, warns other women to:

> Fusten thereupon occasions fit,
> Lest this, or that, or like disgrace as mine,
> Doe over-take your youth or ruine it,
> And cloude with infamie your beauties shine:
> Seeing how many seeke to undermine
> The treasurie that's unpossest of any:
> And hard tis kept that is desired of many
> (ll.722-728)[39]

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Cecil Seronsy, "The Doctrine of Cyclical Recurrence and Some Related Ideas in the Works of Samuel Daniel," Studies in Philology, LIV (July, 1957), 395.

[38] Seronsy, "Influences of An Elizabethan Poem," p. 42.

[39] The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel, ed. by Alexander Grosart (5 vols.; New York, 1963), I, p. 107.

Smith finds this not only to be a warning but also to be the theme of the poem.[40] Some critics also see these lines as an assertion of Daniel's intent to establish the powers of beauty and dignity in the world over the powers of baseness and barbarism.

Characteristic of Daniel's work is the use of unanswerable questions to evoke a sympathetic or philosophical mood. There are several of these in "Rosamond." For instance Rosamond before she dies asks (l.721) "O What are we, if we be not lov'd?" And the king as he finds Rosamond dead laments (l.854) "For (oh) what can he doe that cannot die?"

Daniel maintains unity in his poem by beginning and ending on the same note. As pointed out Rosamond gets the poet's initial attention by making some comments on the "Delia" poems. She then goes into her own story which the poet is putting into verse. As the poem and the tale end and Rosamond prepares to depart she returns to Delia:

> Tell Delia, now her sigh may doe me good,
> And will her note the frailtie of our blood
> (11.899-900).

Daniel reveals some new powers in Rosamond as well as innovations. As William Farnham has noted in The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy, Rosamond shows that Daniel had the power to perceive the progress which imperfect humanity can make toward catastrophe.[41] It also displays a certain delicacy and ease of touch, for Daniel lifts the story to a

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[40]Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, pp. 107-108.

[41]William Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy (New York, 1956), pp. 320-321.

place which is not sentimental but is highly sympathetic. Seronsy praises his ability to fuse history, myth and emotional expression and to subordinate all these in the haunting beauty of its central character.[42]

"Rosamond," however, is not without fault. As pointed out, Daniel does not completely vindicate Rosamond, for in final analysis she causes her own downfall. Likewise there is fault in some of the moralizing in the poem. Daniel, as is characteristic of him, has high praise for the virtues of human dignity, sometimes too high. For Bush finds his moralizing often too heavy and out of the Ovidian vein: "he /Daniel/ took some of the treasury of moral wisdom, yet he left Ovid, the archetype of the loose and immoral poet."[43]

Shortly after the Countess of Pembroke published her closet drama Antonie, Daniel, possibly on her request, began work on Cleopatra (1594), a Senecan drama which was to be a companion piece to the Countess's play. Since there is little dramatic movement in the play, in the Senecan tradition it was probably written for study not the stage.[44] Though this form of drama never became too popular, Daniel achieved some things in Cleopatra worthy of merit. The main theme of the drama is the character of Cleopatra herself; the play attempts to illuminate the character in terms of her human qualities and in terms of her obligations as a ruler. Rees believes that Daniel in

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[42]Seronsy, "Complaint of Rosamond," p. 56.

[43]Busy, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, p. 78.

[44]Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney, p. 34.

Cleopatra evolves a closely integrated action out of his material and that he produced a study of character remarkable for its sympathy and insight.[45] Daniel adds human touches to Cleopatra to make her sympathetic: these touches make it difficult to see her as sinful as the chorus denounces in the same play.

Cleopatra dramatizes the story of the fall of Egypt to Rome under Caesar. Most of the action in the play, which is often obliterated by long-winded speeches, concerns the short period of time just prior to Caesar's arrival and the decisions which face Cleopatra prior to this ultimate fall.[46]

Daniel makes the character of Cleopatra more human in several ways. In the first act, during Cleopatra's long opening speech, Daniel shows one of the basic conflicts in her character--she is a queen and yet she is a woman. Knowing her coming fate, Cleopatra, in her soliloquy, reveals the influence of the pomp and glory of the court on her:

> Is it I would have my frailety so belide,
> That flattery could persuade I was not I?
> Well, now I see, they but delede that praise us,
> Greatness is mockt, prosperity betrays us.
> And we are but our selves, although this cloud
> Of interposed smoake make us seeme more
> (I. 1.35-40).[47]

Another side of Cleopatra's character is shown when she decides whether she must be a person or the soul of Egypt. Knowing it

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[45] Rees, Samuel Daniel, p. 55.

[46] Marchette Chute, Shakespeare of London (New York, 1949), p. 109. Chute notes that in order to avoid indecorous action a messenger's report in the play takes nine pages.

[47] Complete Works, III, p.33.

is her responsibility, she resolves to be Queen and suffer her fate:

> And I must be a Queene, forget a mother
> Though mother would I be, were I not I;
> And Queen would not be now, could I brother
> (I.i.96-98).[48]

However Cleopatra does not give up her motherly instincts so easily, for as Rodon relates in the fourth act, Cleopatra returns to her motherhood as she prepares to send away Caesario, her son, so he may escape Caesar:

> Take him Rodon, goe my sonne, farewell.
> But stay, there's something else that I would say:
> Yet nothing now. But God speed thee well,
> Yet saying more, that more may make thee stay,
> Yet let me speake: It may be tis the last
> That ever I shall speake to thee my sonne.
> Doe Mothers use to part in such post hast?
> What, must I end when I have scarce begunne?
> Ah no (deare heart) tis no such slender twine
> Wherewith the knot is tied twixt thee and mee;
> That blood within thy veins came out of mine,
> Parting from thee, I part from part of me:
> And therefore I must speake. Yet what? O sonne
> (IV.i.952-964).[49]

This reluctance on the part of Cleopatra is especially effective in making her more human by showing her motherly instincts.

Daniel shows crisis from many angles by having the characters show their views of the tragic events and by having the chorus make comments on them. For instance, as Rees has shown, the true purpose of the third act, a scene between Philostratus and Arius, is not simply to comment on Cleopatra's resolve to die but to put the story of individuals into a

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[48] Ibid., p. 36.

[49] Ibid., p. 66.

wider context of society as a whole.[50] This use of verse to make comments, especially in areas of morality, is characteristic of all of Daniel's verse. Seronsy has added that this scene is one of the fullest accounts of Daniel's dominating idea of the cycle of recurrence.[51] This is evident from Arius's speech on the nature of the downfall of Egypt and Cleopatra:

> For this decree a law from high is given,
> An ancient Canon, of eternall date,
> In Consistory of the starres of heaven,
> Entred the Booke of unavoided Fate;
> That no state can in height of hapiness,
> In th' exaltation of their glory stand:
> But thither once arrived, declining lesse,
> Ruine themselves, or fall by others hand.
> Thus doth the ever-changing course of things
> Runne a perpetuall circle, ever turning:
> And that same day that hiest glory brings,
> Brings us unto the point of backe-returning
> (III.i.543-556).[52]

From this view the perpetual cycle of rise and fall is subject to decree from on high, and it allows no exceptions or deviations. Daniel's acceptance of this is evidence of his Stoicism. As Seronsy has noted, the downward fall, in keeping with the Platonic myth, is caused by sensuality and the flaw makes its appearance at the height of felicity. The flaw, which appears from the unknown, is not attributable to the higher powers but to ourselves and society. This fate and character, as in "Rosamond," are nearly one, and Daniel's view is near that of the Platonic Wheel of Existence in matters of history

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[50] Rees, Samuel Daniel, p. 50.

[51] Seronsy, "The Theory of Cyclical Recurrence," p. 393.

[52] Complete Works, III, p. 52.

and tragedy.[53] The tragedy here, however, seems to be more than individual loss; it seems more like a historic loss.

Another idea which Daniel reveals in Cleopatra is the notion that old quarrels are transmitted to future generations unless completely solved in the present. This is emphasized in the fourth act when Rodon, in telling of Cleopatra's farewell to her son, mentions that she has told Caesario of her hope that he may return to Egypt and rid it of Romans.

An additional idea which Daniel develops in IV concerns the theme of repentance after tragedy. This act, which could have been more dramatic, Daniel tones down and dignifies through the stoic action of Rodon. Rodon in his regret after having given Caesario to Caesar, thus causing both sides to distrust him, laments that:

> To it for this th' ambitious Fathers sweet,
> To purchase blood and death for their and theirs?
> Is this the issue that their glories get,
> To leave a sure destruction to their heires?
> O how much better had it beene for me,
> From how descent, deriv'd of humble birth,
> T' have eat the sweet-sowre bread of povertie,
> And drunk of Nylus streames in Nylus earth
> (IV.ii.1003-1010)?[54]

Later, however, he concludes that, although he would like to repent of the deed, the damage is done, and he, rather Stoically, must accept the consequences:

> We feele the smart, what ever they deserve,
> And we induce the present time condition
> (IV.ii.1049-1050).[55]

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[53]Seronsy, "The Theory of Cyclical Recurrence," p. 393.

[54]Complete Works, III, p. 68.

[55]Ibid., p. 69.

The verse in Cleopatra labors at times, yet at other times it is light, congenial and imaginative. Marked by long passages and simple lines, much of the verse, though not immortal, is memorable. The smoothness of the verse allows a sensitive, reflective atmosphere.

Daniel uses the choruses to make moral comments as well as approximate statements to the Egyptians. Each of the choruses, which appear at the end of each act, is so finely worked that its form and diction often make a particular impression or mood. For instance, as Rees has cited, the second chorus has an abundance of monosyllables, making it appear clipped which is in keeping with its subject matter of the frustration and misery of the discontented mind. And the third chorus which questions destiny and ends with the idea that man will prosper but will be punished has a wide vocabulary and a fuller, more lyrical tone.[56]

Cleopatra shows Daniel making some new developments in his literary conventions. He maintains, however, many of the traditional Senecan elements, including the conventional five-act division, the use of the chorus to make didactic comments and the presentation of much of the action by long narrative reports recited by messengers. His innovations are in the reduction of the amount of violence, which was neglible to begin with, the presentation of many more reflections on life, a facet which is characteristic of his work, and the concern with moral degeneration. Primarily though Cleopatra displays

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[56]Rees, Samuel Daniel, pp. 58-59.

Daniel's ability to develop character and to interweave his own philosophy and ideas into his work.

The Tragedy of Philotas is another Senecan closet drama which Daniel claims he conceived in 1596 but published in 1605. Philotas is concerned with an honorable and faithful, but ambitious soldier who is falsely accused of treason by Chalisthenes and is eventually, after an arduous trial and painful torture, put to death by Alexander the Great. The significance of the date of the play is important because of its alleged similarities to the Essex case. It is known that Daniel was summoned before the Privy Council on the suspicion of the play referring to the conspiracy and trial of Essex; however the council apparently exonerated him. Modern scholars have not been so lenient, for much scholarship has been devoted to the question of the relation between the play and the Essex case; however it is a question which has not been, and probably will not ever be, answered sufficiently. G.A. Wilkes in "Daniel's 'Philotas' and the Essex Case: A Reconsideration" claims that "The parallels claimed between the trial of Philotas and that of Essex, though analyzed minutely, strike one as family resemblances and yield no single piece of evidence that is conclusive."[57] Disagreeing with Wilkes is Brent Stirling, whose article "Daniel's Philotas and the Essex Case," finds Daniel guilty of connection to Essex in the play on the grounds of the historical matter

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[57]G.A. Wilkes, "Daniel's 'Philotas' and the Essex Case: A Reconsideration," Modern Language Quarterly, XXXIII (March, 1962), 234. (Hereinafter referred to as "Daniel's 'Philotas.'")

involved, Daniel's affiliation with many Essex adherents, the time when the play was published and Daniel's habit of covering up and repudiating the chorus which is sympathetic to Philotas.[58] Laurence Michel in his edition of The Tragedy of Philotas by Samuel Daniel tries to show how some of the descrepancies of the play can be explained in light of the Essex affair. As he says, "The net result of the influence of the Essex affair...is to make Daniel's Philotas more confusing in its appeal than it originally was--and thereby poorer as a work of art.[59]

In form and idea there are many similarities between Philotas and Cleopatra. As Felix Schelling in Elizabethan Drama has commented, both plays are marked by unity, tragic decorum, adequacy and at times eloquency of diction and occasional poetic flight.[60] There is an increase in importance and space devoted to abstract moral and political commentary and reflection. In fact, as Michel has shown, nearly all of the fifth act, which has the longest chorus of the play, deals academically with questions of government theory and practice. The hypocrisy of cloaking political expediency with shows of form is especially emphasized in:

> For most h'offends who by the law offends.
> What need hath Alexander so to strive

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[58] Brent Stirling, "Daniel's 'Philotas' and the Essex Case," Modern Language Quarterly, III (1942), 589-594.

[59] The Tragedy of Philotas by Samuel Daniel, ed. by Laurence Michel (New Haven, 1949), p. 66.

[60] Felix Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642 (2 vols.; New York, 1908), II, p.9.

> By all these shewes of forme, to find this man
> Guilty of treason, when he doth contrive
> To have him so adjugd'd? Do what he can,
> He must not be acquit, though he be cleare,
> Th' offender, not th' offence, is punisht hiere.
> And what availes the fore-condemn'd to speake?
> How ever strong his cause, his state is weake.
> Graecian. Ah, but it satisfies the world, and we
> Thinks that well dome which done by law we see
> (V.i.1781-1798).[61]

Other ideas treated include the question of whether rulers should attend trials personally which, in turn, leads to a denunciation of monarchs who set themselves up too high and of imperialism and unnecessary conquest.

The curious attitude of the chorus is one of the most interesting aspects of Philotas. Throughout the play the chorus carries compassion for great men's misfortunes and thus with consideration of their causes, for it frames its imagination by that square and then censures what is done. Thus the play ends on a double note:

> The wrath of Kings doth seldome measure keepe,
> Seeking to cure bad parts they lance too deepe:
> When punishment like lightning should appeare
> To few mens hurt, but unto all mens feare.
> Great elephants and lions murder least,
> Th'ignoble beast is the most cruel beast.
> But all is well, if by the mighty fall
> Of this great man, the King be safely freed:
> But if this Hydra of ambition shall
> Have other heads to spring up in his steed,
> Then hath he made but way for them to rise,
> Who will assault him with fresh treacheries.
> The which may teach us to observe this straine,
> To admire high hill, but live within the plaine
> (V.ii.2120-2133).[62]

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[61] Complete Works, III, p. 166.

[62] Ibid., p. 173.

Though Daniel wrote these plays along the traditions of Senecan closet drama, their reception was generally weak. As Ward remarks, Daniel's return to Senecan drama had little effect on the general progress of drama.[63]

Some of Daniel's finest philosophical poetry is in the epistles. As Shackford has noted in her investigation, Daniel chose the Horatian epistle as his form; however where the Horatian epistle in Elizabethan poetry had been an informal, conversational poem with autobiographical and local allusions, Daniel's epistles are distinctly formal and objective.[64] Like most of his other works, the epistles are very reserved. Though there is little personal life in the poems, the epistles, as Carson has cited, serve as a near perfect expression of Stoicism as it was combined in the Elizabethan Age with Christian teaching.[65]

One of Daniel's earliest epistles "Letter from Octavia" is written in eight line stanzas and has as its subject Octavia's attempt to persuade Marc Antony to return from Egypt to her. Shackford expresses the belief that Daniel's dedication of the poem to the Countess of Cumberland is his expression of sympathy to her, for the Countess was troubled by her own husband's infidelity.[66] A "Letter from Octavia"

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[63]Adolphus W. Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature (2 vols.; London, 1899), II, p. 617.

[64]Martha H. Shackford, "Samuel Daniel's Poetical 'Epistles,' "Especially That to the Countess of Cumberland," Studies in Philology, XLV (1948), p. 178.

[65]Norman M. Carson, "The Literary Reputation of Samuel Daniel" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University Graduate School, 1962), p. 47.

[66]Shackford, "Samuel Daniel's Poetical 'Epistles,'" p. 185.

vividly expresses another fundamental point in Daniel--his concern for the feminine point of view. He not only reproaches Antony in scathing, spirited terms, he also denounces the inequalities of law and social life that are imposed on women:

> Unequall portage to b'allow'd no share
> Of poure to doe of lifes best benefit:
> But stand, as if we interdicted were
> Of virtue, action, liberty, and might:
> Must you have all, and not vouchsafe to spare
> Our weaknesse any int'rest of delight?
> Is there no portion left for us at all,
> But sufferance, sorrow, ignorance and thrall
> (XV. 1.1-8)?[67]

Possibly Daniel's finest expression and combination of his belief in nobility with the use of the building image is in "To the Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland." The main theme of the epistle is that the beauty of the virtuous life and mind will endure and triumph over material power. Much of the success of the poem lies in the appropriateness of the imagery and in the consistency with which it is used. The poem begins "He that of such a height hath built his mind," and Daniel continues the building metaphor throughout the poem, developing the ideas of solidity, security, and dignity against external chaos. Shackford notes that Daniel's personal feelings are kept out of the poem; the entire poem is a record of her intense inward life, her spiritual and mental growth and attainment.[68] The tone of the poem is one of serious thought, therefore the absence of ornamentation, conventionality and extravagance increases the effect of a deep imaginative power.

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[67] Complete Works, I, p. 126.

[68] Shackford, "Samuel Daniel's Poetical Epistles," p. 185.

Shackford calls the mood one of an "instinctively Stoical temper."[69]

"To Lady Margaret" is actually divided into two sections. The first part of the poem is concerned with a description of how she built her mind to such a height that:

> As neither feare nor hope can shake the frame
> Of his resolved powr's, nor all the wind
> Of vanitie or malice pierce to wrong.
> His setled peace, or to disturb the fame,
> What a faire seate hath he, from whence he may
> The boundless wastes and wildes of man survay
> (ll.2-8).[70]

The second portion of the poem is an analysis of how Lady Margaret achieved her character. This she did by the illumination of her mind, by her powers of observation and meditation and by her self-knowledge. These qualities and the awareness of them are shown in these lines:

> Knowing the heart of man is set to be
> The center of this world, about the which
> These revolutions of disturbances
> Still roule; where all th' aspects of miserie
> Predominate; whose strong effects are such
> As he must beare, being powerlesse to redresse;
> And that unless above himselfe he can
> Erect himselfe, how poore a thing is man
> (ll.92-100).[71]

Daniel ends the poem with a tribute to the high esteem in which the lady is held. He never makes her more than human, but he always stresses qualities of human virtue. In returning to the building image at the end of the poem, Daniel not only unifies the poem, but he also returns to the concept of the immortality of good deeds.

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[69] Ibid., p. 188.

[70] Complete Works, I, p. 203.

[71] Ibid., p. 206.

Daniel wrote several other epistles, and nearly all are in keeping with this same idea. He continually praises the positive and enduring human virtues of learning, dignity, chastity and nobility. His epistle "To Sir Thomas Egerton" concerns justice and equity. His epistle "To Lady Lucie" praises her glory and honor, but is ultimately interested in the course of her learning.

Daniel's expressed interest in the power of the mind is the subject of one of his most characteristic poems "Musophilus or A Defence of Learning." The poem, which makes use of the building image as a place of ordered knowledge, is a poetic debate between Musophilus, a man of thought, and Philocosmus, a man of action. Musophilus defends the things of the mind against Philocosmus's materialism and narrow utilitarianism. The argument, as Rees notes, ranges from an exposure of the shallow foundations of worldly grandeur (11.105-32) to a plea for the preservation of a spirit of reverence.[72] Daniel, in support of this last idea, does not rule out all experimentation, but he fears that too much innovation and reformation will too often pull down needed good with the bad and leave nothing sacred even in religion. His conservatism, which sometimes appears to block knowledge, is especially evident in his fear of the arrogant scientific spirit which causes men:

> Curious, to become to know what was beleev'd before:

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[72]Rees, Samuel Daniel, p. 70.

> Whil'st Faith disputes that used to be don be,
> And more men strive to talk then to adore
> (11.728-730).[73]

Raymond Himelick, in "'A Fig for Momus' and Daniel's 'Musophilus,'" argues that Daniel does not attempt to block knowledge as it seems, but instead he would argue that the compatability of learning and action is provided only when action is guided by knowledge and restraint.[74] This idea is illustrated by these lines:

> For, should not grave and learn'd Experience
> That lookes with th'eyes of all the world beside,
> And with all ages holdes intelligence,
> Goe safer then Deceit without a guide
> (11.915-918).[75]

Contained in "Musophilus" are some interesting ideas as to how man should learn. Daniel cites Stonehenge as a material object turned to mockery by time. Daniel believes that the mockeries which time makes of monuments such as Stonehenge should teach man the value of restraint. The poet, so he argues in Musophilus, does not make a materialistic fool of himself, for he is able to learn from the past, and as an example of his ability to do this, he leaves, eternally, a picture of his soul to posterity in poetry, part of a great record of human experience preserved alive.

Daniel's love of learning and poetry forced him to write his brashest and what Johnson calls the second most important

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[73] Complete Works, I, p. 248.

[74] Raymond Himelick, "' A Fig for Momus' and Daniel's 'Musophilus,'" Modern Language Quarterly, XVIII (September, 1957), 249.

[75] Complete Works, I., p. 254.

treatise in Renaissance critical thought, a prose work entitled A Defence of Ryme. Daniel wrote his treatise in answer to Thomas Campion's Observation in the Art of English Poesie, an essay which had reopened the case for quantitative verse in English some time after Spenser and Sidney had discussed and experimented with it. Some of the main ideas which recur in Daniel's poetry are found in the essay.

Daniel refutes Campion's argument for quantitative verse on three main points: rhyme is generally sanctioned by antiquity and the universal gifts of nature; rhyme is the nature of the English language; and rhyme offers limits and order to poetry which it needs. To defend his first point, Daniel argues that "the universallitie argues the generall power of it" and that "it sweeps aside the tyrannical Rules of idle Rhetorique." As Lewis points out, he then questions the whole position that his contemporaries assume about the Middle Ages (an age in which he has unusual interest), for he is aware of the relativity of history.[76] He knows, Thompson reiterates, that this culture and age, as all cultures and ages, has worth and should not imitate old ideas, but should learn from them in order to better the present ones.[77] The second idea is one which is often found in Daniel's work and which he defends on several points Daniel genuinely believes that English is well-suited to verse and that it must

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[76] Lewis, English Literature, p. 435.

[77] G.A. Thompson, Elizabethan Criticism of Poetry (Menasha, Wis., 1916), p. 216. Note that this idea, though perhaps a little bolder, is in keeping with his theory of knowledge expressed in "Musophilus."

be the language of the Elizabethan's literature. Also, as Johnson has noted, Daniel believes it is the emotion and feeling which makes a poem great not the rhythm or the word used.[78] To defend his final point, Daniel, who above all believes in order in all things, says that rhyme puts ideas into an order and makes the poem more memorable. In addition to adding order, Daniel believes that rhyme eliminates many bad writers and that it aids the process of time in eliminating bad writers who manage rhyme poorly.

When King James came to the throne in 1603, Daniel wrote a long poem entitled "A Panegyrike Congratulatorie to King James" welcoming the king with praise and mixing in some seasonable advice. The advice is offered with the assurance that the king will do the right thing; he will be above corruption, bribery and other evils. Apparently James enjoyed the poem and Daniel, for gradually Daniel became rather popular at court. During this time, Daniel, much to the disdain of Ben Jonson, was asked to write some court masques, light pastoral dramas in which Daniel, as Enid Welsford in The Court Masque comments, emphasized, as did most Elizabethans, love and the good life as themes and decor and spectacle as content.[79] In all Daniel wrote four pastorals--The Vision of Twelve Goddesses (1604), an elaborate and costly spectacle of little aesthetic importance; The Queen's Arcadia (1605), a tragicomedy

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[78]Johnson, "Well-Rimed Daniel," p. 99.

[79]Enid Welsford, The Court Masque (New York, 1962), p. 274.

which dramatizes the complication of the conventional love chain; Tethy's Festival (1610), a rather incoherent play with some beautiful poetry but which emphasizes Inigo Jones's scenes over plot; and Hymen's Triumph (1615), which shall be treated here.

Hymen's Triumph, though fairly original, is a pure Arcadian pastoral; it is devoid of satire, simple in plot, and constructed more for the feel of dramatic interest. The story is the conventional webb of difficulties which hamper the reuniting of lovers. While a conventional plot, Daniel, as Frank Ristine asserts in English Tragicomedy: Its Origin and History, arises to a real tragic climax which is capable of arousing pity and terror before the happy change.[80]

Greg has found that Daniel's masques are in keeping with his regular mode; he has taste, sweetness and some feeling, but deficient in passion, in power of conception and strength of execution.[81] Coleridge found Hymen's Triumph to exhibit "a continual series of first rate beauties in thought, passion and imagery...."[82] His verse is smooth, courtly, scholarly and gentlemanly, and it is often delicate as in his description of the early love between Thirsis and Silvanus. On the other hand, his situations are poor, and in keeping with

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[80]Frank Ristine, English Tragicomedy: Its Origin and History (New York, 1963), p. 106.

[81]Walter W. Greg, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama (New York, 1959), p. 261.

[82]Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century, ed. by Robert F. Brinkley (Duke University, 1955), p. 507.

his usual qualities, he tends to exaggerate wholesomeness. His style, as Greg comments, is often stilted, monotonous and heavy. All in all he is probably exaggerated as a pastoral writer, for he was rarely authentic in his masques, and it is dubious as to how serious he treated them as an artist.[83]

Samples of nearly every facet of Daniel's philosophical thought and his literary conventions can be found in his long historic epic "The Civil Wars," which he was in the process of writing from his earliest literary adventures. In "The Civil Wars" Daniel is more concerned with the historic process of cause and effect than with heroic exploit. As Tillyard offers, Daniel shows the temper of the time and where the true epic subject lay, for he celebrates the internal peace and security from outside foes achieved by the Tudors--especially Elizabeth. He tells us that he intends to omit the present excellent chance of fulfilling the prime epic function (according to Renaissance theory) of instructing through the example of heroic deeds. Instead of dealing with action, Daniel deals with the causes of activities in history, and then he analyzes them for their effects on his day. Often then he moralizes on the lessons he learns.

Daniel's history is rather truthful, for as Lewis points out, he added little to the facts except speeches. Daniel skips over legends and tries to show things happening in an orderly fashion, usually year by year or reign by reign. Daniel's unit of historic thought is most often the reign.[84]

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[83]Greg, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama, p. 261.

[84]Lewis, English Literature, p. 526.

The characters in Daniel's "The Civil Wars" are all great people, this is not a common man's history. As Blisset has cited, Daniel treats only important events with no nostalgic use of local or historic color.[85] He avoids the mention of objects or manners that might become antiquated. He treats mainly national and dynastic subjects, not particularly military ones.

The title of "The Civil Wars" is misleading. Though the first five books of this eight book epic contain some of Daniel's most vivid and most effective imagery, most of the poems lack color; they are concerned with moral questioning and historical irony. Blisset has commented that Daniel observes history from the point of view of a patriotic subject, alert to the ethical significance of the past and mindful of the blessing of his age in comparison to the age the poem relates.[86]

Daniel shows real and interesting thought development in "The Civil Wars." Always seeking order and right, he has interesting reflection on them:

> Order, how much predominant art thou!
> That if but onely thou pretended art;
> How soone, deceiv'd mortality doth bow
> To follow thine, as still the better part!
> Tis thought, that reverent Forme will not allow
> Iniquitie, or sacred right pervart.
> Within our soules, since then thou dwell'st so strong;
> How ill do they, that use thee, to do wrong
> (ii.96)![87]

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[85] William Blisset, "Samuel Daniel's Sense of the Past," English Studies, XXXVIII (1957), 53.

[86] Ibid., p. 54.

[87] Complete Works, II, p. 88.

Another idea in Daniel is his solemn political philosophy--that of the visiting of a crime on future generations but with the hope of ultimate expiation. Tillyard notes that the cycle from Richard II to Henry VII is an example of that cycle.[88] Daniel sounds academic and explicit in his explications of ideas such as these because he supplements his poetry by history. If a crime goes unexpiated, the offense leads to crimes which are vastly greater. Daniel announces this principle as a prelude to Henry IV's reign:

> Now, Henrie, thou hast added to thy sinne
> Of usurpation, and intruding force,
> A greater crime; which makes that gone before
> T' appeare more then it did, and noted more
> (iv.1).[89]

An important concept presented in "The Civil Wars" is Daniel's view of the Middle Ages. Daniel did not readily fall under the spell of the chivalric figures of the Middle Ages, for he does not relish old things, as did Spenser and Camden, or their picture of humanity. Daniel views the Middle Ages with historic interest and appreciation. During the Middle Ages, Daniel noted, as Tillyard points out, that the countries of Europe were small, but each had a potential Pandora's box in the invention of printing and artillery. From the upsets in power that these inventions caused, Daniel places the War of the Roses, the main subject of "The Civil Wars," into a larger context.[90] Seeing this larger scope, Daniel can also see the basis for other sixteenth century problems.

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[88] E.M.W. Tillyard, The English Epic and Its Backgrounds (New York, 1966), p. 326. (Hereinafter referred to as The English Epic.)

[89] Complete Works, II, p. 135.

[90] Tillyard, The English Epic, pp. 331-332.

From the larger context of history that Daniel comprehends, he can see in action his cycle of recurrence. Tillyard expresses the concept in the terms of "God's processes" and the "mind's processes." In "God's processes" one must look at a broad view of history, for it concerns the potential for good that God gives man in any age. All ages have this potential for good in Daniel's view. The processes of the mind concern the action and direction which man will take; though Daniel does not mention it specifically, he implies that man has to change; he has to act. How man acts, whether his processes lead him to trouble or to high places, depends on his view of history. Thus if man understands history and learns from it, he can move to a better position; this is the reason, Tillyard believes, Daniel spends so much time on motives and so little time on action.[91]

"The Civil Wars" is a well ordered, unified poem built around the War of Roses, the trouble preceding it, its culminating horror and its end. Daniel combines a philosophy of history and solemn concern for motive to give the poem an epic tone. The sententiousness of the ottava rima verse is a part of the epic form. The verse is often simple, rarely metaphorical, except for a few similies and a few images in the early books, often dull but rarely without dignity. As Blisset says, Daniel in his "The Civil Wars" "has a sense of the past, its opportunities and pitfalls, the lessons for the present, and

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[91] Ibid., pp. 328-334.

its place in the continuity of history."[92] As usual, Daniel cannot pass up the opportunity to show the reader the lessons and pitfalls.

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[92] Blisset, "Samuel Daniel's Sense of the Past," p. 50.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Though critics, scholars, and readers have tended to push Daniel's work into obscurity since the Elizabethan Age, there appears, at present, to be enough interest in Daniel and his writing to establish him in his rightful position in literary history. No longer can Daniel's verse be set aside untreated because it is too prosaic, too bland, or too imitative, for, as this study has shown, his literary qualities raise him above these generalizations and merit him some serious attention.

The contributions which Daniel made to English literature in both range and originality are large. He is among the first to establish the vogue of the sonnet in England, the moral verse-epistle, the English historical verse-epic, the French-Senecan drama, the Italian pastoral drama, and the masque. His innovations in the old "mirror" poem gave it new life. His use of moral character description in the "Funeral Poem" is a unique development, for it gives an epic tone to an elegiac poem. His critical masterpiece A Defence of Ryme combines a significant document on Renaissance critical thought with a lasting statement on the value of poetry.

Being an Elizabethan, Daniel did not always need to make innovations in poetic conventions and forms, for he inherited

a vast number of traditional devices. However, unlike many of his contemporaries, Daniel never became hamstrung by them. He used the traditional conventions, but he nearly always used them in a new way, as a means to a greater end.

Probably the most unique quality which Daniel's literature contains is the pure way he uses the language. In an age which normally glows from the colorful and ornate literature of its authors, Daniel displays his art in an indecorous, prose-like quality which makes his verse rather modern. Absent are colorful and exaggerated images and the unusual and often archaic vocabulary which is characteristic of so much Elizabethan poetry. Rather Daniel is a poet who is conservative, philosophical, and reflective by nature and who matches what he has to say with how he desires to say it.

Daniel's thought and art are always consistent. Two inter-related ideas dominate Daniel's work. He is continually aware of the relativity of time as manifested in the doctrine of recurrence; therefore he adheres to the Renaissance conviction that man's moral being and his intellectual being are superior to the mundane things of the world and to time itself. Quiet and conservative by nature Daniel believes that man's excellence is enduring and is not determined by time and chance. C.S. Lewis sees Daniel as "in the nineteenth century sense of the word, a poet of ideas"; he "actually thinks in verse: thinks deeply, arduously; he can doubt and wrestle...he is the most interesting man of letters of his century."[1]

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[1]C.S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century - Excluding Drama (Oxford, 1944), pp. 530-531.

Daniel's tone is more pathetic than dramatic or passionate. He is quiet and unobtrusive, and likewise his poetry is effective in a quiet, sobering way. Daniel is not and should not be considered with the greatest of English poets; however he merits the highest rank in that lower echelon of the second order of English poets. His verse, which is too seldom heard, is kind and unobtrusive, not only to the ear but also to the understanding.

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