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An Edition of Lady Hester Pulter’s Book of ‘Emblemes’

Alice Eardley

Two Volumes: Volume Two

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Table of Contents

Note on the Text

The Text 4
Spelling 6
Punctuation 6
Textual Notes 7
Annotations 7
Illustrations 8

‘Emblemes’

Title Page 9
1. When Mighty Nimrade Hunting after fame 10
2. Come my Dear Children come and Happy bee 13
3. That many Heliotropians there bee 16
4. Vertue in the Olympicks fought a Duell 21
5. The Manucodiats as Authors write 23
6. Two Mountebancks contended for a Stage 25
7. The Indian Mooze three Young at once doth bear 27
8. How fast this Creature runs upon the Earth 29
9. When Scornd Medea Saw Cruesa led 31
10. Some Birds their bee Sure they noe love doe lack 33
11. The Dubious Raven doth her young forsake 35
12. This vast Leviathan Whose Breathing blows 37
13. The Porcupine went Ruffling in his Pride 40
14. In Affrica about the Fountain's brink 42
15. The Cruel Tiger swiftly on doth Pass 44
16. The Cockatrice as vulgarly receiv'd 47
17. When God (who is to Mercie most inclin'd) 51
18. The Eliphant when Raidiant sol doth rise 54
19. Who can but pitty this poor Turtle Dove 58
20. You that love Poppit Playes, Masks, Court Buffoons 64
21. The hunted Hart when shee begins to Tire 68
22. The Toad and Spider once would trie the might 71
23. The Marmottanes for Unitie's renownd 75
24. Behold this flying Fish with shineing Wings 76
25. Those that imployed are the Apes to catch 79
26. The stately Mooz being mounted up the hill 84
27. Vain Erostratus was so fond of Fame 87
28. This Ugly Sow descended of that Bore 91
29. Old Esculus being told that hee should die 94
30. The Cuckoes constitution's cold shee knows 97
31. Could this Fell Catablepe lift up her head 100
32. The Lion Roars his vassals fear and tremble 102
33. Mark but those Hogs which underneath yond tree 105
35. Seest thou this Horizontall Bird whose eyes
36. Come my Dear Pledges of our Constant Loves
37. Behold how many Cobwebs doth invest
38. The Lyon that of late soe Domineer'd
39. All the Creatures then the Dolphin are more slow
40. View but this Tulip, Rose, or July Flower
41. The Estrich with her gallant gaudy plumes
42. This huge Laviathan for all his strength
43. This Stately Ship Courted by Winds and Tide
44. The Brackman Th'angrie Deities to appeas
45. Aristominus his strang ambiguous Fate
46. In Ments when Corn was grown excessive dear
47. When as that Geniall Universall Fire
48. When royall Fergus Line did rule this Realm
49. A Russian Rustick Clambring up a Tree
50. When Phalaris for Tiranny soe Fam'd
51. When Brittish Brennus sack'd that Noble Citty
52. The Caucasines with Locusts were anoy'd
53. When fair Aurora drest with raidient Light
54. An old Man through a Town did often pass
Note on the Text

The Text

Lady Hester Pulter’s series of fifty-three emblems (Leed Brotherton Ms Lt q 32, ff. 90r-130v), together with its title page, has been fully transcribed. In the transcription u/v and i/j have been regularised throughout and ‘&’ has been silently expanded. Capitalisation is inconsistent throughout the manuscript and in many cases it is difficult to discern whether it was intended; capital letters ‘A’ and ‘S’ are particularly difficult to distinguish. They have been retained for proper nouns but otherwise disregarded.

Immediately after each poem, textual notes are provided detailing any corrections or additions made to the original scribal text by the main scribe, Pulter, or later annotators. Also included in the textual notes are any marginal annotations made by the main scribe, Pulter, or later annotators. Where mistakes have been made in the marginal annotations, for example where the wrong page number has been referenced, they have not been corrected but the correct reference has been provided.

Following the textual notes, annotations provide references, glosses of unfamiliar terms, and explanations of the text. In the original manuscript, where a poem continues onto a second page, catchwords have been provided, but I have not included them in this edition. Foliation follows the pencil foliation in evidence throughout the original manuscript.

Within the section of the manuscript dedicated to the emblem series, the title page, the main body of the poems, the marginalia and the numbers have all been written out in the scribal hand and occasional minor corrections in the same
hand appear throughout. In my own transcription, I have silently included these
 corrections within the text and acknowledged any changes in the accompanying
 notes.

 Pulter has also made several of her own additions and corrections to the
 scribal text and these changes take a range of different forms. In several poems the
 scribe has left gaps to be completed by Pulter; in emblem 46, for example, she has
 added the name of the town ‘Ments’ to the opening line. In the same poem, she has
 added to the margin a line missing from the scribal transcription. But these gaps
 have not been completed in all poems; in emblem 38, for example, half a line is
 missing. A different type of authorial addition can be found in emblem 15 where
 Pulter has included a biblical reference as a marginal annotation; other marginal
 annotations feature throughout the text. As well as these additions, Pulter has made
 careful amendments to the scribal transcription, on occasion making a significant
 difference to the meaning of the text. In emblem 10, for example, she alters ‘Sure
 those that doe their children’s goods neglects’ to ‘Sure those that their own
 children’s good neglects’. Her alteration makes the line less clumsy and improves
 the clarity of meaning. She makes it clear that she means parents neglect ‘the good
 of their children’ not ‘goods belonging to their children’. In another example, ‘the
 sun’, in emblem 52, is changed to ‘our sun’ in order to highlight the symbolic
 function of the sun as monarch. I have silently included Pulter’s amendments in my
 text but have recorded the changes in the accompanying notes.

 Other, often quite substantive, changes have been made to the text in the
 ‘Grand Rebel’ and ‘antiquarian’ hands belonging to the eighteenth-century minister
 of Cottered church, Angel Chauncy. In poem 45, for example, the line ‘To Judas
 blind dejected captive king’ has been altered to ‘To Judas sad dejected king’. I have
not included these changes in my transcription but have acknowledged them in the accompanying notes.

**Spelling**

Original spelling has been retained throughout. The four autograph poems and the substantial extract of the prose romance demonstrate that Pulter had an idiosyncratic way of spelling many words but this has not been retained in the scribal copy. Pulter's romance provides evidence of her own uncertainty about her spelling. On folio 34Ar for example it takes her three attempts to write the word 'public'; two false starts, 'Pup' and 'pob' are deleted before she settles on 'publike'. Prominent and frequently occurring examples of Pulter's distinctive spelling include 'inoscent' which the scribe corrects to 'innocent' and 'blooddey' which is changed to 'bloody'. The most frequently occurring difference appears in words ending in 'ing', which Pulter consistently writes as 'inge' without first deleting the 'e' found at the end of many words. But the scribe uses 'ing' without the preceding or the concluding 'e'. While spelling may give some indication of pronunciation, in Pulter's use of 'hard' for 'heard' and 'peas' for 'peace' for example, it does not (in most cases) affect the meaning. Words apparently invented by Pulter, such as 'miserent' in emblem 53 have been retained as they appear in the manuscript.

**Punctuation**

In addition to spelling, original punctuation has been retained throughout. A comparison of the four extant poems in Pulter's hand with those transcribed into the bound volume suggests her own punctuation was considered important enough to
retain. Pulter's punctuation is sparse but used to dramatic effect. A good example of
this can be seen in the last couplet of the autograph poem 'The Hope', which reads:

To whom my soule doth praye and humbly bow
Will raise mee unto liffe. I know not how

Pulter most frequently uses commas for lists and when enjambment occurs, for
example:

And lett our Longeinge eyes behold restor'd
Our Gratious Kinge, whos loss hath bin deplor'd

Pulter often uses parentheses to provide a commentary on or to express a response
to the events depicted in poem. This can be emotional, as in emblem 4, for
example, where she expresses sorrow, `(ay mee)’, at the death of Charles I or to
pass comment such as ‘(who can hold their laughter’ in emblem 49.

Textual Notes

As Pulter’s emblem poems are extant in a single manuscript it has not been
necessary to compare variants, except in the rare cases where amendments have
been made in Pulter’s own hand within the text. In these cases the later version has
been incorporated into the edition and the change has been noted in the textual
notes.

Annotations

All unfamiliar words have been glossed using the online Oxford English
Dictionary, the Lexicons of Early Modern English online database or, where
necessary, with analogous examples from contemporary texts (for example where
Pulter uses ‘caus’ in a sense not listed in the OED). Where possible I have sought
analogues in the texts to which we can reasonably confident Pulter was herself
referring; this accounts for the frequent occurrence of references to Pliny and Goulart. For ease of reference I have included fairly substantial excerpts from these texts, drawing attention to the way in which Pulter adopts and manipulates vocabulary. Where it has not been possible to identify source material I have tried to locate contemporary analogues. In my transcriptions of these texts I have followed punctuation and spelling but have not retained italicisation or reproduced whole words in capitals. I have, where possible, used texts available on *Early English Books Online* (the main exception being Thomas Fuller’s *Holy State* (1642)). A full title for each text is provided in the bibliography.

**Illustrations**

Pulter’s emblematic poems refer to many images conventionally found in contemporary emblem books and other illustrated texts. For each of her poems I have identified and listed analogues found in other sixteenth and seventeenth century English emblem books. For reference purposes I have also included examples of images from several of these texts in the accompanying notes. I have not however attempted to recreate the traditional compositional arrangement of the emblem (ie. image above the text) because to do so would imply a relationship between the text and image not in keeping with Pulter’s original manuscript.
The sighes of a sad soule Emblematically
blea breath'd forth by the noble Hadassah.
When Mighty Nimrade Hunting after fame
Built this huge Fabrick to get him a Name
Fearing another Deluge might oer flow
And all Mans petty Projects overthrow
With Slime and Brick, instede of Lime and stone
Hee meant to reach Unto Gods glorious Throne
Oh vain! to think by those terrestriall Towers
They could ascend supercельestiall Bowers
Foolishly dreaming their dim Mortall sight
Could view invisible inaccessible Light
From this the Fiction of the Gyants Rose
When they the Olympick Dieties oppose
Then Fierce Egeous scornd Joves Thunderstocks
When at his Head he threw a Hundred Rocks
Like Mole Hills Mounttaine/ upon Mountains Haild
Thus most presumptiously they Heaven scaild
Till Thunder Rowted this Rebellious Crew
Soo let Usurping Nimrod's have their due
Let their accursed plots prove their delusion
For Fanci'd Glory let them find confusion
But from presumption Lord preserve my Soul
That in thy Mercy I may safely Rowl
Resting in Christ that Blessed corner stone
Then by his Steps I'le mount his Glorious Throne

15. Mounttaine] taine inserted above the original text in authorial hand.

1-6. When Mighty ... glorious Throne] In her description of Nimrod and the Tower of Babel, Pulter draws directly on the vocabulary of her biblical source. In Genesis Nimrod is described as 'a mighty hunter before the Lord' (10.9) and we are told that the people of Shinar constructed the tower to make themselves 'a name' and to prevent themselves being 'scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth' (11.4). The Bible also states that in their construction of the Tower, the builders had 'brick for stone, and slime they had for mortar (11.3). In her account, Pulter changes the emphasis of the story, possibly in response to the description provided by Richard Verstegan (see note to line 3), to focus on the individual of Nimrod, not the collective aim of multiple builders.

3. another Deluge] Although it is not mentioned in the Bible, the idea that the Tower of Babel was built as protection against a second flood, akin to that survived by Noah, was widespread. In Religio Medici, Thomas Browne notes that the idea 'That our Fathers, after the Flood, erected the Tower of Babell, to preserve themselves against a second Deluge, is generally opinioned and believed' ((1643), p. 53). One writer who cites this opinion is Richard Verstegan, who states that Nimrod 'so took upon him to bee a captain and comaunder over the rest, and to
provyde a remedy for their saefty, yf God should once againe drown the world, and this to bee by the buylding of so high a towre, as no flud of water might overtop it’ ((1605), p. 4). Pulter includes a direct reference to Verstegan’s text in emblem 17.

Tower of Babel frontispiece; from Verstegan (1634)

8. *supercelestiall*] Supercelestial: literally ‘above the heavens’ or figuratively ‘of a nature or character higher than celestial’ (*OED* 1-2).

11. *Fiction of the Gyants*] The ‘fiction’ to which Pulter refers appears in the first book of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, which was widely perceived to be a pagan corruption of the biblical book of Genesis. Simon Goulart, for example, in a text directly referenced by Pulter in emblem 10, writes: ‘Furthermore, it seemeth that from this History of Moses (as touching the Tower, and the confusion of the builders) the fabulous discourse of the Poets was derived (recited by Ovid in the first booke of his Metamorphosis) as touching the Giants, who heaped Pelion upon Ossa, Mountaine upon Mountaine, to scale Heaven and to dispossesse Jupiter of his Throne. In this sort hath Satan endeavoured to falsifie the verity of holy Histories. But this proud building sheweth that worldly thoughts are, which undoubtedly tend to no other end, but to despise the true celestiallyl immortalitie, to seeke out a false, fading and terestriall pleasure’ ((1621), ‘Book Two’, p. 171). The vocabulary used by Goulart is very similar to that in Pulter’s poem, suggesting she used his text as a source for her material. Goulart includes a reference to Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, which appeared in several English translations during the first half of the seventeenth century (Oakley-Brown (2006), pp. 13-15). Pulter appears to have used
George Sandys’s edition (1632), which was accompanied by a lengthy textual commentary. Sandys notes that the giants represent ‘too potent subjects, or the tumultuary vulgar; rebelling against their Princes, called Gods, as his substitutes: who by their disloyaltie and insolencies violate all lawes of both God and man, and profane whatsoever is sacred’ ((1632), p. 27). This message is in keeping with the critique of earthly ambition that Pulter provides in her poem and with the political message, directed against those who rebelled against Charles I, of her collection as a whole.

13. *Egeous*] Pulter is probably thinking of Aegaeon, or Briareus, a monster with a hundred arms and fifty heads. He was the offspring, together with his brothers Cottus and Gyges, of Uranus and Gaia, or heaven and earth (*Brill’s New Pauly*, vol. 6, pp. 57-8). Pulter’s account of Briareus’s actions in the battle between the Gods and the Titans is different from conventional versions of the story. The more common version is recounted by Goulart who states that Briareus ‘by the solicitation of Thetis, mounted up to Heaven to assist Jupiter, against whom the other gods intended to make warre’ ((1621), ‘Book One’, p. 296). In Pulter’s version, Briarus is fighting on the side of the Titans. Elsewhere, Pulter uses Briareus as a symbol for the unruly multitude; see her unnumbered emblem, ‘An old Man through a Town did often pass’, note to line 32.

17. *Rowted*] Routed: compelled to flee in disorder (*OED*).

22. *Rowl*] Roll: to be enveloped (*OEDv.2 9*).

23. *Resting ... corner stone*] In the Bible the term ‘corner-stone’ is used as a description of Christ on whom the house of God is founded (*Ephesians* 2. 20). The corner stone is a significant part of a building’s foundation and Pulter’s use of the term is in keeping with the structural, architectural vocabulary of her poem as a whole.

24. *by his steps*] In the Bible, to follow in the footsteps of God, or Christ, is to follow his example and guidance. In keeping with the tower and climbing references used throughout this poem, Pulter puns on the word to ‘step’ to refer to stairs; for a biblical reference see I Peter 2.21.
Come my Dear Children come and Happy bee
Even as I follow Christ soe Follow mee
Eight of your Number finished have their Story
And now their souls doe shine in endles Glory
Then by these Blessed steps let us Assend
Unto that Joy that never shall have end
First let Gods Word your sole Director bee
Which sweetly Leads you to Humilitye
Through whose Low Rooft Temple all did goe
That Worship’t Honour, Elhenicks this did know
Next patience Fits you for the Firey Triall
Noe Goeing further without self deniall
Then Temperance beseure you doe not Mis
That Chastitites white hand you next may kiss
Then Prudence that all Accions doth Foresee
Without Her, Just you cannot possible bee
Then bee Content or you your self delude
And Constantly goe on to Fortitude
By Faith and Hope wee then shall mount above
Into the Bosome of eternall Love
Thy Hand dear Alithea least I miss one Round
Who Skips but one Precipitates to Ground
These were Got up, but yet you see they Fell
Into those sensuall Wayes which leads to Hell
Some that these steps too Tedious are doe say
Therefore they Climeber up a nearer way
Leaving Fair Truth and her Celestiall Train
Beeing guided by the spirit as they Fain
But see my Children how they Tumble Down
And for their own Chimmera lose a Crown
Let Grace and Truth then guid us in our Story
By these degrees wee shall arise to Glory

6. never] altered from ner’e in authorial hand.
7. Left-hand marginal note: Alithea.
Left-hand marginal note: 2nd. Patience.
12. self] altered from seff.
15. Left-hand marginal note: 5th. Prudence.
17. Content] C altered from c.
Left-hand marginal note: 7th. Contentation.
Left-hand marginal note: 8th. Constancy.
9th. Fortitude.
11th. Hope.
3. **Eight of your Number**] In the titles of two of her occasional poems Pulter notes that between 1624 and 1648 she gave birth to fifteen children but eight of them had already died by the time she wrote this poem: Mary (d. 1631), Hester (d. 1632), William (d. 1639), Charles (b. 1640), Elizabeth (d. 1642), Jane (d. 1645), Penelope (d. 1655), and James (d. 1659). This would suggest that the poem was composed during or shortly after 1659. But surviving records only account for fourteen of the Pulters’ children and it is possible that another child had died prior to James. The surviving children that Pulter would have been addressing are Margaret (b. 1629), Ann (b. 1635), Arthur (b. 1636), Edward (b. 1638), Mary (b. 1674), and John (b. 1648). In 1659, they would have ranged in age from Mary who was thirty to John who was eleven. For a more detailed discussion of Pulter’s children see Chapter One.

5. **Blessed steps**] This line echoes the conclusion of the previous poem in which Pulter says she will follow ‘his Steps’ (ie. the steps of Christ) in order to ‘mount his Glorious Throne’. In this poem, Pulter is guiding her own children along the path to salvation. This connection has led Sarah Ross to suggest that the two poems, which assert a spiritual agenda and imply an audience for this message in Pulter’s children, are ‘companion prefatory pieces’ to the collection as a whole ((2000), pp. 132-3).

7. **God’s Word**] God’s authority and guidance; possibly also a specific reference to the Bible.

8-20. **Which sweetly ... eternall Love**] Pulter lists nine virtues, plus the three theological virtues of faith, hope and charity; I have not identified any similar model. The seven cardinal virtues are prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice together with faith, hope and charity. Pulter includes all of these but adds humility, patience, chastity, contentation, (or contentment) and constancy. Galatians 5.22-3 lists nine fruits of the spirit, which are: love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance. In contrast to these, the virtues prioritised by Pulter place a greater emphasis on patience, integrity and peace of mind.

9. **Low Rooft Temple**] A ‘low roof’ is a conventional emblem of humility; see for example Joseph Hall who describes the ‘Humble Man’ as ‘a true Temple of God built with a low roofe’ ((1608), p. 31).

10. **Elhenicks**] Hellenics; Greeks. I have not been able to identify Pulter’s precise reference.

11. **Firey Triall**] The fiery trial in which Christian faith is forged through hardship. George Wither describes how the fiery trial ‘Consumes the Workes of ev’ry Wicked-one’ but it ‘Doth purifie what Faithfull-men have done’. The faithful ‘triumph in the Flames’ and shall obtaine/The glorious Crowne of Endlesse-Happinesse’ (Wither (1635), p. 30).

19-20. **By Faith ... eternall Love**] Faith, hope and charity are the three theological virtues listed in I Corinthians 13.13: ‘And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity’. In keeping with this, the virtues listed by
Pulter all lead to charity or ‘eternall Love’.


22. *Precipitates*] To fall or to come suddenly to ruin or destruction (*OED* v. 2a-b).

26. *Nearer*] Shorter, more direct (*OED* a. (and n.) 6 a-b).

28. *Fain*] Disposed, inclined (*OED* 3); or apt, wont (*OED* 3b). Pulter is critical of those guided not by God’s will but by their own inclinations, habits or desires.

30. *Chimera*] Chimera: a creature of the imagination or, more appropriately for this poem, a mountain in Phoselis that ‘burneth...with continuall fire both night and day’ (Pliny (1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 47). Goulart describes how the name of the mountain came to be associated with a fabled beast. He says that ‘neere unto the top the Lyons inhabite, in the midst Goates, at the foote Serpents’ adding ‘Belerophon made it habitable: for which cause the Poets fained, that he had overcome a horrible Monster, called Chimaera, which had three heads; the fore-part of a Lyon, the midst of a Goate, and the tayle of a Dragon...At this day this of word Chimaera is in use, and is taken for the thing that never was: and for the strange figures which a man painteth in the aire’ ((1621), ‘Book One’, p. 216). Pulter warns her children against attempting to scale their own illusory, mountainous chimera in pursuit of earthly glory.
3 That many Heliotropians there bee
Philosophers unanimously agree
But that a plant should in the Center grow
Few Naturalist to find the Truth will goe
Soe Far below the Cavarns of the Dead
To Find this Simple Simpring in her Bed
Which sends forth Branches through the Sea or Earth
And as the Sun doth Rise begins her Birth
Then as hee higher doth in splendor goe
Even soe this Azure Flower doth Taller grow
And when hee Mounts to his Miridian Height
Then many Cubits shee doth stand upright
Above the Earth when to the Western Tracts
Hyperion goes her stature shee contracts
Then when hee Hurries down the Olympick Hill
Lower and Lower this brave Flower growes still
[f. 92v] But when in Thetis Lap hee layes his Head
Shee sadly sinks into her Earthly Bed
When to the Antipodes hee doth apear
Shee follows him to tother Hemispheir
The Earth or Sea be'ng every where above her
Shee breaks through all to meet her Raidient Lover
Even soe those Soules which are to God united
Though in this vale of Tears they be benighted
Yet still a Blessed Influence from above
Sweetly inclin's them to a constant Love
Though Tyrants in their innocent bloods doe Wallow
Though they the Martyrs in their Deaths doe Follow
Wheels, Jibbits Precipices Crosses, Flame
The’le break through all to magnifie his name
T’is neither Power nor Principallitie
Dear God can seperate my soul from thee
Nor all the Powers of Heaven Hell or Earth
Can keep my Soul from whence she had her Birth
Though Death Calcine my Flesh and bones to dust
In my first Principles I'le in thee trust
Ney even my Dust disperst shall rest in hope
To meete my Saviour in a Horiscope
Infinitely then this our Orb more bright
Not interwoven as now with death and Night
Then though I sadly here sigh out my story
Yet am I sure to Rise again to Glory.

2. agree] a altered from g.
12. upright] altered from a word no longer identifiable.
18. sinks] altered from thinks.
23. soe] altered from foe.
38. meete] altered from meep in authorial hand.
1. *Helitropians* Heliotrope or Sunflower. In his *Natural History*, Pultor’s favourite source of natural-world imagery, Pliny provides a description of ‘that one herbe called Heliotropium’. He states that the plant ‘regardeth and looketh toward the Sun ever as he goeth, turning with him at all houres, notwithstanding he be shadowed under a cloud’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 20). Later in his text, discussing the ‘Turnsol’ Pliny describes how ‘so great is the love of this herb’ to the sun that ‘in the night season for want of the Suns presence, as if it had a great misse thereof, it draweth in and shutteth the blew floure which it beareth’ ((1601), ‘Second Tome’, p. 126). The Heliotrope is an extremely common emblematic image and is most frequently used to represent the relationship between the soul and God or that between the subject and the monarch. George Wither, for example, presents the heliotrope, or the marigold, as an emblem of the relationship between the subject and his or her king ‘Twixt whom there is a native sympathy’ ((1635), p. 209). In another of his emblems the flower is a reminder to ‘despise’ all ‘earthly things below’ and instead to aspire to God, ‘the Sunne of Righteousnesse’ ((1635), p. 159). Similarly, the emphasis of Pulter’s poem is on the soul’s indissoluble relationship with, and aspiration towards, God. For further analogues see Ayres (1683), no. 14; Hawkins (Rouen, 1633), no. 5, p. 48; Hawkins (Rouen, 1634), no. 5, p. 56; Thynne (1600), no. 18; and Van Veen (Antwerp, 1608), p. 75.

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3. *Center* The centre of the earth. Pulter’s description of the heliotrope emerging from the ground is a departure from the more common emblematic motif of the
flower, as it is described by Pliny, turning on its stalk to follow the passage of the
sun across the sky (see note to line 1). Instead, her reference to the `center' evokes
Henry More's description of the heliotrope, he writes: `So doth the gentle warmth
of solar heat/Eas'ly awake the centre seminall' in which `is plac'd the never fading
root/Of every flower or herb that into th'air doth shoot, ((1642), 'Psychanthanasia',
Book I, Canto II, Verses 30 and 31). Sarah Hutton has suggested that Pulter's
occasional poems supply evidence of More's pervasive influence on her writing,
specifically in her astronomical references (2006). In this poem, Pulter's allusion to
More suggests she conceives of a neoplatonic relationship between God and his
creation, specifically the soul. This is premised on the notion of a hierarchy of souls
all rooted in the same divine source.

3-6. But that a plant ... in her Bed] The term `naturalist' used here is probably a
mistranscription for the plural `naturalists'. A naturalist was an expert in or student
of natural history, specifically plants or animals and they were often associated with
an observational mode of scientific investigation (OED 1.b.). In contrast to the
'Philosophers' referenced in line 2, Pulter may be criticising those who study
natural as opposed to supernatural or spiritual things (OED 2.a.), the implication
being that these natural philosophers, concerned only with the most easily
accessible, superficial elements of the flower, do not consider its true or spiritual
significance.

5. Cavarns of the dead] A classical image of the underworld. In his translation of
Ovid's Metamorphoses George Sandys uses the phrase while describing the
scorching effects of Phaeton's actions when he steals and then fails to control the
chariot belonging to his father Phoebus, or the sun. Sandys says that 'Parched' and
'shaking' Tellus, or the earth, `with-drew her head,/Neere to th'infernall Caverns of
the Dead' ((1632), p. 52).

6. Simple] Plant or herb used for medical purposes (OED a. and n. 6.). Pliny lists
the various medicinal uses of the `Turnsol', which, among other things, `thrusteth
wormes in the belly, and scoureth out the gravell in kidnies' ((1601), `Second
Tome', p. 126).

10. Azure] Bright blue (OED n. and a. 2a). Pliny describes the `Turnsol', not the
heliotrope, as a `blew flower' (see note to line 1 above). It is possible that Pulter
was thinking of an episode in Metamorphoses when Clytie is turned into a flower
`resembling the pale Violet', which Sandys glosses as `The Heliotrope or Turn-sol'
(Sandys (1632), p. 119). See note to line 22 for a full discussion of this myth.

11. Miridian] Celestial Meridian. The point in the sky crossed by the sun at its
highest point (OED n. 4a).

12. Cubits] Ancient measure of length (OED). In the introduction to his translation
of Pliny's Natural History, Philemon Holland defines a `Cubit' as `a measure from
the elbow to the middle finger stretched out at length, which went ordinarily for 24
fingers bredth, or 18 inches, which is one foot and a halfe' but he notes that `Pliny
in one place maketh mention of a shorter cubit, namely from the elbow to the end
of the fist or knuckles, when the fingers be drawn in close to the hand' ((1601), sig.
A4r).
13. *Western Tracts*] The westerly regions of the earth and/or the sky to which the sun returns at night (*OED* 3.a).


15. *Olympick Hill*] Mount Olympus. In Greek mythology, the home of the gods and goddesses; heaven (*OED* n.).

17. *Thetis Lap*] Thetis was a sea nymph and mother of Achilles and her name is often used in reference to the sea (Sandys (1632), p. 391). The sun laying its head in Thetis’s lap is a common poetical image for the setting of the sun into the ocean (see for example the prefatory material to the emblem books of Peacham (1612), p. 42; and Fane (1648), p.141).

19. *Antipodes*] Places on the opposite side of the earth (*OED* n. pl. 3).

22. *Raidient Lover*] Pulter may have been drawing on Pliny’s account of the Turnsol and its great love for the sun (see note to line 1) or she may have had an episode from Ovid in mind. George Sandys, in his commentary to the fourth book of *Metamorphoses*, recounts the myth of Clytie who fell in love with Apollo, the sun. When the nymph discovers her lover has betrayed her for Leucothoe she has her rival buried alive. The sun rejects Clytie for her actions and she ‘pines away with griefe’ until she is ‘changed into a flower which turns about with the Sun: … who retaining still her former affection; closeth her leaves when he sets, as bemoaning his absence’. Sandys notes that ‘Wherein the nature of the Heliotrope is described’ ((1632), p. 158).

31-34. *T’is neither ... had her Birth*] In an extended consideration of the perils and afflictions of fleshly, earthly existence, St Paul tells the Romans that ‘neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come. Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord (Romans 8.38-9).

35. *Calcine*] Alchemical term: to reduce a substance to its purist state by driving off excess matter (*OED*). Philemon Holland defines ‘calcining’ as ‘the burning of a minerall, or any thing, for to correct the malignitie of it, or to reduce it to a pouder, &c’ (Pliny (1601), sig. A3v). Pulter uses the term in a spiritual sense to describe the destruction and dispersal of her body through death and the corresponding release of her soul. She uses a similar line in the poem ‘Dear God’ where she writes ‘Tho’ greif calcine my Flesh to Dust/Yett in thy Mercy still I trust’ (MS Lt q 32, f. 86r). The implication here is that the severity of earthly grief will bring about the dissolution of her physical body. For a more detailed exploration of this and other alchemical terms in Pulter’s poetry see Archer, (2005). See also Archer’s notes to Pulter’s alchemical occasional and devotional poems included in Seal Millman and Wright (2005), pp. 249, 252.

36. *first Principles*] First matter/prima material. In her *Dictionary of Alchemical Terms*, Lyndy Abraham describes this as ‘the original pure substance from which it
was believed the universe was created and into which it might again be resolved' ((1998), p. 153). In alchemical terms, it is necessary to first reduce a substance to its ‘first Principles’ before it can be transformed into another substance, usually the philosophers’ stone or gold.

38. Horoscope] Horoscope. The OED defines a ‘horoscope’ as a ‘configuration of the planets at a certain moment’ (OED n.1.). Pulter uses the term more loosely to refer to a general collection of planets or celestial bodies. Elsewhere in her poetry, she uses the term horoscope to refer to the planets, of which the earth is one, comprising the solar system in which we live (see ‘The Center’ and ‘Aurora’, MS Lt q 32, f. 46v and f.7v). In these examples she complains that the ‘horoscope’ is afflicted, at the setting of the sun, with the regular occurrence of ‘horrid Night’, which she associates throughout her poetry with torment, fear and despair. In this emblem, and also in ‘A Solitary discoars’ (MS Lt q 32, f. 64v) Pulter expresses the hope that after death she will be removed to, or become part of, an alternative ‘horoscope’ or collection of planets where she will be reunited with Christ. There is the suggestion that Christ, whom in ‘A Solitary discoars’ Pulter describes as the ‘bright sun of Righteousness’, will assume the place of the celestial sun. In contrast to his material counterpart, which rises and sets, Christ will provide continuous light and spiritual comfort.
4. Vertue once in the Olympicks fought a Duell
Her Second Wisdome that transcendent Jewell
Fortune Courageously did her oppose
And Giddily for second, Folly chose
The sad Spectators grieve'd to see this Fray
Fearing that vertues side would win the Day
Thus pittyng Fortune, and her Fellow, Folly.
The Citty Cockneys sat most Melancholly.
But see the Fate of Warr, Fortune was Blind
And Madly lay'd about her Foes to Find
Nor car'd on who, or where her blowes did lite
Folly as bravely did maintain the Fight
Not valueing what shee did or what shee said
And now the people that where soe afraid
Gan to rejoyce, then vertue shee gave place
Wisdom drew back with slow but modest pace
Then Acclamations made the Welken Ring
Peans the People unto Fortune Sing
Folly with Fortunes help did wear the Crown
Vertue with Wisdome both were Hissed down
[f. 93'] Then let none by succes Judg of the Cause
For Wee have liv'd (ay mee) to see the Laws
Of God and Nature basely Trampl'd on
When bold Impiety the Vict'ry won
And such a king kild at this Isle before
Did never see nor never will see more
Unles our God his Princely Son restore.

7. *Fellow* altered from *Follow*.
15. *gave* altered from *gane*.
25. *this* altered from *T* or *vice versa*.

1. *Olympicks*] Olympic games: between 1605 and 1612 the ‘Olympick Games’ were revived in Chipping Camden by Captain Robert Dover (1575-1652) at least partly in response to the increasingly vehement puritanism that emerged during James I’s reign, a factor which may have enhanced their appeal for Pulter (Whitfield (1958), pp. 13-18). Pulter’s first cousin Anthony Wood provides some indication of the games’ popularity, noting that they were ‘frequented by the nobility and gentry (some of whom came 60 miles to see them) even till the rascally rebellion was begun by the presbyterians, which gave a stop to their proceedings’ (Bliss (1820), vol. iv, p. 222). The games were celebrated in verse by a series of poets including Michael Drayton, Ben Jonson, and Thomas Heywood in *Annalia Dubrensia* (1636).

2. *Second*] One who acts as representative of a principal in a duel, carrying the challenge, arranging locality and loading weapons (*OED*, II.9b.).

4. *Giddily*] Insanely, madly, foolishly; carelessly (*OED*).
8. *Citty Cockneys*] A cockney during the period was both a squeamish, overnice, wanton or affected woman and also a derisory appellation for a townsman as a type of effeminacy in contrast to the hardier inhabitants of the country (*OED* 2d., 3, and 4a.). During the Civil Wars, royalist propaganda associated London, both the city and its inhabitants, with the king’s opposition; see for example *A letter from Mercurius Civicus to Mercurius Rusticus, or, Londons Confession but not Repentance Shewing that the Beginning and the Obstinate Pursuance of this Accursed Horrid Rebellion is Principally to be Ascribed to that Rebellious City* (1643).

9. *Fortune was Blind*] For alternative emblematic representations of blind Fortune see: Wither (1635), p. 174; and Combe (1614), emblem XX, sig. B8r and emblem XXIX, sig. C4v. In his first emblem Combe provides a warning against relying on blind Fortune and in his second he states that fortune is more inclined to benefit ‘fooles and dolts’ over those who perform ‘greater labours’. Similarly, in his lengthy description of Fortune, Wither warns that her ‘Ficklenesse/Is like the Moones’.

10. *lay’d about*] To lay about; to strike out with vigour (*OED* ‘lay’ v.1 44c.).

15. *gave place*] To give ground, yield to pressure or force (*OED* ‘give’ v. 47).

17. *made the Welken Ring*] The ‘welkin’ is the sky or the heavens (*OED* 2-3). To ‘make the welken ring’ means ‘to make a loud noise’ (*OED* 2c).

18. *Peans*] Paeans: hymn or chant of thanksgiving for deliverance or victory in battle originally addressed to Apollo (*OED* 1). Also, figuratively, an expression of praise or admiration (*OED* 2).

25. *such a king kild at this Isle before*] King Charles I (1600-1648/9) who was beheaded during the early morning of the 30th January on a platform set against the wall of the Banqueting House in Whitehall (*ODNB*).

27. *Princely Son*] Charles (1630-1685) son of Charles I. In 1649 he was crowned Charles II in Scotland but spent the 1650s in exile on the continent. He was eventually made Charles II of England on 29 May 29 1660 (*ODNB*). Pulter’s call for Charles’s restoration suggests the poem was composed prior to this date.
5. The Manucodiats as Authors write
On This base dunghill Earth doth never lite
But hovers in the Ayr both day and Night
And on the Dew of Heaven they onely Feed
Which Signifies their pure Celestiall breed
Their Flesh consumes not, yet their often Found
When Dead, for their Indulgencie their Crowd
Tis true some Birds will help to build their Nests
And Swans and Doves Sit half the Time at least
But these Transcend all Animals in Love
Which shews that their Extraction's from above
For on their Backs the Males have hollow Pits
In which the Female lays her Egs and Sits
[f. 94r] Shee having the like Concave in her breast
Beeing thus conjoynd their young securely rest
Let Parents then Learn here Indulgencie
For none are Blessed without Unitie
But know that the least spark or beam of Love
Is first diffus'd and kindled from above
For in my poor experience this I find
The holiest Men are evermore most kind
Then Oh my God from thy bright Throne above
Irradate my Soul soe with thy Love
That as the Sun Illuminateth all
Which are capacious on this Earthly Ball
Yet still his brightest beams to Heaven return
Soo let mee with such holy Fervour Burn
When that Eternall Spark begins to Glow
In my Chast Breast let itt diffuse below
To all relations then reascend above
To God the Fount of Glory, Life and Love.

24. Illuminateth all] altered from Illuminateth to all.
29. itt] altered from is in authorial hand.

1-15. The Manucodiats ... securely rest] Manucode or ‘bird of paradise’. Pulter appears to have based her account of this creature on the description provided by Goulart. He states these birds ‘are never seene upon the Earth but dead [he later notes that this is because they have no feet]’, that they ‘neither corrupt or rot in any sort’, and that ‘no man knoweth from whence they issue, neither where they breed up their yong ones, nor whereupon they nourish themselves’. He goes on to speculate that these birds ‘nourish themselves, and maintaine their lives by the dew that falleth, and the flowers of the spices’. Describing their habits of reproduction he describes how ‘The backe of the Male Manucodiata is hollow, and within the same, the female, which hath a hollow belly, hatcheth and layeth her Egges, which by this meanes are kept as it were in a Box’ ((1621), ‘Book One’, p. 241). In her poem, Pulter interprets the birds’ characteristics and behaviour as signs of their spiritual origins and nature, and of their divinely motivated love for their children.
5. *Celestial*] Celestial: of a divine or heavenly nature (*OED* 3a).

7. *Indulgence*] Indulgence: the quality or practice of being indulgent; indulgent disposition or action (*OED* 1). Pulter states that the manucode is ‘Crownd’ for the love or indulgence it shows to its offspring. This is a common theme in Pulter’s emblem collection in which she frequently compares the actions of human parents with the habits of birds and animals. See, for example, emblems 7, 10, 29, and 41.

9. *Swans and Doves ... at least*] Discussing doves, Pliny notes that ‘As well the male as the female be careful of their young pigeons and love them alike’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 290).

22-31. *Then Oh my ... Life and Love*] Pulter’s neoplatonic conception of God as light and the human soul as a spark or beam of that light has a close affiliation with the ideas put forward during the 1650s by the Cambridge Platonists (for Pulter’s possible literary connection with the Cambridge Platonist Henry More see emblem 3, note to line 3).

25. *Capacious*] Qualified, adapted or disposed for the reception of something (*OED* 3; the earliest example given here is dated 1677). Pulter is suggesting that God’s grace is only received by those actively predisposed to receive it.
6. Two Mountebanks contended for a Stage
A Spruce Young Gallant, t'other well in Age
The various brags that Furth'red this contention
Are too too tedious in this place to mention
The Governour of the Town did thus decide
That by their Antidotes they should bee tryed
Each of them poyson should the other give
And hee that by Preparatives did live
Should have the present stage and future Glory
And the defunct should live in this Sad Story
The Lots were drawn the young man first did dress
An Ugly Toad in sippets for his Mess
With Verdigrease for sauce, this hee presents
Which the ould Mountebanck sadly resents
Yet hee with many Faces eat it up
The sauce he most unwilling did sup
For the Young Quacksalver would never lean
Till like Jack Sprat hee lickt the platter clean
Then looking that hee should have Fal'n and died
his Young Antagonist hee did deride
[f. 95r] Saying you gave to mee a Fulsome dish
But I will neatly Satisfie your wish
I'le offer what's is pleasing to your Sight
Nought but this little Peice of Acconite
Which as Philosophers doe all presume
Had it's Originall from Serberus Spume
When strong Alcidos drew him up to Earth
His foam gave Hellish Aceonite its Birth
The young Man fain would have this bit refus'd
The ould Man to Bafling beeing not Us'd
Gave him the Root which hee noe sooner Eat
But his Sad Heart and every vein did Beat
His Mouth to either Ear did stretch soe wide
And in this horrid posture strait hee died
Then let this Teach all in their youth full age
Not to contest with those are ould and sage
Nor like This Gallant on their Witt relie
Least they like him er'e long doe grinning lie
This bould Young Quack his proud Attempts did feild
Then Let mee ever to my betters yield.

2. well altered from weall.
4. decide altered from deside.
8. hee inserted above the line.
11. young y altered from Y.
15. many altered from may.
23. is inserted in authorial hand.
sight altered from feye[?].
40. Then inserted in the left hand margin.
1. Mountebancks] Mountbank: an itinerant charlatan who sold supposed medicines and remedies, frequently using various entertainments to attract a crowd of potential customers (OED I a.).

2. Spruce Young Gallant] Spruce: trim, neat, dapper; smart in appearance (OED a. and adv. 2).
   Gallant] In contemporary terms a ‘gallant’ was a fashionable young man with, polished courtier-like manners (OED a. and n. 3). The term was also used to refer to a young man concerned with little else above fashion, pleasure, and courting ladies (OED B. 1a. and 3). Pulter employs the appellation frequently throughout her emblems, usually in a pejorative sense to suggest someone preoccupied with worldly indulgence, see emblems 8, 14, 19, 23, and 34.

12. sippets] Small pieces of bread or toast used to dip into soup or sauce (OED n.2. 1).

13. Verdigrase] Verdigris: the green or greenish blue rust that forms on copper and brass (OED 1).

17. Quacksalver] A specifically seventeenth century term; a person who dishonestly claims to have special knowledge and skill in some field, typically medicine (OED I).

18. Jack Sprat] This familiar nursery rhyme appears in various contemporary versions including:
   Jack will eat no fat, and Jill doth love no leane.
   Yet betwixt them both they lick the dishes cleane.

21. Fulsome] Fulsome: abundant; disgustig; cloying; tending to cause nausea (OED a. 3; 3b.; 4-5).

22. neatly] Briefly; skilfully; cleverly (OED adv. 1-2).

24. Acconite] Aconite: Goulart states that: ‘This is a venimous Hearbe, which the Poets faine to have beeene produced from the fome of Cerberus, the Dogge with three heads, and a Porter of Hell, at such time as Hercules drew him thence perforce ((1621), ‘First Book’, p. 134). He then describes the physical effects of the herb, noting that ‘... certaine windes, and venemous vapours are raised, which being carried up into the head, cause a heavinesse and trembling of the arteries’ ((1621), ‘Second Book’, p. 86; see also Sandys (1632), p. 259 and Pliny (1601), p. 134).

7. The Indian Mooze three Young at once doth bear
Which trebles both her Comforts and her care
Them equally shee lovs none worst or best
(Not like the Ape Which doth her love attest
By hugging that shee loves untill it Die
The other wrangle at her back hangs by)
To see her Policie would make one wonder.
In placing every one a Mile a sunder
That if her Foes on one of them should lite
The other two are sav'd by this sleight
The Patriark soe divided his three bands
To save them from his Cruell Brothers hands
Soe Merchants will not venter all they have
Within three Inches of the swelling Wave
Let Parents Learn by what is writ above
To manifest to Children equall Love
Not Like the Eagle who her Young doth trie
By the Transcendent brightnes of her Eye
Those which cant stare at Sols refulgent Face
Shee Disesteems as Bastard Brats and Base
These wanting then her Noble Education
Degenerate to kites and keep their Fashion
Soe tis when Parents doe a difference make
Then O that Councell let mee ever take.

1. *doth* altered from *do* erased then reinserted in authorial hand.
5. *die* altered from *dies.*
11. *Brothers* altered from *Brethren.*
19. *at* altered from *on.*
23. *tis* altered from *it is.*

1-10. *The Indian Mooze ... by this sleight*] Indian moose: Pulter’s source for this emblem appears to be William Wood’s description of New England in which he writes ‘It is not to be thought into what great multitudes they would encrease, were it not for the common devourer the Woolfe; They have generally three at a time, which they hide a mile one from another, giving them sucke by turnes; thus they doe, that if the Woolfe should finde one, he might misse of the other’ ((1634), p. 21). In her poem, Pulter interprets the actions of the moose as a sign of the equal love it bears for each of its offspring. For the significance of parental love for Pulter’s emblem poems see emblem 5, note to line 7. For an alternative account of the moose see emblem 27.

4-6. *Not like the Ape ... at her back hangs by*] Pliny notes that ‘shee Apes of all sorts are wondorous fond of their little ones: and such as are made tame within-house, will carrie them in their armes all about so soone as they have brought them into the world ... but such a culling and hugging of them they keepe, that in the end with very clasping and clipping they kill them many times’, ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 231). For examples of analogous emblems see Whitney (1586), p. 188; Thomas Combe (1614), XLVII, sig. D5v; and P.S. p. 282. For Whitney, the ape is an emblem of ‘parents fonde’ who ‘worke their spoile’ and bring their children ‘unto
naught’. Similarly, for Combe the emblem provides a warning to parents who ‘mard’ their children with ‘fond love’ and ‘affection blind’. Once these children become ‘men’, he says, they will be ‘past mending’. Pulter, whose other poems suggest she does not consider excessive love to be a problem among parents, deviates from these readings and instead interprets the ape as an emblem of those who do not love all their children equally. It is possible that when she wrote this poem, Pulter was thinking of a common emblem of the ape hugging one of its young to death while a second remains neglected; see for example Jenner (1655), sig. 3r.

5. hugling] To hug (OED v. I 1).


11-12. The Patriark ... Brothers hands] Traveling home to Canaan, Jacob receives word that his brother Esau, whom he famously tricked out of his birthright, is coming to meet him. ‘Greatly afraid and distressed’ he ‘divides the people’ accompanying him into ‘two bands’ so that should Esau attack one group the other shall be saved (Genesis 32.7-8). As Esau comes nearer Jacob divides ‘the children unto Leah, and unto Rachel, and unto the two hand-maids’ (Genesis 33.1). Pulter, in keeping with her earlier account of the actions of the moose, focuses on Jacob’s division of his children into three groups, so that at least some may be protected from danger.

17-22. Not like ... their Fashion] The idea that the mother eagle forced her young to gaze on the sun was common one; Pliny writes: ‘Now as touching the Haliartos, or the Osprey, she onely before that her little ones bee feathered, will beat and strike them with her wings, and thereby force them to looke full against the Sunne beames. Now, if shee see any one of them to winke, or their eies to water at the raies of the Sunne, shee turnes it with the head forward out of the nest, as a bastard and not right; nor none of hers: but bringeth up and cherisheth that, whose eie will abide the light of the Sunne as shee looketh directly upon him’ ((1601), ‘First Tome, p. 272). In keeping with the general message of her emblem, Pulter condemns the eagle’s actions, interpreting them to suggest that, among humans, parental neglect is to blame for their children’s problematic behaviour.
8. How fast this Creature runs upon the Earth
Her Loving it shews her Ignoble Birth
How swift shee swims within the Tamed seas
Let her but Grov'ling bee shee is in Peas
But doe but turn this Turtle to the skies
Shee Sighs and Sobs and discontented lies
And in this Passion bath'd in Tears shee Dies
Soo let a Miser Fear the loss of's Gold
His Heart Like Nabals instantly is cold
Tel him that Death is come to take his due
Hee'l call for Int'rest, or your Bonds renew
Bid Gallants leave their Dames, their Drink, their Dice
Not they (the'le swear) for present Paradise
Tel them (in Love) the'r at the Abissis Brink
Thel'e Yaul, and Baul For Wenches or more Drink
Not shee shee vows, for all the Joys Above
Tell her, cr'e long her Paint wont hide her Clay
What doth shee Care, shel'e doe it while shee may
Put but These Ranters where they cannot Rore
They lye like Fish on the forsaken shore
Or Curb these Gallants of their vain desire
Their like Piraustys kept out of the Fire
[ f. 96v] Or take these Wantons from their Vanity
Thele like this Simple Creature blubring Lie
And in despaire most commonly they Die
Tell a Freind that Tels you but the Truth
Remember thy Creator in thy Youth
And leave those Follyes e're they doe leave you
Or elce expect that Hell will have its Due.

2. Ignoble] Not noble; inferior when compared with man (OED).

4. Peas] Peace: the spelling here is probably indicative of pronunciation. In The
Tempest Shakespeare uses the homonym as the basis of a pun: when Alonso calls
for ‘peace’ Sebastian responds with a reference to ‘cold porridge’ (ie. pease
porridge), ((1623) 2.1.9-10).

5. Turtle] Pulter does not draw directly on Pliny’s account of the turtle but there are
elements of her description that correspond with his. He notes that: ‘They use in the
mornings when the weather is calme and still, to flote aloft upon the water, with
their backs to be seen all over: and then they take such pleasure in breathing freely
and at libertie, that they forget themselves altogether’. To catch them it takes three
men: ‘two of them turne him upon his backe, the third casts a cord or halter about
him, as hee lyeth with his belly upward, and then is he haled by many more together, to the land’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 241). Pulter develops Pliny’s mention of the turtle’s sensuous pleasure in the water and contrasts it with the creature’s distress when it is caught.

8-9. *Soe let ... instantly is cold*] In I Samuel the miserly Nabal is noted for being ‘churlish and evil in his doings’ (25.3). David sent young men out of the wilderness to salute Nabal but he refused them hospitality with the rhetorical question: ‘shall I take my bread, and my water, and my flesh that I have killed for my shearers, and give it unto men, whom I know not whence they be’ (25.11). God punished Nabal for this snub and ‘his heart died within him, and he became as a stone’ (25.37)

12. *Gallants*] See note to emblem 6, line 2.

15. *Yaul, and Bau!*] Yawl: to call aloud, shout (*OED* v.1. 1b.). Bawl: to shout at the top of one’s voice, with a loud, full, protracted sound; to cry loudly and roughly, to bellow (*OED* v. 2a).

16. *Lite*] Light: wanton, unchaste (*OED* a. 1. 14b.).

20. *Put but These ... forsaken shore*] Ranter: in a general sense a ‘ranter’ was a rake, a noisy riotous, dissipated fellow (*OED* 2). It is possible that Pulter also had in mind the more immediately contemporary use of the term as a derogatory name for members of the Antinomian sect that arose in England c 1645 (*OED*). *Lye like Fish on the forsaken shore*] The phrase ‘forsaken shore’ is used by Pulter’s contemporaries, including Francis Quarles, to refer to the land left behind by the sea after the tide has gone out ((1633), p. 203). Pulter’s evocative line anticipates that the gallants will become stranded like flotsam in their moral abandonment.

22-23. *Or Curb ... out of the Fire*] Pyrausta or pyralis: Pliny provides a description of this moth-like creature. He writes: ‘in Cypres, among the forges and furnaces of copper, there is to be seen a kind of four-footed creature, and yet winged (as big as the greater kind of flies) to flie out of the very middest of the fire: and called it is of some Pyralis, of others, Pyrausta. The nature of it is this: So long as it remaineth in the fire, it liveth: but if it chaunce to leape forth of the furnace, and to flie any thing far into the aire, it dieth’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 330). Pulter suggests that contemporary gallants, like the pyrausta, thrive on that which is more generally destructive.

25. *Simple Creature*] The turtle with which Pulter opens the poem.

28. *Remember ... thy Youth*] This is almost a direct quotation from Ecclesiastes 12.1 which states ‘Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them’. It provides a reminder both to give God his due during youth, when this action can be judged sincere before old ages forces the rejection of youthful pleasures, and also not to mar later memories of one’s youth with dissolute behaviour.
9. When Scornd Medea Saw Cruesa led
A Bride to her ungratefull Spouses Bed
Shee Vow'd reveng hid underneath a smile
Which did the Royall Virgin soe beguile
That shee Receiv'd of her the Robe and Crown
And overjoyed put on the Naphthian Gown
But putting holy Incence in the Fire
The Pallas soone became her Fun'rall Pier
The Fierce Med'ea with her Dragons Flew
Killing her Children in their Fathers view
[5]
[f. 97r] Oh Horrid! Shee (even shee) that gave them Birth
Stab'd those sweet Boys then Flung them to the Earth
Her mad Impiety did rise thus Far
To dare the Gods to doe as much by Her
Poor Ariadna did not soe when shee
Fair Phedra in falce Jasons arms did see
When shee forsaken was on Naxus shore
The Pitty of the Gods shee did implore
Then Liber Pater took her for his Spous
With Nine refulgent Orbs he Crownd her brows
Soe though afflictions doth thy soul surround
Yet trust in God thy Patience will be Crownd
Then let this Flameing Fabrick Warn all those
That injure others not to trust their Foes
But oh my Enemies within mee bee
Then From my self Dear God deliver mee.

1-14. When Scornd Medea ... much by her] Medea, daughter of Aeetes and Circe (Brill’s New Pauly, vol. 8, pp. 546-49). Pulter’s version of the myth of Medea is similar to that told by George Sandys in his commentary on Book 7 of Ovid’s Metamorphoses ((1632), pp. 252-9). Medea falls in love with Jason and using her magical powers helps him to recover the Golden Fleece. But Jason is then convinced by King Creon to reject Medea and instead to marry his daughter Creusa. Pulter’s poem begins at this point in the narrative with a description of the scorned Medea’s revenge. Her emphasis on the motivation for Medea’s actions is echoed by Sandys who writes ‘No hatred is so deadly as that which proceeds from alienated love: the one for the most part imitating the violence of the other’ ((1632), p. 258). He describes how, in order to exact revenge, Medea first sends ‘a Crowne and a robe to Creusa, infected with magickall poysons: which being put on, sets her all on a flame’ and then murders ‘her children by Jason in sight of their father’ ((1632), p. 259). In contrast to Pulter’s account, Sandys’s description of Medea being ‘drawne through the ayre by her Dragons’ occurs before she enacts her deadly revenge and he does not allude to her daring the ‘Gods to doe as much by Her’. Medea’s temptation of the Gods does however occur in Seneca’s play, an English edition of which, entitled Medea, was published anonymously in 1648. An alternative emblem of Medea killing her children is provided by Palmer, who

1. scorned] altered from scoorned.
provides the moral that ‘he oughte not to be trusted with other menes goodes/that hath lavisshed oute and wasted his owne substance’ (Manning (1988), p. 85). Rather than apply an abstract interpretation to Medea’s actions Pulter, in keeping with the concern for children evident throughout her emblem collection, expresses horror at her infanticide.

6. **Napthian Gown**] Napthan Gown. It was believed that the robe and crown Medea gave Creusa were impregnated with naphtha, and it was this that made them flammable. In his account of naphtha, Pliny writes: ‘it runneth in a manner of liquid Bitumen. Great affinitie there is betweene the fire and it; for fire is ready to leap unto it immediatly, if it be any thing neere it. Thus (they say) Media burnt her husbands concubine, by reason that her guirland annointed therewith, was caught by the fire, after she approched neere to the alters, with purpose to sacrifce’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 47).

15-20. **Poor Ariadna ... Crownd her brows**] Ariadne, daughter of Minos and Pasiphae (Brill’s New Pauly, vol. 1, pp. 1076-77). The myth of Ariadne, which also appears in Metamorphoses, is analogous to and traditionally paired with that of Medea (Clauss and Iles Johnston, (1997), p. 41). Ariadne helps Theseus to kill the minotaur and to find his way out of the labrinth but then ‘Theseus, arriving at Dia, forgetfull of the many merits of Ariadne, steales away by night, and forsaikes his sleeping Preserver: whom Bacchus recomforts, and takes to his wife: who, the more to honour her, converts her Crowne into a Caelestial Constellation’ (Sandys (1632), p. 289). Pulter appears to have confused some details; traditionally it is Theseus, not Jason, who abandons Ariadne on the island of Naxos and Bacchus gives her a crown of seven stars, not nine (see also Plutarch (1579), p. 10). Pulter uses the myths of Medea and Ariadne to explore two different responses, active revenge or passive faith, to analogous situations. Interestingly, she concludes her poem, not as we might expect with the celebration of Ariadne’s behaviour, but with a warning to those, like Creusa, to be wary of those they have wronged.

16. **Phedra**] Phaedra, daughter of Minos and Pasiphae (Brill’s New Pauly, vol. 10, pp. 894-96). Phaedra, Theseus’s first wife, does not appear in either Sandys’s or Plutarch’s account of the relationship between Theseus and Ariadne. Pulter, by inserting this detail, strengthens the similarities between the myth of Medea and that of Ariadne and makes infidelity a significant element of her poem.

19. **Liber Pater**] Dionysus or Bacchus, god of wine (Brill’s New Pauly, vol. 4, pp. 496-09). Sandys provides a useful interpretation of Bacchus and of his treatment of Ariadne. He writes: ‘Yet Bacchus, or the divine power is ready to relieve the innocently miserable; by whose assistance they overcom their calamities, and receave an ample reward for their virtues’ ((1632), pp. 289-90). Pulter similarly applies a Christian interpretation to the myth in which Bacchus represents God rewarding the patient.

20. **refulgent Orbs**] Refulgent: shining with, or reflecting, a brilliant light; radiant, resplendent, gleaming (OED a.). Pulter is referring to the stars.

23. **Flameing Fabrick**] Creusa's burning gown.
10. Some *Birds* their bee Sure they noe love doe lack
Who bear their spritely young ones on their Back
But of all Beasts the cunning *Caniball*
In kindnes to her Young excels them all
For shee a Wallet hath beneath her breast
When they're pursued in that her Young doe rest
As the Sea *Fox* all Fishes doth out goe
In subtilty, soe doth her Love or'e Flow
For when her Cubs by Monsters are Pursu'd
With Love and Wisedome Shee is Soe indu'de
That shee doth swallow them till danger's past
Then up again alive shee doth them Cast
The Viper see her Young lins swallows down
Of all the rest sure these may wear the Crown
Then by their severall storyes you may see
The Wisest Creatures most indulgent bee
If they doe see what should wee Christians doe
That have the help of Grace and Nature too
Sure those that their own Childrens goods Neglects
Are worse then Birds, Beasts, Fishes, or Insects.

1. *Birds*] left hand marginal note: *a. The Birds of Paradice Mintia Comment on Dubert. The 5th day Fol. 241* [this reference to Goulart (1621) is correct].
3. *Caniball*] left hand marginal note: *b. the same -- Comment the 6th. day. folio 165. Such a Beast was seen by many at Baldock Fair 1633* [this reference is incorrect (possibly a scribal error); the account of the canibal is in fact on page 265 of Goulart (1621) and all other contemporary editions].
4. to] inserted in authorial hand above original to obscured by an ink blot.
7. *Sea Fox*] left hand marginal note: *c. the Comment on Dubartus the 5th day* [this reference is correct].

Additional left hand marginal note with no corresponding letter within the main body of the poem:
19. *Sure they that their own Childrens goods Neglects*] altered from *Sure they that doe their Children’s goods Neglects* in authorial hand.

1. Some *Birds* ... their Back] Manucode: for a discussion of these birds see emblem 5, note to lines 1-15. In this poem, in keeping with one of the main themes of her emblem collection, Pulter provides a list of creatures that take particularly good care of their young, which she presents as an example for human parents.

3-6. But of all ... doe rest] Describing the ‘canibal’ Goulart writes: ‘She carrieth her yong with her: for along her belly she openeth a bagge made of skinne, like the head of a Mariners Cloake, where she hideth them, shutting and opening this skinne as pleaseth her’ ((1621), ‘Book One’, p. 265).
Marginal note: *Baldock Fair*] Baldock is a town in Hertfordshire, not far from where Pulter lived, which traditionally held three fairs on the feasts of St James, St Andrew and St Matthew (25 July, 30 November and 21 September) (Page (1912), vol. 3, p. 67). Samuel Pepys records visits to the fair on 23 September 1661 when he ate ‘a mouthful of porke’ and again on 21 September 1663 when he observed
that the fair was ‘a great one for Cheese and other such commodities’. In Agnes Beaumont’s spiritual autobiography a fair that took place in 1674 features as a site of the gossip that incriminates her in the murder of her father. She reports that ‘Came somebody in and tould me what a report thir was of me at baldock fair’ (Stachniewski (1998), p. 215).

7-12. As the Sea Fox ... them Cast] Describing the Sea Fox, Goulart writes: ‘As touching his charity, it is to be understood of the love which he beareth to his little ones which he breedeth alive: if any danger happen them, he presently swalloweth them down, and keepeth them alive in his body, then being escaped, he casteth them up as he received them’ ((1621), ‘Book One’, p. 221).

Marginal note: The Stork] It is possible that the lines of Pulter’s poem pertaining to the stork and to which this annotation should refer, were missed out during the process of transcription. Describing the stork, Goulart writes: ‘The Hebrewes call him Chasida, that is to say, Mercifull...He [Pliny] speaketh also of the charitie of these birds’ ((1621) ‘Book One’, p. 241). The marginal note accompanying Pulter’s poem includes a reference to Plutarch’s account of the stork in his treatise on ‘Isis and Osiris’, which was reproduced by Philemon Holland in his translation of Plutarch’s Morals (1603). The account provided in this text explains how in Thessaly storks are held ‘in great account, because whereas their country is given to breed a number of serpents, the said storks when they come, kill them up all’, but there is no reference to the stork’s ability as a parent ((1603), p. 1316). This, combined with the evidence indicating that Pulter derived this reference directly from Goulart (see textual note), suggests that she may not have accessed Plutarch’s account of the stork and that instead she was providing cross-references for her own benefit and for that of potential readers. For a discussion of Pulter’s alternative references to the stork and for her use of Pliny’s account of this bird see emblem 41, note to line 25.

10. indu’d] Indue: to be endued with something is to be possessed of a certain quality, power or spiritual gift (OED 9.).

13. Viper... swallows down] I have not been able to find an account of the viper swallowing its young for their protection. However, it is possible that Pulter may have been thinking of Pliny’s account of the conception and gestation of the viper. He states that when two vipers mate ‘the male Viper thrusteth his head into the mouth of the female; which she (for the pleasure and delectation that she hath) gnaweth and biteth off. No land creature els but she hath egs within her belly’ (Pliny (1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 302). See emblem 29 for image.

Young lins] Probably a version, or mistranscription, of the diminutive term ‘youngling’ (OED 1.b.).

16. Indulgent] For a discussion of this term and its significance for Pulter’s poetry see emblem 5, note to line 7.
11. The Dubious 'Raven doth her young forsake
Whil'st Callow shee noe Care of them will Take
Till shee perceives their Plumes of sable hew
They being Nourished with Celestiall Dew
If God the voice of Volliteeles doth hear
Why should his Children then see Faint and Fear
T'was hee that these hard Hearted Birds did make
Of his Eliah constant care to take
When hee involved was in want and sorrow
They brought him Bread and Flesh both E've and Morrow
Thus Gods affections altereth every hower
To shew to us his infinite Love and Power
Then as thy Freinds and near relations Die
To him alone (to him) for comfort Flie
For though thy Father and thy Mother bee
In noe Capacitie to Comfort thee
And though successive sorrows and new Fears
Makes thee his Alter cover or'e with Tears
Nay though thy onely Love doth thee Forsake
Yet hee will then, thee to his Mercie take
Despaire not then my Soul but Patient bee
For hee that hear's Young Ravens will hear thee.

1. Raven] Left hand marginal note: a. Psalm. 147. v. 9 Job. 38. 41. Luke.12. 24 See Doctor Sanderson out of Aristottle his 6 Hist Anui 6 And Plinie Natural Hist 10.12 [These references to the Bible, Sanderson (1656) and Pliny (1601) are correct].

1-6. The Dubious Raven ... Faint and Fear] Pulter uses the raven as a reminder that God will take care of those forsaken by their parents, or earthly carers. Her poem is accompanied, in the left hand margin, by a series of references to texts supporting this interpretation of the raven’s symbolism. One of these references is to Pliny who, under the general heading ‘Of unluckie birds’, describes how ravens ‘when they perceive their young ones to be strong, chase and drive them away farre off’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 276). His account provides a pseudoscientific basis for the idea that ravens do not take care of their young. The marginal references accompanying Pulter’s poem also include a series of biblical citations, specifically referring to: Psalm 147.9, ‘He giveth to the beast his food, and to the young ravens which cry’; Job 38.41 ‘Who provideth for the raven his food? when his young ones cry unto God, they wander for lack of meat’; and Luke 12.24 ‘Consider the ravens: for they neither sow nor reap; which neither have storehouse nor barn’; and God feedeth them: how much more are ye better than the fowls’. In addition to these biblical allusions there is a reference to Robert Sanderson, Twenty Sermons Formerly Preached (1656). In a sermon preached at Woburne in August 1647 Sanderson states that God ‘feedeth the young ravens that call upon him’. He adds that ‘The observation is common, that he [God] instanceth in the raven, rather then in any other bird: because of all other birds the ravens are observed soonest to forsake their yong ones. Whether the observation hold or no, it serveth to my purpose howsoever: for if God so sufficiently provide for the yong ravens, when
the dams forsake them: will he not much more take care of us, when not our Fathers and Mothers forsake us? Are not we (stampt with his own image,) which more valuable with him, then many ravens’ ((1656), p. 282). For analogous emblems of the raven see Palmer (Manning, 1988), emblem 191, p. 183 and Willet (1592), no. 46, sig. F4r. For Palmer the raven that ‘dothe all her yonge forsake’ is, as it is for Pulter, a reminder that ‘God helpes the fatherles and motherles’. Willet bases his emblem on the biblical story of Elijah being fed by the ravens (see note to lines 7-10), which he interprets to mean that ‘God provides, though means he hides./For those, which trust in him repose’.

_Dubious_] Subjectively doubtful; wavering or fluctuating in opinion; hesitating; inclined to doubt (OED a. 2.). In this poem, Pulter describes the raven’s changing attitude to its own young. ‘Dubious’ later came to mean ‘Of questionable or suspected character’ a meaning which appears to have some relevance here (OED a. 1d. First recorded example: 1860).

2. _Callow_] Unfledged, without feathers (OED a. and n. 2.).

5. _Volliteelees_] Volatile: birds or more generally winged creatures; usually plural. (OED n. and a. A1-2).

7-10. _T’was hee ... E’ve and Morrow_] Elijah prophesies God’s punishment of Ahab and his people for their idolatry and subsequently, for his protection against their anger, God then tells him to ‘hide thyself by the brook Cherith’ where he ‘commanded the ravens to feed him’ (I Kings. 17.4). This biblical reference is noted in the poem’s margin.

18-19. _And though ... thee Forsake_] A note in the poem’s margin refers the reader to Malachi 2.13 which states ‘And this ye have done again, covering the altar of the Lord with tears, with weeping, and with crying out, insomuch that he regardeth not the offering any more, or receiveth it with good will at your hand’. God condemns the excessive and empty sorrow and supplication of those who have wronged and who only repent when they are punished. As a whole, the Old Testament book of Malachi appears to prophesise the coming of Christ in the New Testament; those apparently chafing against God’s law throughout the text are reminded of his enduring mercy and comfort. Within the context of Pulter’s poem this provides the reminder that while God may allow bad things to happen he will also provide respite. The verse following Malachi’s condemnation of those ‘covering the altar of the Lord with tears’ goes on to specifically criticise those who have ‘dealt treacherously with their wives’. It may be this that prompted Pulter’s reference to those forsaken by their ‘onely love’, although here she is more interested in the plight of the abandoned than the abandoner.

_Altar_] Altar.
This Vast Leviathan Whose Breathing blows
Huge Floods and sholes of Fishes through his Nose
Hee whose Fair Consort in salt Pickle lyes
To feast the Jewes or elce their Talmond lies
Even hee who treated Jonas in his Belly
With wholesome Chilus and Provokeing Gelley
With poynant sauce and Unctious Caveare
A Diet as restorative as Rare
Even hee the Chief of all the Sons of Pride
Cannot pursue his prey without a Guide
The little Musculus doth Swim before
Least hee in Shelves or Sands his Bulk should Moor
And of the Whales abundance shee but lives
The Emperious Monster Scrapes, and Mammucks gives
Soe may you see Nils Caymen gaping lye
Whilst in and out his Mouth the Wren doth Flie
To wake him when the Ichneamon her Foe
Into her Lothed Intralls strives to goe
For which the Putred Flesh shee picks away
Between her teeth, this beeing all her pay
Soe greatest Monarchs poorest vassals need
Soe hungry Pesants pamper'd Nobles Feed
Then let those that are placed the rest above
Answer their labour with their care and Love
And Pittie those which labor at the Plough
Tis God that made the difference and not thou.

1. Leviathan] Whale (OED 1.). Pulter’s use of the term ‘leviathan’, a biblical term, provides a reminder of the size and power of a beast about which it is stated ‘Upon the earth there is not his like, who is made without fear’ (Job 41.33). An alternative emblem of the Leviathan is provided by Willet whose emblem collection includes a series based on animals found in the book of Job. In his poem a description of the whale inspires a call to ‘worship Gods name, /And from our hearts adore the same/ By’s hand these creatures of great fame/created were’ ((1592) emblem 90, sig. K3v).

3-4. Hee whose ... the Jewes] In his commentary on Genesis 1.21, Andrew Willet provides a contemporary reference the story of the pickled whale from Jewish lore. He states: ‘But we deride that the Jewish fable, that God when he had made two great whales, lest the increase of so huge a creature might tend to the destruction of...
the rest, he did geld the male, and salted the female to be meat for the just in the next world' ((1633), p. 10). An account of this story is also provided by Chilmead (1650), pp. 40-1.

Talmud: the Talmud is the primary source of Jewish civil and ceremonial traditional law (OED).

5. Even hee ... his Belly] In the well-known biblical story, Jonah is cast into the sea by superstitious mariners seeking to protect themselves from a storm. In order to protect Jonah, God ‘prepared a great fish’ to swallow him (Jonah 1.15-17).

6. With Wholsom ... Gelley] Jonah’s feast in the whale’s stomach is Pulter’s own addition to the story. In the Anatomy of Melancholy Burton describes ‘chilus’ as ‘white juyce comming of the meate digested in the Stomacke’ ((1621), p. 21). Provoking Gelley] ‘Provoking’ could be used to mean ‘to incite appetite’ (OED ppl. a. 1). ‘Gelley’ is an alternative spelling of ‘jelly’.

7. poynant] Poignant: sharp, pungent, piquant to the taste (OED adj. 1).
Unctious Caveare] Unctuous: oily, greasy (OED a. 1) caviar.

9. Even hee ... of Pride] The book of Job states that the whale ‘beholdeth all high things: he is a king over all the children of pride’ (41.34). He is therefore the most powerful of God’s creations.

11-14. The little Musculus ... Mammucks gives] Discussing ‘amitie which is between fishes’, Pliny notes the connection between ‘the great whale Balæna’ and the ‘little Musculus’. He writes: ‘For whereas the Whale aforesaid hath no use of his eies (by reason of the heavie weight of his eie-browes that cover them) the other swimmeth before him, serveth him in steed of eies and lights, to shew him when hee is neere the shelves and shallowes, wherein he may soone be grounded, so big and huge he is’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 270). For Pulter this example demonstrates that even a creature as large and powerful as the whale requires the assistance of those smaller and less powerful than him. The benefit is not one sided however, as the musculus benefits from the food disloged by the larger animal.

14. Mammucks] Mammock: scrap; shred; broken or torn piece (OED n.).

15-20. Soe may you see...all her pay] Pliny writes: ‘When hee [the crocodile] hath filled his bellie with fishes, he lieth to sleepe upon the sands in the shore: and for that he is a great and greddie devourer, somewhat of the meat sticketh evermore betweene his teeth. In regard wherof commeth the wren, a little bird called there Trochilos, and the king of the birds in Italie: and shee for her victuals sake, hopeth first about his mouth, falleth to pecking and piking it with her little neb or bill, and so forward to the teeth, which she cleanseth; and all to make him gape. Then getteth shee within his mouth, which he openeth the wider, by reason that he taketh great delight in this her scraping and scouring of his teeth and chawes. Now when he is lulled as it were fast asleepe with this pleasure and contentment of his: the rat of India, or Ichneumon aforesaid, spieth his vantage, and seeing him lie thus broad gaping, whippeth into his mouth, and shooteth himselfe downe his throat as quick as an arrow, and then gnaweth his bowels, eateth a hole through his bellie, and so killeth him’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 209). Goulart also provides an account of the
ichneumon’s devious behaviour in which he comments on the ‘complot of the Ichneumon, with the Wren against the Crocodile’ ((1621), p. 262). Pulter, however, in keeping with the poem’s theme of mutual cooperation and dependence, suggests that the wren alerts the crocodile to the presence of the ichneumon and in doing so protects him.

*Nils Caymen*] A crocodile in the Egyptian river Nile. Strictly speaking, caymans or alligators are a particular type of short-snouted crocodile associated with South America, but Pulter does not make this distinction here (*OED*).

25. *And pitty ... plough*] The marginal note accompanying this line refers directly to Ecclesiastes 5.9 which states ‘Moreover the profit of the earth is for all: the king himself is served by the field’. The poem as a whole is a reminder that, among people, relationships of mutual care and responsibility should underpin the social hierarchy.
13. The Porcupine went Ruffling in his Pride
Scorning the humble Tortois by his side
Spurning her oft and spurtung many a Quill
The Tortois Pul'd her head in and lay still
Hee cald her patient Fool and suff'ring ass
Thus ore her Back insulting hee did Pass
Just then a Loaded Cart and Men came by
As soon as they this different Couple spie
They Laught which vex'd the Porcu at the Heart
Arrows from's living Quiver hee did Dart
Promiscuously at Horses, Men, and Cart
The Frocketeers threw stones and lash'd their Whip
Which made the Furious Porcupine to skip
Then drove their Cart over the Tortois shell
But shee in spite of all their spite was well
The Cart went on The Rusticks they Run after
The Tortois hardly could hold in her Laughter
But did refrain hearing the Dolefull moan
The Porcupine made to himselfe alone
Saying, let revengfull spirits learn by mee
Not to retaliate an injurie
But of this Tortois learn Humility
The Tortois Blush'd to hear her self commended
Then Crauld away and soe the Embleme Ended
[f. 99v] Soe Wasps and Hornets, lose their Lives and Stings
From selfe reveng nought but repentance springs
Then like the Tortois thoug I Feel, or see
The least affront, or seeming Injurie
Yet let my mind above the greatest bee
What if they hurt my Flesh, tis but my shell
That suffers, my infranchisd soul is well
Then at my oppressors Feet my Selfe I'le lay
Vengence is thine my God thou Wilt repay.

1. *Ruffling*] To make a great stir or display; to hector, swagger, bear oneself proudly or arrogantly (very common c.1540-1650), *(OED v.2)*

2. *Scorning*] To treat with ridicule, to show extreme contempt for, to mock, deride *(OED `Scorn' v. 2).* For alternative emblems of the tortoise see Thomas Combe (1614), XXVIII, sig. C4r; and Wither (1635), p. 222. For Combe the tortoise,
whose shell makes him able to endure ‘the idle stinging of the busie Bee’, is an apt image of the wise man who stands firm and whom fortune cannot undermine. For Wither the tortoise in its shell is a reminder that ‘Houses builded large and high’ are no better than those which more modestly ‘serve their turnes, who should have use of it’. Pulter’s interpretation contains echoes of both of these emblems; for her, the tortoise’s humility contributes to her ability to withstand affront.

3. *Spurning*] Figuratively, to kick against or at something disliked or despised; to manifest opposition or antipathy, especially in a scornful or disdainful manner (*OED* ‘spurn’ v.1. 3). To reject with contempt or disdain; to treat contemnuously; to scorn or despise (*OED* v.1. 6).

9-10. *They Laught ... hee did Dart*] The idea that porcupines could shoot their quills out of their bodies is noted by Pliny: ‘The Porkpens came out of India and Affrike: a kind of Urchin or Hedgehog they be: armed with pricks they be both; but the Porkpen hath the longer sharpe pointed quilles, and those, when he stretcheth his skin, he sendeth and shooteth from him’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 215).

11. *promiscuously*] Done or applied with no regard for method, order, etc.; random, indiscriminate, unsystematic (*OED* adj. and adv. A 1a.).

12. *Frocketeers*] Peasants: in reference to the frocks or loose garments they are wearing (see *OED* n. 1b.).

31. *infranchisd*] Enfranchise: to release; set free (*OED* v.1). Pulter is referring to her soul being freed from her body but the term also alludes to release from political confinement (*OED* v. 1b.). While the term only appears once in her emblem series, Pulter uses it frequently in her occasional and devotional poems. See for example ‘The Welcom’ in which Pulter welcomes death with the statement that ‘now my sad soul thou shalt infranchised bee’ (MS Lt q 32, f. 39r). Similar uses of the word can be found in ‘To Astrea’ (f. 42r); ‘The Perfection of Patience and Knowledg’ (f. 57r); and ‘The invocation of the Elements the longest Night in the Year 1655’ (f. 59v).

33. *Vengence... repay*] In Deuteronomy God explicitly states ‘To me belongeth vengeance’ (32.35,41,43), a statement echoed in Psalms 94.1.
14. In Affrica about the Fountain's brink
Where Beast Assemble, None presumes to drink
Untill they see the stately Unicorn
Who stirs the Poysonous Waters with his Horn
Then with Extended Jaws they drink their Fill
Thus hee the Forrest Governeth at his Will
[f. 100r] Hee Scorns all Huntsmen, who can never take
This Gallant Beast till they a Mayden make
To sit where hee doth haunt, him to allure
For in her lap hee'l lie and sleep secure
Thus hee that scorn'd his Potents Enemie
Is now inslav'd by a Virgins Eye
Soe Sampson though Enabled from above
Found Death, and Ruin, from his Wanton Love
Hee that a Thousand slaughterd with a Jaw
Beeing Blind and Captive, in a Mill did draw
Soe Solloman allure'd by various Love
Did leave the True and Glorious God above
To Worship those whose Fabrick is of Dust
The Wisest King was thus inslavd by Lust
The Strongest and the Wisest thus you see
Foord by their strenght and Wisdome often bee
Then let all Youthfull Gallants warning take
To choose by reason not for Fancies Sake.

22. *strength* n inserted.

1-4. *In Africa...Horn*] In this poem Pulter recounts two popular myths about the unicorn. The first of these is documented by Topsell who notes that a unicorn’s horn ‘being put into the water, driveth away the poysone, that he may drink without harm, if any venomous Beast shall drink therein before him’ ((1658), p. 555). The power this ability gives the unicorn over other creatures appears to be Pulter’s own addition, allowing her to present the unicorn as an emblem of status and authority undermined by lust.

7-12. *Hee Scorns... Virgins Eye*] The second myth in this poem is also told by Topsell who recounts an elaborate tale in which virgins are used to catch unicorns. He writes ‘It is said that Unicorns above all other creatures, do reverence Virgins and young Maids, and that many times at the sight of them they grow tame, and come and sleep beside them ... for which occasion Indian and Aethiopian Hunters use this stratagem to take the beast. They take a goodly strong and beautiful young man, whom they dress in the apparel of a woman ... the Unicorn deceived with the outward shape of a woman ... cometh unto the young man without fear ... never stirring but lying still and asleep’ ((1658), p. 557).

*Gallant*] In this context Pulter’s use of the term is very different from the way she usually employs it (see emblem 6, note to line 2). Here it is being used more loosely as a general epithet of admiration or praise, meaning excellent, splendid, fine or grand (*OED 4.a*).

*Potents*] Most potent.
13-16. **Sampson...did draw**] Samson was marked out as ‘a Nazarite unto God from the womb’ and was destined to deliver the people of Israel from the Philistines (Judges 13.5). When 3,000 men of Judah who planned to hand him over to the Philistines captured him, he escaped his bonds and slew ‘a thousand men’ with the ‘new jawbone of an ass’ (Judges 15.15). But Samson fell in love with Delilah (Judges 16.4) who was asked by the Philistines to discover ‘wherein his great strength lieth’ (Judges 16.5). After much persuasion, Samson revealed ‘if I be shaven, then my strength will go from me’ (Judges 16.17). Delilah betrayed his secret to the Philistines who ‘put out his eyes’, bound him with ‘fetters of brass’ and left him to ‘grind in the prison house’ (Judges 16.21).

17. **Solloman**] Solomon. The Bible states that Soloman ‘loved many strange women’ who, when he grew old, ‘turned away his heart after other gods’ (I Kings 11.1-4).

23. **Gallants**] For a discussion of Pulter’s use of this term see emblem 6, note to line 2.
15. The Cruel Tiger swiftly on doth Pass
Scorning Pursuers, till a Cristall Glass
Layed purposely, at which shee stands at gaze
Her self lov'd beauty makes her in a Maze
Soe is the Early risinge Lark a lass
Onely insnar'd with looking in a Glass
Pride makes the Flying Fish display her Wings
Then hungrie Hawks her little neck of wRings
These are noe wonders sacred stories show
That Pride the greatest Monarchs did ore throw
Brave Amazia gallant things did doe
Untill the Thistle did the Ceder Wooe
Saul and Uzzia might have worn the Crown
Till catching at the Miter both fell down
Pride made good Hezechia to disclose
Those secret Treasures which his sons did lose
The Assyrian King forgot his God, at least
T'was Pride that did Tranceform him to a Beast
Herode that would not give to God the Glory
An Angell struck and Worms did end his story
Pride made our Parents know both good and evill
And Pride did turn an Angell to a Devill
Then by these stories you may see at least
That Pride destroyes, both, Angel, Man, and Beast.

4. beauty] a inserted.
8. wRings] w inserted in authorial hand.
9. show] altered from shew.
11. Amazia] marginal note in authorial hand: 2 booke of kings cha the fourteen vers the 8.
13. Saul] marginal note in authorial hand: Sam the first Book chap. the 13th verse the 8th.
Uzzia] marginal note in authorial hand: 2 Boock of Chrono chap the 27th vers the 16th.
22. Devill] altered from Devell.

1-4. *The Cruel Tiger...in a Maze*] Pulter's account of the tiger being deceived by a glass ball differs significantly from other contemporary accounts. Topsell, for example recounts the common tale of the ball being used by hunters intent on stealing the tiger's cubs. He writes that the hunters 'seek out the caves and dens of the Tigers where their young ones are lodged, and then upon some swift Horses they take and carry them away'. The tiger, realising her loss, pursues the hunters who 'For this occasion...do devise certain round sphears of glass, wherein they picture their young ones apparent to be seen by the dam, one of these they cast down before her at her approach, she looking upon it, is deluded, and thinketh that her young ones are inclosed therein'. The tiger then takes the ball 'backwards to her den, and there breaketh it with her feet and nails and so seeing that she is deceived, returneth back again after the Hunters for her true Whelps; whilst they in the mean season are safely harbored in some house, or else gone on some shipboard' ((1658), pp. 549-50). In other accounts the tiger mistakes her own reflection, miniaturised by the spherical shape of the glass, for her cubs (Rowland (1974), p. 151). Pulter
however, suggests that the tiger is bewitched by her own beauty, reflected in the surface of the ball.

*[a Maze]* State of bewilderment; amazement (*OED* I 3a.).

5-6. *Soe is the...in a Glass*] Mirrors were traditionally used to catch larks for food. In *Hungers Prevention*, Gervase Markham notes that to catch larks ‘twenty small pieces of Looking-Glasses’ are stuck to a square of wood painted red. This is then hung so that ‘in the continual motion and tumbling about, [it] will give such a glorious reflection, that the wanton birds cannot forbear but will play about it with admiration, til they be taken’ ((1621), p. 118).

7. *Flying Fish*] For a discussion of this image see emblem 25, note to lines 1-8. In this poem Pulter presents the fish as an emblem of pride but in emblem 25 the fish, besieged on all sides, is used to represent the plight of Charles I.

9-10. *These are noe ... did ore throw*] Pulter follows these lines with a series of references to biblical monarchs who are punished by God for their pride and ambition.

11-12. *Brave Amazia...Ceder Wooe*] The Bible states that during his rule Amaziah king of Judah ‘did that which was right in the sight of Lord’ (2 Kings 14.3). Having killed ten thousand people in Edom (2 Kings 14.7) he then challenged Jehoash king of Israel ‘saying Come, let us look one another in the face’ (2 Kings 14.8). Jehoash’s response suggests that Amaziah had become over-ambitious; he recites the parable that ‘The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife: and there passed a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle’ (II Kings 14.9). As punishment for his ambitions towards the mighty cedar the insignificant thistle is crushed. But ‘Amaziah would not hear’ the warning and as a consequence Jehoash ‘came to Jerusalem and broke down to wall of Jerusalem’ (II Kings 14.13). He then took ‘the gold and silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of Lord’ together with ‘the treasures of the king’s house, and hostages’ and ‘returned to Samaria’ (II Kings 14.14).

13-14. *Saul and Uzzia ... both fell down*] Saul. Too impatient to wait for the prophet Samuel to make an offering to God, Saul ‘offered the burnt offering himself’ (I Samuel 14.9). When Samuel sees what has happened he informs Saul that ‘Thou hast done foolishly’ and ‘now thy kingdom shall not continue’ (I Samuel 14.14).

*Uzzia*] Like Saul, Uzziah takes it upon himself to perform priestly duties in defiance of the rule of God. The Bible states that Uzziah ‘was wroth, and had a censer in his hand to burn incense: and while he was wroth with the priests, the leprosy even rose up in his forehead before the priests in the house of the Lord, from beside the incense altar’ (II Chronicles 26.19).

*Miter*] Mitre: in a general sense, the headress of a priest, bishop etc (*OED* II). Pulter is using the term to invoke the role and duties of priests that Saul and Uzziah inappropriately enact.

15-16. *Pride made ... sons did lose*] Hezekiah was visited by men sent by the king of Babylon and he ‘shewed them all the house of his precious things, the silver, and
the gold, and the spices, and the precious ointment, and all the house of his armour, and all that was found in his treasures: there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah showed them not’ (II Kings 20.13). Isaiah then came to him and prophesied that as a result of his actions ‘all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store unto this day, shall be carried into Babylon’ (II Kings 20.17). In addition to this, Isaiah, said ‘And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon’ (II Kings 20.18). It is possible that in Pulter’s poem the line ‘Those secret Treasures which his sons did lose’ is a mistranscription for ‘Those secret Treasures with his sons did lose’.

17-18. The Assyrian King ... to a Beast] Nebuchadnezzar revelled in his own achievement and power by declaring ‘Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty’ (Daniel 4.30). As a punishment for his pride, he was ‘driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles’ feathers, and his nails like birds’ claws’ (Daniel 4.33).

19-20. Herode that ... end his story] Herod gave an oration to the people of Tyre and Sidon who ‘gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man’ (Acts 12.21-22). Herod was punished for allowing this blasphemy when the ‘angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and he gave up the ghost’ (Acts 12.23).

21. Pride...evil] After the fall, brought about by the actions of Adam and Eve, God states that ‘man is become one of us, to know good and evil’ (Genesis 3.22).

22. Angell to a Devill] Satan: the Bible alludes to Satan on several occasions, most significantly in Isaiah where God says ‘How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!’. The reasons given for his fall are that he said in his heart ‘I will ascend unto heaven, I will exault my throne above of God. I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north: I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High’ (Isaiah 14.12-14). God responds with the statement that ‘thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit (Isaiah 14.15). Like the biblical kings referenced earlier in Pulter’s poem, Satan is used as an example of blasphemous aspiration and pride.
16. The Cockatrice as vulgarly receiv’d  
Is against nature by a Cock conceiv’d  
Whose Egs a Toad doth to perfection bring  
Whence comes the Basalisk the serpents King  
If this fierce animall doth first see you  
Prepare my Freind to bid this World adue  
But of you see him first you are secure  
If with this Cristall you your Selfe immure  
The visuall beams which Issue from his Eyes  
Reverberat’s his poysn soe hee dies  
Soe Pertius with his sisters shineing shield  
Made Proud Medusa and the Gorgons Yield  
Sin is this Cursed Killing Cockatrice  
If you discover its deceits it Dies  
But if you don’t nought but the splendent shield  
Of Faith, will make this Hellish Monster Yield  
Then with the Christian armour arm you  
And all the Powers of Hell shall never harm you  
But o let mee dispose my thoughts soe well  
That I may Crush this Embrion in the shell  
Yet if I doe to sinfull Motions Yield  
Bee thou to mee dear God a sun and shield  
Then as inslav’d to sin and Death I lie  
Ile on the Brasen serpent cast mine Eye  
Who conquerd Death and Hell on Calvary.

1-4 The Cockatrice...serpents King] Topsell describes the cockatrice as a creature ‘halfe a foot in length, the hinder part like a Snake, the former part like a Cocke, because of a treble combe on his forehead’. He also notes that there ‘is some question amongst Writers, about the generation of this Serpent’ but states that some ‘affirme him to be brought forth of a Cockes Egge’ and the ‘vulger opinion of Europe is, that the Egge is nourished by a Toad’ ((1608), p. 119-20). Thomas Browne, whose writing has many affinities with Pulter’s, discusses the connection between the cockatrice and the basilisk. He writes: ‘for certainly that which from the conceit of its generation we vulgarly call a Cockatrice, and wherein (but under a different name) we intend a formall Identity and adequate conception with the Basilisk’. He then adds that ‘As for the generation of the Basilisk, that it proceedeth from a Cocks egge hatched under a Toad or Serpent, it is a conceit as monstrous as the brood it self’ ((1646), pp. 118,120).

vulgarily receiv’d] Generally accepted.

serpents King] Topsell opens his account of the cockatrice with the statement that ‘This Beast is called by the Graecians Baziliscos, and by the Latine Regulus, because he seemeth to be the King of serpents’. One reason for this is that ‘he hath a certaine combe or Corronet upon his head’ ((1608), p. 119).

8-10. If with this...hee dies] The cockatrice is a deadly creature capable of killing in many different ways. Describing the cockatrice’s poison Topsell states that ‘it is a hot and venomous poison, infecting the Ayre round about, so as no other Creature can live neare him; for it killeth, not onely by his hissing and by his sight, (as is sayd of the Gorgons,) but also by his touching’ ((1608), p. 123). Pulter states that the only way to protect yourself from the deadly beams issued by the cockatrice is to envelop yourself in glass. Topsell is skeptical about this means of defense. He writes ‘I cannot without laughing remember the olde Wives tales of the Vulgar Cockatrices that have bin in England; for I have oftentimes heard it related confidently, that once our Nation was full of Cockatrices, and that a certaine man did destroy them by going uppe and downe in Glasse, whereby their owne shapes were reflected upon their owne faces, and so they dyed’ ((1608), pp. 124-5).

Reverberats] Reverberate: to cast back upon something: to force or direct (flame, heat, etc.) back on a thing (OEDv. 3a,b).

11-12. Soe Pertius ... Gorgons Yield] Perseus’s killing of the Medusa and the gorgons, who have snakes for hair, is analogous to Pulter’s description of the
destruction of the reptile-like cockatrice. Sandys recounts the myth stating that Perseus ‘came to the habitation of the Gorgons: where spying Medusa a sleepe in the mirror of his shield, he cut off her head before her sisters could awake’. In order to achieve this ‘Perseus is furnished with the shield of Pallas, the helmet of Pluto, the fauchion and wings of Mercury; because in all great difficulties perspicacity, policy, a quicknesse of wit, and deepe apprehension is required; without which no glorious action can be achieved’ ((1632), p. 169). Pallas Athena, goddess of wisdom, was like Perseus one of Zeus’s offspring; hence Pulter’s statement that Perseus’s ‘sister’ gave him his shield. The reflective shield provides another link between this story and the destruction of the cockatrice. Traditionally, the story of Perseus’s destruction of the Medusa has been read as an allegory for faith overcoming sin or, as Sandys states it ‘Perseus kills Medusa, reason corporall pleasure’ ((1632), p. 169).

13. Sin is ... Cockatrice] In making the connection between sin and the cockatrice Pulter draws on the common association of sin with reptiles, specifically the serpent. Thomas Browne notes that many ancient writers through the tale of the ‘Antipathy of the Basilisk and man, expressed first the enmity of Christ and Sathan’ ((1646), p. 120).

17. Christian armour] When referring to the ‘Christian armour’ Pulter may have been thinking of the biblical book of Ephesians which states ‘put on the whole armour of God that ye may be able to stand against the whiles of the devil’ (6.11). Later in the same text there is a reference to ‘the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked’ (6.13), a description evoking the opening emblematic image of the cockatrice and ‘visuall beams which Issue from his Eyes’.

20. Embrion] Original form of ‘embryo’: figuratively a thing in its rudimentary stage or first beginning; a germ; that which is still in idea as opposed to what has become actual in fact (OED n. and a. 4). In referring to sin in its embrionic form Pulter alludes back to her opening description of the conception and birth of the cockatrice.

21. sinfull Motions] Motions: an inner prompting or impulse; instigation or incitement from within; a desire or inclination (to or towards). Also: a stirring of the soul, an emotion; passion (OED II 12a.). Pulter is describing an internal impulse to commit sin.

22. sun and shield] Accompanying the poem is a marginal reference to Psalm 84.7, which should read 84.11. This states: ‘For the Lord God is a sun and shield: the Lord will give grace and glory: no good thing will he behold from them that walk uprightly’. For Pulter, the sun and shield of faith provide protection against personal sin.

23-25. Then as ... on Calvary] Brass Serpent. As punishment for speaking against him, God sends ‘fiery serpents amongst the people’ in the wilderness. When Moses prays for deliverance God tells him to make a ‘fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole’. Moses then makes ‘a serpent of brass’ so that ‘if a serpent had bitten any man’ when he ‘beheld the serpent of brass, he lived’ (Numbers 21:5-9). In keeping with
the general message of Pulter's poem, God provides the people in the wilderness with a protective talisman against a reptile-like threat. Pulter develops this reference into a metaphor pertaining to Christ who, set upon the cross, is himself a talisman against death, the apotheosis of sin. For an alternative emblematic depiction of the brass serpent see Willet (1592), emblem 51, sig. G2r. Willet focuses on the later deification of the serpent and the punishment subsequently meted out to the people for their idolatry.

*Calvary*] The place where Christ was crucified (Luke 23.33).
17. When God (who is to Mercie most inclin'd)
To punish or to trie hath once design'd
A People, each Reptell or insect
Or basest animal will not neglect
But will their Habitation soe Annoy
Without a Countermand they'll all destroy
Thus Spain by Rabbits, Moles made Thesaly
Locusts made Africa a Desert lye
France Frogs, Amycle serpents, did destroy
Flyes, Lice, and Frogs, all Egypt did annoy
Gyaros Rats, and too too many more
Their sufferings (though not sins) did then deplore
This made the Town of Hamell stand in Doubt
Cause of those vermine they had such a Rowt.
They tri'de all waies, as poysons, Traps and Catts.
Yet still their Houses pesterd were with Rats
At last a Piper chance'd to come that way
With whom they bargain'd for a Certain pay
Their Town of this base Loathsom Beasts to free
The Fruits of Cursed Avarice now see
This Fellow piping went to Weasers brim
And all the Rats ran dancing after him
[f. 102r] Then instantly they skipt into the stream
Though some may thinkt a Fiction or a dream
Yet true it is for drowning was their Fate
But how t'was don noe story doth relate
For whether a Telesma hee did take
Five such of Gold The Philistin's did make
Or what hee did I think noe man can say
But when hee came and asked for his pay
The Burgers in their Gravitie refus'd
To pay the summe, the Piper thus abus'd
did vow Reveng, they bid him doe his worst
Now see how Breach of Promise is Accurst
The Fellow Piping went away againe
A Hundred and Thirty Children in his Train
Into a hill hee led these pretty Boys
And thus their Parents lost their hopes, and Joys.
Which with sad hearts they now too late deplore
For they nor hee were ever heard of more
By these their grievous suff'ring's you may see
that breach of Promise punish'd sure will bee
Then keep your word for better or for wors
Lest with these saxons you pertake like Curs.

15. waies, as] inserted above the line.
20-22. The Fruits...after him] author's note: see the story of this Pied Piper at Larg in Verstegan Folio 85 [this is an accurate reference to Verstegan (1605), p. 85].
23. Number 18 inserted then crossed out. This suggests that the numbers identifying the emblems were added after the entire series had been transcribed into the manuscript volume.
This poem has been published in Seal Millman and Wright (2005), p. 123.

1-5. *When God... soe Annoy* Pulter says that despite God’s usually merciful nature once he has identified people that he wants to test or punish he will not fail to find the means by which to do this. Throughout her emblem collection Pulter refers to God’s capacity to use even the seemingly most insignificant of creatures to inflict punishment on those who have sinned; see for example emblem 43, 43, and 46.

6. *Countermand* A contrary command or order revoking or annulling a previous one (*OED* I). Pulter says that unless God stops them, the creatures he sends as punishment will destroy everything.

7-11. *Thus Spain... many more* The plagues listed by Pulter are all described by Pliny. He writes: ‘Nothing is more certain and notorious than this, that much hurt and damage hath ben known to come from small contemptible creatures, which otherwise are of no reckoning and account. M. Varro writeth, That there was a towne in Spaine undermined by Connies: and another likewise in Thessalie, by Moldwarpes. In Fraunce the inhabitants of one citie were driven out and forced to leave it, by Frogs. Also in Affricke the people were compelled by Locusts to void their habitations: and out of Gyaros an Island, one of the Cyclades, the Islanders were forced by Rats and Mice to flie away. Moreover, in Italie the citie Amycæ was destroyed by Serpents’ (1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 212). While Pliny’s account is purely observational, Pulter suggests that the plagues are a consequence of God’s unfavourable judgment of the people.

12. *Their sufferings... then deplore* Pulter is scornful of people who, when punished by God, bemoan their suffering without acknowledging that it is a consequence of their own sin.

13-25. *This made the town... was their Fate* Pulter provides a direct reference to Richard Verstegan’s (formerly Rowlands) version of the Pied Piper story which appears in *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence: In Antiquities* (1605), p. 85. She may also have been familiar with the version that appears in James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Elianae* (1645), ‘Section 6’, p. 71 (referenced in Seal Millman and Wright (2005), p. 252). For Howell the story is simply a fabulous piece of entertainment but Verstegan approaches the text from an anthropological perspective and uses it to explain the phenomenon of there being ‘divers found among the Saxons in Transilvania that have lyke surnames unto divers of the burgers of Hamel’. He suggests that ‘this jugler or pyed pyper, might by negromancie have transported them therether’ ((1605), p. 87). In contrast to both, Pulter turns the tale into a moral fable and uses it to warn against ‘breach of Promise’. Alternative versions of the story can be found in Peter Heylyn, *Mikrokosmos* (1625), p. 364; James Howell, *A German Diet* (1653), pp. 34-35; and Henry More, *Antidote Against Atheism* (1653), pp. 123-24.

14. *Rowt* Rout: riot, disturbance, stir, uproar or fuss, clamour, noise (*OED* n. 1. 8). Or to root out, to extirpate (*OED* v. 9).
15. *They tri 'de all waies*] ie. the people of Hamell tried every possible means of removing or destroying the rats.


27. *Telesma*] Talisman or charm (*OED* 2.1-2).

28. *Five such of Gold The Philistin's*] When they are punished by God with plague and hemorrhoids, the Philistines 'call for the priests and diviners' who tell them that in order to be relieved of their afflictions they must present to God an offering of 'Five golden emerods, and five golden mice' (I Samuel 6.4).

31. *Burgers*] Burgher: an inhabitant of a town; a citizen (*OED* n. 1a). Or possibly Burgess: one possessing full municipal rights (a freeman) (*OED* n. 1) or a member of the governing body of the town (*OED* n. 2).

44. *saxons*] Verstegan’s *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* is an early work of Anglo-Saxon scholarship. He locates the town of ‘Hamell’ in ‘Brunswyc’, ‘Saxonie’ (1605), p. 84).
19. When Radiant sol doth rise
   Hee offers up his Morning Sacrifice
Some may perhaps this vain religion sleight
But of all Creatures I would Worship Light
Their valour too the Orient Kingdooms trie
And when the Indians these beasts doe Hire
To Lanch their ships, when one begins to tire
Thel'e bring another to lift in his place
But rather then hee'll live to know disgrace
Hee'll draw and shov'e not onely till hee tires
As rather choosing to abrupt his story
Then live and let another take his Glory
For Chastitie this Gallant Creature's Crown'd
For when hee hath a Lovly Female Found
And mutuall Flames doe in their bosomes Glow
There free from Company that might annoy
They Innocently each other doe Injoy
[f. 103r] Yet hee's soe tender of his reputation
Hee kills his Female if hee doubts scortation
By this the Gallants of our Age may see
In being Athiest's wors then Beasts they bee
Like them in Noble actions strive to exceed
Each other, this Want did make Us Bleed
In our brave King, for had you valient been
Soe Sad a change as this wee ner'e had seen
For had not Lords in Noble breeding faild
Tin'cers and Coblers never had prevaild
But wee our Wants and losses may deplore
But Sin alone that sets us on the score
Then yet bee chast and those you choose in youth
Love Constantly for truth deserveth Truth
Neglect them not, to drink, Rant, throw the Die
For to temptation then they open lie
In common meetings they fool out their days
At Bauls, and Taverns, seeing Wanton Plays
To Censure you In Earnest I am Loth
But sure you want or, Valour, Witt, or both
Your Ladyes are Soe Lavish of their Fames
They have quite out gone our Wanton Citty Dames
For Honours sake looke too't, for shame at least,
You see a Wittall is below a Beast.

11. live] inserted above the line.
1. *Elephant*] In this poem, Pulter's account of the elephant is primarily based on that provided in Pliny ((1601), ‘First Tome’, pp. 192-96). She presents the creature to contemporary ‘Gallants’ and wayward ‘Lords’ as a model of the ideal Christian subject and husband. This poem and the next (emblem 20), which presents a model of the ideal Christian woman, appear to be companion pieces.

2-3. *Devoutly bows ... Morning Sacrifice*] Pulter's description of the elephant's religious practices is apparently based on the account provided by Pliny. He states that elephants ‘have in religious reverence (with a kind of devotion) not only the starres and planets, but the sunne and moone they also worship’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 192). For an alternative emblem of the elephant worshipping the sun see Palmer (Manning, 1988), emblem 10, p. 12. In his emblem Palmer asks ‘Yf then the brutishe beastes be wise,/and serve god in their kynde:/ How chaunste that we be les devote, endued with a mynde’ (Manning (1988), p. 12). Pulter makes a similar point in line 25 where she accuses her contemporaries of being atheists.

5. *Creatures*] Pulter is using the term ‘creature’ in its general sense to refer to all things created, in this context by God (OED 1. a.). She is saying that if she had to worship one aspect of the created world it would be light, an observation in keeping with the neoplatonic thought that pervades her emblem collection, see for example emblem 3, note to line 3; emblem 5, note to lines 25-31; and the unnumbered emblem ‘When fair Aurora drest with raidient light’, note to line 1.

6-7. *Their valour ... bravely Fighting die*] Pulter explains that in addition to its piety, in eastern countries the elephant is prized for its valour on the battlefield. Pliny recounts at length the military ‘fights and combats’ of elephants, specifically in Rome and India ((1601), ‘First Tome’, pp. 195-96).

8-13. *And when the Indians ... soe his soul expires*] This episode is not recounted by Pliny but he does relate an anecdote in which a disgraced elephant, that had refused to enter into a river to test its depth, ‘died for very shame’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 194).

16-21. *For Chastitie ... doe Injoy*] Pliny writes that ‘Upon a kind of shamefaced modestie, they [elephants] never are seene to engender together, but performe that act in some couvert and secret corner ... After they have taken to another once, they never chaunge’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 194).

**Gallant**] In this context, Pulter's use of the term is very different from the way she usually employs it (see emblem 6, note to line 2). Here it is used to mean ‘Markedly polite and attentive to the female sex’ (OED 6) but may also have undertones of bravery and noble daring (OED 5 a.).

22-23. *Yet hee's soe tender ... doubts scortation*] Pulter states that the male elephant is prepared to kill the female if he suspects (doubts OED 6 b.) that she has committed adultery (scortation OED). There is nothing in Pliny about this but Topsell states that they ‘have not onely an observation of chastity among themselves, but also are revengers of whoredom and adulterers in other[s]’ ((1607), p. 208). He then recounts several tales of elephants killing human women because of their adulterous behaviour.
24. Gallants] For a discussion of the significance of this term in Pulter's poetry see emblem 6, note to line 2.

26-29. Like them in ... had seen] Pulter first exHORTs her contemporaries to imitate elephants in the way they seek to outdo each other in noble actions and then suggests that it was their failure to do this in the first place that led to the regicide of King Charles I (1600-1648/9). For other references to this event see emblems 4, 25, 50, 51 and 52.

31. Tinckers and Coblers] The comparatively low social status of the king’s opponents was frequently the focus of criticism or ridicule in royalist publications. See, for example, the royalist newsbook Mercurius Rusticus which reports that the town of Chelmsford ‘is governed by a Tinker, two Coblers, two Taylors, two Pedlers etc’ who are sharing power ‘wrested out of the King’s hand’ ((June 3. 1643, republished 1646), p. 21).

32-33. But wee our ... on the score] ‘On the score’ means ‘by reason of’ (OED 12.). Pulter is saying that while she and her contemporaries are bemoaning their fate they are not acknowledging their own role in, or accepting responsibility for, what has happened. She suggests that if those in positions of social responsibility had observed their duties, specifically with regards to the maintenance of order, then those lower down the social scale would not have been able to cause further disruption to society.

36-37. Neglect them not ... they open lie] Pulter is advising contemporary young men not to neglect their duty to their wives. While they indulge in unruly and licentious behaviour they are setting a bad example to their spouses and encouraging them to do the same. In emblem 20 Pulter addresses this issue from an alternative perspective and advises wives not to follow the dissolute example of their husbands, see lines 23-24.

Rant] To be jovial, boisterous, uproariously gay or merry, to lead a gay or dissolute life; also to sing loudly (OED v. 1-3).
throw the Die] ie. gambling.

38. common meetings] Pulter is apparently using ‘common’ to refer to general, indiscriminate public meetings; those frequented by low class vulgar people and therefore not suitable for gentlewomen (OED a. 1a and c; 4;6;6c; II 14b).

39. At Bauls, and Taverns, seeing Wanton Plays] Balls, taverns, and plays were places people congregated to socialise and to be seen by others. Taverns were traditionally male-only preserves and the theatres were notorious for attracting prostitutes. For a more detailed consideration of the inappropriate places frequented by Pulter’s female contemporaries see emblem 20.

41. But sure ... or both] ie. ‘you must be lacking either valour or wit or both’.

42. Fames] Reputations (OED 2.a.).

43. Wanton Citty Dames] Pulter associates London in particular with the dissolute behaviour of contemporary women (see emblem 20) but her remark also has class
and political dimensions. In keeping with her comments in line 30 Pulter seems to be specifically addressing those women, or ‘Ladies’ occupying positions of authority in society, whom she says should not be behaving like their social inferiors, ie. ‘Citty Dames’. In addition to this, during the Civil Wars and Interregnum, the city of London came to be more generally associated with the king’s opposition (see emblem 4, note to line 8). Pulter was not alone in leveling charges of sexual license against parliamentarian women (see De Groot (2004), pp. 122-27 and McElligott (2004), pp. 82-86).

20. Who can but pity this poor Turtle Dove
Which was so kind and constant to her Love
And since his Death his loss she doth Deplore
For his dear sake and she'll never Couple more
When others Wanton blood doth Nimbly Flow
Warm'd with the Spring, hers then runs cool and slow
Nor Vallentine though t'is a Tempting Tide
Can make her say her Chast resolv's aside
Not like that Wanton and Licentious Bird
Who loosing one a second and a Third
Like that Prodigious, Bedlam, Belgick, Beast,
Who had a score of Husbands at the least
A bitter Thraldome shee deserves to have
Who being Freed soe Oft, would bee a slave
Shame of her Sex! oh let her Loathed Name
Bee ne're inroled in the Booke of Fame.
But let Alcestis, and Artimitius, story
Bee still Remembered to her endless Glory
Some Deborahs, and Annas, Sure have been
But in this age of ours few such are seen
Then Ladyes immitate this Turtle Dove
And Constant bee unto one onely Love
[f. 104r] Then if your Hus[bands] rant it high and Game
Besseure you Double not their Guilt and Shame
Leave of Hide Park, Hanes, Oxford John's, and Kate
Spring, Mulbery Garden, let them have a Date
Buy not these Follyes at soe dear a Rate
These Places I know onely by their names
But t'is these places which doe blast your Fames
Who would with their dear reputation part
To Eat a scurvey Cheescak or a Tart
For such poor follyes who abroad would Roame
Have wee not better every day at home
They say to plays and Taverns some doe goe
I say noe Modest Ladies will doe soe
Though Countis, Dutchis, or Protectors Daughter,
Those Places haunt, their Follyes run not after
Bee Modest then and follow mine advice
You'l find that Vertue's Pleasanter then Vice
Yet Anchorites I would not have you turn
Nor Halcions, nor bee your Husbands Urn
But Chastly live and rather spend your dayes
In setting Forth your great Creator's praise
And for diversion pass your Idle times
As I doe now in writeing harmles Rimes
Then for your Honnours, and your fair souls sake,
Both my example, and my Councell take,
Infine love God, the fountain of all good
Next those ahe'd by Mariage, Grace, and blood,
Toelets live here in Chast and vertuous love
As wele'le goe on Eternally above
Then o my God assist mee with thy Grace
That when I die I may but chang my place.

11. *Prodigious, Bedlam, Belgick, Beast* author's note: *This Monster liv'd within 2 Miles of Amsterdam, shee survivd 24 Husbands My Unkle Edw. P. did know her.*

St. Ierome remembers (with a holy scorn) that he saw a couple Maried in Room the Man had had 20 Wives the Woman 22 Husbards It was in the days of Pope Damascus Doct. Duns sermon on easter day fol. 287 [reference to John Donne, *LXXX Sermons Preached by that Reverend and Learned Doctor John Donne* (1640), p. 217].

25. *Kate* altered from *Kates.*

The second half of this poem (from line 23 onwards) is reproduced in Ostovich with a commentary by Sarah Ross (2004), pp. 389-91. A complete version is included in Seal Millman and Wright (2005), p. 125.

1-4. **Who can but pitty ... Couple more**] Turtle Doves were renowned for their devotion to one another. Pliny writes ‘... they bee passing chast, and neither male nor female change their make [mate?], but keepe together one true unto the other. They live (I say) as coupled by the bond of marriage: never play they false one by the other, but keep home still, and never visit the holes of the others. They abandon not their owne nests, unlessse they be in a state of single life or widdowhead by the death of their fellow’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 290). Pulter’s account of the dove differs from Pliny’s in her emphasis on the bird’s continued loyalty to her mate even after his death. Henry Peacham provides an alternative emblem of the dove in which he states that the dove who ‘solitarie by herselfe remaines’ represents the ‘godly wight, whome no delight of Sinne,/Doth vaine pleasure draw’. Instead she ‘to the Lord, in private doth repaire’ ((1612), p. 110). This poem provides a companion piece to emblem 19 in which Pulter uses the motif of the elephant to present a model of the ideal Christian husband.

7. **Nor Vallentine ... Tempting Tide**] St Valentine’s Day is the time when birds were supposed to find their mate. See for example Robert Herrick’s poem ‘To his Valentine, on S. Valentines day’:

Oft have I heard both Youths and Virgins say,
Birds chuse their Mates, and couple too, this day:
But by their flight I never can divine,
When I shall couple with my Valentine ((1648), p. 172).

9. **Wanton and Licentious Bird**] If Pulter had a specific bird in mind when she wrote this she may have been thinking of the sparrow. Pliny, on the same page as his discussion of the dove, states that this bird is ‘as leacherous as the best’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 290).

10. **Who loosing ... a Third**] i.e. the dove is not like those who marry and lose a first, then a second, and then a third husband.

11-12. **Like that ... at the least**] Pulter includes a marginal note stating ‘This
Monster liv'd within 2 Miles of Amsterdam, shee survivd 24 Husbands My Unkle Edw. P. did know her' suggesting she based this line on a story she had heard from an uncle living in Amsterdam. On Pulter's mother's side of the family (the Pettys or Petties) there was no one with the name Edward so this is most likely to be a reference to Arthur Pulter's paternal uncle Edward. In his Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry Ralph Winwood refers to a manuscript 'translated out of the Netherlands speech into English by Edward Pulter' ((1926), p. 526). It is likely that this is a reference to Pulter's uncle who may have learned Dutch while living in Amsterdam. The evidence suggests that the antiquary Gervase Holles (1607–1675) was acquainted with Edward Pulter and that it was he who commissioned the translation (Wood (1937), p. 75).

Prodigious] In an unfavourable sense, something that is appalling, or unnatural, abnormal; freakish (OED adj. and adv. 2 a and 3).

Bedlam] Mad (OED 6 a). The term is derived from the name of the Hospital of St Mary of Bethlehem which, since the fourteenth century, has been used as an asylum for the reception and cure of the mentally ill.

Belgick] Of or pertaining to the Netherlands (OED a. and n. A b).

a score] Twenty (OED n. III).

Marginal note: St. 1erome ... easter day fol. 287] In the poem's margin there is a reference, taken from John Donne's LXXX Sermons (1640), to a second woman who had multiple husbands. Donne states 'But yet S. Jerome himselfe, though he remember with a holy scorn, that when he was at Rome in the assistance of Pope Damasus ... he saw a man that had buried twenty wives, marry a wife, that buried twenty two husbands yet for the matter, and in seriousnesse, he says plainly enough ... I condemne no man for marrying two, or three, or if he have a minde to it, eight wives ... but yet, sayes that blessed Father ... Let me have leave to perswade them who have been married, and are at liberty, to continency, now at last' ((1640), p. 217). St Jerome's words, as they are repeated by Donne, pertain to those of St Paul in I Corinthians (see note to lines 13-14) were he also recommends widowhood above remarriage. While both writers emphasise their preference for a single life, neither St Paul nor St Jerome goes so far as to condemn those who do decide to remarry. Pulter's reference places great emphasis on St Jerome's 'holy scorn' suggesting she only remembered, or placed greater importance on, those of his remarks that are critical of multiple marriages.

13-14. A bitter ... bee a slave] Pulter is vehemently critical of those women who would rather subject themselves to the confinement of marriage than remain free in widowhood. Her characterisation of marriage as a state of bondage has a biblical precedent in I Corinthians where St Paul states that 'the wife is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will; only in the Lord'. He permits remarriage but then adds that a widow 'is happier if she so abide after my judgement' (7.39-40), a reference to an earlier statement that 'I say to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I', i.e. unmarried (7.8). Pulter, who apparently refuses to accept the legitimacy of second marriage at all, adopts a more rigorous position on the issue than St Paul. She uses her poem as a whole to suggest that widowed women are in a better position to devote themselves to God and that remarriage is a hindrance to this. Elizabeth Richardson, whose A Ladies Legacie to her Daughters was dedicated to Pulter's step-mother Jane Boteler (d. 1672), makes a similar point. Referring to her own widowhood, she asks God to assist her so that she 'may turne
this freedome from the bond of marriage only the more to thy service’ (Richardson (1645), p. 134; reproduced in Brown (1999), p. 228).

Thraldome] Thraldom: state of bondage, servitude, captivity (OED).

17-18. But let ... endles Glory] Pulter refers to two women renowned for their devotion to their husbands; it is these women, she suggests, whose names should be preserved for posterity.

Alcestis] Goulart notes that Alcestis ‘was the daughter of Peleas, King of Thessaly, a vertuous Princesse, which (having been married to Admetus) gave her owne, to save her Husbands life. For (he falling sicke) the Delphian Oracle upon demand made this answere, that his life was desperate, except one of his friends would die for him. All of them having refused him such a pleasure, Alcestes offered her selfe willingly to the death: by reason whereof, she is highly praised by all the Greek and Latine Poets’ ((1621), ‘Book One’, p. 149).

Artimitius] Artemisia: Goulart describes how ‘Artemides, Queen of Caria, intending to honour the memory of Mausolus her Husband, caused a magnificent Sepulchre to be raised by Scopas, Timotheus, Briares, and Leochares, most excellent Architects; which was reputed amongst a number of the seven marvailes of the world’. He adds that ‘After this time, the magnificient Sepulchres of great Princes have beene called Mausolea’ ((1621), ‘Book One’, p. 22; see also Pliny (1601), ‘Second Tome’, p. 568).

19-20. Some Deborahs ... are seen] Here Pulter invokes two biblical women active in their devotion to God.

Deborah: a militant prophetess who helped lead a ten thousand strong army of God’s people (Judges 4.4). She was married to Lapidoth but it is possible that Pulter had in mind her association with Elizabeth I, who famously never married (McLaren (2003), pp. 90-107, 192-96). A key character in Pulter’s prose romance ‘The Unfortunate Florinda’ (c. 1655-60) is the ‘unparraleld Virgin’ princess (later queen) ‘Gloriana’ who apparently is intended to evoke the dead queen (MS Lt q32, f. 31Av).

Anna: a prophetess who remained a widow for ‘fourscore and four years’ after the death of husband and devoted her life to God (Luke 2.36-37).

23-24. Then if ... and Shame] These lines, in which Pulter warns wives against following the dissolute behaviour of their husbands, parallel those in the previous poem in which Pulter advises husbands not to set a bad example to their wives, see emblem 19, lines 35-6. 

rant] For a discussion of this term see emblem 19, note to line 36.

Game] Having the spirit of a game-cock; full of pluck, showing ‘fight’; plucky, spirited (said of animals, and of persons, their actions and attributes) (OED a. I a).

25-26. Leave of Hide ... dear a Rate] Pulter provides list of popular places for recreation and socialising that came to be associated with immoral behaviour. In Henry Neville’s The Parliament of Ladies ‘Hyde Parke, St. James Parke, Spring Garden and Kates’ are all places associated with the display of women’s uncontained sexuality and with the concomitant performance of unnatural political authority ((1647), p. 4). In keeping with the message of the previous poem, Pulter directs her message specifically towards those occupying higher positions in the social hierarchy. Similarly, she is critical of all those she considers to be behaving
immodestly regardless of their political affiliation.

*Hide Park*] Hyde Park: a London park notorious for public gatherings and flirtation, the character of which is presented in many contemporary texts including: *News From Hide-Parke: Or A Very Merry Strange Passage which Happened Betwixt a North-Country Gentleman, and a Very Gaudy Gallant Lady of Pleasure* (1640-43); Edward Phillips, *The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence, or, the Arts of Wooing and Complementing: As They Are Manag'd in the Spring Garden, Hide Park; the New Exchange, and Other Eminent Places* (1658); and W.B. *The Yellow Book, or, A Serious Letter Sent by a Private Christian to the Lady Consideration, the First Day of May, 1656 which She is Desired to Communicate in Hide-Park to the Gallants of the Times a Little After Sun-Set* (1656).

*Hanes*] It is possible that this is a transcription error and should read 'James' in reference to St James's Park in London. The park's notoriety was later immortalised by John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester in *A Ramble in St. James's Park* (composed before March 1672/3).

*Oxford Johns*] This may be a reference to a tavern similar to 'Oxford Kate's' discussed below, but I have not found any reference to a place of this name. *Kate[s]*] Oxford Kate's tavern on Bow Street by Covent Garden. In Alexander Brome's *Of the Banishing of the Ladies out of Town* the ladies in question sadly say their goodbyes to London's places of pleasure including 'Oxford Kates' ((1662), p. 241). The tavern seems to have had a particular association with royalists; in *The Court and Kitchin of Elizabeth, Commonly Called Joan Cromwel* the anonymous author notes that 'not were Oxford Kates fine things, half so famous among the Cavalier Ladies, as my Lady protectors Butter among the Mushroome zealous Ladies of the Court' (Anon (1664), p. 32).

*Spring*] Spring Garden, near Whitehall. In 1630 Charles I made the park into a bowling green but this was revoked four years later. This was possibly due to the 'continual bibbing and drinking wine all day under the trees' which was said to have led to 'two or three quarrels [duels] every week' making the park 'scandalous and insufferable' (Walford (1878), pp. 74-85). Similarly, in *A Character of England* the anonymous French author states that 'it is usuall here, to find some of the young company here till midnight; and the Thickets of the Garden seeme to be contrived to all advantages of Gallantry, after they have refreshed with Collation, which is here seldome omitted, at a certain Cabaret in the middle of this Paradise; where the forbidden fruite are certain trifling Tartes, Neats' tongues, Salacious meates, and bad Rhenish' (Evelyn (1659), p. 62).

*Mulbery Garden*] In his diary entry for May 10, 1654, John Evelyn writes 'My Lady Gerrard treated us at Mulberry-Garden, now the onely place of refreshment about the Towne for persons of the best quality, to be exceedingly cheated at; Cromwell and his partisans having shut up, and seiz'd on the Spring Garden, which 'til now had ben the usual rendezvous for the Ladys and Gallants at this season'.

*a Date*] A limit; an end to the duration of their appeal (*OED* n.2. 5).

31. scurvey Cheesack or a Tart] London parks traditionally contained teahouses selling delicacies. The fashionable ladies banished from London in Alexander Brome's *Rump* complain that 'it goes unto our very heartes,/To leave the Cheese-cakes and the Tarts' ((1662), p. 241). In Sir Charles Sedley's play *The Mulberry-Garden a Comedy* Harry Modish remarks that the park is peopled by 'a few Citizens that/Have brought their Children out to air 'um,/And eat Cheese-cakes' ((1668), p. 44). Similarly in Wycherly's *Love in a Wood, or, St. James's Park* Mr
Dapperwit is distressed that Lucy will ‘never more break a Cheese-cake with [him], at New Spring-garden’ ((1672), p. 45)
scurvy] Sorry, worthless, contemptible (OED a. 2).

34. plays and Taverns] These places are discussed in emblem 19, note to line 39.

36-37. Though Countis ... run not after] In keeping with her criticism of contemporary ‘Lords’ in emblem 19, Pulter is particularly critical of those women of a higher social status, such as countesses and duchesses, who set a bad example for those lower down the hierarchy.

Protectors Daughter] Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) was Lord Protector of ‘the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland’ between December 15th 1653 and September 3rd 1658 (OED). He had a total of four daughters the eldest of whom, Bridget (1624-1662), married her second husband, Charles Fleetwood (c. 1618-1692), on the 8th of June 1652, just six months after the death of her first, Henry Ireton (bap. 1611-1651), having met him in St James’s Park (ODNB). Lucy Hutchinson notes that ‘there went a story that as my Lady Ireton was walking in St James’s park, the Lady Lambert, as proud as her husband, came where she was, and as the present princess always hath precedency of the relict of the dead one, so she put my Lady Ireton below; who, notwithstanding her piety and humility, was a little grieved at the affront; and that Colonel Fleetwood being then present, in mourning for his wife, who died at the same time her lord did, took occasion to introduce himself, and was immediately accepted by the lady and her father’ (Keeble (1995), p. 251). Pulter’s reference to this event is a pointedly political attack in keeping with other royalist slurs on the sexual behaviour of those women associated with opposition to the monarchy; see emblem 19, note to line 43.

40-41. Yet Anchorites ... Husbands Urn] In these lines Pulter explains that while she recommends chastity and modesty this does not intend that women should sacrifice their lives to their dead husbands.

Anchorites] A person who lives in religious seclusion; a recluse (OED 1a.).

Halcions] Alcyart notes that ‘The Poets faine, that Alcyone was the wife of Ceyx, who being drowned in his returne from a certaine voiage, and his body being brought backe to Alcyone, she cast her selfe headlong into the Sea, and that for the pitty which the gods had of them, Ceyx and Alcyone were transformed into Alcyons, which are those Birds that lay their yong in the Sea, in the heart of Winter, during which time the Sea is calme and without tempest, and such dayes are called by the Latines, Halconia’ ((1621), ‘Book One’, p. 239).

Husbands Urn] Husband’s coffin.

48. Infine] In conclusion (OED ‘fine’ n1. I. 1.).

49. ahe ‘d] The transcription is not entirely clear at this point. It seems likely that the word intended is ‘ahead’ meaning ‘superior’ but Pulter may have intended ‘alied’, ie ‘allied’.

50. Toelets] So let’s.
You that love Poppit Playes, Masks, Court Buffoons
You that love Cats, Apes Munks, and Babboons
Perhaps may pleasure take in these [Rackoons]
I'tis the Prettiest Sport you ever saw
To see these Witty, Nimble Creatures draw
The first to bite the Timber doth not fail
The Second pul's him Backward by the Tayl
The third doth soo by him soo on they goe
With Tayl in Teeth, some Twenty in a Row
And when the first doth find his Jaws are sore
The next relieves him and hee goes before
Thus what the strength of one could n'er attain
With force united's don with little pain
Soo London Bridg that now on woolpacks stands
Was never don alone by one Man's Hands
Nor could one Man though never soo well skild
The stately structures in this Kingdome build
That Phane which for Diana's shrines renownd
And that wherein noe ax nor Hammers sound
Was ever heard, yet built of Polish'd Stone
Could never bee compos'd by one alone
Those Elaphants which Serve the Indian King
One never could into subjection bring
[F. 105r] Nor or alone could Curb soo of their Wills
Four Thousand Whalls to make them draw in Mills
Nor could one Man those numerous Volumnes write
(Which now are Extant) and much less indite
Thus Noble things both sacred and Prophain
The Witt or Strength of one could n'ere attain
Then let all hatefull Timons come and see
The happy fruits of blessed Unitie.

3. Rackoons] deleted.
17. Kingdom] altered from a word beginning with ‘s’ now obscured.
19. sound] altered from Found.
25-28. Four Thousand Whalls...sacred and Prophain] author's note: In Canton they keep 4000 Whalls to grind wheat and Rice In the description of the World, fol. 122 [This is a reference to Botero Giovanni, The Travellers Breviat, or an Historicall Description of the Most Famous Kingdomes in the World (1601), p. 22].

1-2. You that love ... and Babboons] Pulter compares the ‘rackoons’ depicted in her poem with a range of popular and courtly entertainments.

Poppit Playes] Puppet plays: these were traditonally performed at various places in London, most famously at Bartholomew Fair; Ben Jonson provides a description of such a show in his play of that name (1614, first published 1640/1). Puppet plays were also performed by touring companies who travelled throughout England, and it is possible Pulter may have seen them presented in the capital or nearer to home (Speaight (1990), p. 62). The plays themselves were usually based on biblical, moral or historical tales including examples such as 'Bel and the Dragon'; 'The Life
of King Ahasuerus, or the History of Esther'; and 'Chaste Susannah, or the Whore of Babylon' (Speaight (1990), p. 64). It was not unusual to find key figures from contemporary events juxtaposed with historical, mythological or literary characters. There is a report of one play, for example, in which the notorious Duke of Guise, who led the St Bartholomew Day Massacre of Huguenots in France (1572), did battle with Tamburlaine, the Scythian Shepherd turned tyrant from Marlowe's well-known play (1590) (Speaight (1990), p. 57). Puppet plays continued throughout the Interregnum, much to the indignation of human actors who complained that 'Puppit-plays, which are not so much valuable as the very musique betweene each Act at ours, are still up with uncontrolled allowance' (Anon, The Actors Remonstrance (1643), p. 5).

_Masks_] Masques: elaborate dramatic entertainments usually performed at court. Members of the court (on occasion even the monarch) took part in highly symbolic performances, often involving acting and dancing, designed to assert courtly values and monarchical values (Lindley (1984), pp. 1-3).

_Court Buffoons_] A buffoon was a man whose profession it was to make sport by low jests and antic postures, ie a comic actor, clown; a jester, fool (OED n. 2).

_Cats, Apes Munks and Baboons_] Pulter provides a list of creatures associated with various modes of seventeenth-century entertainment. Big cats, specifically lions, were particularly associated with the menagerie in the Tower of London, where they attracted visitors including a Polish visitor, Sebastian Gawarecki who, during the Interregnum, records seeing 'lions, tigers, lynxes, [and] an Indian cat from Virginia' (Hahn (2003), p. 115). Another visitor was Samuel Pepys who describes taking 'Sir Thomas Crewes children' to the tower and showing them 'the lions and all that was to be shown', 3 May 1662. Similarly, apes, monkeys and baboons all featured regularly on the early-seventeenth-century stage (Knowles (2004), pp. 138-63).

_Munks_] Monkeys.

3-13. _Perhaps may pleasure ... little pain_] Pulter's account is taken from William Wood's New England's Prospect where it is beavers not raccoons that engage in the behaviour Pulter describes. This probably explains why the reference to 'Rackoons' has been deleted from the manuscript (see textual note above), although nothing has been put in its place. Wood describes how the beaver 'cuts downe Trees as thicke as a mans thigh, afterwards dividing them into lengths, according to the use they are appointed for. If one Bever be too weake to carry the logge, then another helps him; if they two be too weake ... foure more adding their helpe, being placed three to three, which set their teeth in one anothers tough tayles, and laying the loade on the two hindemost, they draw the logge to the desired place' ((1634), p. 25). Wood notes that the beavers use the trees to 'build themselves houses of wood and clay, close by the Ponds sides'. For Pulter, these creatures provide just one example of the power of mutual cooperation and of its significance for the greater good. Wood refers to the 'rackoone' on page 22.

_Witty_] Having (good) intellectual ability; intelligent, clever, ingenious; skilful, expert, capable (OED a. 2a).

14. _London Bridg that now on woolpacks stands_] During the reign of Henry II the new bridge over the river Thames was paid for by a tax on wool, a detail that became proverbial. In his Memoires of Naturall Remarques in the County of Wilts in the natural History of Wiltshire, Aubrey notes that 'there was a saying also that
London-Bridge was built upon Woolpacks’ ((1847) II iv, p. 98; referenced in Tilley (1950), p. 390, L416). Pulter’s father, Sir James Ley was born and brought up in Wiltshire and in 1608 returned there from Ireland with his family. By this time Pulter was three years old and the family most probably continued living in the county until 1610 or 11 (see Chapter I above). If, as Aubrey suggests, the saying of Wiltshire origin it is possible that Pulter acquired it from one of her Wiltshire family members or associates.

18. That Phane ... renowned] The Temple of Diana or Artemis in Ephesus (present-day Turkey), was one of the original Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. Describing the construction of the temple, Pliny notes that ‘all Asia set to their helping hand and contributed toward that worke, which in four yeares and not before, they brought to an end and finished’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 491). For an alternative reference to Diana’s temple see emblem 28, note to lines 1-6.

19. And that ... sound] This is a reference to King Solomon’s temple which ‘when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither: so that there was neither hammer nor ax nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in building’ (I Kings 6.7).

22. Those Elaphants ... Indian King] Accounts of the many different ways Indians men were thought to capture elephants are provided by Pliny and Topsell. Pliny makes no mention of multiple men being needed to subdue an elephant and instead states that tame elephants are used to beat and then trap those in the wild ((1601), ‘First Tome’, pp. 196-97). Topsell however recounts a tale from Arrianus and Strabo who record the ‘way whereby the Indians take their Elephantes’. He notes that ‘Foure or five Hunters, first of all chuse out some plaine place, without Trees or Hilles’. This they then ‘dig like a wide Ditch ... and with the earth they take up, they raise Walls about it like a trench’. Finally they make ‘a narrow bridge covered with earth at the farther end of the trench, that the beasts may dread no fallacy’. When the elephants are ‘drawen into the trench’ one team of men ‘with all speede, pull downe the bridge, and other of them goe into the next Townes to call for helpe, who uppon the first notice thereof, come to the place mounted uppon the best and strongest tame Elephantes, and so compasse them about’ ((1607), pp. 202-03). His account, featuring the cooperation of several individual and groups of men, is in keeping with Pulter’s focus on the significance of many people working together.

25. Four Thousand...Mills] In the margin of this poem is a direct reference to Botero Giovanni, The Travellers Breviat, or an Historicall Description of the Most Famous Kingdomes in the World, in which it is stated that ‘in Canton they keepe fower thousand whales to grinde corne and rice’ ((1601), p. 22). For an alternative reference to this text and for a description of one the methods used to catch whales see emblem 42.

26-27. Nor could one ... less indite] Most probably an allusion to the many books produced by man, but Pulter may have been thinking more specifically of the numerous books of the Bible. She says that no single man could have physically written all of these extant volumes or provided the material they contain.

indite] To utter, suggest, or inspire a form of words which is to be repeated or written down, to dictate, or to compose (OED 1a., 2b., 3).
28. **Prophain**] Profane: not relating or devoted to what is sacred or biblical; unconsecrated, secular, lay; civil, as distinguished from ecclesiastical (*OED* A. adj. 2. a.)

30. **Timons**] Timon was a legendary misanthropist described by Plutarch who writes: ‘This Timon was citizen of Athens, that lived about the war of Peloponnesus, as appeareth by Plato and Aristophanes comedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a vyper and malicious man unto mankind, to shunne all other mens companies’. He then reproduces Timon’s epitaph, composed by Callimachus, which states:

   Heere lye I Timon who alive all living men did hate,
   Passe by, and curse thy fill: but passe, and stay note here thy gate.

(1579), pp. 1003-04).

Timon is also the subject of Shakespeare’s well-known play *Timon of Athens* (first published in 1623).
22. The hunted Hart when shee begins to Tire
Before her vitall Spirits doth expire
Shee every way doth Rowl her weeping Eye
At last shee finds her long’d for Dittany
Which having Eat if shee bee but alive
It doth her fainting spirit soe revive
That shee out Runs all that her life pursue
Though they their Courage and their cries renew
Yet shee trips on the Hounds their Yelping cease
And shee in those sweet shades doth rest in Peace
Thus if at any time shee bee opprest
In her lov’d Dittany shee findeth rest
Even ‘soe/ a soul which is or’e whelmd with griefe
And \in/ this Empty Orb finds noe reliefe
Though present sorrows doth her heart oppress
And future fears afflict her thoughts noe less
Though her sad soul with suffrings gi’ns to Tire
Her Fainting spirit ready to expire
[f. 105v] Though shee [is pursued] by her Goastly Foes
Who all her sins dee in their ‘true/ Coulours shows
Her soul beeing Fild with Horrid Hellish Fears
Her Heart en’ break with sighs, her Eyes with Tears
Beeing quite dissolv’d, even fainting then shee goes
To him who for her sake his life did lose
Then o my God though sorrows doe involve
My sinfull soul, though I to Tears dissolv
Or though my spirit I suspire to Ayre
Yet let mee trust in thee and not despair
And when my sorrows and my sins doe cease
Let mee injoy thy everlasting Peace.

1-12. *The hunted Hart ... shee findeth rest*] In this poem Pulter draws on the common emblematic motif of the hunted, wounded hart seeking relief. Traditionally this motif is interpreted, as it is by Pulter, as a representation of the soul seeking succour, although it is more conventional for the wounded and/or thirsty hart or stag to be fleeing to a river, a reference to Psalm 42.1 which states ‘As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God’. For a discussion of this motif see Bath (1992), pp. 297-304. Ross provides a discussion of Pulter’s emblem within the context of Bath’s comments ((2000), pp. 135-36). Alternative emblems of the wounded hart or stag are provided by Peacham (1612), p. 170 and Wither (1635), p. 214. Peacham provides a conventional reading of the thirsting stag motif. He states that ‘as the Hart embos’t, doth long to tast/The pearly-trickling streame ... Even so the soule, by sinne pursu’d and chas’d,/Thee, thee, (oh Lord) desires’. George Wither however interprets the wounded hart is an image of man’s ‘owne condition’. Man’s earthly
flesh is analogous to the flesh holding the arrow into the hart’s side, which, Wither suggests, makes it culpable in the affliction of sin on the human soul. For the soul, man’s own corporeal mind and body are worse ‘than Worlds, and Devills’ and significantly there is no escape. In contrast, Pulter’s poem, in which the soul is besieged by sin but capable of fleeing from its affliction, presents a more moderate and optimistic approach to the human condition. See also Quarles (1635), p. 284. A more detailed comparison of Pulter and Wither’s emblems is provided in Chapter Four. For a consideration of Pulter’s use of the hart or stag motif for political purposes see emblem 25, note to line 11.

vitall Spirits] Those spirits maintaining, supporting or sustaining life (OED). Dittany] In her poem Pulter substitutes dittany for the stream, a more conventional source of relief for the pursued hart. Discussing this plant, Pliny writes: ‘the hart first showed us the vertue of the herbe Dictamnus or Dittanie, to draw arrowes forth of the bodie. Perceiving themselves shot with a shaft, they have recourse presently to that herbe, and with eating thereof it is driven out again’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 210).


19. Goastly Foes] Ghostly: pertaining to the spirit or soul; spiritual and therefore opposed to the bodily or fleshly (OED a. 1). Throughout her poetry, Pulter refers to the unearthly forces that cause her own mental or spiritual anguish, see for example ‘Aurora’ in which, she describes the offspring of night and darkness. She writes:

Sometimes they take advantage of my feare
Then strange Cemerian sights seeme to apeare
Unto my troubled fancie then againe
Presenting death in this most horrid'st shape
Then of my reason straight they make a rape (Ms Lt q 32, f. 7v).

Elsewhere in her poetry Pulter characterises night’s offspring as the Erinyes, Eumenides or Furies (see ‘This was written 1648, when I Lay Inn, with my Son John’, Ms Lt q 32, f. 67r). In the darkness they bring about a spiritual crisis in which she confronts her own sins and the prospect of death in its most absolute sense, without the promise of spiritual salvation. In this poem Pulter interprets the hart motif as a symbol of the soul similarly besieged and terrified by reminders of its own sins and of the attendant possibility of damnation.

24. *To him ... did lose*] Christ.

25. *involve*] Envelop (*OED* 4.).

26. *dissolv*] In line 23 Pulter anticipates crying so much that her eyes dissolve. Here she takes this image a step further to suggest that her tears may dissolve her entire physical and spiritual being (*OED* 6).

27. *suspire*] To sigh forth or to breathe out (*OED* v. 1-3). Pulter is saying that in her distress she might sigh so much her soul will evaporate.
23. The Toad and Spider once would try the might
of either's poison, in a single fight
The Lists were drawn spectators throng about
Long time the Victory remain'd in doubt
By equal valour, the Field was died in Blood
The Combate long in Equilibrium stood
The Peoples minds a conflict had within
As not agreeing which they would have win
Some would compose, some made the difference wider
Some took the Toads part, others took the Spider's
Soe when one Gallant hath impeach'd the other
Of Highest Treason then in rage the other
Calls him base Traytor, giving him the lie
By Single Duell they the truth doe trie
Each vowing to prove innocent or die
The multitude in Sundry passions shook
Some pray for Moughbrough, some for Bollingbrook
Soe they in Factions now divided bee
The valiant Spider, and the Toad to see
The Toad first fainted, and aside did goe
And Plaintain eat, then turnd upon his Foe
With greater vigour, which when the People Spi'de
They took the Plaintain up then strait hee died
Soe have I in our English Tilt Yard seen
Two Courtiers running fore the King and Queen
[f. 106v] One Fearing to bee Foild made his Address
Unto his Lady who could doe noe Less
Then throw a Favour to her Carpet Knight
Then with new Courage hee returns to Fight
But missing of his Thrust hee comes again
To sue to her shee not being in the Vein
Insted of throwing of a Favour down
Answer'd his supplications with a Frown
Hee troubled with the scorn of this proud Flirt
Ran once again but tumbled in the Dirt
Who lives by t'Influence of a Ladies Eye
Will like this Gallant Fall and Helpless lye
Then let these sad Examples warn all those
That doe on Worldly vanities repose
If on subsolaries toyes they trust
They build a Fabrick of drie sand or dust
Like little Children in their pretty Playes
High Pigeon houses up of Cards will raise
But like our earthly hopes they build in vain
If they but Laugh they blow them down again
Then let noe Man on Humane hopes Repose
Least like this Toad their hopes and lives they lose
Then Oh my Soul on Heaven alone relie
Soe shalt thou live although thy Body Die.
1-23. *The Toad and Spider ... strait hee died*] The battle between the toad and the spider was a popular contemporary fable. Thomas Browne notes that ‘The Antipathy between a Toad and a Spider, and that they poisonously destroy each other, is very famous, and solemn stories have been written of their combats, wherein most commonly the victory is given unto the Spider ((1646), p. 175). For alternative examples see John Quarles, *God's Love and Man's Unworthiness* (1651), p. 64 and Richard Lovelace, *Lucasta: Posthume Poems* (1659), p. 41. In his highly emblematic text, John Quarles presents the battle between the toad and the spider as the destruction of the human soul by sin. He firstly recounts the events of battle in which the spider, following convention, wins, and then states ‘Even so, if Hells black Spider chance to crawl/From his infernal Web into the Hall/Of this all-dusty World, he soon prepares/Himself to fight’ ((1651), p. 66). Lovelace presents his version of the fable in the form of a mock epic with the spider being assisted by Pallas. We are told that it is the goddess who ‘Unplanted had this Plantane plant’ by which the toad had formerly sought to sustain himself. Pulter also provides a more sustained moral reading of the battle between the two creatures. She pays particular attention to the role of the toad’s reliance on the plantain, which she interprets as a dangerous reliance on earthly props.

3. *The Lists were drawn*] The palisades or other barriers enclosing a space set apart for tilting; a space so enclosed in which tilting-matches or tournaments were held (*OED* n.3. 9.a.). Pulter is saying that the field of combat has been deliniated and established.


11-15. *Soe when ... innocent or die*] Pulter compares the jousting tournament between the Toad and the Spider with a duel, or swordfight.

impeach’d] To challenge, call in question, cast an imputation upon; attack; to discredit, disparage. Can specifically pertain to treason (*OED* v. 3-5).

11. *impeach’d*] Accused (*OED* v. 4).

12. *Highest Treason*] High treason or treason proper. Since the fourteenth century this has legally included: compassing or imagining the king’s death, or that of his wife or eldest son; violating the wife of the king or of the heir apparent, or the king’s eldest daughter being unmarried; levying war in the king’s dominions; adhering to the king’s enemies in his dominions, or aiding them in or out of the realm; or killing the chancellor or the judges in the execution of their offices (*OED* n. 2a).

13. *giving him the lie*] ie. to accuse him of lying. This is the gravest insult one gentleman could make to another. In denying an accusation made against him the
defendant would ‘give his accuser the lie’ and in effect would be calling him a liar. This was regarded as a grave breach of courtesy and was tantamount to questioning an opponent’s entire status as a gentleman. It was then incumbent on the person who had been given the lie to challenge the other to a duel. For a discussion of early seventeenth century accounts of ‘the lie’ see Peltonen (2003), pp. 59-61.

14. **Single Duell** A duel in which two individuals fight one another, as opposed to combat between four or more people.

17. **Some praye ... Bollingbrook** Thomas Mowbray (I), first duke of Norfolk (1366–1399), magnate, and Henry IV [known as Henry Bolingbroke] (1366–1413), king of England and lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine. In Shakespeare’s *King Richard II* Mowbray and Bolingbroke (or ‘Bullingbrook’), having accused one another of treason, prepare to engage in a joust. But King Richard intervenes at the last moment with the statement that ‘our kingdom’s earth should not be soiled/With that dear blood which it has fostered’ and instead banishes them both from the country ‘till twice five summers have enriched our fields’ ((first published 1597), 1.3). Pulter appears to be citing this duel as an example of a combat instigated by accusations of treason, in keeping with the reference in line 17.

21. **Plantain** Plantain: describing the herb plantain Pliny writes ‘Of wonderfull power and efficacie it is by the astringent qualitie that it hath, for to drie and condensite any part of the bodie, and serveth many times in stead of a cauterie or searing yron. And there is nothing in the world comparable unto it, in staying of fluxes and destillations, which the Greekes call Rheumatismes’ ((1601), ‘Second Tome’, p. 223). Later he adds that ‘Plantaine is a singular hearb against the biting of any venomous beast whatsoever, whether it be taken inwardly in drinke, or outwardly applied’ ((1601), ‘Second Tome’, p. 231). Plantain, which first relieves the Toad and then destroys him by its absence, is a key element in all versions of the fable.

24-25. **Soe have I ... King and Queen** The ‘English Tilt Yard’ to which Pulter refers is most probably that at Whitehall, where the majority of Jacobean tournaments took place (Young (1987), pp. 205-08). If we take Pulter’s statement literally and suppose that she is referring to a tournament she actually witnessed, it is possible that she is referring to one of the many events that took place before James I and Queen Anne, including the almost annual Accession Day tilt (March 24th), all of which took place at Whitehall (see Young (1987, pp. 205-09).

Alternatively, she may be referring to the only tournament of Charles’s reign, comprising jousts and barriers, which was staged in either May 1625 or February 1626, to celebrate the king’s marriage to Henrietta Maria (Young (1987), p. 208). That this was the last tournament to be held in England provides some indication of the degree to which the practice had fallen out of fashion by the time Pulter was writing (Young (1987), pp. 41-42). In Pulter’s poem the tournament therefore functions as an entertaining and old-fashioned curiosity rather than a reflection of current courtly and political reality.

**running fore** Running (ie. while jousting) in front of or in the presence of (OED adv. and prep. B.1.a.).

26. **Foild** Foiled: overthrown, defeated, specifically by someone using a sword
28. *Carpet Knight* Someone who avoids hard work in favour of leisure activities or philandering. Originally the reference was a contemptuous one to a knight whose exploits took place in a carpeted chamber or a lady's boudoir rather than on the field of battle (*OED*).

31. *Sue* Pursue; attend upon; to give 'suit and service', to woo, court, to be a suitor to a woman (*OED* v. 15, 23).

32. *Favour* Something given as a mark of favour; a gift such as a knot of ribbons, a glove, etc., given to a lover, or in mediæval chivalry by a lady to her knight, to be worn conspicuously as a token of affection (*OED* n. 7a).

33. *Supplications* Humble or earnest petitions or entreaties with religious connotations; prayer (*OED*).

40. *Subsolaries toyes* Subsolary toys: sub-celestial or earthly trifles (*OED* a. The earliest entry for 'subsolary' is 1661).

43. *Pigeon houses* Structures built of playing cards. In his manuscript ‘Book of Games’ Francis Willughby provides instructions for creating one’s own cards which he states are made of ‘3 or 4 peices of white paper pasted together and made verie smooth’. He adds that the ‘figure is an exact rectangle parallelogrammon. The length of those that are now in fasshion is allmost 3½, the breedth neere 2 inches’ and ‘one side is allwaies plane and white’ (Cram, Forgeng and Johnston (2003), p. 128). There is evidence of playing cards being used in England from the early fifteenth century but no accounts of games appeared until the later half of the seventeenth (Cram, Forgeng and Johnston (2003), p. 250).
24. The Marmottanes for Unitie's renown'd
And for Conjugall Love they may bee Crownd
That you may see noe Wisdome they doe lack
They lye alternately upon their Back
T'other with Grass and Herbs doth Load him well
Then by the tayl shee draws him to their Cell
They'r neat and Warm they Joyn to build their Nest
In which all Winter they doe sit and Feast
With Corn and Fruits by them lay'd up in store
For till next Summer Comes they'l need noe more
Surely they live by Far more happie lives
Then many Wealthy Husbands and their Wives
Some Noble minds there bee I know will share
Their pleasures with their Wives as well as Care
But most to Taverns or to Wors will Rome
Or elce they'l alwais Tirannise at home
If you should ask mee which of these is wors
Trust mee (I know not) either is a Curss
If such doe read these lines to them I say
The Rat of Pontus's Loving'er then they.

1-10. The Marmottanes ... need noe more] In his description of the marmot Pliny writes 'Marmottanes, which are as bigge as Brockes or Badgers, keepe in, during winter: but they are provided of victuals before-hand which they gather together and Carrie into their holes. And some say, when the male or female is loden with grasse and hearbs, as much as it can comprehend within all the foure legges, it lieth upon the backe with the said provision upon their bellies, and then commeth the other, and taketh [h]old by the taile with the mouth, and draweth the fellow into the earth: thus doe they one by the other in turnes: and hereupon it is, that all that time their backs are bare, and the haire worne off' ((1601), 'The First Tome', pp. 216-17). Pulter interprets the behaviour of these animals as a model of marital unity, which she presents to those of her contemporaries who fail to observe their marital duties.

Conjugall] Conjugal: of or relating to marriage (OED a.).
Cell] Small humble dwelling (OED n.1 I, esp. 3c).

Behold this flying Fish with shining Wings
When Form the swelling Billows up she springs
Thinking but all in vain to fly away
To hungry Hawks, and kites, become's a prey
Then down into the deep she dives again
But then her Foes within the Frothly Main
Whales, Sharks, Boneetos lie, and Watch each hour
This helples, harmles, Creature to devour
Let discontented spirits come and see
This perfect Map of infilicicy
Soe have I seen a Hart with Hounds opprest
An arrow Sticking in her quivering Breast
If shee goes on her guiltles blood still Flows
If shee stands still shee Fals amongst her foes
Soe have I known (oh sad) the Best of Kings
(Ay mee the thought of this such horroure brings
To my Sad Soul) his Princely spirit posed
In strange Delemmas every where inclosed
By his and Gods depressed Israel's foes
In this great strait his native side hee chose
Perfidious Scot thou this base plot did'st Lay
Iscariot like thou didst thy Kings betray
Hee lost his life but got a lasting Fame
Thuss beeing overcome hee overcame
Then Patient bee though things fit not thy Wish
Thou might'st a been, King, Hart or Flying Fish.

2. Form] altered from Forth possibly meant to be From.
7. Boneeto slie] altered to Boneetos lie in authorial hand: lie deleted then reinserted above the line.

1-8. Behold this ... to devour] Pulter's account of the flying fish and its foes appears to be based on a description provided by Samuel Purchas. He writes: 'The Flying fishes of all other live the most miserable lives, for being in the water, the Dolphins, Boneetooes, and Albicores persecute them, and when they would escape by their flight, are oftentimes taken by ravenous fowles, somewhat like our Kites which hover over the water' ((1625), p. 1464). An alternative emblematic representation is provided by Whitney who includes an emblem of small fry attacked from below by 'mighty fish' and from above by 'newe foes' who 'with watchine flie'. He interprets this image as the representation of man's 'feeble state, on everie side anoide' ((1586), p. 52). See also emblem 15 where Pulter interprets the flying fish as a symbol of pride.
Fish besieged from sea and sky; from Whitney (1586), p. 52

6. *Frothey Main*] Foaming sea (*OED* n.1 5.a.).

10. *perfect Map of infelicity*] Map: a representation in abridged form; a summary or condensed account of a state of things; an epitome, a summation (*OED* n. 1. II 5a.).

Infelicity: the state of being unhappy or unfortunate; an unhappy condition or state of affairs; unhappiness, misery; bad fortune, ill luck, misfortune. (*OED* 1). Pulter says that the emblem of the flying fish besieged on all sides is the ultimate symbol of misfortune.

11-14. *Soe have I... herfoes*] A key analogue for this image is the death of Silvia’s pet deer at the hands of Ascanius in book 7 of Virgil’s *Aeneid* (ll. 475-509). The wounded hart or stag is a common emblematic motif and it is often used to portray the death of an innocent or noble person. There is some evidence to suggest that Pulter’s contemporaries adopted the stag hunt as a metaphor for the regicide (see, for example Carson (2005)). For a discussion of Pulter’s use of the hunted stag motif in elegies for both Jane and Charles I see Ross (2005). For Pulter’s use of the wounded hart motif to represent the human soul, see emblem 22, note to line 1.

15. *Best of Kings*] King Charles I (1600-48/9). For alternative references to the regicide see emblems 4, 19, 50 and 51.

18. *Delemmas*] Dilemma: a choice between two (or several) alternatives, which are, or appear, equally unfavourable (*OED* n. 2).

19. *Gods depressed Israell's foes*] The foes of Charles I are also the foes of England (God’s depressed Israel) and of those still loyal to the Stuart monarchy, whom Pulter characterises as God’s chosen people. During the period it was much
more common for the Parliamentarians and their puritan supporters to characterise themselves in this way (Greenfeld (1992), p. 52).

20. great strait] A position and/or time of great desperation (OED a. n. and adv. 2.).

native side] In April 1646 Charles I surrendered himself to the Scots at Newark. They kept him imprisoned in Newcastle until February 1647 when they turned him over to the English Parliament. He was then kept under house arrest (except for a week in November 1647 when he escaped) until he was executed in January 1648/9 (ODNB). Pulter is particularly damning of the Scots for their role in Charles’s imprisonment and eventual death. As the son of James I, whose Scottish roots Pulter evokes elsewhere in her poetry (see emblems 43 and 48), Charles was Scottish by descent. Pulter suggests that as his ‘native side’ his countrymen should have done more to assist him.

21-22. Perfidious Scot ... Kings betray] Perfidious: characterised by perfidy; guilty of breaking faith or violating confidence, deliberately faithless, basely treacherous (OED adj. and n.). It was a commonplace in contemporary pamphlets to compare the Scots’ actions in turning the king over to the English parliament with Judas’s betrayal of Christ; see for example, the anonymous Judas Justified by His Brother Scot (1647). Similarly, Charles I was often compared with Christ (Ross (2005), esp. pp. 4-5).
26. Those that employed are the Apes to catch
The places where they Haunt they Use to watch
Stockings, and Cloths about the Ground they scatter
Then instantly the apes begin to chatter
And being ambitious to bee in the Fashion
Just as wee immitate our neighbour Nation
They draw them on, the Huntsmen then they see
Then every ape begins to take a tree
But up they could not get for all their pains
They strait were caught and led away in Chains
Thus those which took a Town once from the Moors
Through their ambition were inslav’d to Boores
Symirimus that was old Ninnis Love
Twas her ambition turnd her to a Dove
Crook’d backs ambition made five Monarchs Yield
Whose score he pay’d again in Bosworth Field
Ambition made one O his soveraign Kill
And to mak’t good much Innocent blood to spill
But ther’s a Nemuses that will look Down
On all Usurpers of their Masters Crown
Soe Jezabell bid furious Jehew see
The Cursed End of Nimries Treacherie
Photion the Royall Family subdued
And in their Princely blood his hands imBrewed
Which horrid action hee and his all Rued
Andronicus that made his soveraign Bleed
Cryed out at Last don’t bruise a bruised Reed
Soe Diocles the fateall Boar pul’d down
And triumph’d in his Murther’d Masters Crown
[f. 108r] Till finding it too heavie lay’d it by
But yet for all hee by the sword did Die
Pompias ambition would noe superiour have
Hee lost his hopes in Ägypt found a grave
Cæsar noe Equall ever would abide
Hee had his aime yet by the senate Died
Ambition made the Trumviry end
When each to other sacrificed his Freind
Ambition made the Ephory give or’e
And kick’d King, Lords, and Commons out of doors
Thus all Confusion from ambition springs
Apes would bee men, and all men, would bee Kings
Then by this Emblem it doth plain apear
T’is best for every one to keep his Sphere.

3. about] u inserted.
24. imBrewed] altered from Bruwed.
25. Which horrid action hee and his all Rued] altered from Which horrid action hee and all his Rued.
29. in] altered from on or vice versa.
1. **Those that ... away in Chains** Due to their close resemblance to human beings, apes were often described as poor imitations of men. Pul ter’s account of apes wearing clothes may have been based on a description provided by Pliny. He writes that: ‘All the kinde of these Apes approch neerest of all beasts to the resemblance of a mans shape: but they differ one from another in the taile. Marvelous crafty and substill they be to beguile themselves: for by report, as they see hunters doe before them, they will imitate them in every point, even to besmear themselves with glew and birdlime, and shoo their feet with grins and snares, and by that means are caught’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 231). In his emblem collection, George Wither cannot help making the association between an emblem of an ‘Apish-Pigmie, in attire’ and ‘an Ape, in Humane-Vestments clad’. He says that both represent ‘Men that worthlesse are’ trying to elevate themselves by ‘making shows’ in ‘borrow’d Shapes’ ((1635), p. 14). For Pul ter, the emblem of the ape in man’s clothing is an image of ambition that is subsequently, and deservedly, punished.


11. **those which took a Town once from the Moors** I have not been able to identify this reference.

13-14. **Symirimus that ... her to a Dove** In his commentary on Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, Sandys provides an account of the myth of ‘Semiramis, which signifies a Dove in the Syrian language’. He states that after she ‘became the wife of Ninus, and Queene of Assyria’ and ‘could no longer detaine the Empire from her Son (which she had managed during his minority, and infinitely inlarged it by her conquests) not enduring to survive her glory, she with-drew her selfe; and being seene no more, was said to have been translated to the Gods, according to the oracle. Other faine, as here our Poet, that she was turned into a Dove’ ((1632), p. 156). Pul ter reframes this account to condemn Semiramis’s ambition and to present her metamorphosis as a punishment.

15-16. **Crook’d backs ... Bosworth Field** King Richard III (1452-1485) was described as ‘crochetbak’ by William Burton of York in 1491 and the epithet has regularly appeared in subsequent representations of the king; most famously in Shakespeare’s eponymous play (first published 1597). The ‘five Monarchs’ to whom Pul ter refers are: Henry VI (who in 1470 temporarily regained the throne from Edward IV, Richard’s brother); Edward of Lancaster (Henry VI’s son and heir); George, Duke of Clarence (Richard’s brother and heir to Edward IV); and Edward V and his brother, Richard Duke of York and Duke of Norfolk (the young nephews Richard had murdered in the tower). Richard was killed in the Battle of
Bosworth (1485) by Henry Tudor, who succeeded to the throne (ODNB).

17. *one O his soveraign kill*] Probably a reference to Cromwell whom Pulter apparently held entirely responsible for the regicide. The ‘O’ might Pulter’s emotional interjection in response to the death of Charles I or alternatively it might be a direct reference to Oliver Cromwell.

19. *Nemases*] Nemesis: goddess of retribution. George Sandys describes her as ‘A Deity severe and inexorable to the proud and arrogant, who are too much elated with the endowments of nature, or felicities of fortune’ ((1632), pp. 104-05).

21-22. *Jezabell bid ... Nimries Treacherie*] The Bible states that Elah, king of Israel, was killed by his servant Zimri who first ‘conspired against him’ and then ‘reigned in his stead’ (I Kings 16.8-10). When the people learned what had happened they besieged the city of Tirzah over which Zimri had reigned for ‘seven days’. In response Zimri ‘went into the palace of the king’s house, and burnt the king’s house over him with fire, and died’ (I Kings 15-18). Later, Jehu conspired against Joram, king of Israel and Jezebel’s son. He traveled to Jezreel where he killed Joram with an arrow before killing Ahaziah king of Judah. When Jezebel heard of what had happened ‘she painted her face, and tired her head, and looked out at a window’ and said to Jehu ‘had Zimri peace, who slew his master?’ (II Kings 14-31). In her allusion to this story, Pulter emphasises Jezebel’s warning to Jehu, which provides a reminder of the fate awaiting those who kill kings.

23-25. *Photion ... his all Rued*] Phocion, Athenian statesman and general. Ruler of Athens (322-318) (Brill’s New Pauly, vol. 11, pp. 140-42). I have not been able to identify Pulter’s source for this description but it is possible that it is based on a misremembering or misreading of Plutarch’s account of Phocion’s life. Plutarch states that Phocion was falsely accused by the Athenian people of killing Antipater and condemned to death. In keeping with the focus of Pulter’s poem, which provides several examples of the role of the people in overcoming tyrants, Plutarch notes that ‘judgement was given by voices of the people’. Pulter’s reference to ‘all his’ is probably a reference to those of Phocion’s friends condemned to die with him, which Plutarch lists as ‘Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles ... Demetrius Phalerian, Callimedon, and Charicles’. In contrast with Pulter’s account however, Plutarch continues to emphasise Phocion’s virtues. He concludes that not long after Phocion’s death ‘the Athenians found by the untowardness of their affairs, that they had put him to death, who only maintained justice, and honesty at Athens’ (Plutarch (1579), pp. 812-14). In Pulter’s telling of the story Phocion provides another example of a regicide justly punished for his actions.

26-27. *Andronicus ... bruised Reed*] Andronicus I Comenus, Bazantine emperor (1183-85). Andronicus was made joint emperor of Greece together with the young Alexius but, wanting to rule alone, he had his rival’s ‘neck broken with a bow-string’ (Fuller (1642), p. 433). The people suffer his tyranny for many years but eventually revolt and submit Andronicus to a protracted period of excruciating torture (for an account of this see the unnumbered emblem ‘An old Man through a Town did often pass’, note to line 29). Thomas Fuller, commenting on the ‘cruelty of the people on one side, and the patience of Andronicus on the other’, notes that he ‘only cried out, ‘Lord, have mercy upon me!’ and, ‘Why break ye a bruised reed’
and, sensible of his own guiltiness, he seemed contented to pass his purgatory here, that so he might escape hell after" (1642), p. 434). Andronicus’s words are a reference to Isaiah 42.3-4. In contrast to Fuller, who interprets Andronicus’s words as a sign of repentance, Pulter is more interested in the process of human and by extension divine judgment to which he is submitted.

28-31. Soe Diocles ... sword did Die] Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus, roman emperor (284-305) (Brill’s New Pauly, vol. 4, pp. 429-38). Topsell provides an account of the tyrannous Diocles’s defeat of the “fateall Boar”. He writes: ‘It is reported of Dioclesian when he was agent for the Romans in France, there came an olde Woman called Dryas unto him, and reproved him for his covetousnesse, telling him that he was over-sparing, and persimonious; to whom he answered in Jest, when I am Empe. I wil be more liberal: Dryas replied unto him, Noli locare Dioclesiane, na~ imperator eris cum apru~ occideris. That is, Jest not O Dioclesian, for thou shalt be Emp. when thou hast killed Aper, (that was a Bore as he thought,) and therefore he gave himselfe to the hunting of Bores, never sparing any time that was offred unto him, alwaies expecting the event of that speech, whereof he was frustrated untill he killed Arius Aper, the governor of the judgement hall, and then afterwards being Empeor he knew that the women did not meane a Boare, but a man’ ((1658), pp. 698-99). In her account Pulter goes on to state that Diocles layed by the crown and ‘yet for all hee by the sword did Die’. While Diocles’s retirement is a common element of his story I have found no other version in which he dies by the sword. Edward Leigh states that ‘This most bloody persecutour of the Church, at last ... lay aside ... all government (not because he was weary of persecuting, but of disappointment) since he could not hatch his long brooded designes for the utter extinguration of the Christians’. Concluding his account, Leigh writes that Diocles ‘fearing some shamefull death, ... poysoned himself’ ((1657), pp. 249-50). Pulter may have been thinking of the episode concluding Fletcher and Massinger’s play The Prophetess in which Maximinian confronts Diocles with troop of swordsman and threatens to kill him. He is prevented from carrying this out however by an emblematic ‘hand with a bolt’ that appears in the sky ((1647) 5.3).

32-33. Pompias ambition ... found a grave] Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, sometimes called Pompey, Pompey the Great or Pompey the Triumvir (106 - 48 BC), military and political leader of the late Roman Republic (Brill’s new Pauly, vol. 11, pp. 556-66). He was part of the First Triumvirate with Marcus Licinius Crassus and Gaius Julius Caesar. After Crassus’s death Pompey and Caesar became rivals; civil war followed and Caesar defeated Pompey, who fled to Egypt where he was killed. Plutarch recounts Pompey’s death in Egypt from the perspective of his wife, Cornelia. He writes that ‘she hoped well, when she saw many of the kings people on the shore, comming towards Pompey at his landing, as it were to receive and honor him. But even as Pompey tooke Philip his hande to arise more easily, Septimius came first behinde him and thrust him through with his sword. Next unto him also, Saluius and Achillas drew out their swords in like manner. Pompey then did no more but tooke up his gowne with his hands, and hidde his face, and manly abidde the wounds they gave him, onely sighing a little. Thus being nine and fifty yeare olde, he ended his life the next day after the day of his birth ((1579), p. 717). For a reference to Caesar’s death see emblem 31.

34-35. Caesar noe Equall ... the senate Died] Gaius Julius Caesar (100 - 44 BC),
was a Roman military and political leader (*Brill’s New Pauly*, vol. 2, pp. 900-16). After defeating Pompey (see note to lines 32-33) he was proclaimed dictator for life of the Roman Republic. He was opposed by a group of senators led by Marcus Junius Brutus and was killed on the Ides of March. Describing Caesar’s death, Plutarch notes that the conspirators ‘compassed him in on everie side with their swordes drawen in their handes, that Casca turned him no where, but he was striken at by some, and still had naked swords in his face, and was hacked and mangeled amonge them, as a wilde beaste taken of hunters. For it was agreed among them, that every man should geve him a wound, bicause all their partes should be in this murther: and then Brutus him selfe gave him one wounde about his privities’ ((1579), p. 794). The events surrounding the assassination of Julius Caesar are famously portrayed in Shakespeare’s eponymous play (1623).

36-37. *Ambition made ... his Freind*] Triumvirate: in Roman history, an association of three magistrates for joint administration (*OED* 1). This may be a reference to the disintegration of the First Triumvirate as a result of the rivalry between Pompey and Julius Caesar following the death of Crassus (see note to lines 32-33). Alternatively Pulter may have been thinking of the Second Triumvirate (43-33BC) comprising Octavian, Mark Antony, and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus. Lepidus attempted to seize control of Octavian's army and as a result was expelled from the Triumvirate. Octavian the turned public opinion against Mark Antony and defeated him, together with Cleopatra, at the Battle of Actium. Shakespeare recounts the rivalry between Octavian and Mark Antony in *Antony and Cleopatra* (1623).

38. *Ambition made ... end*] Ephor: in ancient Greece one of a board of senior magistrates in any of several Dorian states especially the five Spartan ephors who were elected by vote of all full citizens and who wielded effective power (*OED* 1). Pulter is probably referring to the overthrow of the Spartan ephor by Cleomenes III (235-222 BC) (*Brill’s New Pauly*, vol. 3, pp. 432-43). Plutarch describes how after taking control of Sparta Cleomenes decided that ‘it was necessary to take away the autoritie of the Ephores, and to make division of the landes among the Spartans’ in order to ‘encourage them to recover the Empire of Greece againe unto the Lacedaemonians, which their predecessors before them, held and enjoyed’. According to Plutarch he killed the ephores while they were eating supper ((1579), pp. 859-60).

39. *And kick’d ... out of doors*] In 1653 Major-General John Lambert drew up the Instrument of Government which stipulated that the old constitution of King, Lords and Commons should be replaced with one of King, Council and Parliament. Cromwell rejected the title of king but the constitution was broadly adopted in December 1653 when he became Protector.
27. The Stately Mooz being mounted up the hill
   And of the beautious prospect tane her fill
   Viewing the Rivers in the vale that Trace
   Inriching Floras Robe like Silver Lace
   The next thing shee Considers is her diet
   How shee may Eat the Flowers and the herbs in quiet
   Then Politickly Shee doth the Feilds Survey
   To see if any cruell Beasts of prey
   As Lion, Tiger, Leopard, or Bear,
   Might her disturb, but to dispell all fear
   Fawns, Lambs, and Kids did skip about and play
   Whilst their old weary Dams their Sentinels lay
   [f. 109r] Thus beeing secure shee feeding down did goe
   For Nature plac’t her stag like horns soe low
   That shee could never have of grass her Fill
   But when in feeding shee went down the Hill
   Which lay full South, the Sun being now her zeneth
   Which made her envie those that fed bene’th
   His Perpendiculer beams did scald her soe
   That shee resolv’d into the Shades to goe
   Of straight arm’d Cedars, Firs, Cypres, Pine
   About whose branches horrid serpents Twine
   One of the Hugest slip’d down from a bough
   And snatcht the Mooz (poor Beast) shee knew not how
   Thus beeing by this Monster over powr’d
   (Oh her hard fate) shee was by him devour’d
   Soe have I seen a hawk a Pheasant truss
   Or Patriges, soe Melancholly Puss
   Doth Mice surprise, Soe Foxes Snatch up Lambs
   As they lie playing by their Uberous Damms
   By which example wee may plainly See
   That this Orb ther’s noe felicitie
   For Death and Hell Combine, and Watch each hour
   Our Sinfull Souls, and bodies to devour
   For wee are in a sea of Sorrows Tost
   And when we’re most secure wee’r nearest lost
   As Beauclarks Children did their wrack deplore
   With Greater grief beeing in Sight of Shore
   Then seeing our lives soe frail and Casuall bee
   Let mee depend (dear God) on none but thee.

1. mounted] inserted.
35. And] altered from For in authorial hand.

1-26. The Stately Mooz ... by him devour’d] I have not been able to locate a source for Pulter’s moose fable and, judging by the composite nature of the story, it is likely to be her own invention. Pulter combines pastoral motifs, ‘Floras Robe’ and ‘Lambs’ for example, that she uses in her occasional poetry, (eg. ‘The invitation to
the countrey', 'The Larke' and 'The Garden' (Ms Lt q 32, ff. 4v, 68v, 19v) with references to exotic animals, including the lion, the tiger, the leopard and the bear, described elsewhere in her emblems (see for example emblems 15, 32 and 38) and based on accounts from texts documenting the natural world. Her description of the moose appears to be based on the account provided by William Wood, which provides the basis of emblem 7 where the moose is presented as a model of the ideal parent. In this emblem, the moose, eaten by a serpent while sheltering and eating in the forest, provides a warning of that sin has the capacity to catch us unawares, not least when we are feeling most secure.

2. tane] Tain: obtained, got (OED a.)

4. Inriching ... Lace] Flora, often equated with Ceres, is traditionally the goddess of blossom, or Spring (Brill’s New Pauly, vol. 5, p. 466). Pulter presents an image of the natural world, specifically the fields, decorated with flowers and streams. She provides an extended account of Flora’s robe in her occasional poem ‘The Larke’:

For I have seen Walking one summers day,
To take the Ayr when Flora did display
Her youthfull Pride as shee did smileing Pass
Shee threw her Flowered Mantle on the Grass (Ms Lt q 32, f. 68v).

7. Politickly] Judiciously, expediently, sensibly (OED ‘politic’, adj. and n. 2. a.).

14-15. For Nature ... her Fill] This detail is based on an observation made by William Wood who states ‘the homes of these Deare grow in such a straight manner, (overhanging their heads) that they cannot feede upon such things as grow low, till they have cast their old homes’ ((1634), p. 22). Pulter uses this information to suggest that, in order to eat sufficient food, the moose has to spend a long time with her head to the ground, making her vulnerable to predators.

18. fed bene’th] Beneath the trees; a reference anticipating the moose’s later movement into the shades of the ‘Cedars, Firrs, Cypres, Pine’.

27. truss] Of a bird of prey: to seize or clutch (the prey) in its talons; or to seize (the quarry) in the air and carry it off (OED v. 9.).


18. Uberous] Supplying milk or nourishment in abundance (OED a. 1).

32. Felicitie] Felicity: state of being happy; that which causes or promotes happiness; prosperity, good fortune, success; prosperous circumstances, successes (OED 1-3).

37-38. As Beauclarks ... Sight of Shore] Beauclerc: Henry I (1068/9-1135), youngest son of William the Conqueror. Henry’s son Richard and his daughter Matilda of Perche drowned in 1120 when The White Ship on which they were travelling struck a rock and sank, shortly after departing from the harbour at

39. *Casual* [Casual: subject to chance or accident; frail, uncertain, precarious (*OED* a. (and n.) 5a)]
28. Vain Erostratus was so fond of Fame
Hee set this Sacred Temple on a Flame
That stately structure which was soe renown'd
And for the Image of Diana Crown'd
Which fell from Jupiter, whom they implor'd
Whom Ephesus and all the World ador'd
Thus some out of Ambition some for gain
Mingle together holy and Prophane,
Soo Citties, Phanes, and Alters, some have burn'd
And Monarchies into confusions turn'd
My Dear Hibernia made this story good
When Cristall Shannon ran with Christian blood
As noe Edict could make that villain die
Soo these are Odious to posterity
Then let mee ever have a splendent fame
Or let me los Hadassah my lov'd Name
Far better in Oblivion live and Die
Then to survive with these in infamie
What got Antiochus then Epiphanus
More then the Epithete of Epimanus
Or what gain'd Brennus after all his plunder
When hee ands Men receivd their pay in Thunder
Were they not sacrelegious villains both
Doth not posterity their names ene loath
[f. 110r] What pleasure had Belshasser in his feast
Or what his GrandSir when hee was a Beast
One took the sacred Utensils away
The other praisd the Gods of Gold, and Clay,
Nor would they bee reformed of their Errour
Till one was strook with madnes to'ther Terrour
What Got Cambice at Horned Hammons hand
When Fifty Thousand men died in the Sand
What will they Get that doe our Phanes prophain
Sure Shame, and Horrour, will bee all their gain.

18. survive] i altered from e and y altered to v.
23. sacrelegious] i altered from e.

1-2. Vain Erostratus ... on a Flame] Herostratus was so desperate for immortal fame that he set fire to the temple of Diana at Ephesus (356 BC). As a punishment, the Ephesians decided that his name should never again be mentioned (Brill’s New Pauly, vol. 6, p. 276). Clearly, this did not happen, although Pulter’s favourite sources for poetic material, including Pliny and Plutarch, do not refer to Herastratus by name. For a description of the temple’s construction see emblem 21, note to line 18.

3-6. That stately ... World ador’d] This is a reference to Acts 19.35 in which, when faced with a mob of angry people, the ‘townclerk’ states ‘Ye men of Ephesus, what
man is there that knoweth not how that the city of Ephesus is a worshipper of the
great goddess Diana, and of the image which fell down from Jupiter’. His speech is
intended to pacify the townspeople whose livelihoods depended on the construction
of ‘silver shrines for Diana’ (19.24) and who were concerned that with the spread
of Christianity the temple would be destroyed.

8. **Prophane**] For a similar use of this term see emblem 21, note to line 28.

11. **My Dear Hibernia**] ‘Hibernia’ is the classical Latin name for Ireland. Pulter
was born in 1605 at St Thomas Court just outside Dublin while her father, James
Ley, was serving as Chief Justice of the King’s Bench in Ireland (‘Declaracion of
Ley’). This occurrence was of sufficient interest for it to be noted in Ley’s narrative
of his own life. Discussing his children, he writes: ‘The said James Ley hath yssue,
two sonnes, Henrie and James, and six daughters: Elizabeth…, Anne, Marie,
Dioniz, Margaret, and Hester, which Hester was borne in Ireland’ (‘Declaracion of
Ley’). Pulter appears to have been particularly interested in her birthplace.

12. **When Cristall ... Christian blood**] This is a reference to the Catholic rebellion
that took place in Ireland 1641. Pulter makes a similar reference to this event in her
occasional poem ‘Universall dissolution, made when I was with Child of my 15th
Child \my sonne John/ I being as every one thought in a Consumption 1648’ (Ms Lt
q 32, f. 10v) in which she refers to ‘sweete Hibernie where \I/ first had life/Now
quite destroyed by Atropus keene knife’. The dating of this poem makes it more
likely that in the above poem Pulter had the 1641 rebellion in mind and not
Cromwell’s subsequent military campaign in Ireland, which he began in August
1649. This is further reinforced by contemporary reports of the rebellion. While
some accounts highlighted the religious nature of the conflict as a battle between
Protestants and Catholics others characterised the uprising as a direct and
anarchical challenge to monarchical order (Shagan (1997), p. 7). Pulter draws on
both models suggesting that the rebellion brought confusion on the monarchy and
also resulted in the river Shannon running with ‘Christian’, ie. Protestant, blood.
Pulter’s specific reference to the river Shannon is likely to be figurative; in her
occasional poems, for example, she draws on a tradition developed by poets
including Spenser (in Book IV of the *Faerie Queene* (1590)) and Drayton (in *Poly-
Olbion* (1612)) who use rivers to symbolise nations (see for example ‘The
Invitation to the Countrey’ and ‘The Complaint of the Thames’, Ms Lt q 32, ff. 4v,
8v.

13-14. **As noe Edict ... to posterity**] Edict: that which is proclaimed by authority as
a rule of action; an order issued by a sovereign to his subjects; an ordinance or
proclamation having the force of law (*OED* 1.). This is a reference to the ban on
using Herastratus’s name. See note to lines 1-6 above. Pulter is saying that just as
Herastratus’s infamous name has survived, despite the active attempt to suppress it,
so too will the names of those responsible for the events in Ireland described in
lines 11-12.

15. **Splendent**] Having qualities comparable to material brightness or brilliancy;
pre-eminently beautiful, grand, or great (*OED* a. 3.).

16. **Hadassah**] Pulter’s authorial persona. ‘Hadassah’ is the Hebrew name for
'Esther', used in the Old Testament book of Esther, and therefore closely associated with Pulter's own Christian name. In this poem, Pulter associates her pseudonym, which literally means 'Godly fame', with the preservation of her earthly reputation. For a discussion of the significance of this name for Pulter see Chapter 3.

19-20. *What got ... Epimanes* Antiochus IV Epiphanes, ruler of the Seleucid Empire 175 to 164 BC (Brill's New Pauly, vol. 1, pp. 763-64). Camden notes that 'the Greeks (to omit infinite others) nicked Antochus Epiphanes, that is the famous with Epimanes, that is, the furious ((1605), p. 158). In The Theatre of God's Judgements, Thomas Beard provides a lengthy account of the atrocities committed by Antiochus, which included 'vile and wretched treason'; 'the destruction of Jerusalem'; and 'the slaughter of infinite multitudes of their people'. Finally Beard notes that he commanded 'all his subjects (I meane the Jewes) to 'forsake and abjure the Law of God, and be united into one Religion with the Infidels' ((1642), p. 18). For Pulter, Antiochus provides a useful example of one whose reputation for tyranny was closely tied into their name.

21-22. *Or what gaind ... in Thunder* Alexander Ross describes how 'God punished the Sacriledge of Xerxes the son of Darius, for robbing the Delphick Temple, with the losse of his innumerable army, by a handful of Grecians, and the overthrow of his 4000. sacrilegious soldiers, with lightning, hail, and storms, so that not one was left to bring tidings of the destruction of those wretches who were sent to rob Apollo. Brennus, Captain of the Gauls, had the like judgement fell upon him, for the like sacriledge upon the same Delphick Temple; his Army was overthrown by storms and an earthquake; Brennus himselfe, out of impatience, was his own executioner' ((1655), pp. 511-12.).

ands] and his.

25-30. *What pleasure ... tother Terrour* In this section Pulter refers to the story of Belshazzar from Daniel 5.1-9 and also to that of Nebuchadnezzar (Belshazzar's father not, as Pulter states, his grandfather) from Daniel 4.30-3. The Bible states that 'Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand'. He then commanded his servants to 'bring the golden and silver vessals which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple which was in Jerusalem'. Then 'the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, drank in them' and blasphemously 'praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, of stone'. 'In the same hour' as Belshazzar's actions there 'came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace: and the king saw part of the hand that wrote'. This terrified the king whose 'countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another'. Prior to this Nebuchadnezzar had been punished with insanity for his blasphemous actions and not, as Pulter suggests, for his theft of the sacred utensils. He declares that he has 'built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty'. In response 'there fell a voice from heaven, saying, O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken; The kingdom is departed from thee'. Nebuchadnezzar was then 'driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws'. Pulter uses both Belshazzar and Nebuchadnezzar as examples of those with enduring reputations for
committing blasphemous and sacrilegious acts for which they were punished by God.

31-32. What Got ... in the Sand] In his account of the life of Alexander the Great Plutarch describes how Alexander ‘tooke his journey to goe visite the temple of Jupiter Hammon’. He then describes the dangers of the journey which included ‘the rising of the southe winde by the waie, to blow the sand abroade’ adding that ‘it is reported, that on a time there rose such a tempest in that desert, that blew up whole hilles of sand, which slue fiftie thowsand men of Cambyses armie’ ((1579), p. 736-37). Pulter appears to have conflated the details in this account to suggest that that, like Alexander, Cambice was leading his men to the Ammon’s temple. She says that Cambyses’ false God was of no use to him when the sand storm struck. For a discussion of the significance of the god Hammon or Ammon in Pulter’s occasional poem ‘On the Fall of that Grand Rebel the Earl of Essex’ see Robson (2000), p. 248.

33-34. What will ... their gain] This is a reference to those, specifically the army, whom Pulter blames for the contemporary desecration of churches. For a more detailed account see emblem 36, note to line 23.
29. The Cuckoes constitution's cold shee knows
   Therefore unto a sparrows Nest shee goes
   Sucks up three Egs and in their Room lays one
   Which the indulgent Bird keeps as her own
   And when the gapeing Cuckoe was groan great
   I have seen the Sparrow trembling bring her meat
   But yet shee nourished him still to her power
   Till hee ungratefully did her devour
   Soe vipers Birth makes their own Damms expire
   And Wolvish whelps doe never see their Sire
   Even soe Philangus gives three hundred Birth
   Who instantly Joyn all and stop her Breath
   But Man is wors caus hee should better bee
   Look back to former ages and you'll see
   Children their old sick parents have neglected
   Some Nero Like their Mothers have deseccted
   [f. 110v] But why should wee look back to former Age
   When such impieties on this our stage
   Have acted been, all Nations in a maze
   For our deserved, expected, vengence Gaze
   When Crimes to such a Magnitude doe swell
   They are (o Horrid) the Forelorn of Hell
   Then o my Gracious God give mee thy grace
   Although my Sins thy Image doe deface
   Yet from such Horrid Crim's preserve mee soe
   That Love and Gratefulnes from mee may flow
   And till above thy glorious face I see
   Give mee dear God Eternall Charitie.

1-8. The Cuckoes ... her devour] Pulter’s description of the cuckoo’s actions is based on the account provided by Pliny. He states that they ‘lay alwaies in other birds nests, and most of all in the Stock doves, commonly one egge and no more’. He then describes how ‘The Titling therefore that sitteth, being thus deceived, hatcheth the egge and bringeth up the chicke of another bird ... and this she doth so long, untill the young cuckow being once fledge and readie to flie abroad, is so bold as to seize upon the old Titling, and to eat her up that hatched her’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 275). In contrast to Pulter, who explains the behaviour of the adult cuckoo by suggesting it is indifferent towards its young, Pliny states that ‘The reason why they would have other birds to sit upon their egges and hatch them, is because they know how all birds hate them’ and ‘for feare therefore that the whole race of them should be utterly destroyed by the furie of others of the same kind, they make no nest of their owne (being otherwise timorous and fearfull naturally of themselves) and so are forced by this craftie shift to avoid the daunger’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 275). For an alternative emblem of the cuckoo see Thynne, no. 58, p. 45. For him the bird is, as it is for Pulter, a symbol of ingratitude but he pays particular attention to ingratitude towards patrons rather than parents.

1. constitution's cold] To have a cold constitution is to be ‘Void of ardour, warmth, or intensity of feeling; lacking enthusiasm, heartiness, or zeal; indifferent,
apathetic' \((OED\ v.\ 7a.)\). Alternatively, Pulter may have been thinking of the
cuckoo’s character in terms of its humours. Women in particular were believed
to be cold and wet making them, in contrast to men who were generally hotter and
drier, less likely to possess qualities associated with heat, including courage,
honesty, reason, or physical and moral strength \((Wiesner\ (2000),\ p.\ 32)\).

4. *Indulgent*] For a discussion of indulgency in parents see emblem 5, note to line 7.

9. *Soe vipers ... Damms expire*] The idea that the viper was destroyed by the birth of her young was extremely common. Pliny provides a description of the way this
was supposed to happen, writing: ‘When she [the viper] is delivered of the first, the
rest (impatient of so long delay) eat through the sides of their dam, and kill her’
\((1601),\ \text{‘First Tome’},\ p.\ 302)\). Henry Peacham provides an alternative emblem of
the viper and its young. He first describes the way in which young vipers are
conceived after the mother has bitten the head off her mate and then says that
‘when she forth, her poisonous broode doth send/Her young ones likewise, bring
her to her end’. He interprets this as a warning against ‘Beastly lust’ that ‘vile
canker of the mind’ \((1612),\ p.\ 152)\). For Peacham the female viper’s actions lead
to her being punished by the birth of her young, providing an image of sin and its
consequences. In contrast, Pulter presents the parents as blameless and
consequently the treatment they receive at the hands of their ungrateful offspring is
unwarranted. This translates into the condemnation of those who commit crimes,
with both a national and a spiritual arena, against their benefactors, ultimately the
king and God.

10. *And Wolvish ... their sire*] In *The Gentleman’s Recreation*, Nicholas Cox
provides an account that sheds some light on Pulter’s comment. He writes: ‘A
notable story I have heard when I was in Ireland, and attested for a truth by the
Inhabitants: That a Bitch-Wolf proud, will suffer a great many of the Males to
follow her, and will carry them after her sometimes eight or ten days without Meat,
Drink, or Rest; and when they are so tired that they cannot travel farther, she will first lie down, then will the rest follow her example: when she perceives that they are all asleep, and through weariness snore, then will she arise and awake that Wolf which she observed to follow her most, and having so done, entice him with her far from the rest, and suffer him to line her: the rest awaking and finding her missing, pursue her by the scent, and finding how she hath cunningly deluded them, they fall instantly on her Companion who hath been before-hand with them, and revenge themselves on him by depriving him of his life; which verifies the proverb: Never Wolf yet ever saw his Sire’ (1686) pp. 122-23. Pulter’s use of the proverb in this poem suggests she considers the whelps’ failure to see their father as a fault on their part.

Whelp] The young of a dog (or in this case a wolf) (OED n.1. 1.).

11-12. Even soe ... stop her Breath] Phalangium/Phalangies. In his description of the phalangium, or spider, Topsell notes ‘all sorts of Phalangies doe lay theyr egges in a nette or webbe (which for the purpose they make very strong and thicke,) and sitt upon them in a very great number, and when their broode is increased to some growth, they kill theyr damme by theyr hard embracements, and fling her cleane away’. He later adds that ‘they hatch at one time three hundred’ ((1608), p. 249).

16. Some Nero ... have desected] Pulter’s use of the word ‘dissection’ here may have one of two possible meanings. In Suetonius’s account Nero’s dissection of his mother’s body is figural rather than literal. He notes that after he had arranged her murder, Nero ‘ran in all hast to view the dead body of his mother when she was killed’ and then ‘handled every part and member of it: found fault with some, commended others: and being thirsty in the meane time, tooke a draught of drink’ ((1606), p. 196). However, in Nero Caesar, Edmund Bolton notes that ‘There goes a rumour also that he saw her body opened, to behold the place of his conception' ((1624), p. 43). Pulter seems to have been particularly fascinated by this story; for a very similar reference see emblem 31 below.


22. Forelorn] Forlorn: morally lost; abandoned, depraved (OED a. and n. 2).

24. Although my ... doe deface] This is an allusion to the biblical statement that ‘God created man in his own image’ (Genesis 1.27). Pulter is aligning herself with those creatures listed earlier in the poem that destroy their own parent, or creator. Instead of destroying God directly Pulter, made in God’s image, destroys herself and therefore his image with her sin.

28. Charitie] Christian love; God’s love for man and the Christian love of others (OED 1.). In emblem 2 Pulter lists charity as the highest of all possible virtues.
This loathsome Beast besmear'd with dirt and blood
Being newly wash'd in Yonder Cristall flood
Yet now you see shee's wallowing in the Mud

Soo penitence and penance, some noe more
Doe valew, then to sin on a new score
Thus like the dog they to their vomit turn
Licking that Filth up which they seem'd to spurn
But those which loathingly their sins deplore
Beeing Cleans'd if possible with sin noe more

But as the Ermine (which you see pursued
By those which long to have their chaps imbru'de
In innocent blood) by Nature is indu'de

With such a loathing of impuritie
Rather then o're a dirty place shee'1 flie
Sheel Yield unto her Cursed foes and die

Soo shee that knows her self to bee Gods Child
Will die a Thousand deaths e're bee defild
Shee knows her saviours guiltles blood did flow
To wash her sinfull soul as white as snow
Then Ermin like let my sad soul expire
Whilst others Hoglike tumble in the Mire.

24. Whilst] altered from Whist; 'I' inserted above the line.

1-3. that Bore...soe deplore] The story of Venus and Adonis (famously reproduced by Shakespeare and reprinted many times from 1593) is from book 10 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In his commentary Sandys summarises the episode with the statement that having been warned by Venus of the dangers of hunting boar 'the courage and youth of Adonis, uncapable of advice, thrust him on to encounter with a Bore; by whom he was slaine: whose dying groanes rewoke the affrighted Venus; who bewailes his death, an converts him into a flower now called Anemony' ((1632), p. 366). Pulter recounts this story in its entirety in 'The Garden, or The Contention of Flowers, To my Deare Daughter Mistris Anne Pulter, at her desire written' where Adonis, now a flower, expresses his regret that had he 'not bin soe coy' he would now be 'faire Aprodite her Joy' (Ms Lt q 32, f. 19v). In the above emblem, Pulter highlights the boar's goring of Adonis, which contributes to her negative account of the species as a whole. For an alternative emblem of Venus and Adonis see Peacham (1612), p. 169. In contrast to Pulter, he focuses on Venus's attempts to dissuade Adonis from hunting the boar and argues that this 'fiction though devised by Poets braine' demonstrates that 'Such exercise Love will not entertaine./Who liketh best, to live in Idlenes'.
2. *Epitragius*] An alternative name for Venus, goddess of love. Writing about Theseus, Plutarch notes that ‘the oracle of Apollo in the cittie of Delphes had aunswered him, that he should take Venus for his guyde, and that he should call upon her to conduct him in his voyage: for which cause he dyd sacrifice a goate unto her upon the sea side, which was founde sodainly turned into a ramme, and that herefore they surnamed this goddesse Epitragia, as one would saye, the goddesse of the ramme’ ((1579), p. 9).

*Queen of Love*] Venus or Aphrodite (Brill's New Pauly, vol. 1, p. 831-36).

4-10. *This loathsome...seem’d to spurn*] Biblical proverb: ‘The dog is turned to his own vomit again and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire’ (II Peter 2:22). This proverb condemns those who learn ‘the way of righteousness’ but still return to their sin. For an alternative emblem of the hog, or swine see Combe XVII, sig. B6v. He compares the swine that delights in the mire with men who are ‘blockish idiots’ and instead of pursuing learning ‘hate even those that are by nature wise’. Pulter follows the biblical teaching and, like Combe, presents the boar as an image of those with no regard for self-improvement. But in contrast to Combe she emphasises the spiritual above the intellectual.

13-20. *But as the Ermine ... bee defild*] An alternative emblem of the ermine, that would rather die than stain its fur, is provided by Henry Peacham ((1612), p. 75). His message is similar to Pulter’s but he directs it specifically towards ‘Great Lordes, and Ladies’ who do not ‘care a rush’ how ‘bespotted’ their minds are. He uses the motif to advice them to take more care ‘t’enrich’ their ‘better part’. More in keeping with Pulter’s interpretation is that provided by John Hall who comparing himself to the ermine states ‘so I had rather die, then e’re, continue from my soulnesse cleere’ ((1648), pp. 92-94).
13. *By those ... imbru’de*] This is a reference to the hunting dogs pursuing the ermine.

*chaps*] Jaw (*OED* n. 2. 2.).

*imbru’de*] Imbruéd: stained or dyed, especially with blood or slaughter (*OED* ppl. a.).

Ermine; from Peacham (1612), p. 75
[f. 111v] 31. Old Esculus being told that hee should die
By the descent of something from on High
Into the field hee went and satt him down
The Sun Shone bright upon his glistring Crown
For hee to Erisine had sacrific'd
Pitty a Poet thus was stigmatiz'd
A Towring Eagle let her prey fall down
In hope to break the Escallup on his Crown
Shee had her wish it broke the fatall shell
And struck the Poets Ryming Soul to Hell
Then let none Curiously prie in their Fate
For none can lengthen or make short their date
For surely none their Fortune can prevent
Unless a Messenger from Heaven bee sent
With a Reprieve, soe Hezechias Tears
A pardon did obtain for fifteen years
This Jezabell found true that fatall hour
When Dogs her Curssed Karcas did Devour
Nor could domition Cross his Prophets fate
Or ad a minute to his own lives date
Though Caesar did the fatall Ides know
At twenty and three wounds his blood did flow
Soe Agrippina was her fate foretold
Yet, her descension Nero did behould
[f. 112r] Then let mee never know my Destinie
But every day soe live that when I die
I may with comfort lay these Ruins down
In dust 'tis softer farr then finest Down
Nor is that Pillow stuft with Cares or fears
Nor shall I wake as now to Sighs and tears
Yet o my God this Comfort let mee have
Let mee not here anticipate my Grave
Yet if I must alive thus buried bee
Let mee yet live my gracious God to thee
Then soe assist my soul in her Sad Story
That though I fall yet I may Rise to Glory.

15. repreive] second r inserted in authorial hand.
16. fifteen] altered in authorial hand from fourteen

1-10. Old Esclus ... Soul to Hell] Aeschylus, Greek tragedian (525 BC/524 BC – 456 BC/455 BC) (Brill's New Pauly, vol. 1, pp. 244-51). Pulter's depiction of his death is probably based on the account provided by Pliny. Referring to the eagle he writes 'Subtile shee is and wittie: for when shee hath seazed upon Tortoises, and caught them up with her tallons, she throweth them down from aloft to breake their shels. And it was the fortune of the poet Aeschylus to die by such a meanes. For when he was foretold by wisards out of their learning, that it was his destinie to die upon such a day by some thing falling upon his head: hee thinking to prevent that, got him forth that day into a great open plaine, far from house or tree, presuming
upon the securitie of the cleare and open skie. Howbeit, an Aegle let fall a Tortoise, which light upon his head, dasht out his braines, and laid him asleepe for ever ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 271). While Pulter adopts Pliny’s focus on Aeschylus’s attempts to avoid his fate she is much more damning in her judgment of his actions (see also Bromhall (1658), p. 170 and Topsell (1608), p. 286).

5. *Erisine* Erycina or Erucina is an epithet for Venus. Sandys provides a gloss to this name in his edition of the *Metamorphoses* which states: ‘Venus; of Erix a mountaine in Sicilia, whereon stood her Temple’ ((1632), p. 180). Ralph Cudworth notes that the ‘Heavenly Venus’ is described by Aeschylus, Euripides, and Ovid, as the Supreme Diety and the Creator of all the Gods’ ((1678), p. 488). This detail appears to be Pulter’s own addition to the story and it allows her to focus those who have attempted to subvert their destiny through an appeal to the gods.

6. *stigmatiz'd* Stigmatized: literally or figuratively marked with a stigma (*OED* ppl. a.).


15-16. *soe Hezechias ... fifteen years* The Bible relates that while Hezekiah was ‘sick unto the death’ the ‘prophet Isaiah the son of Amoz came to him, and said unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die, and not live’. In response Hezekiah ‘turned his face to the wall, and prayed unto the Lord’ and then he ‘wept sore’. God responded to his grief with the statement ‘I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears: behold, I will heal thee’ adding ‘I will add unto thy days fifteen years’ (II Kings 20: 1-6). For Pulter, Hezekiah, who prays to God and actually receives a temporary reprieve from death, provides a useful point of comparison with those appealing to heathen gods for assistance.

17-18. *This Jezabell ... did Devour* After Jehu killed her son Joran, king of Israel, Jezebel ‘painted her face, and tired her head, and looked out at a window’ and asked him to remember the fate of Zimri who committed suicide after killing Elah (for a more detailed account of this episode see note to emblem 26, lines 21-22 above). In response to her insolence Jehu asked ‘two or three eunuchs’ to ‘throw her down’ from the window. She died and ‘when they went to bury her’ they found ‘no more of her than the skull, and the feet, and the palms of her hands’. This is understood to be the fulfillment of the prophecy that ‘in the portion of Jezreel shall dogs eat the flesh of Jezebel’ (II Kings 10. 30-37).

19-20. *Nor could ... lives date* Titus Flavius Domitianus commonly known as Domitian (51-96), Roman emperor (*Brill’s New Pauly*, vol. 4, pp. 635-40). Domitian asked Asclepius the Astrolger ‘what his owne end should be?’ and he ‘made answer and affirmed, That his destinie was to be torne to peeces with dogs, and that shortly’. In order to challenge this prediction Domitian had Asclepius killed and then commanded that ‘he should be buried with as great care as possibly might be’. But ‘in the doing whereof accordingly, it fortuned that by a sodaine tempest, the corps being cast downe out of the funerall fire, the dogs tare and rent pecemeale, when it was but halfe burnt’. Thereby fulfilling Asclepius’ prediction and thwarting Domitian’s attempts to disprove it (*Suetonius* (1606), p. 269). With
regards to Domitian’s own death Suetonius reports that ‘The last yeere and day of his life, the very houre also, he had long time before suspected. For when he was but a youth, the Chaldaean Astrologers had fore-tolde him all’ ((1606), p. 268). On the day appointed for his death he asked ‘what was a clocke? and insteede of the 5th. houre which he feared, word was brought from the nonce that it was the 6th. Being joious hereupon that the danger was nowe past ... he retired to his bedchamber, and there he was murdered’ ((1606), p. 269). Pulter focuses on Domitian’s inability to alter the manner of the Astrologer’s death or, despite knowing the precise time, to prevent his own death. For an alternative reference to Domitian see emblem 37.

21-22. *Though Caesar did ... did flow*] Julius Caesar (100BC-44BC), politician and general in the late Roman republic (*Brill’s New Pauly*, vol. 2, pp. 900-16). Suetonius recounts how when Caesar was offering a sacrifice ‘the Soothsayer Spurina warned him to take heed of danger toward him, and which would not be differed after the Ides of March’. Later on the day appointed for his death he was given ‘a written pamphlet, which layd open the conspiracie, and who they were that sought his life’. He then ‘killed many beasts for sacrifices’ and ‘laughed Spurina to scorne: charging him to bee a false Prophet for that the Ides of March were come: and yet noe harme befell unto him’. He then took his place before the Senate and was ‘beset on everie side and assiled with drawne daggers ... and with 3. and 20. wounds he was stabbed’ ((1606), p. 33). These events were famously reproduced by Shakespeare in *Julius Caesar* (first published 1623). For an alternative reference to Julius Caesar see emblem 26.

23. *Soe Agrippina ... fate foretold*] Julia Agrippina or Agrippina the Younger (15–59), Roman empress (*Brill’s New Pauly*, vol. 1, p. 394). Thomas Bromhall recounts how ‘Nero being born early in the morning before Sun-rising, a certain Astrologer looking into the course of the Stars, said, That he should reign at Rome, but should kill his own Mother, which when Agrippina his Mother heard, she said, Let him kill me, so he may be Emperour. The event declares, that the Astrologer predicted truth’ ((1658), p. 183).

24. *Yet, her ... did behould*] See note to emblem 29, line 16 above.

33. *Yet if I ... buried bee*] Possibly a figurative reference to the incarceration of her soul within her physical body. Throughout her occasional and devotional poetry Pulter refers to her ‘Captivated soul’, which is trapped within the ‘Loathsom ruind Prison’ of her body, and looks forward to the time when she will become spiritually ‘enfranchised’ (for a discussion of the significance of this term for Pulter’s poetry see emblem 13, note to line 31) (Ms Lt q 32, ff. 76r, 73v). Pulter also complains that she is experiencing actual physical imprisonment combined with mental oppression. In one poem, for example, she states that she is ‘shut up in a Countrey Grange’ and ‘confin’d/Against noble Freedome of [her] Mind’ (Ms Lt q 32, f. 79r). A discussion of Pulter’s sense of confinement is provided in Chapter One.
32. The Lion Roars his Vassals fear and tremble
But if hee comes where they doe all assemble
They stand examinated as they say
Thus Tirant like hee chooseth out his prey
Yet though his subjects at his Mercie Lies
[f. 112v] Being most indulgent to his Lyones
Yet kills her if hee knows shee do'th a miss
For when hee Smels the Panthers strong perfumes
That shee hath Broke her Faith he then presumes
But if shee wash her in some Cristall streams
That shee is falce to him hee never dreams
Such Noble Jealousie all must commend
In this the Elaphant doth soe Transcend
But the wild hairbraind and Lascivious Ass
For hee doth Watch her young ones when they fall
Then to prevent all fear hee bites of all
Hee's surely proud of's Ears and fears the Horn
When 'tis the Wittall is the peoples scorn
Then by these storyes you may plainly see
The Noblest Mind is from Suspition Free
And by like Consequence it comes to pass
None is soe Jealous as the mad braind Ass.

8. do'th] inserted above the line in authorial hand.
15. Ass] author's note: Plinie the II Boo Chapter 30 [this is an inaccurate reference to Pliny (1601), The Eighth Booke, Chapter XXX].
17. her] altered from his in authorial hand.

1-4. The Lion ... his prey] The opening lines of this poem evoke John Ogilby’s third fable in which ‘Various wild beasts, from fields, and Citties tame’ assemble at the lion’s palace and ‘throng a huge resort’. In Ogilby’s fable the creatures hunt and kill a deer of which the lion claims three-quarters as his share ((1651), p. 5).

3. examinated] Examined (OED).

6-12. Yet hee’s a ... never dreams] Pliny states that ‘The Lion knoweth the sent and smell of the Pard, when the Lionesse his mate hath plaied false, and suffered her selfe to be covered by him: and presently with all his might and maine runneth upon her for to chastise and punish her. And therefore when the Lionesse hath done a fault that way, shee either goeth to a river, and washeth away the strong and ranke savour of the Pard, or els keepeth aloofe, and followeth the Lion farre off, that hee may not catch the said smell’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 200).

7. Indulgent] For a definition see emblem 5, note to line 7. Pulter usually uses the term to describe the way good parents treat their children.

14. In this ... Transcend] For a discussion of the elephant’s jealousy see emblem 19, lines 22-23 and accompanying notes.
15-18. *But the wild ... bites of all*] Describing the ass, Pliny states that ‘one of the males is able to rule and lead a whole flocke of the female asses. This beast is so jealous, that they looke narrowly to the females great with young: for so soone as they have foled, they bite off the cods of the little ones that be males, and so gueld them. But contrariwise, the she asses when they be big, seeke corners, and keepe out of their way, that they might bring forth their young secretly without the knowledge of the Stallons’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 212).

19. *Hee's surely... the Horn*] Horns and asses ears are traditional emblems of the cuckold (Bruster (1990), especially, p. 201).

[f. 113r] 33. Could this Fell Catablepe lift up her head
Her poysonous Eyes would look all Creatures dead
Shee scorcheth up the Flowers as shee doth goe
Yet the small Weasell dares to bee her Foe
Their strang antipathy doth all Excell
One kils by sight the other by his swell
Thus with their Counterpoysons when they meet
They Conquerd lie at one anothers Feet
Thus though there bee the greatest antipathy
Yet death doth turn it To a Sympathy
Soe the slie Dragon, wrigling winds about
The Eliphant, till in his Tender snout
Shee thrusts her Head stopping his vitall breath
Or sucks his blood then when this lump of Earth
for want of Blood and spirits gins to fall
hee most Triumphant kils his foe and all
Soe did those Isrealls who rose up to play
With their own lives victorious end the fray
Even soe the Adder bit the Horses Heel
Three Thousand at last Gasp his strength did feel
Thus Death doth make all emnity to ceas
When all is dust (surely) there will bee peace
Then let none think of Death with soe much Terroour
For by this Emblem they may see their Erroour
Then will I meet it as my last best Friend
For it my sins and sorrows all will end.

8. lie] e altered from y?
11. about] altered from his Tayls.
17. Israells] first l altered from b?
21. Thus] altered from This in authorial hand.

1-10. *Could this ... To a Sympathy*] Pliny provides a description of the catablepe which he says is ‘little of bodie otherwise, heavie also and slow in all his limmes besides, but his head onely is so great that his bodie is hardly able to beare it; he alwaies carrieth it downe toward the earth, for if hee did not so, he were able to kill all mankind: for there is not one that looketh upon his eyes, but hee dyeth presently ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 206). According to Pliny, it is not the catablepe but the basalisk that the weasel hates. He states that ‘a sillie weazle hath a deadly power to kill this monstrous serpent, as pernicious as it is’. In order to kill the basalisk it is necessary to ‘cast these weazles into their holes and cranies where they lye, (and easie they be to know, by the stinking sent of the place all about them:) they are not so soone within, but they overcome them with their strong smell, but they die themselves withall; and so Nature for her pleasure hath the combat dispatched’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 207).

*Fell* Fierce, savage; cruel, ruthless; dreadful, terrible (*OED* a. and adv. 1.). *swell*] It is likely that this is a mistranscription of ‘smell’.

11-16. *Soe the slie ... and all*] In his account of the elephant, Pliny refers to
‘dragons, that are continually at variance with them, and evermore fighting, and those of such greatnesse, that they can easily claspe and wind round about the Elephants, and withall tye them fast with a knot. In this conflict they die, both the one and the other: the Elephant hee falls downe dead as conquered, and with his heavie weight crusheth and squeaseth the dragon that is wound and wreathed about him ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 198) (a similar but much longer account is provided on p. 199). An alternative emblem of conflict between the elephant and the dragon can be found in Whitney (1586), p. 195. For Whitney the emblem of the elephant and dragon both killed in combat is a reminder that nothing is won in those battles where ‘the price in deathe, and smarte’ and that ‘those are captaines good,/That winne the fieldie, with sheddinge leaste of blood’. In contrast, Pulter highlights the fact that mutual death brings conflict to an end and she presents this as a message of reassurance to those afraid of dying.

Elephant and dragon; from Whitney (1586), p. 195

17-18. *Soe did those ... end the fray*] When Moses was on the mount the people made a ‘molten calf’ and they said, *These be thy gods, O Israel*. The next day they ‘rose up early’ and offered ‘burnt offerings’ and brought ‘peace offerings’. They then ‘sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play’ [ie. they rose up to play music]. When Moses came down from the mount he ‘came nigh unto the camp’ and ‘saw the calf, and the dancing’ and his ‘anger waxed hot’. He destroyed the calf and then asked those on the ‘Lord’s side’ to join him’. These he commanded to ‘slay every man his bother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour’. In the course of the massacre ‘there fell of the people ... about three thousand men’ (Exodus 32. 1-28).

19-20. *Even so ... did feel*] Just before he dies, Jacob calls his sons together and blesses them. He says that Dan ‘shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse heels, so that his rider shall backward’ (Genesis 49.17). Later Samson, who is descended from Dan, pulls down the temple that ‘was full of men
and women; and all the lords of the Philistines were there; and there were upon the roof about three thousand men and women’ killing both them and himself (Judges 16.27-30).

34. Mark but those Hogs which underneath yond tree
Nusling and Eating Acorns, you may see
they never cast an Eye to those which shake
Soe thankles People doe Gods blessings take
And never doe his bounteous Love adore
But swinishly root on and Grunt for more
Soe gripeing Worldlings still their Wealth increase
And onely pray their bags may rest in peace
Soe Grumbling Farmers still turn up the Earth
Fearing that every shower will caus a Dearth
Even soe voluptius Gallants dance along
Their meetings ending in a drunken Song

When like the Chast and constant Turtle Dove
Which takes a sip then throws her Eyes above
Gods Children here but sip of Terren Toys
Then turn their thoughts to true Celestiall Joys
Like Innocent Doves they often victims die
When Hogs his sacred alter come not Nie
Then let the Reader trie, which best hee loves
To imitate, base Hogs or Turtle Doves
But as for mee 'tis my Souls Sole desire
Like spotles Doves to live and soe Expire.

4. blessings] altered from blessing

1. Hogs] In this emblem Pulter uses the term ‘hogs’ to refer to the irreligious and ungrateful, a practice with biblical precedent in St Matthew 7.6, ‘neither cast ye your pearls before swine’ and 2 Peter 2.22 ‘The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire’. In each example the swine or sow is used to illustrate those who receive spiritual knowledge or redemption but proceed to ignore, reject or sully it. For alternative emblems of the hog or swine or boar see 30 and 36.

2. Nusling] Nuzzling: to burrow or dig with the nose; to poke or push with the nose or snout (OED v.1. 2a. and b.).

3. those which shake] The shaking of acorns from oak trees was common practice in the raising of swine. For a discussion of literary representations and illustrations of this practice see Meritt (1945), pp. 1-12. Pulter compares the swine, which do not notice or acknowledge those employed to shake acorns down from the trees, with those people who do not notice or acknowledge the spiritual blessings God bestows on them.


8. And onely ... rest in peace] Bags: this is probably a reference to money bags. In using the common epitaph ‘rest in peace’ Pulter is suggesting that ‘gripeing
Worldlings’ are more concerned with the future of their coffers than their immortal souls.

9-10. *Soe Grumbling* . . . *caus a Dearth*] Just as the avaricious focus on the increase of their worldly wealth, farmers are solely concerned with the amount of crops they can produce and with their subsequent profit. Pulter may also be thinking of the physical nourishment provided by the farmer’s crops and suggesting that they are more interested in feeding the body than the soul.

11-12. *Even soe* . . . *drunken Song*] For Pulter’s criticism of contemporary ‘gallants’ see emblem 6, note to line 2.

*Voluptius*] Addicted to sensual pleasure (*OED* a. 2).

13-14. *When like* . . . *Eyes above*] Throughout her poetry, Pulter uses the dove as a symbol of the spiritually virtuous. In emblem 20 she represents a loving, chaste and devoted wife who remains, even after his death, ‘kind and constant to her Love’ and in emblem 5 the dove, together with the swan, represents ideal parents who ‘Transcend all Animals in Love’/Which shews that their Extraction’s from above’. Pulter’s account of the bird’s drinking habits contradicts that put forward by Pliny. He states that ‘Doves and Turtles have this propertie, in their drinking not to hold up their bills between-whiles, and draw their necks backe, but to take a large draught at once, as horses and kine doe’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 290). In introducing this detail Pulter attributes a form of religious ceremony to the bird in keeping with its virtuous nature.

15-16. *Gods Children* . . . *Celestiall Joys*] Like the dove, the truly religious devote more of their time and attention to spiritual matters than earthly trivia.

*Terrene*: of the earth; worldly, secular, temporal, material, human (*OED* a. 1).

*Toys*: things of little or no value or importance (*OED* n. 5).

17-18. *Like Innocent* . . . *come not Nie*] Pulter is bemoaning what she sees as the disproportionate number of deaths among the innocent and virtuous compared with the irreligious. In her reference to the hogs that ‘his sacred alter come not Nie’ (or near) she is referring to Isaiah 66.3 which states that the sacrificing of swine pollutes the sacred church and is therefore an abomination. It is possible that she is comparing this with the sacrifice of the doves in Luke 2.24, which provides a prefiguration of the death of Christ.
[f. 114r] 35. Seest thou this Horizontall Bird whose Eyes
Are Fixt immoveable upon the Skies
Though Night obscures the Raidient Delias Rayes 5
Whether shee Goes, or feeds, or breeds, or flyes
Yet still to Heaven shee Roles her longing Eyes
Soe doth the sun Fish whose fair Eyes are Fixt
On Heaven alone, her love sure is Unmixt
Although the Sea Works high and billows swell
Almost to Heaven, then down as low as Hell
Though Hurricanians make the Welkin Roar 10
And Marriners their Woefull wracks deplore
Yet shee is still the same shee was before
Even soe those Souls whose hopes and Joy's above
Are onely plac'd, reverberates that Love
To Heaven from whence they had Irradiation
Performing soe the end of their Creation
Soe immitate this soul, that Bird and Fish 15
And though things answer not thy hopes or Wish
Yet look towards Heaven, on God alone depend
Hee will thy suffrings medigate or end
And trust not Fortune, nor her amorous smiles
For when shee Courts us most shee most beguils
Nor fear her Frowns for there is one on high
At whose bright footstool Fate and Fortune lie 20
To him alone to him for Comfort Flie.


3. Raidient Delias Rayes] Delius: Pulter is referring to Apollo, or the sun, who in Greek mythology was born on the island of Delos (Brill’s New Pauly, vol. 4, p. 207).

4. a Dayes] By day, during the day, in the day-time (OED advb. 1).

7-13. Soe doth ... was before] Pliny describes a fish ‘called the Uranoscopuas, by reason of the eyes which he hath in the uppermost part of his head’. In Philemon Holland’s translation, an accompanying marginal note reads ‘Looking up to heaven’ ((1601), ‘Second Tome’, p. 438).


Welkin Roar] ‘Welkin’ refers to the sky or the heavens (OED 2-3). To ‘make the Welkin roar’ means ‘to make a loud noise’ (OED 2c.).

12. wracks] A wrecked ship or other vessel; a vessel ruined or crippled by wreck (OED n.2. 1.).
16. *To Heaven ... Iradiation*] Pulter’s suggestion that the truly religious return the love they originally received from God back to heaven is couched in allusions to reflected light. For a discussion of Pulter’s association of the soul with light see emblem 5, note to lines 25-31. *Reverberate*] to cast back, reflect (light, heat, etc.) (*OED* v. 1c.). *Iradiation*] a beaming forth of spiritual light (*OED* 2a.).

17. *Performing soe ... Creation*] Fulfilling their destiny.

21. *Medigate*] Mitigate: to alleviate or give relief from (an illness or symptom, pain, suffering, sorrow, etc.); to lessen the trouble caused by (an evil or difficulty) (*OED* v. 1a.).

22-23. *And trust not ... most beguils*] For a discussion of the emblematic significance of Fortune see emblem 4, note to line 9.

25. *footstool*] There are numerous biblical references to Christ’s footstool, which provide an image of his authority over that which is set beneath him; see for example Matthew 23.44; Mark 12.36; Luke 20.43; Acts 2.35 and 7.49; Hebrews 1.13 and 10.13; James 2.3.
Come my Dear Pledges of our Constant Loves
Come look upon these pretty innocent Doves
See how they swallow Orient Pearls like Peas
A Cordiall which our greatest faintings Eas
And with their lives er'e with these Pearls the'l part
Soe treasure sacred truths within your heart
Though Tyrant Lapidaries shew their spight
Your graces like these pearles will shine more bright
Despair not though you at their mercie lie
Your vertues live although your bodys die
Then if you will in glory live above
Like these white Doves those blessed Unions Love
But shun those people which are like those swine
Which at Gods word and Ministers repine
Throw them the choicest Orient Pearls you have
They'll trample'm in the dirt and Ramp and Rave
And when you think their malice at an end
If God restrain not they'll your bowels rend
Of these the Bore God's vinyards that destroy
And with their Filth his sacred Phane annoy
Soe mad Antiochus the Temple stain'd
Even soe our Janiazaries Po'les prophan'd
[f. 115r] Making the Church a stable and a stews
The while imprisoning Nobles in the Mews
The greatest Mirackle our saviour wrought
Was when hee scourg'd out those which Sould and bought.

22. prophand'd] d altered from e.
16. Rave] altered from Lave. Difficult to tell who has made this alteration; possibly authorial.

1. Come my ... Constant Loves] The Pulters’ children; see emblem 2 above for a detailed discussion. This line could be a reference to the ‘Constant Loves’ between Pulter and her husband Arthur or alternatively the continued confirmation of God’s love for the couple, demonstrated by him bestowing children on them.

2-5. Come look ... the 'l part] Throughout her poetry, Pulter uses the image of the dove to refer to the spiritually virtuous. For a more detailed discussion of this association see emblem 34, note to line 13. In the poem above the doves are happily swallowing pearls which, Pulter goes on to state, represent ‘sacred truths’. Pulter develops the connection between pearls and the sacred in her semi-autobiographical poem ‘Alitheas Pearl’ in which she writes: ‘Fair Ælithea (when I was a Girle)/One Sunday, offer'd mee an Orient Pearl’. The pearl, bestowed on her by Alithea or truth, represents her faith. It becomes dull when she is tempted by earthly pleasures but brightens when she repents of her sin (Ms Lt q 32, f. 48v).

Orient Pearls] Pearls of the orient specifically from the seas around India, as distinguished from those of less beauty found in European mussels; (hence, more generally) a brilliant or precious pearl (OED n. and adj. 1. b.).

4. Cordial[] Cordial: medicine, food, or beverage which invigorates the heart and
stimulates the circulation; a comforting or exhilarating drink. Here the term is being used figuratively (OED a. and n. B.1.).

7-8. Though Tyrant ... more bright] Pulter is saying that just as lapidaries cut and polish stones to make them appear brighter and more attractive so attempts made by others to challenge or alter an individual’s faith will only reveal their virtues more clearly.  

Lapidaries: a person whose job it is to cut, polish, set or deal in gem stones (OED B. 1).

12. Like these ... Unions Love] For a discussion of the dove’s marital fidelity see emblem 20, note to lines 1-4.

13-14. But shun ... bowels rend] Throughout her poetry, Pulter uses swine as an image of the irreligious. For a full discussion see emblem 34, note to line 1.  

repine] To feel or manifest discontent or dissatisfaction; to fret, murmur or complain (OED v. 1).

16. They’ll trample’m ... and Rave] This is a reference to the biblical proverb: ‘Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you’, Matthew 7.6. Building on Pulter’s depiction of pearls as spiritual truths (see note to lines 2-5) the irreligious, like the proverbial swine, trample or disregard the truths offered to them. 

Ramp] Of an animal, rear or stand on the hind legs, as if in the act of climbing; to raise the forepaws in the air; (hence) to assume or be in a threatening posture; of a person: to gesticulate with or raise the arms, to stretch; to clutch wildly (OED v.1 1).

19. Of these the ... that destroy] Psalm 80.8-13 praises the Lord because he hath ‘brought a vine out of Egypt’ and asks why he has ‘broken down her hedges’ allowing ‘the boar out of the wood’ to ‘waste it’. The boar represents the sinful destroying or disregarding God’s words and his people.

20. And with ... Phane annoy] In the Bible the sacrificing of swine and thereby polluting the sacred church and altar is an abomination (Isaiah 66.3). For an alternative reference to swine polluting the altar see emblem 34.

21. Soe mad ... stain’d] In the Bible Antiochus’s profanation of the temple includes sacrificing ‘swine’s flesh’ (I Maccabees 1.47).

22-23. Even soe ... and a stews] Janissary/janizary: Thomas Blount defines ‘janizaries’ as ‘the Turks principal foot souldiers, that are of his Guard, who for the most part by Original being Christians, are chosen by the Turkish Officers every five yeers, out of his Europwan Dominions, or are taken Captives in their child-hood’ (Blount (1658), sig. U4r). During the Civil Wars and Interregnum, royalists often used the term in a derogatory sense to refer to the English army. See, for example, the anonymous The Red-coats Catechisme, or, Instructions to be Learned by Every One that Desires to be Admitted to be One of the Parliaments Janizaries (1659).
St Paul's Cathedral. In his elegy to Charles I, Henry King complains that ‘Pauls and Lincoln are to Stables turn'd’ and that ‘at God's Table you might Horses see/By (those more Beasts) their Riders manger'd be’ ((EEBO: 1640; ESTC: 1660?), p. 10). Similarly, Henry Foulis notes that the fact that ‘St. Pauls, by the wicked reformers was converted into a stable is not unknown to its Neighbours, which iniquities and such like occasioned the Saying, That we had now a thorough Reformation in England, since our horses also went to Church’ ((1662), p. 138).

Stews] Brothel (OED n. 2 4). I have found no reference to St Paul’s being used as a brothel but Foulis notes that in Westminster Abbey soldiers were ‘keeping their whores in the Church, and lying with them upon the very Altar it self’ ((1662), p. 138).

24. The while ... in the Mews] Mews: the royal stables formerly at Charing Cross in London, so called because built on the site of the royal hawk mews (OED n. I. 1). An anonymous pamphlet provides an account of the 4500 royalist soldiers imprisoned in the royal mews after they were defeated by the Parliamentarian forces at the Battle of Naseby. Advertising the soldiers’ anticipated entry into London it states that they were first taken to ‘St Albones’ where they ‘were put in a Church in that towne’ (Anon (1645) p. 2). From there the soldiers were to be marched to London where they would assemble ‘in Aldersgate street’ ((1645), p. 3). Finally they were going to be ‘Conducted to the mewes at charing-crosse, and kept there guarded by the Trained bands’, The Manner How the Prisoners Are to Be Brought Into the City of London ((1645), p. 6). These events may have been of particular interest to Pulter who was living not far from the town of St Albans in Hertfordshire and whose sister, Margaret Hobson, was living on St Aldersgate St during the early years of the 1640s (see Chapter One).

The while] In the meantime; meanwhile (OED n. 2.a.).

26. Was when ... and bought] The Bible states that ‘Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold Doves’ (Matthew 21.12).
37. Behold how many Cobwebs doth invest
This ugly Spider in her nasty Nest
Where Barricado'd shee in ambush lies
Domition like to Murther sportive Flyes
Yet such a Monsterous Spider once I saw
That wou'd with ease, Flies, Wasps and Hornets draw
Most Cruelly into her Dusty Nest
Then Tyrant like shee on their Blood would feast
Yet did I see a slender Azure Flye
Make this bloodsucking Monster fall and die
Soo the most impious Tirants in the World
Even in a moment to the Grave are Whorld
[f. 115v] That King of Terrors doth by sentence Just
Grind even their very Skellitons to dust
When hee upon the pale Horse doth apear
A Julianus then begins to fear
Throwing his blood and spirits in the skies
Confes'd yet died in his Apostacies
What by the Wars was Alexanders gains
When guilt his Conscience, poysen stung his veins
Soo hee that hath three Kingdoms in his power
What comfort will they Yield that fatall hower
When as that Sea of Innocent blood shall Rore
To Heaven for vengence, who can but implore
But why doe I blame Spiders Tiranny
Who forc't by Huger kills a silly fly
When Man's the greatest Beast of prey of all
His hous a Shamble is or Butchers Stall
In all those Books which I have Read I find
There's none but Man doth Kill and eat his Kind
The Antidiluvian Patriachs happie were
That liv'd by what the Earth did freely bear
The Pithagorians noe blood would spill
The Banians now noe animals doe kill
But such as Murtherers they doe Esteem
And oft will but those Creatures to redeem
But stay my Pen write noe more then is meet
Least I forget Noahs Licence, Peeters sheet.

1-2. Behold how ... nasty Nest] For alternative emblems of the spider in its web see Palmer (Manning, 1988), p. 85; P.S. (1591), p. 154; and Combe (1614), no. 49. For both P.S. and Palmer the spider in her web is a symbol of the 'lawes' which 'vexte and byde' the 'selly people' while 'the wealthy men that makes offence, are skantlye spoke unto' (Manning (1988), p. 85). Similarly, for Combe the spider in her web provides an emblem of the law, which catches 'silly flies' or 'poore men'
but has no power over the wasp, or rich man, ‘whose force the weakness of her web unties’. Pulter maintains their emphasis on the spider’s position of power over the flies but goes on to present a scenario in which the spider itself is then destroyed by one of those lesser insects. In Pulter’s poem the spider and its web do not represent the machinery of the law but the tyrannical murder of a large range and number of other creatures.


Suetonius records that ‘In the beginning of his Empire his manner was, to retire himselfe daily into a secret place for one houre, and there to do nothing else but to catch flies; and with the sharp point of a bodkin or writing steele pricke them through: In so much, as when one enquired, whether any bodie were with Caesar within? Vieiv Crispus made answer not impertinently, no, not so much as a flie’ ((1606), p. 261). For an alternative emblematic allusion to Domitian see Peacham (1612), p. 144. Interpreting an image of a tombe covered in flies, Peacham writes ‘now the Tyrant, cause of all this feare/is laid full low, upon whose toombe do light/to take revenge, the Bee, and summer Flie/Who not escap’t sometime his crueltie’. Peacham alludes to Domitian’s habit of killing flies and suggests that death provides an opportunity for other insects to take their revenge. Pulter in contrast focuses on the possibility of revenge while the tyrant is still alive. For an alternative reference to Domitian see emblem 31.

9. Azure] Bright blue (OED n. and a. 2.).

12. Whorld] Whirl: to be thrown or cast with violence, flung, hurled (esp. with rotatory movement, as from a sling) (OED v. 6). The OED notes that ‘whirl’ is ‘sometimes used by confusion for ‘hurl’”, which may be the case here.

15. When... doth apear] A reference to death as it appears in the book of Revelation. The narrator states ‘And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death’ (6.8).

16-18. A Julianus... Apostacies] Flavius Claudius Julianus (332 - 363), commonly known as Julian the Apostate, Roman emperor. In his account of Julian’s life Alexander Ross notes that he ‘was bred a Christian under the bishop of Nicomedia, and for his pregnant wit and eloquence was made reader in the church ... But being too familiar with Libanius the Sophister, with Iamblicus, Maximus, and other Philosophers, hee became a heathen, a magician, a persecutor of Christians, and a right Apostate’ ((1652), p. 84). Later in his text, recounting Julian’s death, Ross describes how he ‘was shot in the liver, by an unknown hand; he in a rage flinging the bloud of his wound in the air, cries out, Thou hast overcome mee O Galilean’, and so dyed ((1652), p. 85).

19-20. What by the... stung his veins] This may be a reference to Alexander the Great (356 - 323 BC), King of Mecedonia (Brill’s New Pauly, vol. 1, pp. 469-75). Accounts of his death differ but the majority of texts acknowledge the idea he was killed by poison (possibly by Antipater) while concluding that this is not in fact true. Pulter however appears to have an account by Thomas Beard in mind. He states that ‘one day after a great feast, that lasted a whole day and a night, in a
banquet after supper, being ready to returne home, he was poysioned; when before hee had drunke his whole draught, he gave a deep sigh suddenly, as if hee had been thrust through with a dart, and was carried away in a swoone, vexed with such horrible torment, that had he not been restrained, he would have killed himselfe. And on this manner he that could not content himselfe with the condition of a man, but would needs climbe above the clouds, to goe in equipage with God, drunke up his owne death, leaving as suddenly all his worldly pompe, as hee had suddenly gotten it: which vanished like smoake, none of his children being any whit the better for it’ ((1642), p. 82). Beard’s account is contradicted by a description of Alexander’s death provided by Plutarch. He notes that at the time of his death ‘there was no suspition that he was poysioned. Yet they say, that six yeares after, there appeared some proffe that he was poisoned’. He then adds that others say that ‘the report of his poysoning is untrue: and for proffe thereof they allege this reason, which is of no small importance, that is: That the chiefest Captaines fel at great variance after his death, so that the corps of Alexander remained many dayes naked without buriall, in a whot dry contry, and yet there never appeared any signe or token upon his body, that he was poysioned, but was still a cleane and faire corps as could be’ ((1579), p. 762). Pulter’s emphasis on Alexander’s death by poison reinforces the message of her poem, which warns of the power that apparently insignificant factors have to overthrow mighty tyrants. Alternatively, Pulter may have been thinking of Pope Alexander VI who, as Thomas Beard states ‘dranke himselfe the medicine which he had prepared for his good friend the Cardinal: and so he died’ and that he did so with ‘horrible cries and hideous fearfull groanes’ ((1642), pp. 392-93). It is more likely however that Pulter had the Alexander the Great in mind as elsewhere she notes that Pope Alexander was killed by a fly, see emblems 43 and 46.

21-22. Soe hee that ... fatall hower] Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) was Lord Protector of ‘the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland’ between December 15th 1653 and September 3rd 1658 (OED). For alternative references to Cromwell see emblems 26, 48, 50, 51, 52.


28. shamble] A table or stall for the sale of meat (OED n. 1. 2b.) Literally a meat market or butcher’s slaughterhouse; scene of carnage (OED 4a, 5a).

31-32. The Antidiluvian ... freely bear] The ‘Antideluvian Patriarchs’ were those men descended from Adam who inhabited the earth in the ages before the flood. In Genesis 1.29 God stipulates that ‘every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of the earth, and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat’. Man was permitted to eat meat only after the flood; see note to line 38 below.

33. The Pithagorians ... would spill] Followers of Pythagoras, philosopher and teacher (6th-early 5th cent. BC) (Brill’s New Pauly, vol. 12, pp. 276-82). In his commentary on Ovid’s Metamorphoses, George Sandys notes that Pythagoras ‘was so pittifull even to irrational creatures, that he exclaimed against the killing, much more detested the eating of any; as proceeding from injustice, cruelty and corruption of manners’ (Sandys (1632), p. 513).
34-36. The Banians ... to redeem] Hindu traders, especially those from the province of Gujarat ... sometimes applied by early writers to all Hindus in Western India (OED 1). Without using the term ‘Banian’ Sandys remarks that ‘Yet there is a nation at this day in the East-Indies, (with whom our Merchants frequently trade) who are so farre from eating of what ever had life, that they will not kill so much as a flea; so that the birds of the aire, and beasts of the Forrest; without feare frequent their habitations, as their fellow Citizens’ ((1632), p. 513).

37-38. But stay ... Peeters sheet] Pulter evidently feels that she has gone too far in associating the eating of animals with tyranny; after all, the Bible states that God sanctions the eating of meat.

Noahs Licence] After the flood God informs Noah that ‘Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things’ (Genesis 9:3). Sandys refers to this with the statement that the eating of animals was ‘a priviledge granted after to Noah; because they [the plants and fruits] then had lost much of their nourishing vertue’ ((1632), p. 513).

Peeters sheet] A reference to Peter’s vision in Acts 10:10-13. While praying on the roof Peter ‘became very hungry, and would have eaten’. He fell into a trance and ‘saw heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending unto him, as it had been a great sheet knit at the four corners, and let down to the earth’. Within the sheet were ‘all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air’. God spoke to Peter saying ‘Rise, Peter; kill, and eat’.
38. The Lyon that of late soe Domineer’d
And of his subjects was not lov’d but fear’d
Being Cloy’d with Luxurie is sick at last
Then Doctor Fox is sent for all in hast
Hee shakes the Glass and’s head, then feels his Puls
And straight prescribes a Medicine revuls
The Lyon trembles every vein did beat
The Doctor sighing said the danger’s great
The Lyon Pants, could hardly draw his breath
None like a Tyrant is soe fraid of Death
The Doctor that did mind nought but his gain
Said Sir (I pray Sir) wher about’s your pain
His Highnes said, some time I’m very chill
Then burn, then sweat, doth down my Face distill
The symptome’s good the Doctor smileing said
Your Highnes shall doe well bee not afraid
There is a sort of people ’bout your Court
They call them Apes, that oft have made you sport
Their blood is soveraign for your diseas
And will the
You know the Royall Eagle finds it good
In his ould age hee lives by sucking blood
[f. 116v] Nay if you'r loth, great kings have don the same
For which they live still in the book of Fame
For fatting of their Nobles up in Cages
Eating their Mummie with the blood of Pages
To an old Tyrant Melancholly grown
Noe Musick pleaseth but the dying groan
Of Innocents, then straight the apes were kil’d
The Lyon Eas’d, The Doctors purse was Fil’d
From such a Tyrant Heaven deliver mee
And such a Doctor let mee never See.

20. Space left for completion but never filled in.

1-4. *Doctor Fox*] In medieval Beast Epic, Reynard the fox is traditionally a high-ranking baron who occasionally serves the Lion-King (see emblem 45 note to line 10 for a discussion of the Reynard fables in England). These tales were usually adapted to pass comment on the social and political circumstances in which they were written. In her version of the tale, Pulter presents the lion and the fox as a wicked tyrant and his corrupt advisor. Particularly pertinent for Pulter’s emblem is Block and Varty’s discussion of a misericord carving in Gloucester Cathedral depicting a sick lion and a fox ‘who holds up to the light (and away from the lion) a urinal’ (Block and Varty (2000), p. 156). Although it is unlikely that Pulter saw this carving it points to a tradition of tales of which she seems to have been aware.

3. *Cloy’d*[ Cloyed: clogged, cumbered, burdened; sated, surfeited (*OED* ppl. a.).

5. *shakes the Glass*] A reference to the examination of urine for the purposes of
medical diagnosis. By the mid-seventeenth century this practice had been widely discredited and was a sign of a quack. In a lengthy pamphlet disputing the practice Thomas Brian reminds his readers that it is ‘often spoken from the mouth of many a well-read and experienced man in Physicke, That (Urina est meretrix, vel mendax) the Urine is an Harlot, or a Lyer, and that there is no certain knowledge of any Disease to be gathered from the Urine alone’ ((1655), sig. A2r). Similarly, Thomas Browne disputes the use of urine for medical diagnosis with the statement that ‘Physitians (many at least that make profession thereof) beside divers lesse discoverable waves of fraude, have made them beleive, there is the book of fate, or the power of Aarons brest-plate in Urines’ ((1646), p. 8).

6. Revuls] Revulsion: the action or practice of diminishing a morbid condition in one part of the body by operating or acting upon another (OED I).

Revulse. Capable of producing revulsion; tending to revulsion. An application employed to produce revulsion (OED A and B).

14. distill] To trickle down or fall in minute drops, as rain, tears; to issue forth in drops or in a fine moisture; to exude. (OED v. 1.)

18-19. They call them ... for your diseas] Pliny provides an account of the medicinal properties of apes. He writes that ‘The Lion is never sick but of the peevishnes of his stomacke, loathing all meat: and then the way to cure him, is to tie unto him certaine shee apes, which with their wanton mocking and making mowes at him, may move his patience and drive him for the verie indignitie of their malapert saucinesse, into a fit of madnesse; and then, so soone as he hath tasted their blood, he is perfectly well againe: and this is the onely remedie ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 202).

21. Royall Eagle] It was a commonplace that in old age eagles survived by drinking blood. See for example John Merbecke who writes that ‘For that foule is faire and well liking unto hir old age, and is not effeebled by yeares, nor subject to diseases, till at the length she die for hunger. Certaine it is that she liveth long: but at the length hir beake ouergroweth, so as she cannot receive meate, but onelic is faine to sucke in the bloud of it, or els to refresh-hir selfe with drinking, whereupon came the Proverbe: An Eagles olde age for necessitie, compelleth him to be euer bibling. And because drinke alone is not enough to maintaine life, they rather pine awaie for hunger and want of foode, then decaie for want of strength’ ((1581), p. 326).

25. For fatting of their Nobles up in Cages] I have not found this reference.


27. To an old Tyrant ... dying groan] Pulter may have had Thomas Fuller’s account of tyrants in mind when she wrote this. He writes that the tyrant ‘counts men in miserie the most melodious instruments: Especially if they be well tuned and play’d upon by cunning musician, who are artificiall in tormenting them, the more the merrier; and if he hath a set, and full consort of such tortur’d miserable souls, he danceth most cheerfully at the pleasant dittie of their dying grones’ ((1642), p. 426).
All Creatures then the Dolphin are more slow
Below Fair Cinthia (Neptune this did know)
When lovely Amphitrite whose splendid Fame
Had kindled in his Breast a quenchless Flame
Hee was his spokesman to this daintie Doxie
Who Woo'd and won and Marry'd her by Proxie
Into her Wavie Bed hee Flack'd his Tayl
The Contract in noe Circumstance did Fayl
Yet would hee not the Royall virgin leave
Least some affront his Soveraign should receive
Like Maximillian who did Brittain Wed
With putting one bare leg into her Bed
King Charles too Nimble was for this slow ---
Himselfe did wed, and Bed this Princely Lass
The Dolphin Wiser was then this great King
For hee the Sliprie Virgin home did bring
This Active Fish with Fishermen will Joyn
In Catching Mullets, Sops and Spritely Wine
They have for pay, noe love to Man they lack
For Musicalay Orion on the Back
Of Dolphins Rod, soe did two Pretty Boys
Some that are Ridged count these vertues toys
This Fish is still in Motion till hee dies
For though hee sleeps yet still hee never lies
But sinks into the bottome of the Main
The Wakes and Springs up to the top again
Hee's true to's King, his Int'rest and his end
True to ungratefull man, himselfe his freind
By all these Circumstances you may see
None but the Active Man a Friend can bee
Those that have reason, and yet Idle lie
Doe Just like Hogs noe good untill they Die
Then think on Titus who would always say
When hee had don none good, I have lost this day
Remember Draco, sure that Law was good
For Mother Idleness was writ in Blood
Should hee reform our villages and Towns
Wee should have Empty houses and larg Grounds
That Law would take away (I fear) more lives
Of Country Gentlemen, and Cittizens Wives
Then of the natives Blood the Spaniards Spil'd
Or in these times our seeking Saints have Kil'd
Then doe some good whilst Light and Life you have
The Idle Man Anticipates the Grave.

11. Maxillian] marginal annotation: My Lord veru. his Hist. of Hen. the 7th Fol. 80 [This is an accurate reference to Francis Bacon's Historie of the Reigne of King Henry the Seventh (1629), p. 80].
31. lie] altered from bee.
41. spil'd] altered from kil'd.
1-10. *All Creatures ... should receive*] In *Gynaikleon*, Thomas Heywood recounts the myth of the nereid Amphitrite’s marriage to Neptune or Poseidon, god of the sea. He writes that Neptune ‘solicited the love of Amphitrite, but shee not willing to condescend to his amorous purpose, hee imploied a Dolphin to negotiate in his behalfe, who dealt so well in the businesse, that they were not only reconsiled, but soone after married. For which, in the perpetuall memoriae of so great and good an office done to him, he placed him amongst the starres’ ((1624), Lib. 1, p. 33). It seems likely that Pulter’s description of the dolphin’s involvement in a marriage by proxy and later refusal to leave Amphitrite unprotected are details she added to forge closer links between this tale and the later account of the marriage negotiations between Maximilian I of Habsburg and Anne of Brittany (see note to lines 11-14). Pulter presents the dolphin as the model courtier or subject, active in the service of his king.

1. ... *then the Dolphin are more slow*] Pulter’s account of the dolphin is primarily based on Pliny’s. He writes that ‘The swiftest of all other living creatures whatsoever, and not of sea fish only, is the Dolphin; quicker than the flying foule, swifter than the arrow shot out of a bow’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 238).

2. *Cinthia*] The moon. The dolphin is swifter than any other creature under the moon. Cynthia, or the moon, has particular jurisdiction over the sea suggesting Pulter is referring specifically to the dolphin’s superior speed when compared to all creatures that swim.


*splendent fame*] A bright, brilliant, spotless reputation (*OED* a. 3.).

4. *his Breast*] Neptune’s breast or heart.

5. *Doxie*] Slang term for a mistress or a paramour (*OED* 1).

7-8. *Into her Wavie ... did Fayfl*] The dolphin takes part in a ceremony by which the marriage by proxy between Amphitrite and Neptune is formally consumated. He places his tail into Amphitrite’s bed in imitation of the ambassador who placed his leg into Anne of Brittany’s bed to consumate her marriage to Maximilian I (see note to lines 11-14).

*Contract*] The marriage contracted between Neptune and Amphitrite.

11-14. *Like Maximillian ... Princely Lass*] In his *Historie of the Reigne of King Henry the Seventh* (1629) Francis Bacon recounts the story of Maximilian I of Habsburg (1459-1519) who married Anne of Brittany (1477–1514) by proxy in 1490. The marriage was ceremoniously consummated when ‘Maximilians Ambassadour with letters of Procuration, and in the presence of sundry Noble Personages, Men and Women, put his Legge (striped naked to the Knee) betweene the Espousall Sheets’ ((1629), p. 80). However, Bacon goes on to note that ‘Maximilian (whose propertie was to leave things then, when they were almost
come to perfection, and to end them by imagination; like ill Archers, that draw not their Arrowes up to the Head: and who might as easily have bedded the Lady himselfe, as to have made a Play and Disguise of it) thinking now all assured, neglected for a time his further Proceeding, and intended his Warres’ ((1629), p. 80). In the meantime the French King, Charles VIII (1470-1498), despite his engagement to Maximilian’s daughter Magaret of Austria (1480-1530), had the marriage declared void so that he could marry Anne instead.

slow ---) Pulter (or the scribe) modestly omits the word ‘Ass’ from the conclusion of the line.

17-19. *This Active Fish* ... *for pay*] Pliny notes that ‘In Languedoc ... there is a standing poole or dead water called Laterra, wherein men and Dolphins together, use to fish: for at one certain time of the yeere, and infinite number of fishes called Mullets... breake forth of the said poole into the sea’. He then adds that after they have assisted in the catching of the fish ‘the Dolphins retire not presently into the deepe againe, from whence they were called, but stay untill the morrow, as if they knew verie well that they had so carried themselves, as that they deserved a better reward than one daies refection and vituals: and therefore contented they are not and satisfied, unlesse to their fish they have some sops and crummes of bread given them soaked in wine, and that their bellies [are] full’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 240).

20-21. *For Musicall* ... *Rod*] Arion, lyric poet from Methymna on Lesbos (Brill’s *New Pauly*, vol. 1, p. 1083). Pliny notes that ‘This Arion being a notable musitian and plaier of the harpe, chaunced to fall into the hands of certain mariners in the ship wherein he was, who supposing that he had good store of money about him, which he had gotten with his instrument, were in hand to kill him and cast him over-bourd for said money’. Expecting to die, Arion requested permission to ‘play one fit of mirth with his harpe; which they graunted: (at his musicke and sound of harpe, a number of dolphins came flocking about him:)’. When this had been done ‘they turned him over ship-bourd into the sea; where one of the dolphins tooke him upon his backe, and carried him safe to the bay to Twnarus’ (Pliny (1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 239). For alternative emblematic representations of Arion see Whitney (1586), p. 144 and Wither (1635), p. 10. In his emblem of Arion, Whitney focuses on the friendship offered to man by wild creatures. He writes that there is ‘no mortall foe so full of poysoned spite, /As man, to man’ and refers to literary examples in which, when ‘suppos’d frendes’ seek the death of an individual, these creatures ‘kindnesse shew’d’, including the dolphin’s aid of Arion. For Wither Arion is a more general symbol of ‘Vertuous Innocence’. The innocent subject, despite the ‘Seas of troubles’ in which she may find herself, is resilient to ‘the Malice of the World’. Pulter rejects the more abstract interpretation of Wither and instead follows Whitney’s approach in interpreting the dolphin as a symbol of friendship. But she departs from his interpretation in her emphasis on political friendship and the individual’s loyalty to his or her monarch.

21. *Soe did two Pretty Boys*] Pliny recounts several tales of dolphins who loved young boys ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 239). These are reproduced by Burton in an abbreviated form in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. He writes ‘A Dolphin loved a boy called Hernias, and when he died, the fish came on land, and so perisshed’ adding ‘a Dolphin at Puteoli loved a child, would come often to him, let him get on his backe, and carry him about, and when by sicknesse, the child was taken away, the
Dolphin died \((1621), p. 532\); see also Sandys \((1632), p. 221\).

22. **Ridged** \[Rigid: strict in opinion or observance; scrupulously exact or precise in respect of these (\textit{OED} 3b, 4a and b.).\]

**toys** \[A thing of little or no value or importance, a trifle; a foolish or senseless affair, a piece of nonsense (\textit{OED} n. 5).\]

23-26. **This fish is still ... top again**\] Pliny states that dolphins do not sleep because they frequently need to return to the surface of the water in order to breathe, but Pulter was not alone in her idea that dolphins do sleep; Alexander Ross, for example, notes that ‘Dolphins never rest, not when they sleep’ \((1642), p. 36\). Pulter’s description of the dolphin springing to the surface of the water corresponds with Pliny’s account of the way in which they continue to breathe while chasing fish to the bottom of the sea. He says that when they need air they ‘launce themselves aloft from under the water as if they were shot out of a bow; and with such a force they spring up againe, that many times they mount over the verie sailes and mastes of ships’ \((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 238\). Pulter’s description of the dolphin’s frenetic activity, even while asleep, reinforces her emphasis on the creature’s active friendship and service.

28. **True to ... his freind** \[The idea that the dolphin was a friend to man was widely known and often repeated; see for example Pliny \((1601), p. 238\); Burton \((1621), p. 532\); Sandys \((1632)\); and Ross \((1642), p. 36\).\]

32. **Doe Just ... they Die** \[For Pulter’s use of the hog to portray the irreligious and uncouth see emblems 34 and 36.\]

33-34. **Then think on ... this day** \[Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus \((39-81),\) commonly known as Titus, Roman emperor. In his account of Titus’s life Suetonius recalls how ‘Calling to minde one time as he sat at supper, That he had done nothing for any man that day, hee uttered this memorable and praise-worthy Apophthegme, My Friends, I have lost a day’ \((1606), p. 256\). For Pulter, Titus provides a positive example of those who dedicate their time to useful activity.\]

35-42. **Remember Draco ... have Kil’d** \[Draco \((7^\text{th} \text{ Century BC}),\) first legislator of ancient Athens (\textit{Brill’s New Pauly}, vol. 4, p. 706). Plutarch notes that Draco ‘dyd ordaine but one kinde of punishment, for all kinde of faultes and offences, which was death. So that they which were condemned for idlenes, were judged to dye. And pety larceny, as robbing mens horteyards, and gardens of fruite, or erbes, was as severely punished: as those who had committed sacriledge or murder. Demades therefore encountered it pleaasuntly, when he sayd; The Dracons lawes were not written with incke, but with bloud’ \((1579), p. 96\). In contrast to Demades who is critical of Draco’s law, Pulter celebrates it.\]

40. **Of Country ... Citizens Wives** \[Pulter uses the term ‘citizens’ to refer specifically to those living in London and also to those of a social class distinct from the gentry or nobility (\textit{OED} 1. c. and d.). Her complaint about sloth, which she extends to men and women, those in the country and the city, and those of a wide range of social standings, is designed to evoke the entire population of the England. In contrast to the dolphin’s active loyalty to Neptune, these people have
been detrimentally inactive in their support of the monarchy.

41. Then of... Spil’d] This line evokes sixteenth and seventeenth-century Northern European attacks on Spanish colonialism in South America, a phenomenon that later became known as the ‘Black Legend’. A key text relating to this issue is Bartolemé de Las Casas’s *Brevisima Relación de las Indias* which was first translated from Spanish into French and then first published in English in 1583. Significantly, in 1656 the text was reissued with the title *The Tears of the Indians Being an Historical and True Account of the Cruel Massacres and Slaughters of Above Twenty Millions of Innocent People, Committed by the Spaniards*, possibly in response to Cromwell’s acquisition of Jamaica in 1655 (Pulter refers to this in emblem 50). Using illustrations and graphic descriptions, the text presents a detailed account of the Spaniards’ brutal torture and murder of Native Americans by the Spanish.

42. Or in ... have Kil’d] In keeping with contemporary royalist practice, Pulter has adopted the term ‘saints’ as an ironic attack on the monarch’s opposition. The term was specifically applied to the Nominated Assembly or Barebones Parliament (July-December 1653) that was also known as the Parliament of Saints. It acquired this name in reference to a suggestion put forward by the Fifth Monarchist Thomas Harrison who proposed a ruling body based upon the Old Testament Sanhedrin (highest court of justice and supreme council) of seventy selected ‘Saints’. Pulter appears to be using the term more generally to refer to all those connected with Cromwell, specifically the army, whom she holds responsible for widespread murder and destruction during the 1640s and 50s. It is not clear if she was thinking of their actions in Britain or if, in reference to the previous line, she is referring to their subsequent actions in the colonies, specifically Jamaica.

*seeking*] Seek: to pursue with a hostile intention; to attack; to persecute (*OED* 6. a) or to try and bring something into effect. In the context of this poem both meanings have relevance. Pulter criticises the ‘Saints’ for widespread violence against the people of Britain and also for their blasphemous aim to bring about a change of government.
View but this Tulip, Rose, or July Flower
And by a Finit see an Infinite power
These Flowers into their Chaos were retir'd
Till humane art them rais'd and Reinspir'd
With beating, Macerating, Fermentation
Calcining, Chimically, with Segregation
Then least the ayr these secrets should reveal
Shut up the ashes under Hermes Seal
Then with a Candle or a gentle Fire
You may reanimate at your desire
These Gallant plants, but if you cool the Glass
To their first principles they'll quickly pass
From Sulphur, Salt and Mercury, they came
When they dissolv they turn into the same
Then seeing a wretched Mortall hath the power
To recreate a verbious of a Flower
Why should wee Fear, though sadly wee retire
Into our Caus, our God will reinspire
Our dormant Dust and keep alive the same
With an all Quickning Everlasting Flame
Then though I into atomes scattered bee
In Indivisables I'le trust in thee.
Then let this Comfort mee in my Sad Story
Dust is but Four degrees remov'd from Glory
[f. 118v] By Natures Paths, but God from Death and Night
Can raise this Flesh to endless life, and Light
Then my impatient soul Contented bee
For Thou a Glorious spring e're long shallt see
After these Gloomey shades of Death and sorrow
Thou shalt injoy an Everlasting Morrow
As Wheat in new plow'd Furrows Rotting lies
Uncapable of quickning till it dies
Soe into dust this Flesh of mine must turn
And lie a while forgotten in my Urn
Yet when the Sea, and Earth, and Hell, shall give
Their Treasures up my Body too shall Live
Not like the Resurrection at Grand Caire
Where men revive then straight of Life despair
But with my Soul my Flesh shall reunite
And ne're involved bee with Death and Night
But live in endless pleasure Love and Light
Then Halelujahs will I sing to thee
My Gracious God to all Eternitie
Then at thy dissolution patient bee
If Man can raise a Flower God can thee.
1-10. This poem describes the process of ‘palingenesis’ whereby a plant or flower is first killed and then brought back to life. The idea was widely circulating in Interregnum England with Sir Thomas Browne alluding to it in *Religio Medici*. He states that a ‘plant or a vegetable consumed to ashes, to a contemplative and schoole Philosopher seems utterly destroyed, and the forme to have taken his leave for ever: But to a sensible Artist the forms are not perished, but withdrawne into their incombustible part, where they lie secure from the action of that devouring element. This is made good by experience, which can from the ashes of a plant revive the plant, and from its cinders recall it into its stalk and leaves againe’ ((1643), p. 109). More detailed account of the process of palingenesis is provided by Gaffarel Jacques, *Un-heard of Curiosities* (1650), p. 136. For a discussion of the way in which Pulter uses alchemical imagery in her occasional poetry see Archer (2005).

2. *And by ... Infinite power*] Pulter uses the example of the plant resurrected by man as a reminder that at Doomsday God will resurrect each individual’s body so that it may be reunited with their soul. This was a common motif in emblematic poetry; see Linden (1984).

3. *These Flowers ... were retir'd*] The flowers Pulter is describing are first reduced to their original formless state of dispersed atoms, as they would have been in existence before they took on their physical shape. *Chaos*] Thomas Blount defines ‘chaos’ as ‘a huge immense and formeless mass, the rude and undigested first heap of natural elements; the world so called, before it was formed’ ((1656), sig. H8v).

*Retire*] to return; to go back (*OED* 4.).

4. *Till humane ... Reinspir'd*] Following their destruction the flowers are brought back to life again by human skill. Pulter goes on to outline the processes by which this is achieved.

*Raised*] Restored to life (*OED* 1a.).

*Reinspired*] Inspired again; actuated or animated by divine or supernatural influence (*OED* ppl. a. A 3; earliest example given is from Milton, 1667).

5-6. With beating ... Segregation*] In these lines Pulter lists the various alchemical processes by which the flowers are reduced, or ‘retir’d’ into their original state, or ‘Chaos’.

*beating*] Mashing or whipping through the infliction of repeated blows (*OED* vbl. 1.a.).

*Macerating*] Macerating: the steeping of a substance in liquid until it softens (*OED* v. 2a.).

*Fermentation*] ‘A leavening, as of bread; a mixing or savouring. Also a working, as of Ale or Beer, and sometimes, a fastning, setling, assuring’ (*Phillips* (1658), sig. P2r).

*Calcining*] The ‘rapid, intense and dry heating in a sealed vessel, reducing the
matter to calx or dust’ (Archer (2005), p. 5).

Chemically: the general alchemical or chemical process by which the flower is reduced to its original state (OED 1.).


6-7. The least ... Hermes Seal] One they have been reduced to their most basic principles, the flowers are placed in an receptacle made airtight by an hermetic seal (Abraham (1998), p. 99).

8-9. Then with ... your desire] Once the flower has been reduced to its original state it can be brought back to life using heat. Jacques provides an account of this process with a description of a philosopher who ‘tooke That where the Ashes of a Rose were preserved; and holding it over the a lighted Candle, so soone as ever it began to feel the Heat, you should presently see the Ashes begin to Move; which afterwards rising up, and dispersing themselves about the Glasse, you should immediately observe a kind of little Dark Cloud; which dividing it selfe into many parts, it came at length to represent a Rose; but so Faire, so Fresh, and so Perfect a one, that you would have thought it to have been as Substantial, and as Odoriferous a Rose, as any growes on the Rose-tree (Jacques (1650), pp. 136-37). While Jacques describes the production of an illusion or ghost of a flower, Pulter uses her account to suggest that the flower can be brought physically back to life.

reanimate] To animate with new life, to make alive again, to restore to life or consciousness (OED v. 1).

12-14. To their first ... into the same] If the remains of the flower are allowed to cool they will revert to their ‘first principles’ or their original pure substance, which Pulter goes on to list as ‘Sulphur, Salt and Mercury’.

Sulphur, Salt and Mercury] According to Lyndy Abraham, these are the ‘tria prima or three first principles’ of Paracelsus (1493-1541) who stated that all metals comprise these three substances. They are not however the same as we understand them today, instead mercury represents the ‘spirit’ of the metal, sulphur the ‘soul’ and salt ‘the body’. Sulphur is the ‘mediating principle’ that unites body and spirit and makes them one essence (Abraham (1998), p. 176). Pulter adopts the ‘first principles’ more commonly associated with metals and attributes them to the flower.

dissolv] To loosen or put asunder the parts of; to reduce to its formative elements; to destroy the physical integrity of a substance (OED v. 1).

16. verbious] Virbius: in Ovid’s Metamorphoses Hypolytus rejects the sexual advances of Phaedra, his stepmother, who informs his father, Theseus, that he raped her. Furious about what he heard, Theseus puts a curse on Hypolytus and he is ‘torne to peices by his horses’. ‘Miserably disjoyned’ Hypolytus is then ‘set together and restored to life by Æsculapus’, god of medicine. The goddess Diana renames him ‘Virbius’, meaning ‘man twice born’ (Sandys (1632), p. 523).

17. dormant Dust] A reference to Genesis 2.7: ‘And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul’. Jayne Archer provides an account of the alchemical significance of the term; she writes that ‘Alchemists identified this Adamic earth, an earth or dust pregnant with life, with the prima materia, the starting-point of the
18. **Caus** In *The Mysterie of Rhetorique Unvail’d*, John Smith defines ‘cause’ as ‘that by which any thing hath its being, as God, by whom the world, &c. hath its being’ (1656), sig. A7v).

20. **Quicken**] Quicken: to give or restore life to; to make alive; to vivify or revive; to animate (as the soul the body) (*OED* v. 1a).

21. **Atomes**] A hypothetical body, so infinitely small as to be incapable of further division; and thus held to be one of the ultimate particles of matter, by the concourse of which, according to Leucippus and Democritus, the universe was formed (*OED* n. 1).

22. **Indivisibles**] That which is indivisible; an infinitely small particle or quantity. (*OED* a. and n. B.).

24-26. **Dust is but ... and light**] This may be a reference to the various stages in the process of resurrecting a flower, which is contrasted with the ease with which God can resurrect the human soul.

31-32. **As Wheat ... till it dies**] A reference to Jesus’s metaphor for his own death, he states: ‘Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit’ (John 12.24).

33. **Urn**] An earthenware or metal vessel or vase of a rounded or ovaloid form and with a circular base, used by various peoples esp. in former times (notably by the Romans and Greeks) to preserve the ashes of the dead. Hence vaguely used (esp. *poet.*) for ‘a tomb or sepulchre, the grave’. In frequent use from c 1640 (*OED* n. 1).

35-36. **Yet when the ... shall live**] A reference to Revelation 20:13; ‘And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works.

37-38. **Not like ... Life despair**] Patrick Gordon reports on ‘that Supernatural (but Fictitious) Prodigy, that’s reported to be yearly seen near to old Caire, viz. The Annual Resurrection of many dead Bones on Holy Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, (according to the old Calendar) which both Turks and Christians in those Parts, do firmly believe; and that by the means of some pious Frauds, of a few designing Santo’s among them’ ((1699), p. 296). I have found no other reference to this but Pulter suggests that those supposedly revived do not live very long.
41. The Estrich with her gallant gaudy plumes
In her great wit and Courage soe Presumes
That as with wind and wing upright shees bo’rn
The Horse and’s valient Rider shee doth scorn
But folly is Concomitant with Pride
For shee her precious Egs in sand doth hide
Forgetting that the Travellor’s foot may Crush
Their Tender shell, nor doth shee Care a Rush
Though shee her young doe never see again
And thus shee lays and labours all in vain
Caus God hath Understanding her denide
For Love, and Wisdome, never will reside
With Arogance for they are from above
From God who is the Fountain of all Love
The Estrich then the Cuckow is Far worsse
For shee doth onely put her Egs to Nurss
Hard is her Meat but harder is her Heart
That with her new lay’d Ovums thus can part
Oh my Sad Soul this mak’s my Heart e’ne bleed
None but base English and Cam’s cursed seed
[ f. 119v] Doe sell their Children n’ere to see them more
Such Barbarisme all Christians must deplore
Cruell’s the Estrich crueller their heart
That with their dear bought Children thus can part
When as the stork her Young doe bear and feed
Which they retaliate in Age and Need
By which the Noble Reader plain may see
That Foolish Creatures least indulgent bee
Let Parents then to theirs extend their Love
Seeing Naturall affection’s from above
Then Gracious God into my Soul infuse
Thy Love and Wisdome that it may diffuse
To all my Children great as well as less
Then Ô my God that Love and Wisdome bless.


1. Estrich] Ostrich. Pliny says that ostriches are ‘the greatest of all other foules, and
in manner of the nature of foure footed beasts: (namely, those in Affricke and
Aethyopia) for higher they bee than a man sitting on horsebacke is from the
ground: and as they bee taller than the man, so are they swifter on foot than the very
horse. For to this end onely hath Nature given them wings, even to helpe and set
them forward in their running: for otherwise, neither flie they in the aire, ne yet so
much as rise and mount from the ground’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 270). For an
alternative emblems of the ostrich see Willet, emblem 88 (1592), sig. K2r.
Compared with Pulter, who emphasises that the ostrich lacks the divine love and
wisdom necessary for taking care of her own offspring, Willet provides almost the
opposite interpretation of the ostrich burying its eggs in the sand. According to him
the sand ‘than her more kind/nurseth the young’ and they ‘life thereby doe find by
heate up sprung’. From this, mothers are advised that in ‘pampering the flesh’ the wit ‘they spill’.

gallant] See emblem 14, note to lines 7-12.


5-13. But folly is ... are from above] These lines refer to Job 39:13-18, which describe how the ostrich ‘leaveth her eggs in the earth, and warmeth them in dust’ and that she ‘forgetteth that the foot may crush them, or that the wild beast may break them’. She does this because ‘She is hardened against her young ones, as though they were not her's: her labour is in vain without fear’ and ‘Because God has deprived her of wisdom, neither hath he imparted to her understanding’. The Ostrich’s pride is implied in the statement that ‘What time she lifteth up herself on high, she scorneth the horse and his rider’.

15-16. The Estrich then ... Egs to Nurs] Pulter is suggesting that the ostrich, which buries its eggs in the sand is even worse than the cuckoo, which at least ensures the care of its eggs by leaving them in another bird’s nest. For Pulter’s account of the way in which the cuckoo treats its young see emblem 29.

20-21. None but base ... see them more] In the book of Genesis Cham’s (or Ham’s) son Canaan and his descendents are condemned to servitude after Cham sees his own father, Noah, naked. Noah states ‘Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren’ (Genesis 9.25). This story came to be conflated with the alternative story of Cham’s son Chus being punished with black skin. Cham disobeyed an injunction upon those on the ark that they should abstain from having sex with their wives (Vaughan (1994), p. 54). It is not clear from Pulter’s reference if she is making this association here. For a more detailed account of the two stories see emblem 45, note to line 21. Pulter’s allusion to the ‘base English’ selling their children is possibly a reference to the number of royalist political prisoners, criminals, and Irish transported as slaves to West Indies during the Interregnum (Venning (1996), pp. 88-9). See also emblem 50, note to line 22.

25-26. When as the ... bear and feed] Pliny note that ‘Storkes keepe one nest still from yeare to yeare, and never chaunce: and of this kind nature they are, that the young will keepe and feed their parents when they be old, as they themselves were by them nourished in the beginning’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 282). For alternative emblems of the stork see Palmer, emblem 49 (Manning, 1988), p. 53 and Whitney (1586), p. 73. Like Pulter, Whitney emphasises the reciprocal relationship between the stork and its young. For him, this creature’s example ‘teaches bothe, the parente and the childe,/Theire duties heare, which eche to other owe’. Similarly, Palmer focuses on the stork’s propensity to look after its parents which, he writes, is a reminder to ‘give/Suche thinges as may sustaine his lyfe,/by whome thiselﬁe doste lyve’.

retaliate] Pulter uses the term in a form that is now rare, meaning to requite, repay in kind, make return for a kindness, civility, etc. (OED v.1 1,1a).
28. *indulgent*] See emblem 5, note to line 7.

29. *theirs*] i.e. their own children.

32. *diffuse*] To spread through, disperse, disseminate (*OED* I 2).
This huge Leviathan for all his strength
Is by an Indians Witt subdu'd at length
Who can but such a Monst'rous bulk deride
Who suffers one upon his Neck to Ride
Knocking in Billets into either Nose
Whence Seas and Shoals of Fishes ever Flows
Nor cares hee though hee bounce, or Flounce, or beat,
Against the Rocks, yet still hee keeps his seat
And spight of's teeth hee Rides him to the shores
Where Fil'd with Horrour hee his Life out Rores
Thus hee Triumphant Lites, thus ends his Toyl
Cutting his Unctious Collops out to boyl
By this you see that Witt doth oft subdue
The greatest strenght this Elaphants finds True
And see the Youths of Thesaly did tame
The Warlike Horse, soe Bulls they overcame
Whence cald Centaurus, Soe against their Wills
Four Thousand Whales are Forcd to draw in Mills
Then though thy strength and Courage doe transcend
Bee not too Proud, nor on them both depend
Doe not thy despicablest Foe despise
For from the Vulgar one you see did rise
Which did the Fierce and Monst'rous Hidra back
The Jade was resty and did Rideing lack
Now the Tame Beast both Whip and spur abides
Needs must they Gallop, whom the Devill rides
Soe when hee did possess the Heard of swine
They straight ran Headlong into Neptunes brine
Then let the giddy Monster warning take
Least they precipitate into that Lake
Where sulphur mixt with never quenched Fire
Where they still die yet never quite expire
Then take my counsell and the Find off throw
Least hee and you into perdition goe.

17. Soe against...to draw in Mills] crossed out.
25. both] altered from bot.
26. rides] altered from drives.
32. still] altered from shall in authorial hand.
33. off] altered from of in authorial hand.
and courage to encounter the most fierce and deformed beast in the world, and [not] only to fight with him, but also to vanquish him, and to triumph over him’. For an alternative emblem of the whale see Willet, emblem 90 (1592), sig. K3v. In contrast to Pulter Willet states that the whale ‘doth men dismay’ and ‘nothing can him fear’. He uses this as a reminder that we should ‘worship Gods name’ because ‘By’s hand these creatures of great fame/created were’.

**Laviathan**] Leviathan: the biblical name for a whale. For an alternative depiction of the whale see emblem 12 and for the significance of the term ‘leviathan’ see emblem 12, note to line 1.

**Billets**] Chunks of wood (*OED* n. 2. 1a.).

**Uncious**] Unctuous. Oily, greasy (*OED* a. 1).

**Collops**] Slices or lumps of meat (*OED* 1.2b, 3, 4).

14. *The greatest ... finds True*] For an account of the methods used by the Indians to catch elephants see emblem 21, note to line 22.

15-17. *Youths of Thesaly ... Whence cald Centaurus*] George Sandys describes how ‘Ixion king of Thessaly, having a part of his countrey infested with wilde Bulls, proclaimed a reward to such as should destroy them’. The ‘inhabitants of Mount Pelion’ undertook the challenge and being ‘the first that ever backt horses ... by the addition of their speed overtook the Bulls, and goared them with their javelins’. They came called ‘Centaures’ after being seen ‘as they watered their horses at the river Peneus’; the people were so ‘amazed at so uncouth a sight, they supposed both to be but one creature’ ((1632), p. 231).

17-18. *Soe against ... draw in Mills*] For an alternative reference to whales drawing mills see emblem 21, note to line 25.

22-23. *For from the ... Monst'rous Hidra*] Hydra, monster born of Typhon and Echidna (*Brill’s New Pauly*, vol. 6, p. 598). In his account of the hydra, Sandys states that it ‘was said to be a venomous Serpent, which did much spoyle in the Argive territories; lurking in the lake of Lerna; and to have had many heads; whereof one being cut off, two rose in the roome more terrible then the former: which Hercules assailed and destroied, by sudden cauterizing of her headlesse necks’ ((1632), p. 335). Pulter draws on a contemporary commonplace in presenting the unruly multitude as the hydra. Her reference to one who rose ‘from the Vulgar’ to control the hydra is probably an allusion to Cromwell; for a similar depiction see emblem 48. An alternative emblem of the hydra is provided by Thomas Combe, emblem XCIX (1614), sig. G7v. His depiction includes a representation of Hercules who famously destroyed the creature for the second of his labours. Combe states that the emblem is a reminder that even when honour, peace and security are obtained ‘some chance or other by fowl envy growes’ creating ‘new troubles and new travels’. The hydra, which Hercules encountered shortly after his first labour and which renews its heads once they are cut off provides a symbol of renewed trouble. For an alternative reference to the hydra see Pulter’s unnumbered emblem ‘An old Man through a Town did often pass’.
24. **Jade**] A contemptuous name for a horse; a horse of inferior breed, e.g. a cart- or draught-horse as opposed to a riding horse; a roadster, a hack; a sorry, ill-conditioned, wearied, or worn-out horse; a vicious, worthless, ill-tempered horse *(OED n.1. 1)*.

27. **Soe when hee did possess the Heard of Swine**] A reference to the biblical story of Legion, who was possessed by many spirits or devils. Jesus blessed him and ‘the unclean spirits went out, and entered into the swine: and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea, (they were about two thousand;) and were choked in the sea’ *(Mark 5.2-13; alternative versions of the story appear in Matthew 8:28-32 and Luke 8.27-33)*.

30. **precipitate**] To fall or to come suddenly to ruin or destruction *(OED v. 2a-b.)*.


33. **Find**] Fiend.

34. **perdition**] The condition of final spiritual ruin or damnation; the future condition of the wicked and finally impenitent or unredeemed; the fate of those in hell, eternal death *(OED n. 2a)*.
43. This Stately Ship Courted by Winds and Tide
Upon the Curling Billows swiftly Rides
Pround of her Carri’dg nothing shee did fear
For Cæsar and his Fortunes shee did bear
Great Neptune for his lovly Neeces sake
Did Charg old Eolus a peace to make
Between those blustering Tetarks, all Jarrs
Which fills his Trembling kingdoms with such Wars
[f. 121r] The Halcion too her Young had new disclos’d
And all but one Trade Wind were now repos’d
I verily think some Elfin Lapland Hags
Had put the one and Thirty Winds in Bags
As when the Learned’st of great Fergus seed
Did fetch the Elve, to Marry with his Tweed
They gave the King old Borus in a Purss
I wish noe Witches ever may doe Worss
And thus this Gallant ship did make her Way
When too their strang amazement shee did stay
Some Furl’d the sayls and others tri’d the Oar
A Thousand other Tricks they did explore
Noe shelf, nor sand, nor dangerous Rock was near
Which made them some Infernall malles fear
At last great Julius made one Dive and feel
Who found a Remmora stick on the keell
These staid the ship if Plinie tels the truth
When Periander sent to Geld the Youth
Of Gnidos, I wish some Find may stay
Those ships which such proud Tyrants doe obey
But if a starr should shoot whilst I wish soe
Few ships from Brittish Harbours then would goe
By this wee see how poor a thing will stop
Mans proud designs twas Mordicai stiff knee
That trust up Hammon on the Fatall Tree
[f. 121v] A worm abrupted great Agryppa's Glory
A Fly did end Pope Alexanders Story
Soe Fair Cruesa in her height of Pride
By an inflammable rich Mantle died
Then let us all move humble in our sphear
And then noe Remmora wee need to Fear.

22. malles] altered to malice in additional hand.
23. Plinie] author's note: Plinie 9th Book Chap.25 fol. 249 [this reference is correct].
24. last] additional l deleted.
27. find] altered to Fiend in additional hand.
38. Sphear] altered to sphere in additional hand.

1-10. This Stately Ship ... now repos’d] This poem opens with an image taken from
Book I of Virgil’s Aeneid which begins with the Trojans setting sail for Italy on a
quest to find a second home while Juno ‘who in rancled bosome bare/Eternall
wounds’ attempts to divert them by creating a storm. Neptune ‘incenst’ to see ‘His Trojan friends by seas and skies opprest’ chastises the winds and tells them ‘Fly timely hence’. No sooner has he said this then ‘he calmes the boistrous maine; / Scatters the cloudes, the Sun restores againe’ (Sandys (1632), pp. 534-36). Among the editions available to Pulter are John Ogilby’s, first published in The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro (1649) (for Pulter’s interest in Ogilby see emblem 48, note to line 18) and also the translation of Book One included in George Sandys’s translation of Ovid’s Metamorphoses (1632). For an alternative emblematic depiction of Aeneas see Peacham (1612), emblem 165.


7. Tetarks] Tetrarchs; here the four joint rulers of the winds (OED n. 2).

9. The Halcion too ... new disclos’d] The time when the halcyon, or kingfisher, gives birth is traditionally associated with calm seas. Pliny states that ‘They lay and sit about Mid-winter when daies be shortest: and the time whiles they are broody, is called the Halcyon daies: for during that season, the sea is calme and navigable ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 287).

10. Trade Wind] Any wind that ‘blows trade’, i.e. in a constant course or way; a wind that blows steadily in the same direction (OED 1).

11-12. I verily think ... Winds in Bags] A reference to the popular contemporary myth that the winds were made by witches in Lapland. In her poem ‘Witches in Lapland’, Margaret Cavendish describes how the witches catch the wind and then ‘sack it up’ so that they can ‘sell it out for gaine/To Mariners, which traffick on the maine’ ((1653), p. 157). I have found no other reference to the thirty-one winds that Pulter describes.

13-14. As when the Learned’st ... Fergus seed] This is probably a reference to James I (1566-1625) and his wife Anne (or Anna) of Denmark (1574-1619). In these two lines Pulter draws on many ideas and references associated with the Scottish king and his queen. In August 1589 a marriage by proxy was undertaken in Denmark between Anne and James. Then, in the September Anne set sail for Scotland but horrendous storms forced the fleet to seek refuge in Upslo (later Oslo in Norway). King James, ‘very impatient and sorrowful for hir lang delay’, set sail for Norway and the couple met for the first time in the November. They eventually arrived in Scotland in May 1590 (ODNB). Pulter presents James’s journey to collect Anne amidst an account of witchcraft and its influence on the winds. It was widely rumoured that the disruption of Anne’s journey to Scotland could be attributed to witches (ODNB) and James’s interest in the subject of witches is well known. In Daemonology, James notes that witches ‘can rayse stormes and tempestes in the aire, either upon Sea or land, though not uniuersally, but in such a particular place and prescribed boundes, as God will permitt them so to trouble’ ((Edinburgh,1597; London, 1603), p. 46). James I was renowned for being a
learned king and he did himself claim descent from Fergus, the first king of Scotland (see emblem 48, note to line 1). It is possible that Pulter’s reference to Queen Anne as ‘the Elve’ is an allusion to Ben Jonson’s *Entertainment at Althorp* (first published in *B. Jon: His Part of King James His Royall and Magnificent Entertainement Through His Honorable Cittie of London*, 1604). This was performed at the Spencer family’s residence Althorp in Northamptonshire and was part of the festivities welcoming James I and his queen to England in 1603. At the approach of the Queen and Prince Henry into the ‘parke’ they were greeted by a mischievous ‘satyre’ later driven away by a collection of ‘Faeries’ and ‘Elves’. Jonson goes on to describe Anne as ‘Quasi Oriens’ in reference to Elizabeth-Oriana, or Elizabeth I the original ‘Faerie Queene’ (Young (1979), p. 311). Pulter’s depiction of Anne in reference to her literary associations and specific role in pageantry is in keeping with representations, in her occasional poetry, of Henrietta Maria as Chloris in reference to, among other things, her appearance in Jonson’s *Chloridia* (1631).

15. *They gave ... in a Purss*] Boreas: the northeast wind. In keeping with the account of the winds provided by Cavendish (see note to lines 11-12), Pulter says that the witches gave James I the northeast wind to assist him in his journey from England to Norway.

17-24. *And thus ... the keell*] In these lines Pulter deviates from Virgil’s account of Aeneas’s journey by adding an account of a fish known as a remora, or stay-ship. Describing the remora, Pliny states that even when ‘the currant of the Sea is great, the tide much, the winds vehement and forcible; and more than that, ores and sails withall to helpe forward the rest, are mighty and powerfull: and yet there is one little sillie fish, named Echeneis that checketh, scorneth and arresteth them all: let the winds blow as much as they will, rage the stormes and tempests what they can, yet this little fish commandeth, their fury, restraineth their puissance, and maugre all their force as great as it is, compelleth ships to stand still’ ((1601), ‘Second Tome’, p. 425).

25-27. *These staid ... Of Gnidos*] Pulter is referring to a tale recounted by Pliny who notes that ‘As for the shell-fish Murex...These Fishes chaunced upon a time to cleave fast unto a ship, bringing messengers from Periander, with commission to gueld all the noblemens sonnes in Gnidos, and staied it a long time, notwithstanding it was under saile and had a strong gale of a fore-wind at the poupe’ (Pliny (1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 249). For an alternative emblematic depiction of the remora see Thynne (1600), no. 33, p. 29. For Thynne the creature is a symbol of poverty, which curtails the efforts of even the most virtuous of men.

27-30. *I wish some ... then would goe*] Shooting stars are thought to make wishes come true. Pulter wishes that all ships governed by tyrants could be stopped and she adds that if this were to come true, then all those British ships under the control of Cromwell would never leave the harbour.

32-33. *Mans proid designs...Fatall Tree*] In the book of Esther, Mordecai is the cousin and guardian of Esther the beautiful Jewess chosen by king Ahasuerus to be his wife. Following the marriage Mordecai refuses to bow to Haman, the king’s
tyrannous advisor, setting in motion a series of events eventually resulting in Haman being ‘hanged on the gallows he had prepared for Mordecai’ (Esther 3-7). It is possible that Pulter had Francis Quarles’s version of the story in mind; in his collection of *Emblemes* he states that in response to Haman’s demands for obeisance Mordecai scorned ‘to bend/The Wilfull stiffenesse of his stubborne knee’ ((1635), p. 206). A similar description can be found in Quarles’s, *Divine Poems* ((1630), p. 121). The story of Esther appears to have had particular resonance for Pulter who adopted the Hebrew version of her name ‘Haddassah’ as her literary pseudonym. For a full discussion of the significance of this connection see Chapter Three. 

*Fatall Tree*] The gallows.

34. *A worm ... Agrippas Glory*] Herod Agrippa I (10 BC- 44 AD), King of the Jews. Acts 12:23 recounts how ‘the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost’. Pulter refers to this incident again in emblem 46.

35. *A Fly did ... Alexanders story*] Pope Adrian (or Hadrian) IV (c. 1100-1159), the only English Pope, is thought to have choked on a fly. Thomas Beard writes: ‘Now marke his end: As he walked one day towards Aviane, a flie got in at his mouth and downe his throat so farre, that it stopped the conduit of his breath, so that for all that his physitions could do, hee was choked therewith. And thus he that sought by all the meanes he could to make himselfe greater than he ought to be, and to get the masterie of every thing at his owne will and pleasure, and to take away other mens rights by force, was cut short and rebated by a small and base creature, and constrained to leave this life, which he was most unworthy of’ ((1642), p. 371). Pope Alexander VI (1431-1503) was however a notorious tyrant, which possibly accounts for Pulter’s confusion. This reference is also included in emblem 46.

36-37. *Soe Fair Cruesa ... Mantle died*] See emblem 9, note to line 6.
44. The Brackman Th'angrie Deities to appeas
Hee being afflicted with a sad disease
Unwilling to bee grated thus asunder
Hee did an act made Alexander wonder
For on his Funerall, Flagrant, Pile hee lies
Becoming thus both Priest and Sacrifice
What was Corporeal the Fire Consumes
His Soul its Pristine Glory reassumes
Soe doth the Phænix Fan her guilded Wings
Till Phæbus raise her Gaudy Feathers sings
[f. 122r] Then in that Light in which shee lives shee Fryes
A glorious Virgin Victim, thus shee Dies
Thus though the Fire her grosser part consumes
A principle is left which reassumes
The Azure, Purple, Skarlet, Golden Plumes
Which did adorn, her Gorgious gaudy Mother
Thus they succeed and still exceed each other
Who would not such a blessed change explore
Or who would such a change as this deplore
Although I cannot in Sol's Fulgour Frie
Nor dare not like this Gymnosophist die
Such Stoicall tricks a Christian spirit loaths
Yet as old Aaron did put of his Cloaths
Soo I being Worn with sorrow, sin, and age,
Quite tird with acting in this scene and stage
Would gladly my Mortality lay by
Who then can say Hadassah here doth Lie
When as my soul shall reassend above
To God the Fount of Life, Light, Joy, and Love
Nor shall my scattred dust forgotten rest
But like this Embryo in the Phænix Nest
That Word that Nothing did create in vain
Shall reinspire my Dormient Dust again
And from obscurity my atoms raise
To sing in Joy his Everlasting praise
And reunite my Body to my Spirit
That wee may those Eternall Joys inherit
Which I may claim by my dear saviours Merrit.

8. *Pristine* altered from *Pristen* (it is not clear who made this change).
13. *Fire* altered from *Fier* (it is not clear who made this change).
31. *Embryo* altered from *Embrion* (it is not clear who made this change).

1-2. *The Brackman Th'angrie ... sad disease* Pliny states that ‘Calanus the Indian philosoper, having had a fluxe [dysentery] a little while, prayed that they would make him a stake of wood, such as they use to burne dead bodies on, and then rode thither on horsebacke: and after he had made his payer unto the gods, he cast those sprinklings upon him, which were used to be sprinkled at the funerals of the dead’. He then ‘laid him downe upon the woodstacke, covered his face, and never stirred
hand nor foot, nor quitched [twitched] when the fire took him, but did sacrifice himselfe in this sort, as the maner of his countrie was, that the wise men should so sacrifice themselves' ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 708).

Brackman] Brahmin/Brahman. A member of the highest or priestly caste among the Hindus (OED a.).

3. grated] Figuratively, to affect painfully, as if by abrasion; to fret, harass, irritate (OED ‘grate’ v.1. 3.). The examples provided by the OED suggest the term was particularly applied to the bowels and would therefore be in keeping with Pliny’s reference to the brackman’s dysentery.

7. Corporeall] Corporeal: of the nature of the animal body as opposed to the spirit; physical; bodily; mortal (OED a. (n.) A 1).


9-17. Soe doth ... exceed each other] The syntax of these lines is not entirely clear but all of the elements comprising Pulter’s reference are contained in Pliny’s description of the Phoenix, including its self-induced death by fire, its bright feathers and its connection with Phoebus or the sun. Pliny says that ‘the Phoenix of Arabia’ is ‘as big as an Aegle: for colour, as yellow and bright as gold, (namely all about the necke;) the rest of the bodie a deep red purple: the taile azure blew, intermingled with feathers among of rose carnation color: and the head brawely adorned with a crest and penach finely wrought’. He then recounts the details provided by ‘Manilius, the noble Romane Senatour’ who ‘reporteth, that never man was known to see him feeding: that in Arabia he is held a sacred bird, dedicated unto the Sun: that he liveth 660 yeares: and when he groweth old, and begins to decay, he builds himselfe with the twigs and branches of the Canell or Cinamon, and Frankincense trees: and when he hath filled it with all sort of sweet Aromaticall spices, yeeldeth up his life thereupon. He saith moreover, that of his bones and marrow there breeds at first as it were a little worme: which afterwards prooueth to be a prettie bird. And the first thing that this yong new Phoenix doth, is to perform the obsequies of the former Phoenix late de ceased: to translate and cary away his whole nest into the citie of the Sun neere Panchea, and to bestow it full devoutly there upon the altar ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 271; see also Sandys (1632), p. 520). The phoenix is a very common emblematic image of rebirth and can be found in Godyere, no. 3; Hawkins, p. 262; Hawkins, p. 266; Palmer (Manning, 1988), p. 20; Peacham (1612), p. 19; P.S., p. 110; P.S., p. 349; and Whitney (1586), p. 177. These writers interpret the emblem in many different ways ranging from Palmer, for whom the Phoenix is an emblem of baptism by which ‘drowned is our sin/and we are born againe’, to Whitney who dedicates his emblem of the phoenix to the town of Nantwich in Cheshire first ‘destroyed with fire’ and then rebuilt.

13. grosser part] Gross: said of things material or perceptible to the senses, as contrasted with what is spiritual, ethereal, or impalpable (OED a. and n. 4, 8c).

14. principle] In a generalized sense, a fundamental source from which something proceeds; a primary element, force, or law which produces or determines particular results; the ultimate basis upon which the existence of something depends; cause
reassumes] To take again upon oneself, a shape or form, a garb or something worn (OED v. 3).

20. *sols Fulgour* Sol. The sun (OED n1. 1).

21. *Fulgor.* A brilliant or flashing light; dazzling brightness, splendour (OED).

23. *Yet as old ... of his Cloaths* [Aaron was a prophet and a brother of Moses who helped to bring the Israelites out of Egypt. When the time came for Aaron to die ‘Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazor his son; and Aaron died there in the top of the mount: and Moses and Eleazor came down from the mount’ (Numbers 20:28).

27. *Hadassah* Pulter’s authorial persona. See emblem 28, note to line 16.

32. *That Word* The word of God that brought the world into existence in Genesis 1. See also John 1.1: ‘In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God’.

33. *Dormient Dust* Sleeping, dormant dust (OED a.). For a more detailed account of Pulter’s use of the term ‘dust’ see emblem 40, note to line 17.

34. obscurity] Lack of spiritual understanding or enlightenment (OED n. I 1b.). *atomes* See emblem 40, note to line 21.
Unto the Noble reader I'll relate
Thrice of his Liberty hee was restrain'd
Thrice by a Miracle his freedome gain'd
Last in a dismale Dung'oon hee was put
From Light, and Joy, to Night, and Sorrow shut
Noe Fellows but dead Bodys bout him Lay
On which strangely a Jaccall came to prey
Hee whose Courageous Heart did never fayl
Start up and Caught old Renard by the Tayl
The Frighted Fox return'd the way shee came
Hee kept in's hold in hope to doe the same
And when the hole too little was (alas)
Hee scrap'd it bigger till himself could pass
The Anchorite with's nails soe digs his Grave
Hee scrap't, his Life and Liberty to have
Then let my Royall Friends that Captive bee
The various Fortune of this Warrior see
And rest in hope, for though noe help bee found
Above, yet it may come from under ground
Who would have thought one of Chams Cursed Race
Should onely pitty Jeremias Case
[f. 123r] Or who that Merodock should Comfort bring
To Judas blind dejected Captive King
Or that The Swashing Sweads should hear the Moan
Of Reans Elector him to Reinthrone
Then let the Royall branches trust in God
The staff of Comfort still succeeds the Rod.

24. sad] altered from blind most probably in Pulter's hand.
27. branches] c altered from g.

1-16. Aristominus his strang ... Liberty to Have] Aristomenes, hero of the Second Messenian War, which took place between 685 and 668 BC (Brill's New Pauly, vol. vol. 1, p. 1118). Peter Heylyn recounts how 'Aristomenes was thrice taken prisoner, still miraculously escaping. His last imprisonment was in a dungeon, where by chance espying a Fox devouring a dead body, he caught hold of her taile: The Fox running a way, guided Aristomenes after; till the straitnesse of the hole by which she went out, made him leave his holt, and fall to scraping with his nailes; which exercise he never left, till he had the hole passable, and so escaped; and having a while upheld his falling Country, died in Rhodes' ((1625), p. 378).

10. Renard] Reynard the fox is a trickster figure found in many European folk tales and fables. In 1485 William Caxton printed The Histories of Reynart the Foxe a translation of a Dutch collection of fables, which was reprinted and reissued numerous times during the course of the seventeenth century. These editions included Edward Allde's The Most Delectable History of Reynard the Fox (1620). For a discussion of Reynard tales in England see Varty (2000), especially pp. 164-7.
15. The Anchorite ... digs his Grave] Anchorites (the majority of which were women) lived in strict seclusion, usually shut up within a cell attached to a church, convent or private house. To facilitate meditation on death, a grave was often prepared within the cell before the anchorite was enclosed. The *Ancren Riwle*, a thirteenth century anchorite handbook of devotion, conduct and household management, stipulated that in addition to meditating on death the anchorite should spend part of each day scraping the earth out of her grave (Clay (1914), pp. 73, 114.).

17. Then let ... Captive bee] During the 1640s and 50s many of the monarch’s supporters were imprisoned by their political opponents. Pulter may be addressing her fellow royalists in general or she may have been thinking more specifically of those prisoners with whom she was directly associated, including Arthur Capel (1604-1649), Arthur Pulter’s first cousin, and William Ashburnham (1604/5-1679), who was married to her widowed step-mother Jane. Arthur Capel was placed under house arrest for a short period during 1647 and was then imprisoned after the siege of Colchester in 1648, before being executed shortly after the regicide (ODNB). Several years later, Jane Ashburnham referred to her husband’s imprisonment when compounding for her estate in 1656 (Everett Green (1889-92), vol. II, p. 1282). Pulter refers both to the imprisoned monarch and to imprisoned royalists throughout her poetry; see for example ‘The complaint of Thames 1647 when the best of Kings was imprisoned by the worst of Rebels at Holmbie Imprisonment’ (Ms Lt q, f. 8v); ‘Upon the imprisonment of his Sacred Majestie that unparalel’d Prince King Charles the First’ (Ms Lt q 32, f. 33r); and emblems 36, 48, 49 and the unnumbered emblem ‘When fair Aurora’. Imprisonment is a significant theme in contemporary royalist literature in general (see Potter (1989), pp. 134-46; and Loxley (1997), pp. 215-22) and royalist women writers often used the trope of retreat, exile and confinement as a means of identifying themselves with the royalist cause (Chalmers (2004), pp. 12-13). For a consideration of Pulter’s claims of confinement and her use of this trope as a way of identifying herself with political prisoners see Ross (2005).

21. Chams Cursed Race] A reference to the curse of Cham or Ham. During the early modern period there were two principle myths explaining the origins of black skin, both of which were under question by the time Pulter was composing her poetry. The first of these stories was that blackness was a punishment inflicted on Noah’s son Cham for having sex with his wife on the ark, despite a prohibition against it. Peter Heylyn passes comment on this tale in *Mikrokosmos* with the statement: ‘As for that foolish tale of Cham’s knowing his wife in the Arke, whereupon by diuine curse his sonne Chus with all his posterity, (which they say are the Africans) were all blacke: it is so vaine, that I will not endeavour to retell it’ ((1625), p. 778). The second tale is that blackness was a punishment inflicted on Cham for seeing his father naked. Sir Thomas Browne refers to the belief ‘that this complexion was first a curse of God derived unto them from Cham, upon whom it was inflicted for discovering the nakednesse of Noah. Which notwithstanding is sooner affirmed then proved, and carrieth with it sundry improbabilities’ ((1646), p. 330). In the Bible (Genesis 9.20-25) Cham’s son Canaan is punished with servitude, not blackness (see emblem 41, note to line 20), although the two stories appear to have become conflated (Vaughan (1994), p. 54).
22. Should only Jeremias Case] In Jeremiah 38.7-13 Ebed-melech ‘the Ethiopian, one of the enuchs which was in the king’s house’ rescues the prophet Jeremiah from a dungeon where he has been placed for prophesising the destruction of Jerusalem at the hands of the Babylonians.

23. Merodock] Jeremiah 52.31 states that ‘Evil-merodach king of Babylon in the first year of his reign lifted up the head of Jehoiachin king of Judah, and brought him forth out of prison’. Jehoiachin, an Isrealite king, had been captured by Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-merodach’s father, and had spent thirty-seven years in prison.

25-26. Or that The ... to Reinhthorne] This is probably a reference to Swedish participation in the Thirty Years’ War (1618-1648). The Swedes, led by Gustavus II Adolphus (1594-1632) ‘The Lion of the North’, had entered into the dispute on behalf of the German Lutherans in 1630 and until Adolphus’s death in 1632 had been successful in their military action against the Catholic forces. At this stage however, Frederick V (1596-1632), Elector Palatine and husband of Elizabeth (1596-1680) the daughter of James I, remained in exile in Holland, where he had been since 1622. In 1648 however the Swedes led the Protestant allies in securing the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years’ War and saw Frederick’s son Charles Louis (1617-1680) reinstated as Elector Palatine.

Reans Elector] Rhine’s Elector; ie. the Elector of the Rhineland Palatinate.

27. Then let the ... trust in God] A reference to the offspring of Charles I, who included Charles (1630-1685), Mary (1631-1660), James (1633-1701), and Henry (1640-1660). Another daughter Elizabeth (b. 1635) died in 1650. In keeping with the reference to her ‘royal friends’ in line 17, Pulter may also have been thinking more generally of the monarch’s supporters.

28. The staff ... the Rod] In the Bible, the rod and the staff are associated with both punishment and guidance. In Lamentations 3.1 Jeremiah describes himself as ‘the man that hath seen affliction by the rod of his wrath’ but Psalm 23.4 states ‘Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me’. In effect the rod and the staff represent alternative sides of the same phenomenon; God’s punishment is a facet of his guidance and a sign of his mercy. In keeping with the message of her poem, which provides examples of rescue emerging from surprising sources, Pulter uses the image of the staff/rod to suggest that comfort will arise from, and may even be implicit within, affliction.
46. In Ments/ when Corn was grown excessive dear
By Rats, and Mice, which in Huge Swarms apear
The Hippocritical Bishop of the place
Did seem to pitty much the peoples Case
And them unto a gallant Feast invited
As if in Charity hee had delighted
But when hee had gotten them to his desire
Hee (o inhumane set the Barn on Fire
And thus these wretched Creatures all did die
For which his Cursed soul in Hell did Frie
Then pointing to them burning, (said) look here
These are the Vermine make our Corn so dear
But see Gods Judgments doth this wretch pursue
Which made him soon those Curse’d actions rue
For Nasty Ratts still after him did run
Not to bee scar’d by Tel’sma or Gun
[f. 123v] At last hee built a Tower in the seas
Hopeing that there he might remain in peace
But infinite Uglie Rats did thither swim
And to his Horrid pain devoured him
First let this teach us to compassionate
(If wee abound) those whose disastrous Fate
Have made them miserable, next wee may see
From Gods revenging hand noe place is free
For each despised Reptile or Insect
Hee can impower, when wee Laws neglect
Pope Alexander was Choked with a Flie
Scylla and Herod, by a Lows did die
Cruell Popula and his cursed wiffe
By the same dismalle stroake did end their liffe
Tis neither Earth nor Sea nor Ayr nor Skie
To which a sad despairing Soul can Flie
For should I take Auroras Golden Wings
And Flie her shining Circle still it brings
Mee whence I came, Or should Nights Sable Carr
Mee Hurrie where is neither Moon nor Starr
Yet would (my Glorious God) one Raie
Of thine involve my soul in Endles day
Then seeing noe place will Hide my sins and mee
I’le From thy Justice to thy Mercie Flee.

18. peace] altered from peas.
29-30. Cruell Popula...their liffe] inserted in the margin in authorial hand.

1-20. In Ments ... devoured him] There are at least three contemporary versions of this story in which the tyrannical Hatto, Archbishop of Mainz, ill-treated ‘certain poor beggers who in time of famine he assembled together into a great barn, not to relieve their wants, as he might and ought, but to rid their lives, as he ought not, but
did: for he set on fire the barne wherein they were, and consumed them all alive'. Hatto justified his actions by ‘comparing them to rats and mice that devoured good corne, but served to no other good use’. God however ‘had regard and respect unto those poore wretches, tooke their cause into his hand, to quit this proud Prelate with just revenge for his outrage committed against them; sending towards him an army of rats and mice to lay siege against him with the engines of their teeth on all sides’ (Beard (1642), p. 196; see also Camerarius, (1621), Lib. 1, pp. 25-26 and Howell (1653), p. 34).

16. Tel’sma] Talisman or charm (OED 2. 1-2).

21. Compassionate] To regard or treat with compassion; to pity, commiserate (a person, or his distress, etc.) (OED v.).

22. abound] To be full, to be rich or wealthy; to have to overflowing (of persons) (OED v1. 2.).

27. Pope Alexander ... with a Flie] Pope Adrian, not Alexander, choked on a fly. See emblem 43, note to line 33.

28. Scilla and ... Lows did die] Plutarch provides this gory description of Sylla’s death after a life of tyranny and decadence: ‘...he perceived that he had an impostume in his bodie, the which by processe of time came to corrupt his flesh in such sort, that it turned all to lice: so that notwithstanding he had many men about him, to shift him continually night and day, yet the lice they wiped away were nothing, in respect of them that multiplied still upon him’. In a fit of extreme anger over money owed to the commonwealth he ‘brake the impostume in his bodie, so as there gushed out a wonderfull deale of bloud: by reason whereof his strength failing him, he was full of paine and pangs that night, as so died’ ((1603), p. 487). Herod] See Acts 12:23: ‘And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost’. See also emblem 43 above.

29. Popula and his cursed wiffe] I have not been able to identify this reference.

33-35. For should I ... whence I came] Aurora: Roman goddess of dawn. Several of Pulter’s occasional and devotional poems invoke the goddess as a symbol of light, both literal and figurative, after a period either of real or of spiritual and emotional darkness. In this poem however Pulter uses Aurora as a figure to suggest that there is no escape from her own sins. Even if she were to acquire the goddess’s celestial powers of flight she would still be guaranteed to return to where she began. For a more detailed discussion of Aurora in Pulter’s poetry see the unnumbered emblem ‘When fair Aurora drest with raidient Light’, note to line 1.

35-36. Or should ... nor Starr] Car. From 16th to 19th c. chiefly poetic, with associations of dignity, solemnity, or splendour; applied also to the fabled chariot of Phaëthon or the sun, and so to that in which the moon, stars, day, night, time, are figured to ride in their grand procession (OED n. 1 1b.). Sable] Blackness, darkness (OED n. 2 and a. A. 2b.).
47. When as that Geniall Universall Fire
Had in the Turtle reinflamed desire
Hee having found a Beautious Paramore
Her Love, and pity, both hee doth implore
But shee as Wise, as Faire, as Chast, as Coy
Was Loth to sell her Freedome for a Toy
For Having spie'd above the Waves his Head
Shee Chastly his desir'd imbraces Fled
Love made him nimble Fear made her make hast
Soe Daphne from her lover fled as fast
At last his Breath did move her flowing Haire
En'e soe the Turtle did or'e Catch his Faire
Thus Love then Fear did prove more swift in Chase
Which forct her Yield unto her Loves imbrace
Soe the grand sygnior makes his vassels yield
When through their foot his cruell speir they feild
By this the Weomen of this Age may see
Nothing gains love like virgin Modestie
For Love repulst doth more increase desire
As Oyl Thrown on to quench augments the fire
Then Ladyes leave your Impudence for shame
Let not the Turtle have a Chaster Flame.

1-14. *When as that ... Catch his Faire*] In his description of the turtle, Pliny describes the apparent modesty of the female. He writes ‘The female flieth from the male, and will not abide to engender, untill such time as he pricke her behind and sticke somewhat in her taile for running away from him so fast (Pliny (1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 241).

*Geniall Universall Fire*] Lust or love.

3. *Paramore*] Paramour: a lover; the object of a person's love, esp. in an affair or romance (*OED* n. 2a).

6. *Toy*] A triviality, with implications of *OED* n. I.1; amorous sport, dallying, toying; or an act or piece of amorous sport, a light caress.

10-11. *Soe Daphne ... flowing Haire*] The story of Apollo pursuing Daphne, who then turns into a laurel tree to escape him, is told in the first book of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. In Ovid’s version of the story Daphne’s ‘haire untrest’ is mentioned several times as a symbol of her disinterest in attracting a lover. Like Pultor, Ovid notes that Daphne is initially able to outrun Apollo but eventually ‘His breath upon her dangling haire she feeles’ (Sandys (1632), p. 22). In his commentary George Sandys notes that ‘Daphne is changed into a never-withering tree, to shew what immortall honour a virgin obtaines by preserving her chastity.
15. *Soe the grand sygnoir makes his vassels yield*] I have not been able to identify Pulter’s precise reference but she is referring to a Turkish emperor using his spear to force the women in his seraglio or harem to yield to his advances. Pulter’s interest in seraglio’s can be seen in ‘The Unfortunate Florinda’. The hero Amandus, in the ‘habit of a poor old Woman’, is forced to spend some time working in one, allowing Pulter to provide a lengthy description (MS Lt q 32, ff. 28v-r).

21. *Impudence*] Shamelessness; immodesty, indelicacy (*OED* 1).
48. When Royall Fergus Line did rule this Realm
My Father had the Third place at the Helme
Out of the Privie Kitchin came his Meat
Of sixteen Dishes hee might dayly Eat
All things that were in season out were sought
Amongst the rest they Welfleet Oysters Brought
Which being set ready till my Father Comes
A Mous leaps on the Table for the Crumbs
Then Skipping up and down her Tayl did Glide
By chance betwixt the Shels, 'twas then full Tide
The Oyster Feeling one within her Hous
Clapt close her doors, and thus shee Catch'd the Mous
Oh that I now could speak the Mecian Tongues
Or Frogian Language but I want such Lungs
As hee that writ the dismal bloody Fights
Betwixt the Frogian and the Mecian Knights
Surely noe Weomen and I think few Men
Can dance soe well as hee with feet and Pen
But hee those Tongu's as I have heard did seek
Before hee Learnd the Latin or the Greek
But now the Captive Mous her dubious Fate
In my own Mother Tongue I must relate
[f. 125r] As her imprisonment came by a Flow
Soe the next happy Tide did let her goe
O wonderfull who would have ever thought
That from the Deliane Twins help should bee brought
Then let us learn while Flesh doth here immure
Our Sinfull Souls, not think our Selves Secure
As this dul Fish was Torn up from A Rock
This Spritely Mous in Prison thus to Lock
Soe from a vulgar one may rise to Raign
That many a Noble Spirit may restrain
This is too true, Yet let them patient bee
For Tide, or Time, or Death, will set them free.
Then trust in God, Extoll him Day, and Night:
For Sun, and Moon, and Stars, shall for thee Fight.


This poem has been published in Seal Millman and Wright (2005), p. 126.

1. When Royall Fergus ... this Realm] King Fergus, legendary first king of Scotland from whom James VI and I (1566-1625) claimed descent, see The True Lawe of Free Monarchies: or The Reciprock and Mutuall Dutie Betwixt a Free King, and his Naturall Subjectes (1598), C6r-v. A similar allusion is made in emblem 43.

2. My Father ... at the Helme] Pulte’s father James Ley (1550-1628/9) was Lord High Treasurer, the third highest Great Officer of State, between mid-December 1624 and July 1628.

6. Welfleet Oysters] By the 1660s, the town of Wellfleet in New England had a thriving industry in oysters and it is possible that Pulter is referring to this (Morison (1958), p. 364). However, the American town of Wellfleet, established in the 1650s, is likely have been named after the famous Wallfleet Oyster beds off the eastern shores of England and Pulter may have been thinking of them (Lombardo (2000), p. 20).

8-24. A Mous leaps on ... did let her goe] The emblem of a mouse being trapped by an oyster appears in Whitney (1586), p. 128. In Whitney's version, the mouse became trapped in the oyster as was 'crush'd till he was dead'. This provides a warning to 'Gluttons fatte' that 'sweete, and dulcet meates' are often 'deadlie baites'.

Mouse and oyster; from Whitney (1586), p. 128

13-20. Oh that I ... Latin or the Greek] Originally believed to have been written by Homer, several translations of the Batrachomyomachia, a mock epic depicting a battle between frogs and mice, were published in England during the first half of the seventeenth century. These include George Chapman's The Crowne of all Homers Works (1624); William Fowles, trans., The Wonderful and Bloudy Battell Betweene Frogs and Mice (1634); and John Ogilby, The Fables of Aesop Paraphras'd in Verse and Adorn'd with Sculpture ((1651), pp. 11-18). It is possible that in her reference to 'Hee that writ the dismale bloody Fights', Pulter was thinking not of Homer, who was originally believed to have written about the battle between the mice and the frogs, but of John Ogilby (1600-1676) who published his version of the story in addition to translations of Virgil (1649, but also 1654 and 1658) and Homer (1660 and 1665). See following notes for details.
13-14. **Mecian Tongues ... Frogian Language**] Languages spoken by the mice and the frogs. In his version of the fable, John Ogilby refers both to the ‘Phrogian tongue’ and the ‘Micean tongue’ ((1651), pp. 12-14).

17-20. **Surely noe Weomen ... Latin or the Greek**] A pun on metrical feet. John Ogilby had originally trained and a dancer but following an injury received while performing in Jonson’s *Masque of Gypsies* in 1620, he became a dancing master (Aubrey (1898), pp. 99-101 and ODNB). Aubrey also records that Ogilby did not learn Latin and Greek until late in life when, while living in Ireland and serving as one of Straffords ‘troupe of guards’, ‘Mr. Chantrel putt him upon learning the Latin tongue’. He then ‘learned Greeke of Mr. Whitfield’ shortly before translating ‘Homer’s Iliads, 1660’ (Aubrey (1898), pp. 101-02).

21. **dubious**] Of uncertain issue or result (OED a. 1b.).

24. **Soe the next ... let her goe**] Despite being transplanted to a dinner table, the oyster is still compelled by the tide to open her shell.

26. **Deliane Twins**] Pulten is referring to Apollo and Artemis, gods of the sun and the moon, who were born on the island of Delos (Brill’s New Pauly, vol. 4, p. 207). She says that the motion of the sun and moon effects the tide and therefore also the oyster.

27. **immure**] Literally to shut up or enclose within walls, to imprison, to confine as in a prison or fortress; and figuratively to enclose, encompass, encircle, surround, to shut in, confine (OED v. 2,3).

31. **from a vulgar**] Possibly a direct reference to Cromwell.

35. **Extol**] Extol. To lift up, raise, elevate; to lift up in dignity or authority; to uphold the authority of; to raise high with praise, to praise highly, to magnify (OED v. 1, 2a and b, 3.).
49. A Russian Rustick Clambring up a Tree
Sunck in the Treasure of the active Bee
To his Diurnall saint hee did not fail
But that which most augments his Misery
Was that noe Priest, nor Patriack was nigh
[f. 125v] To write a letter to Saint Nicholas
And that without it hee to heaven could Pass
Hee hopeless was, thus overcharged with Fears
Within, and numerous Foes about his Ears
This Captive stood, the Tree hee could not rive
And loth hee was to bee Imbalm’d alive
When loe a Bear came roameinge for her Prey
Just where the Man in's luscious prison Lay
Shee smelt the Honey, strait shee Climbs the tree
When the poor Man this double death did see
Fear caus'd dispair, dispair did make him bold
Upon the Bears hin'd Legs hee then Catchd hold
The Bear affrighted (who can hold their laughter
Got quickly out and puld the Man out after
Then let none in distress his Courage lose
For God can bring redemption by our foes
Soe hee that could not his imposthume burst
Found remedy even by an Enemies thrust
For God can turn the sharpest sword or knife
That means us instant death, to give us Life
Then if restrained of Liberty you bee
Think how the Bear the Captive Russ set free.

1-20. A Russian Rustick ... Man out after] A version of this story is told by Charles
Butler for whom the rustic’s nationality is merely an incidental detail. In contrast,
Pulter appears to have been particularly interested in the Russian’s religious habits,
which are not mentioned by Butler ((1609, reprinted 1623, 1634), sig. H2v).
Rustick] A countryman, a peasant (OED a. and n. B1). With connotations of being
unrefined or simple (OED n. and a. 4).

3-4. To his Diurnall ... his Gaol] In the Russian orthodox church calendar each day
of the year is appointed for the celebration of a particular saint, or group of saints.
Giles Fletcher provides a description of Russian church services within which he
notes that during the morning service ‘the Deacon that standeth without the
heavenly doore or chancell readeth a piece of a Legend out of a written book (for
they have it not in print) of some Saints life, miracles, etc. This is divided into
many parts, for every day in the year, and is read by them with a plain singing note,
not unlike to the Popish tune when they sung their Gospels’. The evening service
concludes with ‘a collect in remembrance of the Saint of that day’ ((1643), pp. 220-22). In Pulter’s poem, the trapped Russian prays to that day’s saint for his release.

6-8. *Was that ... could Pass*] Describing the religious ceremonies of the Russian people, Giles Fletcher states that ‘About their burialls also they have many superstitious and profane ceremonies, as putting within the finger of the corps a letter to Saint Nicholas, whom they make their chief mediatour, and as it were the porter of heaven gates, as the Papists do their Peter’ ((1643), p. 254).

8. *And that ... could Pass*] This line should probably read ‘And that without it hee to heaven could not Pass’.

10. *numerous Foes*] The bees.

11. *rive*] To part asunder; to cleave, split, crack, open up, etc. (*OED* III 10.).

23-24. *Soe hee that ... imposthume burst*] A reference to Pliny who writes: ‘Phalereus, (or Jason Phereus) being given over by Physitions for an impostume he had in his chest, in despaire of all health (purposing to kill himselfe for to be rid out of his paine) stabbed his breast with his knife: but he found this deadly enemy to be his onely Physition’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 182).

*imposthume*] A swelling, cyst, or abscess (*OED* n. 1).
50. When Phalaris for Tiranny soe Fam'd
Had seen the Brasen Bul Pirillus Fram'd
Hee made him First the Horrid pain Explore
And with his life his cunning out to roar
Thus as Pirillus in the Bull was put
Procrustus to his Bed was Stretcht or Cutt
And hee that Kick'd down People to the seas
Receiv'd the like Ramnusa to aepas
Soo hee that with his Forhead dash'd out Brains
Had like for like, What alsoe was his gains
That tween two Trees did kill men Cruelly
Did hee not by the Self Same Tortour Die
Oh that all those that Flatter Tiranny
Might first their own accursed projects trie
Then that Fell Tyrant that in Newburg Raignd
Should first unto the Fat'allo stag bin Chain'd
Then those that made the Engine to pull Down
His sacred Head which wore our Brittish Crown
When Lamblike on that alter hee did lie
Why did not Oliver that Pulley trie
Were some Condemnd the ax would move alone
Ay Tyburn for those Regicides doe groan
Then should their Children to Jame'ca goe
Their staits sequsted Widdow eyes or'eflow
Sure those that doe their Fellow Christians sell
Will in their Conscience feel the flames of Hell
That Worm will gnaw though for a time tis hid
And make them Roar wors then Pirillus did.

1.5. When Phalaris ... Bull was put] In this emblem, Pulter provides a series of accounts of tyrants 'hoist by their own pertard'. Phalaris, ruler of Acragas (Agrigentum) in Sicily (c. 570 to 554 BC) (Brill's New Pauly, vol. 10, pp. 908-09). Pliny describes how Phalaris 'the Tyrant' commissioned Perillus to create 'a brasen Bull, to rost and frie condemned persons in' the idea being that 'after the fire was made under it, they would when they cried seeme to bellow like a Bull, and so rather make sport than move compassion'. Pliny then notes that Perillus was the first that 'gave the hansell to the engine of his own invention, and although this was cruelty in the Tyrant, yet surely such a workman deserved no better a reward, and justly he felt the smart of it' ((1601), 'First Tome', p. 504).

6. Procrustus to ... or Cutt] Procrustes, surname of the robber Polypemon or Damastes (Brill's New Pauly, vol. 11, p. 926). In his account of the life of Theseus, Plutarch writes that 'going a little further, he slew Damastes, otherwise surnamed Procrustes, in the city of Hermionia: and that by stretching of him out, to make him even with the length and measure of his beds, as he was wont to do unto
strangers that passed by. Theseus did that in imitation of Hercules, who punished tyrants with the self same pain and torment which they had made others suffer’ (Plutarch (1579), p. 6; see also Sandys (1632), p. 260).

7-8. And hee that ... to apeas] Sciron, a robber who lived on the boundary between Megara and Attica. This episode is also recounted by Plutarch who notes that Theseus killed Sciron ‘because he robbed all travellers by the waye, as the common reporte goeth: or as others saye, for that of a cruell, wicked, and savage pleasure, he put forth his feete to those that passed by the sea side, and compelled them to washe them. And then when they thought to stowpe to doe it, he still spurned them with his feete, till he thrust them hedlong into the sea: so Theseus threw him hedlong downe the rockes’ (Plutarch (1579), p. 5; see also Sandys (1632), p. 260).


9-10. Soe hee that ... for like] Another of Theseus’s conquests. Plutarch notes that ‘he broke Termerus's head, from whom this proverb of Termerus's evil came, which continueth yet unto this day: for this Termerus did use to put them to death in this sort whom he met: to joll his head against theirs. Thus proceeded Theseus after this self manner, punishing the wicked in like sort, justly compelling them to abide the same pain and torments, which they before had unjustly made others abide’ (Plutarch (1579), p. 6).

11-12. That tween two ... Tortour Die] Plutarch describes how Theseus ‘killed another, called Sinnis, surnamed Pityocamptes, that is to say, a wreather or bower of pineapple trees: whom he put to death in that self cruel manner that Sinnis had killed many other travellers before’ ((1579), p. 5). A more detailed explanation is provided by Sandys who explains that Theseus ‘tyed Sinis (a cruell theefe, who rob’d in the straights of Peloponnesus) by the arms and legs to the bow’d-downe brances of trees; which jerking up-ward, tore him in peeces: himself having so abused his strength in the torturing of others ((1632), p. 260).

15-16. Then that Fell .. stag bin Chaind] Possibly Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658). This may be a reference to the unsubstantiated story that in 1660 Cromwell’s daughter Mary had his body exhumed and placed in the tomb at her home Newburgh Park, near Coxwold in the North Riding of Yorkshire. I have found no contemporary references to this story but it would suggest that Pulter composed this emblem after the Restoration.

Fell] Fierce, savage; cruel, ruthless; dreadful, terrible (OED a. and adv. 1.).

Fatal stag] Probably ‘Fatal stage’. A reference to the execution of Charles I (1600-1649) took place on a platform set against the wall of the Banqueting House in Whitehall. Chains had been attached to the platform in order to restrain the king had he physically resisted the execution. Pulter was not alone in attributing theatrical qualities to the event. See for example Andrew Marvell’s reference to Charles as ‘royal actor’ on a ‘tragic scaffold’, ‘An Horation Ode upon Cromwell’s Return from Ireland’ (Smith (2007), p. 276).


19. When Lamblike ... did lie] Charles’s dignity on the scaffold is legendary. See for
example Andrew Marvell’s statement that the king ‘...nothing common did or mean, /Upon that memorable scene’, ‘An Horation Ode upon Cromwell’s Return from Ireland’ (Smith (2007), p. 276). Pulter inflects her reference with allusions to Christ and to noble sacrifice.


Pulley] ‘One of the simple mechanical powers, consisting of a grooved wheel mounted in a block, so that a cord or the like may pass over it; used for changing the direction of power, esp. for raising weights by pulling downward’ (OED n. 1. B Ia.). It is possible that Pulter has a gallows or a guillotine in mind for Cromwell’s execution, rather than an axe, which was used to decapitate Charles I.

22. Ay Tyburn ... doe groan] Tyburn: place of execution in London near modern-day Marble Arch. Pulter says that the execution of the regicides is so deserved that even the implements of execution are calling for it. Cromwell, together with two other regicides, John Bradshaw, Henry Ireton and Thomas Pride, were all eventually disinterred and posthumously hanged at Tyburn in January 1661.

24. Then should ... Jame'ca goe] Jamaica was captured by the British in 1655. During the Interregnum the West Indies and Jamaica in particular were used as places of exile for ‘social undesirables’, including royalists (Venning (1996), pp. 88-9). After the Restoration Pulter’s nephew James Ley, third earl of Marlborough, was nominated governor of the island (ODNB).

23. Their staits ... eyes or'eflow] From 1643 onwards Parliament sequestered, or took into its possession, estates belonging to ‘delinquents’, including royalists and Catholics. While the Pulters’ estate was not sequestered that belonging to Pulter’s nephew James Ley, who actively fought for the king, was in 1649 (Green (1889-1892), vol. 1, p. 77).

25. Sure those ... Christians sell] The prisoners that the Protectorate transported to the West Indies were often sold to the plantations as slaves; see emblem 41, note to lines 20-21.

27-28. That Worm ... Pirillus did] For a discussion of Perillus see note to lines 1-5. The ‘worm of conscience’ is a common image ultimately derived from the Bible, specifically Mark 9.44-48 where hell is described as a place where the ‘worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched’.
When British Brennus sack'd that Noble Citty
To Age, nor Sex, nor Infants hee shew'd pitty
Then those which did the Capitall defend
Waighed out their Gold to have their suffrings End
On which the Brittain bold his sword did lay
Woe to the Conquerd then the People say
Then came C. Bannished long before
And made the Brittain pay the Romans score
Sooe let all impious sacrilegious men
Have Lex talionis, Heaven say thou Amen
If any underneath the sun may Cry
Ve victis, reader it is thou and I
C. C. kild and Bannished wee with sad hearts deplore
Oh let a C. come and our Joys restore
For C. his sake dear God I thee implore
Or wee are slaves to C. for evermore.

1-8. When British Brennus ... Romans score] Brennus, prince of the Gaules (Brill's New Pauly, vol. 2, p. 761). The story of Brennus's actions in Rome is told by Plutarch who states that the Gaules spent 'many dayes spoiling and sacking all things they founde in the houses, and in the ende dyd set them all a fyer, and destroyed them every one'. When those that 'kept the forte of the Capitoll' would not respond to their summons the Gaules 'rased the whole cittie, and put all to the sworde that came in their handes, young and olde, man, woman, and childe'. A long siege of the Capitol followed during which time many soldiers on both sides suffered and died. In order to bring an end to suffering on both sides the Romans agreed to 'paye a thousand pounde weight of gold' on the condition that 'the Gaules should incontinently after the receipt of the same, departe out of their cittie, and all their territories'. The Gaules seized on the opportunity to ridicule the Romans in their defeat and 'at the first prively begane to deal falsely with them: but afterwardeys they openly stayed the ballance, and would not let them waye no more'. Driving the point home, 'Brennus in scorne and mockery, to despight them more, pluckt of his sword, girdell and all, and put it into the ballance where the gold was wayed'. When asked what he meant by that gesture, Brennus answered 'what canne it signific eis, but sorrowe to the vanquished'. Plutarch adds that 'This worde ever after ranne as a common proverbe in the peoples mouthes'. Offended by the Gaules' actions the Romans debated between themselves whether to continue with the agreement or to war. In the meantime the banished Camillus returned and was received with great joy by the Roman people who 'showted out for joye, and receaved him every one with great reverence'. Battle resumed between the Romans and the Gaules until 'Brennus sodainely remembering him selfe that it was no even matche for him, retired with his men about him into his campe, before he had lost many of his people' and 'The next night following, he departed out of Rome with all his army'. In response, Camillus 'with his whole army well appointed, went after him immediatly' and 'dyd lustely geve them battell: the same continued longe,
very cruel and doubtfull, until the Gaules at the length were overthrown, and their campe taken with great slaughter' ((1579), pp. 154-58). Pulter draws a direct parallel between the Gaules' invasion of Rome, led by Brennus, and Cromwell's rise to power in London. It is possible that she is thinking of the destructive actions of the army, which she alludes to in other poems including emblem 36. She compares Charles II, who spent the Interregnum in exile on the continent, with the banished Camillus and concludes the poem by calling for his victorious return.


Amen] Thomas Blount defines 'Amen' as: 'in the end of Prayer, a wishing that it may be so, so be it' ((1656), sig. C4r). Pulter presents her call for revenge as a prayer with the suggestion that it is similarly desired by heaven.

12. Under the sun] Literally meaning 'on earth'. The phrase is used several times in Ecclesiastes 1.3, 9, 14 as a reminder of the vanity, or futility, of earthly life.

Ve victis] Vae victis. Meaning 'woe to the conquered' (Drayton (1622), p. 124). Pulter is bemoaning the fate of those conquered by Cromwell.

13. C. C. kild and Bannished] A reference to Charles I (1600-1648/9) and his son Charles (1630-1685) respectively killed and banished from the kingdom. For a more detailed account of both men see emblem 4 above, in particular the notes to lines 25 and 27. Using the letter 'C.' Pulter is able to reinforce the parallel between the banished Camillus and the exiled Charles II. She is also able to continue a theme evident throughout her poetry of eliding Charles II with his father and possibly also with Christ.

14. C.] Camillus; with an allusion to Charles II.

15. C.] Possibly Charles II.

That all their Herbs and Fruits were quite destroy'd
Whilst with sad Hearts their sufferings they deplore
And the assistance of the Gods implore
The selucides Birds never seen before
With their united strength and numerous power
Did instantly these Locusts all devour
Their Work being don they straight Flew all away
And ne're were seen nor heard of to this day
Soe serpents once the Egyptians did annoy
Then Ibis came and did these Worms distroy
But with his putred Filth he ten times more
Afflicted them then they were e're before
Soe this sad Kingdome Locusts did or'e run
Such Clouds (ay mee) as did Eclips our Sun
What houss of this base Vermine then were free
Such a like armie let mee never see
Then animals came were never seen before
And put these down, none did their loss deplore
These subtile serpents over all did crawl
To Heaven for remedy wee then did call
Then Ibis came and swoll'd this whole Frie
Some did repent that they to Heaven did crie
For all that sacred was hee did pollute
Yet let us once again to God make sute
Who knows the Tumid and Tumultuous Seas
May bring a Friend that may our sufferings Eas
Soe Rochill by a shoal of Unknown Fish
Out liv'd their sieg above their hopes and Wish.

15. our] altered from the.

1-9. The Caucasines ... of to this day] Pliny describes how 'The birds called Seleucides, come to succour the inhabitants of the mountaine Casius against the Locusts'. When these insects had made 'great wast in their come and other fruits, Jupiter at the instant praiers and supplications of the people, sendeth these foules amoung them to destroy the said Locusts'. But 'from whence they come, or whether they goe againe, no man knoweth: for never are they seene but upon this occasion, namely, when there is such need of their helpe' ((1601), 'First Tome', p. 284).

10. Soe serpents ... did Annoy] The ibis is a bird resembling a black stork. Pliny notes that the Egyptians 'have recourse in their prayers and invocations to their birds named Ibis, what time as they be troubled and annoied with serpents
comming among them’ ((1601), ‘First Tome’, p. 284). The ibis afflicting the nation with its ‘putred Filth’ is Pulter’s own invention.

14-24. *Soe this sad ... hee did pollute*] In her marginal notes Pulter (or the scribe) signals that the ‘Locusts’ represent the parliamentary Presbyterians; the ‘animals’ or ‘serpents’ represent the Independents; and ‘Ibis’ stands for the Protector, or Oliver Cromwell. Pulter’s poem provides a general outline of the rise and fall of various factions within the king’s parliamentary opposition. The Independent party advocated religious freedom for non-conformists and called for the complete separation of church and state. In contrast, the parliamentary Presbyterians or Peace Party, were a more moderate faction within the Long Parliament who sought settlement with the king. After the First Civil War (1642-6) the Presbyterians were in the majority and attempted a counter-revolution against the Independent party, during which time they sought to disband the army. The army responded by forcing the suspension of the Presbyterian Eleven Members, supposed ringleaders of plots designed to promote a Presbyterian religious settlement within England, and by occupying London. The confrontation resulted in Pride’s Purge in 1648 when troops led by Colonel Thomas Pride prevented a proscribed list of 143 MPs from entering the house, resulting in the Independent party’s dominance within parliament. What later became know as the Rump Parliament, comprising around fifty Independent MPs, brought about the trial and execution of Charles I in January 1649. On the 20th April 1653 Cromwell forcibly expelled the Rump Parliament, which was replaced by the Nominated Assembly or Barebones Parliament. By December 1653 the Assembly had been dissolved and Cromwell was declared Lord Protector for life.

17. *Such a like ... never see*] Throughout her poetry Pulter is particularly critical of the army, see emblems 23, 28, 36 and 39.

20. *subtile*] Subtile or subtle: Of persons or animals: Crafty, cunning; treacherously or wickedly cunning, insidiously sly, wily (subtile, *OED* a. (n.) 9; subtle, *OED* a. 10).

22. *swoll ’d*] Swallowed.

26. *Tumid*] Swelling, bulging; swollen or puffed out with the wind (*OED* 1.b.).

28-29. *Soe Rochill ... hopes and Wish*] Referring to a sermon preached by George Abbot (1562-1633), Archbishop of Canterbury, John Stype describes ‘a kind of miraculous Providence; supplying the besieged Rochellers in their Necessity, with Food’. He states that ‘after the Massacre of Paris, the whole Power of that Kingdom of France were gathered together against the City of Rochel, and besieged them with Extremity, who defended the Place. And that God, in the Time of Famine and Want of Bread, did for some whole Months together, daily cast up a kind of Fish unto them, out of the Sea: Wherewith so many hundreds were relieved, without any Labour of their own. Even as the Israelites were fed with Manna every Morning, while they were in the Wilderness’ ((1725-31), vol. 2, p. 245). In her allusion to this story, Pulter frames the political conflict in England as a religious struggle and suggests that God may come to aid of those still loyal to the crown and to the Church of England.
When fair Aurora drest with radiant Light
Had triumph'd o're the Gloomy Shades of Night
When Shee her Virgin beauty first discloses
Her dewey Curles Stuck full of half blown Roses
Lapt in a Robe of silver mixt with graie
Which did prognosticate a glorious day
Out flew the active Amizonian Maid
The Hills and Dales, not onely shee survey'd
But out of every Gold Enameld Cup
Her Mornings draught of Nectar shee did sup
Nay where the Toad, and Spider poysons found
Mell shee Extracts, for this her Wisdome's Crownd
On Nightshade, Henbane, Hellish acconite
On Opium, Hemlock, shee doth safely lite
Thus being with choyce Extractions loaded well
Shee turn'd to flie to her Sexanguler Cell
But takeing of my Garden in her way
Though full before shee could not choose but stay
To see the curious Ouricolas drest
More variously then Iris dewey breast
Then were my Tulips painted in there Pride
Which when this covetous Insect Espi'de
To carry home her wealth shee'd not the power
Till shee had search'd the sweets of every Flower
[f. 128v] The Sun, from home, all, Influence receives
Bid them decline, The Tulip clos'd her Leaves
And in that painted Prison shut the Bee
With her a Snail, who slid about to See
Where to get out upon her Unctious brest
But seeing noe hope, shee laid her down to rest
Whilst the Angrie Bee did such a Flutting keep
Shee nor her fellow Prisner could not sleep
But Night being past, Delia diffus'd his rais
The Tulip then her gilded Leaves displais
Out Slid the Snail, the Bee did fainting lie
And thus with Beating of her self did die
Then let impatient Spirits here but see
What 'tis to struggle with their destinie
Soe Stout Byrone in Prison was inrag'd
Knowing his King was to his Sword ingag'd
When Bellizarus by a dog was led
Being blind hee patiently did beg his Bread
Soe misere'nt Bajazet did Shew his Rage
When that proud Tarter put him in a Cage
Scorning to bee a footstool to his Pride
Hee dash'd his Cursed Brains about and died
When wise Calistines us'd with greater Scorn
Tyrannically mangled soe was Born
[f. 129r] Hee being unnov'd shew'd his Philosophy
Tis Valianter by far to live then die
Then if noe hope of Liberty you see
Think on the Snail, the Tulip and the Bee

10. her] inserted above the line.
31. doth] altered to did in authorial hand.

1. When fair ... glorious day] Aurora, the Roman goddess of dawn, is a common poetical figure. In Metamorphoses, Ovid recounts her abduction of Cephalus. Caphalus himself narrates how shortly after his marriage to Procris 'gray Aurora, having vanquisht Night' and bore him away against his will. He adds that:

   Though rosie be her cheeks; although she sway
   The deawy Confines of the night and Day,
   And Nectar drinke; my Procris all possest (Sandys (1632), pp. 246-47).

His description of 'grey' Aurora's 'rosie' cheeks, and association with dew and nectar, includes many of the conventions on which Pulter draws. Pulter however never alludes to this myth and instead develops a more complex set of associations around the figure of dawn. She variously characterises her as a beautiful 'Virgin Coy' fleeing from the amorous advances of the sun and the mother of 'faire Astrea of unparrald worth' ('Aurora', f. 7v and 'Universall dissolution', f. 10v). Astrea is the goddess of truth and forms one part of the trinity of 'Truth, and Light, and Life' that Pulter associates with the dawn ('Aurora', f. 55r). Pulter goes so far as to say that had she 'liv'd on the Multiplicity Of Heathen Gods' her 'chief felicity/Would surely bee rich Temples to adorm/Unto the riseing luster of the Morn' ('To Aurora', f. 34r). Throughout her poetry, she most frequently associates the goddess with the chasing away and trampling of 'Melancholy' and 'Infernal' night and darkness (see 'Aurora' f. 7v; 'Aurora' f. 41r; 'To Aurora' f. 52r; 'Aurora' f. 55r; and 'A Solitary discours' f. 64v). In these examples night, 'adicted/To ad aflictions to the most afflicted', represents emotional anguish and melancholy. She is also associated with earthly grief, when, Pulter says, her soul 'doth see before her eye/Some of my friends (aye me) that late did die' and with spiritual confinement when in contrast Aurora is compared with 'the resurrection' when 'the last (and loudest) Trump shall sound' ('Alitheas Pearl', f. 48v; 'Aurora', f. 7v; 'To Aurora', f. 52r). In this particular emblem Pulter's depiction of the bee's activities following the arrival of Aurora and the day she heralds is later contrasted with the confinement it suffers when night closes in. But the poem comes full circle when daylight (and we might suppose this is once again ushered in by Aurora) returns and the bee is released.

4. half blown] Blown. In bloom; that has blossomed (OED ppl. a. 2).


7. prognosticate] A sign or indication of some future event; (also) a prediction, forecast, prognostication (OED n.).

8. Amizonian Maid] Bee. In The Feminine Monarchie or a Treatise Concerning Bees, and the Due Ordering of Them, Charles Butler directly compares bees to Amazons. His account appears amidst a discussion of drones and the fact that after
the females ‘have conceived for the next year’ they ‘begin to beat them away’ ((1609), sig. D5v). He considers the problems many previous writers had had accepting that drones were male and dominated by females and goes on to provide analogous examples of female authority. He writes ‘whereunto may be added the example of the Amazons...who by force of arms subdued many kingdomes of men, and held them in subjection’ ((1609), sig. D8v). It did however became commonplace to refer to bees as Amazonian; see for example Richard Remnant, A Discourse or History of Bees (1637).

11-12. Nay where the ... Wisdome’s Crownd] The bee’s capacity for turning poison into honey was a commonplace and popular subject for emblems (see for example Whitney (1586), p. 51; image on title page). Whitney presents an emblem of a spider and a bee on the same flower. The spider ‘poison suckes’ while the bee ‘doth honie drain’. Whitney compares this to different uses of scripture which ‘unto the bad’ is a ‘sword that slayes’ while ‘unto the good’ it is ‘a shielde in ghostlie fraies’. See emblem 23 for a depiction of a battle between the toad and the spider in which they ‘trie the might/of eithers poysong’. Mell] Honey (OED n. 2).

13-14. On Nightshade ... safely lite] Poisonous plants. For a detailed description of aconite see emblem 6, note to line 24.

15. Extractions] Extract: the action or process of drawing something out of a receptacle (OED 1). Here used as a noun in reference to the nectar that has been extracted from the flowers.


17. takeing] Taking in, perceiving (OED vbl. n. 3b.).

19-21. To see ... there Pride] Pulter explores the significance of the flowers listed here, the auricula, the iris and the tulip, in an occasional poem entitled ‘The Garden, or The Contention of Flowers, To my Deare Daughter Mistris Anne Pulter, at her desire written’ (MS Lt q 32, f. 19r-32v). She presents the auricula as a quiet, modest flower of ‘brave Thamancious hew’; ‘Thamancious’ is possibly a word derived from ‘Thames’ meaning ‘blue’. In Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris, John Parkinson refers to the great variety of the plant ‘consisting as well in the differing colours of the flowers, as the forme and colour of the leaves’. He then lists twenty-one different varieties of auricula or ‘Beares eares’, one of which is ‘blew’ ((1629), pp. 235-41). The iris depicted in the ‘Contention of Flowers’ is a ‘Calcidonian’ or Chalcedonian Iris, associated with the French monarchy in the form of a fleur-de-lis. In this poem Pulter states that Pliny provides an account of the flower reproducing itself through ‘the tears which trickle down [its] face’. This may be a reference to Pliny’s description of the planet Venus within which he states ‘By the naturall efficacie of this star, all things are engendred on earth: for whether she rise East or West, she sprinkleth all the earth with dew of generation, and not onely filleth the same with seed, causing it to conceive, but stirreth up also the nature of all living creatures to engender ((1601), ‘Second Tome’, p. 6). Pulter goes on to refer to the tulip, which in the ‘Contentation of Flowers’ is similarly described a proud flower celebrated for its variation and for being ‘in a Thousand
Coulours Died’. Parkinson has much to say about the tulip and he opens his account with the statement that ‘there are not only divers kindes of Tulipas, but sundry diversities of colours in them, found out in these later days by many the searchers of natures varieties, which have not formerly been observed: our age being more delighted in the search, curiosity, and rarities of these pleasant delights, then any age I thinke before’ ((1629), p. 45).

25. home] Whom. i.e. ‘the sun, from whom all receive influence’.

28. Snail] The snail is variously an emblem of prudence, independence, perseverance, and the ability to achieve much while apparently doing very little. Pulter was not the only royalist using the emblem of the snail during the Interregnum; in ‘The Snayl’ Richard Lovelace uses the creature as a symbol that ‘offers comfort to exiles and hope to those who struggle against great odds for righteous ends’ (Wadsworth (1970), p. 760). For an alternative emblematic representation of the snail see Wither (1635), p. 19. For Wither the snail is reminder that ‘Perseverance brings/Large Workes to end’ and also a warning that ‘though Just-Vengeance moveth like a Snaile...her comming will not faile’.


39-40. Soe Stout ... Sword ingag’d] A reference to Charles, Duke of Byron who was notorious for his arrogance. He was imprisoned for treason and then has sword removed; treatment which he vigorously resisted. In his A General Inventorie of the History of France (translated by Edward Grimeston (1607)) Jean de Serres states that ‘as if all the Dukes power had beene in his Sword, as soone as he had delivered it, he remayned as a Body without a Soule, and was in a moment deprived of all that which Galba held most precious among Men, Fayth, Liberty, and Friendshipppe.
There came no word out of his Mouth but did offend God or the King. Hee suffered himselfe to bee carried away with extreame impatience ... This Choller in effect was not much unlike unto a Madde man, but in the countenance. for sodainly he reclaimed himselfe and considered that all his Cries and Words were not of force to saue him’ ((1607), p. 969). See also George Chapman, *The Conspiracie, and Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byron* (1608).

Stout Proud, haughty, arrogant (OED adj. 1a.).

41-42. *When Bellizarus ... beg his Bread* Flavius Belisarius (505-565), Byzantine General (*Brill’s New Pauly*, vol. 2, p. 585-86). Thomas Browne describes how ‘Wee are sad when wee reade the story of Belisarius that worthy Cheiftaine of Justinian; who, after the Victories of Vandals, Gothes and Persians, and his Trophies in three parts of the World, had at last his eyes put out by the Emperour, and was reduced to that distresse, that hee beg’d reliefe on the high way, in that uncomfortable petition, Date obulum Belisario’ ((1646), p. 320). I have found no other reference to him being led by a dog.

43-46. *Soo misere’nt ... and died* Bajazeth, Turkish emperor. His treatment at the hands of Tamburlaine, who put him in a cage and used him as a footstool, is most famously depicted by Marlowe in *Tamburlaine the Great* (1590), which includes a scene in which he beats out his own brains against the bars of his cage (5.1.304-05).

*Miserent* Miserable, wretched, miserly, parsimonious (OED a. and n.1).

47-50. *When wise ... live then die* Callisthenes of Olynthus (360-328 BC), Greek historian (*Brill’s New Pauly*, vol. 2, pp. 987-88). He was employed by Alexander the Great to record his life and achievements but became increasingly critical of his actions. Cicero notes that Alexander ‘executed many of the Non-conforming Nobility; but Calisthenes he first mangled and disfigured; cut off his Ears, Nose, and Lips; afterwards put him into a Cage with a Dog, and so carried him about whithersoever the Army march’d; till at last he dy’d with the torture and regret of Spirit’ ((1683), p. 165).
An old Man through a Town did often pass
With him a pretty stripling and an Ass
The Man did ride, the Boy was Pedester
As fit it was, he wait upon his Master
At this the people Laughed out alowd
Saying the Man was mercieles or proud
To let the pretty Child goe swetting by
Whilst hee rode ambling in his Majestie
The boy rode next the Man did trudg a foot
But then the people did soe laugh and shout
Because the Man did favour soe the Lad
To goe a foot whilst hee rode on his Pad
Next time this poor Man through the Town did pass
The Man and Boy got both upon the Ass
But then the People bad him lite for shame
Hee'd spoyl the Ass or make him sick or Lame
Next time beside the Ass they both did walk
But then they were the Town and Countreys talk
The people laught and made the Welken ring
Children their Folly up and down did sing
Once more the Man resolvd the road to pass
And then the Youth and hee did bear the Ass
At which the people did soe laugh and rore
That the poor Man would never more explore
The Hidrian monstossity to please
But sadly flung his ass into the Seas
By this you see they doe themselvs delude
That think to pleas the giddy multitude
Andronicus did make this story good
Even hee that shed his royall soveraigns blood
Sejanus soe by popular breath up born
By Barrierus was in peeces Torn
Soe some alive the Hidras love will rue
When as to them they give to these their due
For certainly 'twill one day come to pass
They'l have the death and Buriall of this Ass.

1-26. *An old Man ... into the Seas* A similar fable can be found in William Warner, *Albions England* (1612), p. 80. Warner uses the tale to explore Brutus’s killing of Caesar, providing the moral that the good (ie. Caesar) are in danger of being envied and overthrown by those who previously supported their rise to power. While Pulter adopts the concept of the fickle multitude, she focuses on the illegitimate and unstable basis they provide for gaining and holding onto a position of power. She suggests that ultimately those who rely on popular, rather than divine support, deserve to be overthrown.

2. *stripling* A youth, one just passing from boyhood to manhood (*OED* 1.).
3. Pedester] On foot; going or walking on foot.

12. Pad] A horse with a naturally easy pace; a horse for ordinary riding, a saddle horse (OED n. 3, 2).

19. the Welken Ring] See emblem 4, note to line 17.

25. Hidrian monstrosity] The people. For an account of Pulter’s use of the hydra to represent the multitude see emblem 42, note to line 20.

29-30. Andronicus did make ... soverraigns blood] Andronicus Comnenius/Comnenus. Legendary usurper (see emblem 26, note to line 26). In The Holy State, Thomas Fuller describes how, following many years of tyrannous rule, the people eventually rebelled against Andronicus. He was ‘beaten, spurn’d, kick’d on, and has his arm cut off, and an eye bored out. But all this was mercy, in respect of what he next day suffered by the rascal multitude, being carried on a scabb’d Camell thorough Constantinople’. Finally, he was ‘hang’d up by the feet betwixt two pillars after a thousand abuses offered to him ((1642), p. 434). For an alternative reference to Andronicus see emblem 26.

31. Sejanus soe ... up born] Sejanus plotted to overthrow Tiberius (Caesar) but was condemned in AD31 and was torn apart by the people. For a contemporary representation see Ben Jonson, Sejanus His Fall (acted 1603 published 1605 and 1616).

32. By Barrierus ... peeces Torn] Briareus: a monster with a hundred arms and in some accounts fifty heads (Brill’s New Pauly, vol. 6, pp. 57-58). For a more detailed account see emblem 1, note to line 13. Pulter’s depiction of the multitude as a many-armed, many-headed monster in keeping with her characterisation of the people as a hydra.

34. When as to ... their due] ie. just as the people brought about the downfall of Andronicus and Sejanus they will do the same to those currently relying on their support; it seems likely that Pulter is referring to Cromwell.
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