

Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London
CBJ	<i>The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson</i> , gen. eds. David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 2012)
CEP	John Milton, <i>Complete English Poems, Of Education, Areopagitica</i> , ed. Gordon Campbell (London: J. M. Dent, 1990)
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i> (Proquest, 2003–13): eebo.chadwyck.com
FQ	Edmund Spenser, <i>The Faerie Queene</i> , ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 1977)
LION	<i>Literature Online</i> (Proquest, 1996–2013): lion.chadwyck.co.uk
NA	National Archives, Kew, London
ODNB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , gen. eds. H. C. G. Matthew, Brian Harrison and Lawrence Goldman (Oxford University Press, 2004–12): www.oxforddnb.com
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary Online</i> (Oxford University Press): www.oed.com
SP	Edmund Spenser, <i>The Shorter Poems</i> , ed. Richard A. McCabe (London: Penguin, 1999)

Lucy Munro. *Archaic Style in English Literature, 1590-1674*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Introduction: conceptualising archaism

In spring 1590, book-buyers in London were confronted with a long narrative poem, 'Disposed into twelue books, *Fashioning XII. Morall vertues*', published by William Ponsonby. If they bought the poem, or leafed through it on the stationer's stall, they encountered first a dedication 'TO THE MOST MIGHTIE AND MAGNIFICENT EMPRESSE ELIZABETH', then, on the following pages, the title and subtitle of the first book, and a four-stanza Proem. The Proem opens with the lines,

LO I the man, whose Muse whilome did maske,
 As time her taught, in lowly Shepheards weeds,
 Am now enforst a far vnfitter taske,
 For trumpets sterne to chaunge mine Oaten reeds,
 And sing of Knights and Ladies gentle deeds;
 Whose prayes hauing slept in silence long,
 Me, all too meane, the sacred Muse areeds
 To blazon broad amongst her learned throng:
 Fierce warres and faithful loues shall moralize my song.
 (Book 1, Proem, 1.1–9)

The style of this opening might already have struck our potential reader as odd, and this sensation would have intensified if he or she turned the page and glanced over the opening of Canto 1 (see Figure 1):

Canto I.

*The Patron of true Holinesse,
 Foule Errour doth defeate:
 Hypocrisie him to entrapp,
 Doth to his home entreate.*

I.

A Gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine,
 Y cladd in mightie armes and siluer shielde,
 Wherein old dints of deepe wounds did remaine,
 The cruell markes of many' a bloody felde;

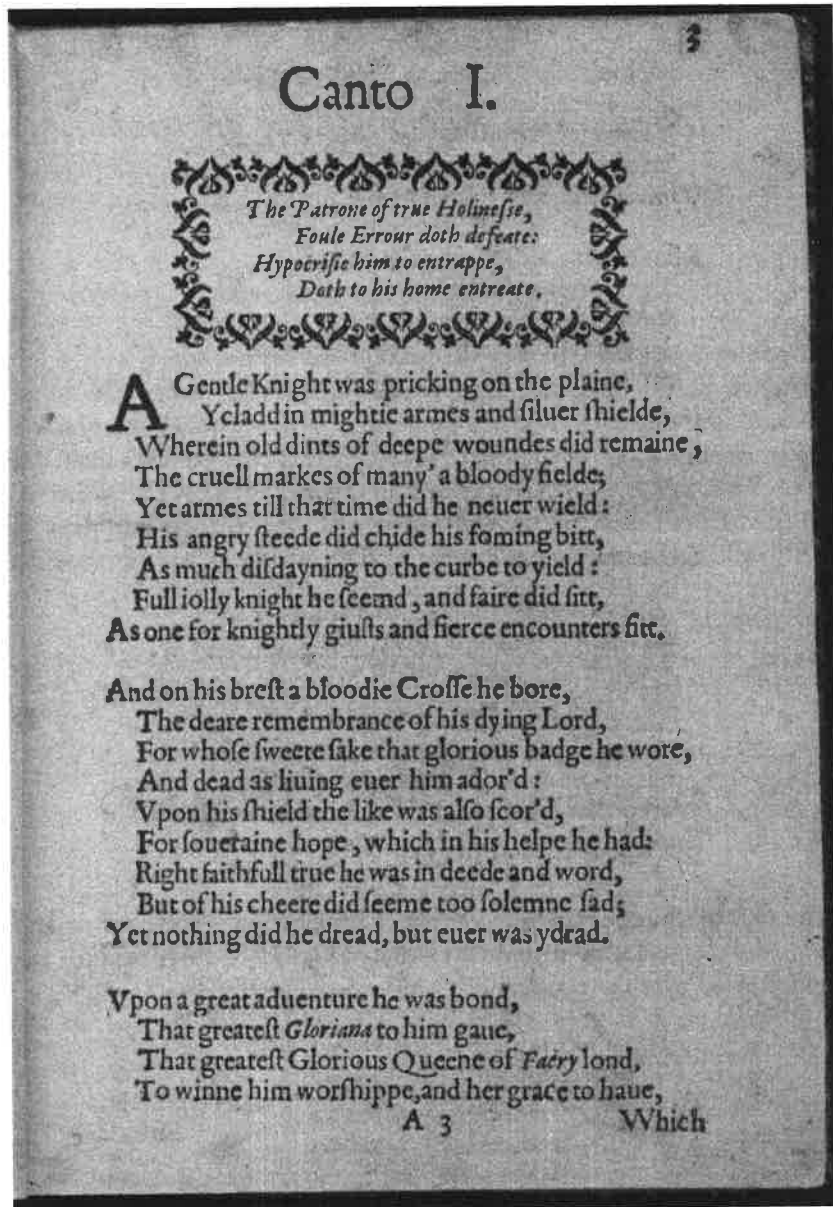


Figure 1 The opening of Book 1, Canto 1 of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (London, 1590), A3r (p. 3).

Yet armes till that time did he neuer wield:
His angry steede did chide his foming bitt,
As much disdayning to the curbe to yield:
Full iolly knight he seemd, and faire did sitt,
As one for knightly giusts and fierce encounters fitt. (1.1.1.1–9)

Skimming through Edmund Spenser's epic poem *The Faerie Queene*, our imaginary reader would have been struck by the fact that certain aspects of its vocabulary and style are archaic. Words such as 'whilome', 'areed', 'pricking' and 'Y cladd' would all have sounded old-fashioned to late-Elizabethan ears. 'Pricking' in the sense of riding or spurring one's horse seems to have been rare, if not entirely obsolete, in 1590; similarly, the past-participle 'y' prefix – derived from the Old English 'ge-' and common in medieval and early Tudor works – was becoming unusual even in poetry. He or she might also have been disconcerted by the four-line argument that precedes the first stanza of Book 1, written in the so-called 'common measure' or 'ballad measure', which by the last decade of the sixteenth century was rarely used outside ballads and translations of the Psalms. Less eye-catching than these features, but adding to the effect, are the old-fashioned inversions in Spenser's syntax, which aid the rhyme, and his emphatic use of auxiliary 'do': 'As much disdayning to the curbe to yield'; 'Yet armes till that time did he neuer wield'. An astute reader might, in addition, have realised that the Proem's allusion to the poet whose Muse formerly appeared 'in lowly Shepherds weeds' was a reference to Spenser, the archaising author of a collection of pastoral eclogues, *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579). *The Faerie Queene* has a past, in more ways than one, and the cumulative effect of these archaisms and allusions is to destabilise the reader, making him or her unsure of how to position the work temporally, how to characterise its use of English, or how to assess precisely its relationships with either contemporary or older literary texts and genres.

Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* and *Faerie Queene* are two of the sixteenth century's best-known examples of literary archaism: the self-conscious incorporation into imaginative texts of linguistic or poetic styles that would have registered as outmoded or old-fashioned to the audiences or readers of the works in which they appear. Indeed, we are forcibly reminded of the extent to which Spenser has become synonymous with early modern archaism by our habitual use of old spelling in quoting both the text and titles of his works. Scholars and publishers do not generally, in contrast, refer to Shakespeare's *A Midsommer Nights Dreame* or Jonson's *The Divell is an Asse*, even though both of these texts contain examples of

deliberate archaism. Our attention to Spenser has also blinded us to the prominence and range of the uses of outmoded styles in early modern literary culture. To look beyond Spenser is to acknowledge both the alternative forms of archaism that were available to writers between 1590 and 1674 – ranging from Old English to the conventions of the Tudor morality play – and the widely divergent uses to which they might be put.

Looking at these titles in their original spelling also forcibly reminds us of the distinction between two different categories of archaic style encountered by early modern readers and spectators: a text may survive the moment of its original production and become outmoded, or it might be deliberately written in an old-fashioned style, as a 'calculated continuity, or re-evocation'.¹ *The Faerie Queene* and select aspects of *A Midsommer Nights Dreame* and *The Divell is an Asse* appeared to be archaic to their original readers, and were intended to be so; in addition, all three works have gradually become archaic in the 400 years since their original composition and production. Quoting *The Faerie Queene* in old spelling thus blurs the distinction between these two forms of archaism, even though there are valid grounds in general for presenting Spenser's works in their original form.²

This book focuses on deliberate stylistic archaism in poems and plays in which its presence is a central part in their design. Its central argument is that paying close attention to the self-aware deployment of archaic linguistic and literary forms in early modern drama and poetry does not merely illuminate the individual works in which they appear. Instead, it argues, archaism is a crucial barometer of writers' broader engagements with two forms of temporal process: the history of the nation and the development of literary style. When poets or dramatists return to older forms of English, be they in vocabulary, syntax or metre, they make a claim on – and for – the linguistic and poetic resources of the English language; simultaneously, they may explore its place in the construction and manipulation of national history and identity. As Claire McEachern comments in her influential account of the poetics of English nationhood in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, 'England, English, and Englishness are spoken in many ways in this moment, by many persons and in many places.'³ Moreover, in creating something new from the fragments of something old, archaist writers both recapitulate and reconfigure their national and literary heritage.

In the preface to his *Fables Ancient and Modern* (1700), John Dryden sets out two parallel literary histories: ancient and modern, Roman and English. 'We must be Children before we grow Men', he declares. 'There was an

Ennius, and in process of Time a *Lucilius*, and a *Lucretius*, before *Virgil* and *Horace*; even after *Chaucer* there was a *Spencer*, a *Harrington*, a *Fairfax*, before *Waller* and *Denham* were in being; And our Numbers were in their Nonage till these last appear'd.'⁴ Literary archaism both depends on and resists such teleologies. Archaising writers demonstrate their awareness of historical difference, as evidenced in linguistic and stylistic change, but through their desire to imitate and reinvigorate outmoded styles they also challenge the smooth narrative of progression that Dryden describes. They thus acknowledge the ways in which, to appropriate Annamarie Jagose's description, time might be not linear but 'cyclical, interrupted, multi-layered, reversible, stalled'.⁵ Archaists' time is, in the terms adopted by recent scholars, queer time – out of joint, askew, at odds with conventional notions of temporality.⁶ In its impersonation of the past, archaism unsettles relationships between past, present and future even as it seemingly attempts to inscribe them.

Archaists reject, implicitly or explicitly, some of the conventions of their own day; however, they do not slavishly imitate outmoded forms. Their relationship with the past is both collusive and competitive; writers who employ archaism express a desire for communion with the dead, but also a longing to outstrip their achievements. Archaism's backward glance is not, therefore, purely nostalgic. Instead, the archaising writer seeks to reshape the past, to mould the present, and proleptically to conjure times yet to come; he or she creates a temporal hybrid that looks forward to its own incorporation into a national and literary future. In these ways, therefore, archaism crystallises the distinctively self-aware stance that early modern writers adopt in relation to their fast-changing language, their literary tradition, and the uncertain contours of English nationhood.

The chapters that follow analyse the various uses of archaism in literary texts written and, in many cases, performed between 1590, the year in which *The Faerie Queene* first appeared, and 1674, when the twelve-book version of Milton's *Paradise Lost* was published. This time frame merits some comment, especially given that it starts a decade after the publication of *The Shepheardes Calender*, a text that is rightly seen as a landmark in the uses of literary archaism. Moreover, the self-conscious use of archaism in English literature did not begin with Spenser.⁷ It had a rich tradition among mid-sixteenth-century poets, and its use was intertwined with anxieties about the status of the English language for much of this period, as I will explore in greater detail below. Thomas Wyatt, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Nicholas Grimauld, Alexander Barclay, Barnabe Googe, Thomas Sackville, George Turberville and George Gascoigne all employed

archaic linguistic and literary forms, and in 1553 Thomas Wilson was able to complain that 'The fine Courtier will talke nothyng but Chaucer'.⁸ Archaism also played a crucial role in literary experimentation; as Veré Rubel comments, poets such as Wyatt evolved 'a poetic diction that was new because it was deliberately old'.⁹

Notwithstanding these developments, however, the period between the Elizabethan *fin de siècle* and the early years of the Restoration was a distinct phase in the tradition of literary archaism, in which writers adopted new forms of archaism and evolved distinctive attitudes towards outmoded style and its uses; it also saw the production of some of the most intriguing and varied archaist texts ever written. By the 1590s, some of the century's earlier anxieties about the status of English as a literary language had eased. But events in the following decades would put new pressures on notions of Englishness, the relationship of England to other parts of the British Isles, and the place of English amongst Britain's languages. As I will explore in the following chapters, these events included: the accession of James VI of Scotland to the throne of England, and his project for the union of Britain; the marriage of his son, Charles I, to the French Catholic princess, Henrietta Maria; the fracturing of Stuart Britain during the Bishops' Wars and Civil Wars; and the new dominance of England under the Protectorate. Experiments with medieval literary and linguistic forms, with genres such as epic and pastoral, and with metrical archaism, reflected and participated in the debates surrounding these events.

In terms of archaism itself, 1590 saw the publication of the first three books of *The Faerie Queene*, a milestone because it saw archaism move out of pastoral writing – its accustomed home in the 1570s and 80s – and into epic. The 1590s also saw fast-paced developments in both poetic and theatrical style, developments that rendered certain metrical forms (notably the fourteenner and poulter's measure) and dramatic genres (in particular the morality play) archaic, making them available for specific kinds of stylistic experimentation. However, the changes that made a wider range of archaisms available also hastened the processes through which archaism itself eventually slipped out of fashion. By the time that the Stuart monarchy was restored in 1660, writers were beginning to reject archaism in favour of a more sustained neo-classicism. Attacks on Spenser's language intensified, the use of archaism became increasingly restricted to parody and burlesque, and in 1700 Dryden justified translating Chaucer into modern English on the grounds that 'as his Language grows obsolete, his Thoughts must grow obscure'.¹⁰ Furthermore, two of the 1660s' most

prominent engagements with outmoded style, Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*, may actually have hastened archaism's decline.

In focusing on this pivotal period, therefore, this book traces both the development of literary archaism and the relationships that writers established between the literary conventions of their own times and those of their medieval and Tudor forebears. Like Peggy A. Knapp in her illuminating study *Time-Bound Words*, I pay close attention to the ways in which an old word 'points to both the horizon it helps define in the Middle Ages, and to a new understanding of society and culture as new conditions arise'.¹¹ However, in exploring the uses of not only archaic vocabulary but also outmoded grammatical and metrical forms, I attempt in addition to take seriously the cultural work that literary and linguistic style can do. While metre might not be strictly imaginative in itself, it can be used, as Alison Shell points out, 'in a manner similar to allegory and other imaginative devices', carrying both creative and emotional weight.¹² Similarly, Andrew Zurcher's recent case-study of the ways in which the archaic auxiliary 'mote' ('may' or 'must') functions in Spenser's poetry suggests both the author's 'labored care over his language' and the impact that such linguistic forms can have on the overall texture of a literary work.¹³

Arguing for the importance of a range of archaising strategies in the period 1590–1674, this book also makes a case for the range of writers and genres involved. It deliberately balances canonical and non-canonical texts, examining the plays and poems of Jonson, Middleton, Milton, Shakespeare and Spenser alongside those of William Cartwright, Morgan Llwyd, Robert Southwell and Anna Trapnel, among others. In doing so, it insists on both the literary interest of such texts – some periodically dismissed as doggerel or hack-work – and the value of examining works such as *Hamlet* or *The Faerie Queene* alongside texts that do similar aesthetic work or aim for a similar imaginative impact.

Instead of attempting an exhaustive or comprehensive survey, I instead take 'snapshots' of the use of archaic style in different contexts. The structure of the book follows broadly the chronology of the styles being mimicked or resurrected. Chapters 1 and 2 explore two examples of the early modern encounter with medieval literary culture, looking first at the uses in seventeenth-century literature of Old English, the Anglo-Saxon forebear of Early Modern English that was perhaps the ultimate English linguistic archaism, and then at writers' responses to later medieval authors such as Chaucer and Gower. In doing so, these chapters contribute to the burgeoning field of 'medievalism' as an object of study.¹⁴ Chapters 3 and 4

explore the uses of Tudor styles that had become outmoded by the late sixteenth century, focusing on archaism in liturgical texts and religious poetry, and on the reanimation of old-fashioned dramatic genres on the turn-of-the-century stage. Finally, Chapters 5 and 6 focus on the two genres with which archaic style was most often linked in the early modern period: pastoral and epic, traditionally the 'lowest' and 'highest' of literary modes.

Furthermore, each chapter asks different questions of its material and its central texts, exploring in different ways and to different degrees the two central issues on which the book focuses: archaism's relationships with literary history and with national history and identity. In doing so, they focus on the multiple relationships between archaism and issues such as regional identity, obsolescence, religious conservatism and radicalism, prophecy, the interactions between different generations of writers, parody, genre, anachronism and nostalgia. Chapter 1, 'Within our own memory: Old English and the early modern poet', focuses on three literary encounters with Old English: the quotation of Old English phrases in two plays, Thomas Middleton's *Hengist, King of Kent* (1619–20) and William Cartwright's *The Ordinary* (c.1635); the self-conscious use of Old English words in William L'Isle's translation of Virgil's *Eclogues* (1628); and the composition of poems in Old English for two university collections in the 1640s and 1650s. In examining these texts, it makes two interrelated arguments, one relating to national identity and the other to literary lineage and inheritance. First, it argues that these texts demonstrate the crucial role that the Anglo-Saxon language could play in the conceptualisation of national identity in Stuart and Protectorate Britain; second, it contends that in these texts Old English gradually becomes visible – or thinkable – as a vehicle for literary expression, thus helping to facilitate the rediscovery of Old English poetry and the rewriting of literary history that it occasioned. In these ways, therefore, literary archaism enables writers both to come to terms with the political pressures of the present day and to gesture towards unknown futures.

Chapter 2, 'Chaucer, Gower and the anxiety of obsolescence', similarly focuses on medieval literary inheritance. As noted above, two categories of archaism appear in literary texts: the archaism of the text that has grown old, and that of the text that has been deliberately written in an old-fashioned style. In Book 4 of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1596), the Cambridge University play *The Return from Parnassus* (c.1598–1600), Shakespeare and George Wilkins' *Pericles* (1607) and Cartwright's *The Ordinary* we find both quotations from the works of Chaucer and Gower and imitations of them. Each of these texts deploys archaism as a

means of negotiating their authors' anxieties about linguistic change and the current or future obsolescence of literary works, but they come to two opposing conclusions. *The Faerie Queene* and *The Return from Parnassus* use archaism as a means of expressing their authors' unease about the obsolescence of medieval texts, the corrupting effects of time, and the potential future obsolescence of their own works. In contrast, *Pericles* and *The Ordinary* resist obsolescence, insisting through their very use of archaism that Chaucer and Gower still have an active place in modern literary culture and that their authors will likewise survive the passage of time.

Chapters 3 and 4 move away from medieval literary inheritance to consider styles that had more recently become archaic. Chapter 3, 'Archaic style in religious writing: immutability, controversy, prophecy', explores the most culturally central use of archaism in early modern England: that found in biblical and religious diction. Protestant translations of liturgical texts such as the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer and the Psalms employ archaism in an attempt to mimic the supposed immutability of divine language, and to naturalise their translations as truly 'English'. Outside the Anglican establishment these qualities are put to alternative uses, and, despite their contrasting beliefs, Catholics and Protestant radicals such as the Fifth Monarchists deploy similar archaising techniques. Writing against the tendency for Catholic poets to adopt baroque forms, Robert Southwell and Gertrude More use archaic English metres such as the fourteenner and common measure in an attempt to re-naturalise Catholic devotional traditions and to reinscribe their connections with their native land. Writing during the national upheavals of the Civil War, Commonwealth and Protectorate, the Fifth Monarchists Anna Trapnel and Morgan Llwyd exploit the connections of common measure to the English psalter and the prophetic traditions of the Psalms. They use archaic metres to underscore the Fifth Monarchists' claims to national heritage and to link their poetry with the apocalyptic temporality of prophecy, arguing for the central role of their brand of Protestantism in the destiny of the nation. Thus, Catholic and Protestant poets alike exploit archaism's capacity to appeal to the past, and to a disputed national heritage, while simultaneously staking a claim to both the present and future.

While Chapter 3 focuses on the use of archaism in specific non-dramatic contexts, Chapter 4, 'Staging generations: archaism and the theatrical past', analyses the ways in which late Elizabethan and early Jacobean plays exploit Tudor dramatic modes that had become archaic by the turn of the seventeenth century: the morality play; the elite drama and classical

translations of the 1560s and 1670s; and the dramatic romance of the 1570s and 1580s. Taking as its starting point allusions to the morality play in Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass* (1616) and *The Staple of News* (1626), it focuses on inset metadramatic sequences in three turn-of-the-century works: *Sir Thomas More* (c.1601; revised c.1603–4), *Histriomastix* (c.1598–1602) and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (c.1600). While medieval styles might be safely consigned to the distant past, Tudor dramatic modes were not sufficiently far away as to be uncomplicatedly archaic. For that reason, the theatrical archaism of the plays discussed here uncovers the processes through which one generation of writers constructs another as archaic, and the range of interactions within and between generations that these processes require. It allows dramatists to recreate and critique earlier modes, to exploit their thematic and aesthetic potential, and to use them in defining their own works' relationship with the literary and theatrical past.

The final pair of chapters considers the uses to which writers put archaism in critiquing or renewing two of the most established literary genres: pastoral and epic. Chapter 5, 'Shepherds' speech: archaism and early Stuart pastoral drama', returns to pastoral, the most important literary vehicle for archaism in the mid-sixteenth century. However, rather than focusing on Spenser and his direct followers and imitators, it explores developments in pastoral drama in the early seventeenth century, and the ways in which new influences from Italy and, later, France complicated pastoral's archaising heritage. While the non-dramatic poetry of Michael Drayton, William Browne, and Giles and Phineas Fletcher largely adheres to Spenserian models, plays such as John Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* (1607–8), Milton's *A Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle* (1634) and Jonson's *The Sad Shepherd* (c.1634–8) use outmoded style in different ways. Juxtaposing the old pastoral technique of archaism with new styles and conventions absorbed from continental theatre, they explore alternative forms such as syntactic archaism and the Skeltonic, and reassess the role of Spenserian archaism. In doing so, they negotiate the paradoxical associations that pastoral had with both low and elevated style, with the rustic and the courtly, with the natural and the artificial, with the comic and the serious, with English and foreign influences, and with the old and the new. Archaism takes on a crucial role in these negotiations, breaking down these binaries in some contexts and reinforcing them in others. It thus assists dramatists in renegotiating the place of pastoral in national, cultural and aesthetic contexts alike.

Moving from the humblest of neoclassical genres to the highest, Chapter 6, 'Archaism and the "English" epic', explores the role of linguistic and

metrical archaism in the creation of a local style for epic writing. The association between archaism and epic grandeur was an early modern commonplace, traceable to the ideas of theorists such as Aristotle and Quintilian and to the stylistic innovations of early epic poets such as Homer and Ennius. Owing to archaism's links with medieval writing and the English literary tradition, it became a powerful means for rendering epic stylistically and emotionally 'English', in both original works and translations. However, as the seventeenth century progressed, it also became a way in which writers were able to register the strains within that project. The chapter first compares the use of a single archaic word, 'dight', in *The Faerie Queene* and Edward Fairfax's translation of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1600), examining the ways in which archaism assists these writers in adapting Italian epic to English uses. It then turns to metrical archaism, looking at the uses of the fourteener – strongly associated with English epic style in the sixteenth century – in George Chapman's translation of Homer's *Iliad* (1598–1611) and Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (c.1611). The uses to which these writers put the fourteener suggest the potential strengths and weaknesses of English epic form, an issue that is taken up in detail in the next section, which focuses on mock-heroic parodies of the epic in Jonson's 'On the Famous Voyage' (c.1610) and Charles Cotton's burlesque adaptation of *The Aeneid, Scarronides* (1664–5). Jonson and Cotton suggest through their parody of English epic style that archaism and other aspects of epic diction have become exhausted. The chapter concludes with a reassessment of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, arguing that while Milton – like Jonson and Cotton – deconstructs the traditional role of archaism in the English epic, he also manipulates outmoded linguistic and metrical styles in order to repurpose epic as a Christian and republican form. Finally, a short Coda explores the reasons for literary culture's widespread rejection of archaism in the late seventeenth century.

Four theses

Having set out the scope of this study, in the rest of this introduction I plot its conceptual background. To engage fully with literary archaism, and the issues that it raises, is to delve into a number of areas that have preoccupied scholars in recent years. Notably, because it is entwined with the English language and English literary stylistics, archaism foregrounds writers' attitudes towards linguistic and stylistic change, and its study thus engages with recent detailed exploration of stylistic and rhetorical affect in early modern texts.¹⁵ It also entangles itself with questions of English national

identity in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the subject of influential studies by Richard Helgerson, Claire McEachern, Mary Floyd-Wilson and John Kerrigan, among others.¹⁶ Further, the imitation of outmoded styles raises questions relating to temporality, historiography and relationships between different periods of literary and national history.¹⁷ In exploring these issues, and seeking to place archaism within its specific cultural, social and political contexts, this book follows a broadly historicist path. Yet it also aims to complicate prevailing models through its attention to the temporal instability of archaic style, and its awareness of the extent to which this instability challenges the stable division between past and present on which many historicist readings depend. If, as Philip Schwyzer notes, literary texts are 'things in the present and witnesses to the past, belonging in different ways to us and the dead',¹⁸ archaist works further complicate our notions of what 'belongs' to the past or present. Literary archaism, which looks backwards and forwards simultaneously, and creates texts that resist belonging fully to any one time-period, is in many respects an 'unhistorical' phenomenon, to adopt Madhavi Menon's term. However, while archaism resists incorporation into a fully historicist model of criticism, its unsettling power becomes evident only when we look in detail at its workings, exploring fully its cultural and aesthetic contexts.¹⁹

Rather than summarising in detail all of the influences on the approach to literary archaism adopted here, I instead set out four theses about its nature and function:

1. *Archaism is a form of imitation.*
2. *Archaic words and styles undermine linear temporality, reconfiguring relationships between past, present and future.*
3. *Archaism is intertwined with national identity.*
4. *Archaism is self-conscious and artificial, yet capable of arousing strong emotion.*

As I explain in greater detail below, early modern archaism's closest conceptual bedfellows are anachronism and nostalgia; its affinity with anachronism in particular marks its difference from the literary archaisms of some other periods. For instance, some of my theses challenge the model outlined in the fullest study of literary archaism to date, Linell B. Wisner's 'Archaism, or Textual Literalism in the Historical Novel', largely because the nineteenth- and twentieth-century historical novel, Wisner's object of study, pursues different ends and employs rather different techniques from early modern texts. As Wisner notes, his texts

do not 'merely sprinkle their narratives with obsolete mannerisms'; instead, they faithfully reproduce an 'antiquated literary idiom', most closely resembling forgeries of older texts.²⁰ In contrast, early modern archaist writers mingle outmoded linguistic and literary forms with contemporary idioms; they 'sprinkle' their texts with archaism or embed archaising characters or self-contained sequences within their narratives, and the products only rarely resemble forgeries. While archaism may be deployed strategically as an authenticating gesture in early modern texts, its claim to truth is generally complicated or compromised. Moreover, even where a complete work is written in an archaic form – for instance, the seventeenth-century composition of poems in Old English or a cod-Chaucerian style – anachronistic details are included, and archaisms often jostle with neologisms and other forms of temporal dissonance.

While the post-eighteenth-century novel uses archaism extensively, early modern prose fiction employs it only very rarely, even in texts set in the historical past.²¹ Furthermore, unlike the historical novel, archaist texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries do not use archaism to represent 'a specific historical experience', as Wisner terms it ('Archaism', 12). Instead, early modern literary archaism has more in common with the techniques used in the temporally hybrid form of steampunk, a recent novelistic and filmic subgenre that often places anachronistic technology in nineteenth-century settings; in steampunk, as Margaret Rose describes, archaisms 'often help the texts to masquerade as Victorian'; they represent 'an engagement with the historicity of the present', playing with what Fredric Jameson has termed 'connotations of pastness'.²² In a similar fashion, early modern archaism masquerades as Anglo-Saxon, as Chaucerian, as early Tudor, or as the product of a less clearly specified past, but it never expects its masquerade to be fully credited or taken wholly seriously.

1 *Archaism is a form of imitation.* Archaism requires a writer to mimic older literary and linguistic forms, as a number of the terms used by early modern writers to describe it acknowledge. The term 'archaism' itself appears to have been first used in the mid-seventeenth century, but prior to that writers occasionally used a term closer to the original Greek, 'archaismos'.²³ Writing in the 1530s, Nicholas Udall quotes the fourth-century grammarian Donatus' commentary on Terence's *Eunuch*, defining 'archaismos' as 'an imitation of spekyng of the olde tyme'.²⁴ This definition stresses both the diachronic and imitative aspects of archaism: a writer is required not merely to refer to past forms, but to seek to recreate them. Archaism might also shade into cacoelia, a rhetorical technique criticised as 'Fond Affectation' by George Puttenham in *The Art of English Poesy*

(1589), which often entails imitating the 'wrong' models.²⁵ Cacozelia is often linked with neologisms taken from other languages, but it can also encompass archaism. In Thomas Elyot's 1538 Latin-English dictionary a 'Cacozelus' is 'an yll folower or imitator';²⁶ here, the writer who employs cacozelia chooses the wrong exemplars to imitate, exemplars which might be classical texts, modern works in foreign languages, or older texts from his or her own national tradition. The past is a different country, and archaism as cacozelia is an affected, potentially ill-mannered, form of imitation.

The slightly later term 'Chaucerism', used from at least the 1590s, also foregrounds imitation – here of a specific medieval forebear – while suggesting in addition a certain primitivism of style.²⁷ Jonson, for instance, complains that Chaucerisms 'were better expunged and banished', while Thomas Fuller comments that Chaucerisms in Spenser's poetry 'are thought by the ignorant to be *blemishes*, known by the learned to be *beauties* to his book; which notwithstanding had been more salable, if more conformed to our modern language'.²⁸ The term also highlights the intertextual relations that can be created through the imitation of an earlier text or even the use of a single word or metrical form. For instance, when Spenser says in the opening lines of the Proem to *The Faerie Queene* that his 'Muse whilome did maske, / As time her taught, in lowly Shepheards weeds' he not only draws attention to his own archaising style in *The Shepheardes Calender*, but also invokes the literary history of the word 'whilom' itself, and the authors – most notably Chaucer – who used it.

Imitation was central to early modern poetics, but its characteristics and problems are particularly evident when a writer chooses to mimic the style of a predecessor whose work has become outmoded. Terence Cave points out that in literary imitation 'the activities of reading and writing become virtually identified'; readers read with the intention of incorporating a text into their own work, while the imitating writer 'cannot entirely escape the constraints of what he has read'.²⁹ When the text imitated is an outdated one, and aspects of its form or style have become archaic, the 'writer as imitator' is forced to negotiate carefully the demands of two sets of aesthetic conventions: those of the source text and those of his own day. As Thomas M. Greene notes, imitation 'makes possible an emergent sense of identity, personal and cultural, by demonstrating the viability of diachronic itineraries'.³⁰ In imitating older texts, the archaising writer constructs his or her own poetic identity through a form of literary time travel, underscoring the network of diachronic interactions on which early modern literary composition depended.

Imitation is crucial to one of the most important early modern critiques of archaism, Jonson's comments in his commonplace book, published posthumously as *Timber, or Discoveries*, in which he sets out some typically stringent advice for the young writer, drawing closely on Quintilian's guidelines for the use of archaism in the *Institutio Oratoria*. '[A]s it is fit to read the best authors to youth first', Jonson writes,

so let them be of the openest, and clearest. As Livy before Sallust, Sidney before Donne. And beware of letting them taste Gower or Chaucer at first, lest falling too much in love with antiquity, and not apprehending the weight, they grow rough and barren in language only. When their judgments are firm and out of danger, let them read both the old and the new; but no less take heed that their new flowers and sweetness do not as much corrupt as the other's dryness and squalor, if they choose not carefully. Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language; yet I would have him read for his matter; but as Virgil read Ennius.³¹

Typically concerned with avoiding the extremes of poetic style and diction, Jonson suggests that writers such as Gower and Chaucer are best left to experienced poets, who will be able to bear the 'weight' and avoid the 'rough[ness]' and 'barren[ness]', the 'dryness and squalor', that imitating older writing might bring. The original work might be good, but in attempting to imitate it a modern writer merely produces a worthless reiteration of its worst stylistic features. Nonetheless, although he condemns writers' love affairs with antiquity, Jonson's comments also hint there is a dangerous allure in the works of Gower or Chaucer. Despite their stylistic limitations, these writers continue to work on the imaginations of their early modern successors.

In fact, Jonson's discussion of archaism becomes more multifaceted the more attention we devote to it. His allusions to the classical writers Ennius (c.239–c.169 BCE) and Sallust (86–c.35 BCE) – the latter taken directly from Quintilian – remind us that archaism has a long history, and one that was intertwined with ideas about imitation. Archaism in Greek texts stretches back at least as far as Homer, and Sander M. Goldberg argues that Roman archaism may be nearly as old as the literature itself, pointing out that it was 'a way to make the legacy of the past legitimize the work of the present'.³² Archaism in Latin verse is instructively complex. For later writers, much of the archaic quality of Ennius' work derived from its genuine antiquity, but Ennius had also introduced self-conscious archaisms of his own, imitating aspects of Homeric style in his *Annales*.³³ Ennius' works thus embody both forms of archaic text: that which has become old and that which imitates older works. His voluntary archaism

was often overlooked; in the *Institutio Oratoria*, for instance, Quintilian writes, 'Ennius we should worship as we do groves whose age has made them sacred, and whose huge and ancient trees have come to have more sanctity about them than beauty.'³⁴ Sallust, viewed more straightforwardly as a self-conscious archaiser, receives harsher criticism: Quintilian quotes an epigram that describes him as a 'plunderer of old Cato's words', and comments, 'This is sheer pedantry' ('Odioso cura').³⁵

Thus, when Jonson juxtaposes Donne with Sallust he criticises what he perceives as the wilful and affected obscurity of Donne's style; when he compares Spenser with Ennius he suggests that on some level Spenser is unable to prevent himself from imitating his medieval forebears.³⁶ As Anne Barton notes, some of the earliest commentators on *The Shepheardes Calender* claimed that Spenser was 'the Virgil to Chaucer's Ennius'; however, for Jonson in *Discoveries* 'Spenser was Ennius: an important but stylistically primitive writer who should be respected by future poets, but not imitated'.³⁷ David Scott Wilson-Okamura takes this line of argument further, associating Jonson's statement with Virgil's supposed response to someone who asked why he read Ennius, 'I am combing dung (*stercore*) in search of gold', and commenting, 'the allusion is unmistakable: for Jonson, reading Spenser was like sifting dung'.³⁸ Jonson here expresses a fierce resistance to archaism. However, as I will describe later in this book, his resistance is accompanied by extensive – though often edgily self-conscious – use of archaism in some of his own works. He thus epitomises early modern culture's simultaneous attraction to and suspicion of the revival of outmoded style.

Considering early modern culture's ambivalent response to archaism also raises the question of another form of imitation: parody. Many early modern writers simply found older words or styles amusing. William Hawkins' school play *Apollo Shroving* (1627), for instance, has a good deal of fun with the use of archaism in erotic poetry, and in particular its stubborn adherence to outmoded forms such as 'eyne' for 'eyes'. In one comic set-piece, the affected Captain Complement attempts to instruct a young boy, Gingle, in wooing technique, only to find that his lesson is derailed when his pupil fails to understand the incongruous poetic archaism in the doggerel lines 'Souise not thy glittering globy eyne / In dreary teary salt sea brine'. Frustrated, Complement asks Gingle, 'Knowst thou not what globy is? I perceiue then thou art no traeller, thou hast not (as I haue done) traelled about the globe of the earth. Know'st not what eyne be? I see thou art no Poet, thou hast neuer read *Chaucer*. Hast thou neuer heard of eyne twaine?'³⁹ The comedy of the sequence derives from the

assumption that audience members will recognise and understand the phrase 'globy eyne' as a parody of poetic archaism, and from the disparity between their knowledge and the ignorance of the unfortunate Gingle.

In *Apollo Shroving*, Complement attempts to justify his use of archaism by drawing on Chaucer's poetic authority; as this might suggest, diachronic interactions between past and present are important to parodic imitation. Parody encompasses a range of imitative forms, including quotation, allusion, burlesque and pastiche, and all of these forms can draw on older words and styles. Linda Hutcheon usefully defines parody as 'repetition with critical distance, which marks difference rather than similarity', describing it as a process of 'revising, replaying, inverting, and "trans-contextualizing" previous works of art'.⁴⁰ Both Hutcheon and Margaret Rose stress parody's capacity to make past and present speak to one another, invoking temporal as well as critical distance. Rose, for instance, argues that it is 'synthetic and analytic and diachronic and synchronic in its analysis of the work it quotes, in that it is able to evoke a past work and its reception and link it with other analyses and audiences'.⁴¹ In recycling older texts and imitating their conventions, a parody establishes interconnections between past and present and between older and newer generations of writers, genres and texts; further, each individual parody becomes part of a multi-temporal network of previous and, potentially, future parodies. Moreover, parody also highlights the fact that archaism's imitation is never a neutral process: writers who introduce older forms into their works do so for specific reasons, and from specific perspectives.

2 *Archaic words and styles undermine linear temporality, reconfiguring relationships between past, present and future.* Thus far, I have argued that archaism is a form of diachronic imitation; however, the interactions that it creates between past, present and future are more complex than this suggests. Archaism draws on its closest conceptual analogues, *anachronism* and *nostalgia*, yet it also complicates some of the assumptions of these two models; in doing so, it has affinities with recent attempts to reconceptualise the temporality of literary texts and other aesthetic objects of the early modern period, and with recent accounts of the cultural workings of memory.

A popular stereotype of Spenserian poetics is invoked by Samuel Daniel in the 1592 version of his sonnet sequence, *Delia*: 'Let others sing of Knights and Palladines,' he writes, 'In aged accents, and vntimely words.'⁴² Writing two years after the publication of the first part of *The Faerie Queene*, Daniel vividly evokes its stylistic archaism, but his use of the word

'untimely' also suggests the ways in which archaism violates chronology. The recycling of old linguistic and stylistic conventions invariably pulls the past into the present, even if only by virtue of the fact that the old word is uttered in a new context, or the old convention is juxtaposed with forms that long post-date it. Moreover, archaism depends on the simultaneous presence of what the linguist Manfred Görlach calls '*diachronically different forms of speech*'.⁴³ It does not seek simply to erase temporal difference, but to play with the aesthetic and interpretative possibilities that the combination of old and new forms provides.

As this suggests, archaism carries with it an inherent anachronism. We often think of anachronism as occurring when an author imports something new into an ancient setting – the clocks that strike in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, for example, or Dante's introduction of Virgil into *The Divine Comedy*.⁴⁴ However, as Jeremy Tambling points out, the anachronistic is 'what is out of time, the heterogeneous within time', and in an early gloss Thomas Blount defines both 'Anachronicism' and 'Anachronism' as 'an error in Chronology, or an undue connexion of time, a false Chronicling, a repeating of time'.⁴⁵ Taking something out of its usual place in time makes it anachronistic. Therefore, when a writer imports something old into a new setting they equally create anachronism; archaism is, in Blount's terms, very precisely a 'repeating of time'. The links between archaism and anachronism are forcibly stated in Greene's discussion of what he terms '*pathetic or even tragic anachronism*': 'all of us and all the things we wear and make and build and write . . . are condemned to anachronism insofar as we and they endure into an estranging future'.⁴⁶ Greene's examples of pathetic anachronism include old words which have survived into the present and superannuated figures; his comments on the superannuated character might also be applied to old words: such a character 'will typically attract ambivalence, the ambivalence of all historical change, and this divided awareness will affect the posture of the text toward its own historicity'.⁴⁷ Greene here engages with the archaism of the text or figure that has become old, but his comments reverberate with the deliberate archaism that concerns me here, in which words or styles that have been allowed to 'die' are brought back to life.⁴⁸

A number of scholars have argued that a sense of anachronism is crucial to the existence of historical consciousness.⁴⁹ Margreta de Grazia points out in her elegant recent account of anachronism that the Renaissance is often said to have been 'not only conscious of diachrony but also conscious that it was conscious of it: in recognizing itself as a distinct period, both from remote antiquity (to which it would draw closer) and from the

proximate dark ages (from which it would distance itself)'.⁵⁰ De Grazia rightly questions the preconceptions about the classical and medieval pasts upon which this model depends; however, her summary suggests some of the connections between archaism and anachronism, and the negotiations that are required – between past and present, between the present day and different versions of the past – when writers choose to write in a self-consciously archaic style. For a word or stylistic element to be archaic, language users must have a sense of the developments within a language over time, and archaism is an intensely and innately self-conscious form of diachrony.

Anachronism, and archaism with it, can also complicate linear models of historical progression. To quote Tambling again, anachronism counters a 'definable-historical framework, with "before" and "after", cause and effect';⁵¹ archaism as anachronism aligns the 'before' with the 'after', or even privileges the 'before', confusing and potentially challenging a model of temporality based on cause and effect. Like the Renaissance artworks recently examined by Christopher S. Wood and Alexander Nagel in *Anachronic Renaissance*, literary texts that employ archaism are marked by 'temporal instability', and Wood and Nagel's comments on visual art also hold true for the literary text. Like the artwork, an archaizing text points away from the moment of its own making or design backwards towards an earlier point of origin; yet at the same time, 'it points forward to all its future recipients who will activate and reactivate it as a meaningful event'.⁵² An artwork thus resists both linear temporality and periodisation; it has the ability 'to "fetch" a past, create a past, perhaps even fetch the future' (18).⁵³ Literary works share this quality – for instance, in their use of source texts or narratives, and in their frequent appeal to not only contemporary but also future readers. In fact, it could be argued that the literary work is even more temporally unstable than the artwork, as through his or her use of language and literary form – and, in particular, of archaism and neologism – a writer is able to pull together words and styles from different periods.

A further means of conceptualising temporal fluidity, and one that has particular significance here, is set out by Jonathan Gil Harris in his recent book *Untimely Matter in the Age of Shakespeare*, in which he describes the capacity of material objects to 'articulat[e] temporal difference'.⁵⁴ Drawing on Bruno Latour and Michel Serres, Harris suggests that early modern objects might be both polychronic and multi-temporal. An object such as a joint-stool might be polychronic because it gathers associations and meanings as it descends through time, while a printing press might be

considered to be multi-temporal because it gathers together substances and technologies developed in various historical periods, complicating linear temporality. As Serres argues, 'every historical era is likewise multitemporal, simultaneously drawing from the obsolete, the contemporary, and the futuristic. An object, a circumstance, is thus polychronic, multitemporal, and reveals a time that is gathered together, and with multiple pleats'.⁵⁵ For Harris, the early modern 'thing' is not solely or simply early modern: it might be an object that had survived from an earlier time, such as the Roman walls of the city of London, or the items of clothing recycled in the royal courts and the public theatres; its technology might be ancient, as in the case of many industrial tools used during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Such objects are 'of the English Renaissance, yet not of it', and might be characterised as 'untimely matter' (*Untimely Matter*, 3). Harris deals with objects, whereas this book focuses on literary and linguistic style, yet his comments here have a suggestive resonance for the ways in which archaism functions in early modern texts.

To apply a theory of materiality to words and stylistic conventions might seem incongruous, but in an important sense early modern words *were* things, and their function often blurs into the material. Jane Donawerth notes that early modern writers favoured the idea of a 'connection between words and things', and she notes that the popularity of this idea 'may explain some of the reverence in which the ancient words of Latin, Greek, Hebrew and even Anglo-Saxon were held'.⁵⁶ Words are here granted the status of prized objects, and we can see how this way of thinking might be applied to archaic terms or concepts: to use a phrase that Elizabeth Fay borrows in turn from Nietzsche, archaisms are 'conceptual mummies', seemingly dead but capable of recovery.⁵⁷ Moreover, 'untimely terms' are belated but also, crucially, 'out of joint', to borrow Hamlet's phrase; to adopt another term with bodily connections, they are 'dislocated' – removed from their proper or correct place, disarranged and confused. Words and conventions, like things, might be both polychronic and multi-temporal, and, as I argue in detail below, words – even more than things – have the capacity to carry with them the emotional resonance of their earlier uses.

The temporal fluidity of archaism also associates it with nostalgia, its other conceptual analogue. Like archaism, nostalgia can pull together past, present and future; as Svetlana Boym describes, the nostalgic's 'fantasies of the past, determined by the needs of the present, have a direct impact on the realities of the future', he or she 'feels stifled within the conventional confines of time and space'.⁵⁸ The archaist is similarly stifled, but he or she reacts to this confinement in a different fashion from the nostalgic, seeking

to recreate and reshape, rather than simply to remember or fantasise. Nostalgia attempts, as Renée R. Trilling has recently argued, 'to reconstruct the lost past in the present moment', and 'its manipulation of material events into aesthetic objects turns the present into history, thereby reifying the separation between present and past'.⁵⁹ In contrast, archaism transforms aesthetic objects into new aesthetic objects; in its reinvigoration of old words and conventions, it turns history into the present, undermining the separation enacted by nostalgia. Furthermore, while archaism can invoke nostalgia, and can mimic its conservative tendencies, it is not reducible to nostalgia because it not only looks back to the past but also insists upon the present's ability to match past achievements and even, through the combination of archaism and neologism, to outstrip them. As Harry Berger Jr writes of *The Faerie Queene*, 'Spenser places traditional material in historical perspective by quotation and revision: he depicts it as something old, separates those elements which are still valid from those which are inadequate or outmoded, and transforms it into something new'.⁶⁰ Unlike nostalgia, archaism is fundamentally transformative, and it goes to old texts for new answers.

If recent studies underscore the differences between archaism and nostalgia, scholars' accounts of memory offer a more directly productive way of thinking about archaism's configuration of the relationship between past, present and future. In *Matter and Memory*, first published in 1896, Henri Bergson suggests that memory 'imports the past into the present, contracts into a single intuition many moments of duration'.⁶¹ Bergson's description of the way in which memory recovers the past, reshaping it in the process, has marked affinities with the process of the archaising writer, for whom archaic words and conventions function as a form of semi-embodied memory. Further, archaism resonates with the model of 'multi-directional memory' recently described by Michael Rothberg, who argues that

recollections and representations of personal or political history inevitably mix multiple moments in time and multiple sites of remembrance; making the past present opens the doors of memory to intersecting pasts and undefined futures. Memory is thus structurally multidirectional, but each articulation of the past processes that multidirectionality differently.⁶²

Archaism, similarly, is 'structurally multidirectional'. The archaising writer moves backwards and forwards in time, plundering a series of intersecting pasts for material that will suit his or her project; similarly, every archaist work reshapes its material in a different manner, and each will look forward and backwards in a different way.

For example, when Spenser uses the word 'wight' in *The Shepheardes Calender* or *The Faerie Queene*, he looks back to Chaucer, whereas when Shakespeare, Jonson or Milton use the term, it is filtered through Spenser; when 'wretched wight' appears in the opening line of Keats's 'La Belle Dame Sans Merci' (1820) it is an even more self-consciously adopted element of poetic diction,⁶³ and in later novels such as Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley* (1849) or Charles Dickens's *Bleak House* (1853), it appears in moments of narrative burlesque. Thus Dickens's sardonic description of Sir Leicester Dedlock being treated for his hereditary gout condition concludes with the statement, 'And he is very great, this day. And woe to Boythorn, or other daring wight, who shall presumptuously contest an inch with him!'⁶⁴ Dickens's use of the term 'wight' carries the weight of the word's history with it, but, simultaneously, readers of *Bleak House* carry Dickens with them if they turn to Spenser or Chaucer, meaning that the history of the word works both backwards and forwards.

3 *Archaism is intertwined with national identity.* As described above, the use of archaism raises specifically early modern concerns about the relationship between language and national identity: to quote Paula Blank's useful summary, 'A traditional language, yet one invoked by writers for its novelty, a "pure" English that was foreign to native readers, archaism highlights the complexities of the Renaissance "question of the language" – especially, the question of which version of the vernacular was truly "English".'⁶⁵ Archaic forms of English belong to linguistic and, thereby, national tradition, but they also have the capacity to undermine long-standing assumptions about the nature and status of English, England and the English.

Although archaism appears in medieval English texts, it found new prominence in the context of sixteenth-century debates about the status of English as a national and literary language.⁶⁶ Many commentators argued that loan-words should be incorporated into English from classical languages such as Latin and Greek, or from modern vernaculars such as French and Italian, yet others insisted that English should instead look to its own past.⁶⁷ In the 1530s, when Wyatt was experimenting with Chaucerian forms in his poetry, Thomas Berthelet published an edition of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, in which he tells Henry VIII, to whom the book is dedicated, that wise readers will not 'throwe asyde' the 'olde englishe wordes and vulgars' of Gower's text. Instead, Gower's words 'shall as a lanterne gyue him lyghte to wryte cunnynghly and to garnyshe his sentencis in our vulgar tonge'.⁶⁸ In Berthelet's powerful metaphor, the older text illuminates not only the past, but the present and, potentially, the future.

In the following years, the idea that the works of earlier authors might provide a fruitful source for linguistic renewal gained traction, partly as a result of the activities of an influential group of mid-sixteenth-century archaisers, including John Cheke and Thomas Smith. In a letter to Edward Hoby appended to the printed text of Hoby's translation of Baldassare Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1561), Cheke argues that

our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, vnmixt and vnmangeled with borowing of other tungenes . . . if she want at ani tijm (as being vnperfight she must) yet let her borow with suche bashfulnes, that it mai appeer, that if either the mould of our own tung could serue vs to fascion a word of our own, or if the old denisoned wordes could content and ease this neede, we wold not boldly venture of vnknown wordes.⁶⁹

Cheke's emphasis on the purity of an English free from Latinate neologism is underlined in his idiosyncratic orthography, and his vision of a self-sufficient English tongue recurs in the work of both his contemporaries and later commentators such as William Camden, Alexander Gil and John Hare.⁷⁰ Although Richard Foster Jones is probably right in his assessment of this project as 'hardly feasible', the idea that English could become self-sufficient through the revival and recasting of old words, and that it might thereby preserve its continuity with its own past, nonetheless exercised a powerful hold on the imagination of writers.⁷¹

Nearly a generation after Cheke, ideas of national identity, belonging and estrangement were crucial to the period's most influential expression of an archaist stance, E.K.'s letter to Gabriel Harvey, printed as the preface to *The Shepheardes Calender*. The degree to which Spenser's diction is 'genuinely' archaic has been much debated.⁷² More intriguing, however, is the strategy that E.K. adopts in defending the poet's use of potentially outmoded words, and the aim of the preface to naturalise archaism as decorous, aesthetically valid and truly 'English'. Among the features of Spenser's verse that E.K. praises are his

dewe obseruing of Decorum euerye where, in personages, in seasons, in matter, in speach, and generally in al seemely simplicities in handling his matter, and framing his words: the which of many thinges which in him be straunge, I know will seeme the straungest, the words them selues being so auncient, the knitting of them so short and intricate, and the whole Periode and compasse of speache so delightsome for the roundnesse, and so graue for the straungenesse.⁷³

In using archaic words, E.K. argues, Spenser creates an alluring remoteness and unfamiliarity (see, for instance, the emphatic use of variations on the

word 'strange'), which sets off other aspects of his poetry to advantage. This is not a crude way of using language. On the contrary, the words are woven together in a manner that is concise ('short') and intricate, and which produces a pleasing 'roundness', generally glossed as 'fullness' or 'careful finish', of style.⁷⁴

Despite his emphasis on archaism's 'strangeness', E.K. nonetheless sees Spenserian archaism as part of a programme of linguistic renewal; it restores to English writers their national heritage and enables them to reach across time in order to reshape contemporary aesthetics. He writes:

[I]n my opinion it is one special prayse, of many whych are dew to this Poete, that he hath laboured to restore, as to theyr rightfull heritage such good and naturall English words, as haue ben long time out of vse and almost cleane disinherited. Which is the onely cause, that our Mother tonge, which truly of it self is both ful enough for prose and stately enough for verse, hath long time ben counted most bare and barreine of both. (ll. 77–84)

Echoing the likes of Cheke, he proclaims the self-sufficiency of English, arguing that those who would incorporate 'peces and rags of other languages' merely make 'our English tongue, a gallimaufrey or hodgepodge of al other speches' (ll. 86, 90–1). The idea of a 'natural' English is associated here – as elsewhere – with what Blank terms 'the preservation of an original – and threatened – national identity' (*Broken English*, 101). Archaism appears to offer a means of confronting and assuaging anxieties about the status of English as a 'pure' expression of national identity, but the purity that it offers is itself open to question, given that the outmoded words promoted by archaists are no longer part of the living language.

Although Spenser and E.K. brashly announced a 'new' English poetry, Cathy Shrank points out that 'in its consciousness of its own novelty the *Shepherd's Calendar* is closer to mid-Tudor writing than that of subsequent decades, when authors generally felt less need to justify their choice of English as a language in which to write'.⁷⁵ What brings Spenser closer to late-Tudor concerns is his need not simply to defend writing in English, but to defend the uses of outmoded style. Archaism was becoming somewhat less prominent and credible as a means of linguistic renewal or a literary technique in the 1570s. John Baret spoke for many when he rejected 'olde obsolet words, which no good writer now a dayes will vse' in his 1574 dictionary,⁷⁶ and E.K.'s self-defensive stance is suggested in the ways in which he attempts to forestall criticism. Particularly evocative are his comments that some critics on hearing an old word 'crye out streight way, that we speak no English, but gibbrish, or rather such, as in old time

Euanders mother spake' (ll. 93–5). Evander's mother Carmentis, a prophet, was said to have spoken in archaic Greek, and her name became a byword for Roman poets in describing the affected use of obsolete words.⁷⁷ The allusion seemingly leads into the statement that the anti-archaists' 'first shame is, that they are not ashamed, in their own mother tonge straungers to be counted and alienes' (ll. 95–7), which recuperates the potentially damning link between archaism and female garrulity. E.K. thus casts them as alienated from their own linguistic, cultural and national heritage. While archaic language is alluring precisely because it is 'strange', to reject it is to leave oneself a stranger or alien, divorced from one's own history and cultural inheritance.

E.K.'s defensive stance and Samuel Daniel's snide comments about 'aged accents, and vntimely words' both suggest that archaism was a controversial technique in the late sixteenth century. Moreover, as I will explore in greater detail in the following chapters, political changes in the seventeenth century were to make its place in literary culture yet more complex. The Elizabethan alignment of linguistic and national identity was itself a convenient fiction given the presence of many non-English speakers within what was still referred to by the regime as the realm of 'England, France and Ireland'. After James Stuart's accession to the English throne in 1603, this picture became yet more complex – what was the status of archaic English in a realm newly re-christened 'Great Britain, France and Ireland', one that incorporated England's powerful neighbour, Scotland, its linguistic traditions, and its own network of European allegiances? The king's assertion that his two kingdoms were 'alreadie ioyned in vnitie of Religion and language' not only elided the existence of Scottish Gaelic, but also belied the important differences between English and Scottish versions of English.⁷⁸ Between 1642 and 1660, the national picture became still more fraught; it is perhaps unsurprising that the Restoration saw a turn away from archaism and the linguistic past, as part of a wider retrospective reshaping of a traumatic recent history.

By 1660, neoclassicism was beginning to dominate English literary aesthetics. In earlier years, however, classicism and archaism were held in a more delicate balance. When writers incorporate outmoded linguistic or stylistic forms into their work, they also acknowledge, implicitly or explicitly, the existence of a tradition of writing in English, a tradition that might run counter to – or at least complicate – the ways in which they interact with classical or continental influences. This tension underlies Jonson's comments in *Discoveries* and the hostility of the Caroline poet

George Daniel to the continued influence of Chaucer on literary aesthetics. Daniel sets out his intention

to Shew

A Spring more worthy; whence wee may derive
With greater Honour, the Prerogative
Of English Poesie; and Clearlie evince
Noe Age can be call'd Darke to a Cleare Sence,
As in the Ancients.⁷⁹

Contrasting antiquity with a 'dark' age, and rejecting Chaucer as 'Mustie and antiquated', Daniel exhorts his contemporaries to look instead to Elizabethan greats such as Sidney, Spenser and Jonson, and to classical poets such as Virgil and Ovid.⁸⁰ When a writer deliberately resorts to archaism they therefore implicitly reject neoclassicism and embrace the primitive barbarism of Chaucerism. In this respect, the uses of archaism fall into a pattern observed by Helgerson, in which patterns of thought taken from either classical antiquity or the middle ages 'provided the recognized models of civility and barbarity against which English writings were inevitably measured'.⁸¹ However, Daniel's comments fail to take into account the extent to which both Elizabethan and classical writings were themselves open to the uses of archaic style. What looks like a binary opposition between the archaic and the neoclassical begins to break down.

These debates show us, in addition, the ambiguous place of outmoded style in relation to the ways in which language creates and maintains community. As Jonathan Hope argues, 'language existed to communicate people's ideas to other people – so the best language was that which communicated to the largest number of people. For most in the Renaissance, language that did not communicate across society – that did not in fact *create* society – was pointless'.⁸² Deliberately to employ obscure, outmoded terms is potentially to prize the symbolic significance of a word over its communicative value, to break the circuit of understanding between speaker and listener, and to refuse to create society. Thus, while archaist writers may harbour a dream of reviving a 'pure' form of English and, with it, a renewed English nation, the use of archaism itself splinters that dream because the revived words, restored from the dead, may no longer be able to communicate with current speakers or even be recognised as 'English'. As McEachern argues, the nation itself is 'an ideal of community that is, by definition, either proleptic or passing, ever just beyond reach'.⁸³ Archaism, which itself looks both backwards and forwards, has the capacity both to create that community and shatter it, its vision of linguistic and national union always just out of reach.

4 *Archaism is self-conscious and artificial, yet capable of arousing strong emotion.* In his comments about his epic poem *Gondibert* (1650), William Davenant renews the attack on archaism, focusing his attention on Spenser himself. Noting that Spenser's 'obsolete language' is criticised, Davenant explains in detail the reasons for these negative assessments:

Language (which is the onely Creature of Man's Creation) hath like a Plant, seasons of flourishing, and decay; like Plants, is remov'd from one Soil to another, and by being so transplanted, doth often gather vigour and increase. But as it is false Husbandry to graft old Branches upon young Stocks: so we may wonder that our Language (not long before his time created out of a confusion of others, and then beginning to flourish like a new Plant) should (as helps to its increase) receive from his hand new Grafts of old wither'd Words.⁸⁴

Archaism, in Davenant's view, does not breach merely stylistic decorum, but also temporal decorum; moreover, his comparison of language to a plant suggests the potentially unnatural quality of archaism's desire to reach back in time, and to revive past forms. Attempting to give dead words new life, he argues, is as artificial as trying to graft dead twigs onto living plants.

Archaism is – as Davenant's account suggests – a highly self-aware and self-conscious process. Despite its marked differences from nostalgia, archaism shares its tendency towards the inauthentic or ersatz; Susan Stewart's description of nostalgia as 'the repetition that mourns the inauthenticity of all repetitions and denies the repetition's capacity to form identity' holds equally true for archaism.⁸⁵ While E.K. and other proponents of archaism may try to naturalise it, using outmoded literary or linguistic forms can leave an author open to charges of stylistic perversion, affectation or unnaturalness. As a result, the majority of writers who employ outmoded forms are acutely aware of the problematic nature of their claim to authenticity. For instance, Spenser's self-consciousness about using archaic forms is displayed not only in the provision of E.K.'s glosses in *The Shepheardes Calender*, but in the somewhat nervy foregrounding of the word 'whilom' in the first line of the Proem to Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*.

Nonetheless, archaism's radical inauthenticity is also one reason for its impact on readers and spectators, and the archaist writer's self-conscious imitation of outmoded styles can produce various kinds of aesthetic and emotional effect. Francesco Orlando's resonant discussion of the timeworn object is useful here: 'Time uses up and destroys things, breaks them and reduces them to uselessness, renders them unfashionable and makes people

abandon them; time makes things become cherished by force of habit and ease of handling, endows them with tenderness as memories and with authority as models, marks them with the virtue of rarity and the prestige of age.⁸⁶ Archaism imitates or incorporates timeworn linguistic and literary styles, and, like the timeworn object, it can create a range of responses, some ambivalent or paradoxically mixed. Encountering an archaic form might provoke distancing emotions of surprise, derision or awe in readers or spectators, but it might equally incite more intimate feelings of comfort, grief or longing. As E.K. notes in his preface to *The Shepheardes Calender*, quoted above, Spenser's 'pastorall rudenesse' and 'seemely simplicitee of handling his matter, and framing his words' result in a work that is both 'delightsome for the roundnesse' and 'graue for the straungeness' (ll. 19, 21–2, 26–7).

These varied effects permeate the uses of archaism in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century texts. As I explain in detail in Chapter 1, in Middleton's *Hengist, King of Kent, or The Mayor of Queenborough*, a phrase in Old English functions as a linguistic alienation effect, distancing the audience from the treacherous Saxon who speaks it. Elsewhere, archaism is often calculated to arouse amusement or laughter – as in Dickens's use of 'wight', or Hawkins's 'globy eyne' – and a pervasive anxiety surrounding the use of archaic words was that they might become not merely obsolete, but obscene. In Middleton's *No Wit/Help Like a Woman's* (Prince Henry's Men, 1611), the Widow asks 'How many honest words have suffered corruption since Chaucer's days? A virgin would speak those words then that a very midwife would blush to hear now'.⁸⁷ As I will explore further in Chapters 2 and 3, words such as 'jape' and 'occupy' were considered in the seventeenth century to have been rendered obscene by the passage of time. Their place in certain contexts, such as literary works and liturgical translations, was therefore questioned, and the words took on a comic or satiric quality that was not present in their original use, potentially rebounding on their innocent users.

In contrast, Anne Norris Michelin notes that stylistic archaism is effective because 'older styles make a dual impression, first of novelty, deviation from the expected, but second of appropriateness and familiarity'.⁸⁸ Archaic literary and linguistic styles can be distancing and surprising, but also – as in pastoral literature or religious diction – homely and subliminally comforting. In using the word 'whilom' in the opening of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser seeks not only to give his epic the kind of grandeur that Quintilian and Jonson suggest might be conveyed through archaism, but also to display his affinity with older literature and to

reinscribe his kinship with Chaucer. In this fashion – to appropriate Carolyn Dinshaw's term – archaism can create 'affective connections'⁸⁹ across time through the recycling and reshaping of outmoded styles. When poets compose in Old English, when dramatists weave quotations from Chaucer or morality plays into their texts, when writers inhabit outmoded metrical forms, they express a longing to make contact, to speak for or through the past.

Archaism's affect can also be conjured through the relationship between the outmoded element and the surrounding text. In his account of photography, *Camera Lucida*, Roland Barthes encapsulates the emotional tug of the photograph in terms that resonate strongly with archaism's potential effects:

A Latin word exists to designate this wound, this prick, this mark made by a pointed instrument: the word suits me all the better in that it also refers to the notion of punctuation, and because the photographs I am speaking of are in effect punctuated, sometimes even speckled with these sensitive points; precisely, these marks, these wounds are so many *points*. This second element which will disturb the *studium* [i.e., the content of the photograph which arouses the intellect] I shall therefore call *punctum*; for *punctum* is also: sting, speck, cut, little hole – and also a cast of the dice. A photograph's *punctum* is that accident which pricks me (but also bruises me, is poignant to me) . . . the *punctum* shows no preference for morality or good taste: the *punctum* can be ill-bred.⁹⁰

In his preface to *The Shepheardes Calender*, E.K. suggests that 'rough and harsh' archaic and dialectal terms 'enlumine and make more clearly to appeare the brightnesse of braue and glorious words. So oftentimes a dischorde in Musick maketh a comely concordance: so great delight tooke the worthy Poete Alceus to behold a blemish in the ioynt of a wel shaped body' (Epistle, ll. 68–72). Like Barthes's *punctum*, or the grit in an oyster, an archaic word or style is an aesthetic irritant, rubbing up against its surroundings. Spenser's 'whilom' is a sting, speck or hole, jolting his reader and reminding him or her of the history of both the English language and English poetry. The archaic *punctum* is also indecorous, excessive, 'ill-bred'; Thomas Nashe, in an evocative phrase, refers to archaisms as 'Oouse' – as waste or remnant.⁹¹

The four theses outlined above link archaism with imitation, temporal dissonance, nationhood and affect; they argue for the multiplicity of the ways in which it functions in texts written between 1590 and 1674, and the various effects that it might have on readers and spectators. Taken together, however, they also suggest archaism's aesthetic and emotional

potential, and some of the reasons why it was so consistently appealing to poets and dramatists. Whether archaism is viewed as a debased or elevated form of imitation, a temporal medley or an expression of a particular form of 'pastness', a saviour of national pride or an embarrassment to it, an alienating device or a means of instilling familiarity to a text, it has the capacity throughout this period to disrupt or unsettle aesthetic norms. Literary archaism looks to the past, and to former modes of expression, but it also seeks to reshape the present, and to look forward to new futures.

Coda

In 1642, the Cambridge scholar Henry More published a long philosophical poem, *Psychodia Platonica, or a Platonicall Song of the Soul*. The poem opens with an argument written in common measure, and the main text begins,

NOr Ladies loves, nor Knights brave Martiall deeds,
Yrapt in rolls of hid Antiquity;
But th'inward Fountain, and the unseen Seeds,
From whence are these and what so under eye
Doth fall, or is record in memory,
Psyche, I'll sing. *Psyche!* from thee they sprong.
O life of time, and all *Alterity!*
The life of lives instill his nectar strong,
And *Psych*' inebriate, while I sing *Psyches* song.⁹²

More deliberately echoes Spenser's archaising style. He mimics Spenser's use of the common measure argument, and the first line of the first stanza self-consciously recalls both line 5 of the Proem to *The Faerie Queene*, in which Spenser declares his intention to 'sing of Knights and Ladies gentle deeds', and the opening line of Canto 1. Similarly, More's positioning of 'Yrapt', with its archaic 'y' prefix, at the beginning of the second line, seems to be a calculated echo of Spenser's use of 'Y cladd' in the same place in the first stanza of Book 1. Instead of addressing a Muse, as Spenser does in the first verse of his Proem, More addresses *Psyche*, and his final line echoes and revises the end of Spenser's Proem, 'Fierce warres and faithfull loues shall moralize my song'. The opening of More's poem is thus a self-aware negotiation with and revision of Spenser's poem, one that turns the semi-hidden 'divine Morality' of *The Faerie Queene* into its overt theme. As a whole, *Psychodia Platonica* suggests the depth of More's love for Spenser and 'that incomparable Piece of his', *The Faerie Queene*, which he first encountered when his father read it to him as a boy.⁹³

More's use of archaism is in many respects in line with the tendencies that I have described above. He uses outmoded conventions as part of a meditation on memory and temporal difference, underscoring stylistically his untimely subject-matter and narrative. However, *Psychodia Platonica* is doubly archaic: while Spenser's archaic mannerisms were radical in the 1590s, by the 1640s, even his neologisms were gathering dust. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that More's work was met with incredulity from at least one reader, the Oxford philosopher and alchemist Thomas Vaughan. In the course of an increasingly vitriolic dispute with More, Vaughan writes of another poem, 'Hymn in Honour of Charity and Humility',

Is this an *old Song*, or a *new*? forgive me Sir! now at last I apprehend the *mysterie*; You are neither a *Modern singer*, nor yet an *Ancient one*; You live in *our dayes*, but you imitate *Spencer*, so that *your song* is both *old and new*, and *Truth* perhaps may be had *for it*.⁹⁴

In the context of 1640s and 1650s aesthetics, Spenserian style muddles temporal categories even more comprehensively than it did in the 1590s, with the result that More's poetry, with its use of neologistic terms such as 'alterity', is a temporal hodgepodge, a mixture of ancient and modern, old and new.

More's belated Spenserianism highlights the distance travelled between 1590 and the 1640s; it also presents a complex layering of temporal and literary effects. While his tribute to Spenser is undoubtedly sincere, More's meta-archaic work suggests both the aesthetic power of archaism and its vulnerability to charges of artificiality, obscurity and comic absurdity. In claiming the past through his imitation of a beloved literary forebear, More asserts the worth of the English language and the literature that it has spawned, yet he also implicitly suggests that neither has improved over the last sixty years. In adopting an old-fashioned form, and using it to convey up-to-date philosophical ideas, he fuses past and present, insisting on the capacity of older forms to speak to the present, and to carry his ideas into the future. These characteristics are reiterated and refashioned in the works examined in the following pages. Like More's poems, they are 'both *old and new*', and truth may perhaps be had for them.