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THE PLEIADIC AGE OF STUART POËSIE:
RESTORATION URANOGRAPHY, DRYDEN'S JUDICIAL ASTROLOGY,
AND THE FATE OF ANNE KILLIGREW

by

Morgan A. Brown

Under the Direction of Tanya Caldwell

ABSTRACT:

The following Thesis is a survey of seventeenth-century uranography, with specific focus on the use of the Pleiades and Charles's Wain by English poets and pageant writers as astrological ciphers for the Stuart dynasty (1603-1649; 1660-1688). I then use that survey to address the problem of irony in John Dryden's 1685 Pindaric elegy, "To the Pious Memory of Mrs. Anne Killigrew," since the longstanding notion of what the Pleiades signify in Dryden's ode is problematic from an astronomical and astrological perspective. In his elegiac ode, Dryden translates a young female artist to the Pleiades to actuate her apotheosis, not for the sake of mere fulsome hypberbole, but in such a way that Anne (*b.* 1660-*d.* 1685) signifies for the reign of Charles II (1660-1685) in her Pleiadic catasterism. The political underpinnings of Killigrew's apotheosis reduce the probability that Dryden's hyperbole reserves pejorative ironic potential.

INDEX WORDS: John Dryden, Anne Killigrew, Pleiades, Pleiads, Charles's Wain, Charles his Wain, Waine, Greater Bear, Lesser Bear, Seven Stars, Ursa Major, Judicial Astrology, Charles II, Birth Star, Arcturus, David Vieth, Irony, 1660 Prodigy, Uranology, Uranography, Restoration, Edward Matthew, Pindar, William Bradford Gardner, Dryden's astrology

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Master of Arts

In the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

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2010

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MORGAN A. BROWN

Committee Chair: Tanya Caldwell

Committee: Malinda Snow
Murray Brown

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Studies
College of Arts and Sciences
Georgia State University
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Dedication

To Brittany Yaccarino for her combination of patience, kindness, and pressure.

To my family for its support throughout a decade of academic pursuits.

And to my father, whose unwavering encouragement has made this Thesis possible.

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A NOTE ON THE TEXT

Throughout this research paper, I will be using "Septentrional" as an indicator of the stars of the *septem triones*, or seven plough-oxen, that comprise the asterism Charles's Wain, and not in its general sense, which is closer in meaning to "northern." This will facilitate any analysis of star imagery that contrasts Septentrional themes against Pleiadic themes; that is, those poetic themes involving the seven stars on the tail of Ursa Major against those themes involving the seven stars of the taurine Pleiades. For a breakdown of other stars and asterisms I will be discussing throughout, along with pertinent uranographical configurations of those asterisms, please see my *Star Primer* in Appendix 1. This will prove a vital reference for those who are unfamiliar with stars and constellations. In Appendix 2 I have provided a distillation of the star lore I will explore throughout the paper as a handy reference, and to explore many of the uranological "errors" rife in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I have taken great care to provide copious notes and to utilize original source materials, since many critical works on pre-Newtonian uranology are very poorly referenced, if at all. I have favored digitized source materials over older print works for the sake of accessibility, since many are rare and now obscure.

Unless otherwise specified, all citations from Dryden's body of works are taken from the University of California's *Works of Dryden (WoD)*. Citations will be formatted as follows in the endnotes: volume number, page number, line number (Ex: *WoD*, 4: 2.345).

I. Introduction:

Dryden and the Seventh Sister

"That's Orion down yonder; the big fellow to the right is Aldebaran,
and the bunch of little ones-like bees swarming- they're the Pleiades..."¹

When David M. Vieth framed the thesis of his 1965 essay for *Studies in Philology*, "Irony in Dryden's Ode to Anne Killigrew," he standardized a provocative reading of Dryden's most accessible ode that hinted at a somewhat sinister and cruel shadow lurking behind the rhetorical strategies of Dryden's verse—a kind of New Critical bugbear that has so far proven perplexing to critics who would arrive at Dryden's intent in belittling the female subject of his high-themed elegy.² In many ways, Vieth's argument is a reinstatement of two centuries of critical attitudes towards Anne Killigrew's poetry, and not the subversive appraisal of Dryden's chauvinism or cruelty that many readers have unfairly discovered in Vieth's argument in the fifty years since his essay appeared in print. Countless commentators noted the same ironic structures over the centuries in editions of Dryden's works, or the encyclopedic biographical blurbs that preserved Killigrew's poems by mention alone, but the persistent overtone of condescension present in those commentaries reified the stinging potential of Dryden's words by reinforcing a belittling review of Anne's "slender attainments in [artistic] accomplishments" (Scott 102).³ By Vieth's logic, this editorial trend is an affirmation that readers "might well have been skeptical of the extravagant praise that is lavished upon Anne," and suggests that Dryden deliberately canvassed her as little more than "an ordinary, though attractive, girl" (Vieth 92). The notion that Killigrew is undeserving of Dryden's praise does not sit well with formalist critics, many of whom have so far failed to mount a comprehensive counterargument to resolve this tonal disjunction with any lasting success. While I am no strict formalist, and though I agree with Vieth's premises, certain of Vieth's conclusions concerning the poet's use of hyperbole rest on gross assumptions of plain meaning; and Dryden is rarely so plain and simple. That Dryden wrote "To the Pious Memory of the Accomplisht Young Lady Mrs Anne Killigrew" in a high rhetorical mode, which employs ironical structures in its phrasing, is beyond contention; but many of the lines that seemingly show what E.M.W. Tillyard has labeled "extravagant adulation" (52), or what Vieth

terms "syntactical ambiguity" and "gestures of concession," reveal more than critics suggest (98).⁴ These questionably derogatory and belittling exaggerations become most apparent where Dryden's poetic excesses reach their climax; namely, in Killigrew's apotheosis, in her honored position at the vanguard of the resurrected poets on Doomsday, and in her Pleiadic catasterism. An analysis of Pleiadic imagery in Renaissance and Restoration England ought to give a more accurate portrayal of Dryden's overarching poetic scope in the ode.

The "Pleiad's" appear to receive only a slight nod at Dryden's mention of them in the ninth stanza, when he locates the final resting place of Anne Killigrew amidst this cluster of seven nebulous stars, which astronomers and poets generally place on the shoulder of the constellation Taurus.⁵ Before Anne's lifetime, the Pleiades shared a common bond with the arctic stars that lay at the heart of political pageantry in England, dating back to the Tudor dynasty. At the return of Charles II in 1660 to reclaim the British crown, the Pleiades were again involved in intricate prophecies and celebratory odes, often through a tangled network of astronomical misnomers and uranological metaphors drawn from classical sources.

As the present survey shall bear out, the standard editorial notion of what Dryden's star identification signifies is extremely problematic. The editors of the California Dryden note that the "Pleiad's" have long been interpreted as a marker that, "Anne Killigrew died in late spring," which is when the Pleiades achieve their heliacal rising and mark the switchover to the summer season (324).⁶ If Dryden intended to use the "Pleiad's" in this manner, then his employment of those taurine stars as a visible nighttime asterism in the ninth stanza does not accord with astronomical reason, since the Pleiades would only have been visible for approximately four minutes before the dawn's twilight subsumed their dim light on the eastern horizon.⁷ If we were to operate on the assumption that Dryden actually knew Anne's birthday and that it fell sometime between late April (the heliacal setting of the Pleiades) and their heliacal rising in early June, then Dryden's star referent is even more problematic, since the Pleiades are completely invisible because their rising and setting are swallowed by the light of day throughout the intervening month.

Dryden is either guilty of committing a glaring astronomical error through the employment of a careless celestial referent, of making a vicious ironic commentary on the transitory accomplishments of Anne's poetic labors, or of utilizing a popular Pleiadic trope that linked the "Pleiad's" to the royalist stars of the north celestial pole. Since Dryden's entire ode is built upon astrological conceits and metempsychotic theory, it is difficult to see in his celestial referent the kind of irony that would ridicule a recently deceased and rather successful female artist. Though Dryden is found to edit Virgil's star cruces in his 1697 translation of the *Georgics* to bring them closer to correctness, he is still willing to grant that Virgil "is found to be an exact astronomer, according to the knowledge of that age" (507).⁸ Perhaps we should be prepared to give Dryden that same measure of leniency. When we undertake an examination of seventeenth-century uranography and trace its fingerprints back through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we realize that many assumptions contemporary readers make about the celestial identities of literary star referents are founded upon a measure of accuracy and fixedness that those same stars did not possess before the eighteenth century. Dryden may be accorded a kind of accuracy in his literary astronomy congruent with the knowledge of his own age—riddled as it is with vast inconsistencies in star identifications. When Dryden's lines on these seven stars are viewed through an astronomical lens, his "careless" star identification testifies to his own astronomical naïveté. Conversely, when the "Pleiad's" are interpreted through the astrological context of an age still on the cusp of astronomical reform, when portents and literary astronomy provided a greater sense of social stability than rational uranography, many of Vieth's charges of hyperbole begin to dissolve.

As I shall argue, Dryden utilizes the "Pleiad's" in such a way that they should signify for the restored Stuart monarchy in conjunction with Anne's birth and death. The seven-star asterism thereby concisely binds Dryden's varied themes centered in Neoplatonic metempsychotic theory, and justly portends the restoration and resurrection of Killigrew as poet and poetry as a genre through heavenly phenomena. That Anne should perform this duty implies that the irony Vieth identifies in Dryden's description of Killigrew's birth must necessarily be misleading. Dryden utilizes astrology to signify for the literary age that Anne embodies, framing the posture of the heavens to serve as his poetic paraepigma,

which is evident in that Anne's "twenty-five years of life (1660-1685) correspond within months to Charles's reign" (Wheeler 8).⁹

Since scholarly works on Restoration uranography and Stuart star imagery are largely inconsistent and often limited in scope, this paper will necessarily require several digressions to address these inconsistencies in pre-Newtonian uranography. Therefore, a word or two may be required concerning the organization of this paper. In Chapter Two, I examine Dryden's *Anne Killigrew* to identify why David Vieth's discussion of the ode's irony is problematic when he suggests that there is a tenor of sarcasm or sanctimony in its presentation of Killigrew's birth, since this event is couched in sustained astrological conceits. In Chapter Three, I suggest alternative readings to address Dryden's astronomical error in referring readers to the Pleiades outside their season of visibility, and then link the ode's Pleiadic imagery to the myth of the "lost" Pleiad and the astrological conceits of traditional Stuart pageantry. In the fifth chapter, I address a certain Pleiadic anomaly rife in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which mistook the Pleiades for the arctic stars of Charles's Wain. Chapter Four is, for the most part, a primer for those astrological themes concerning Charles's Wain, which are necessary for an understanding of why Dryden's "Pleiad's" in *Anne Killigrew* may in fact refer readers to the more popular royalist stars of Ursa Major, especially when invoked in the years of Charles II's birth and death. In this way my survey of Restoration uranography, with its focus on the Pleiades, will address the astrology of Dryden's Killigrew ode, since the process of editing the ode's astrological conceits is as yet largely unfinished.

Through his use of star imagery, Dryden appears to name at least one of the Stuart Pleiades in the person of Anne Killigrew, as if to resurrect the legendary literary Pleiades of erstwhile ages.¹⁰ While we do not know exactly when Anne was born, we do know that it was shortly before the restoration of Charles II to the English throne on his thirtieth birthday, 29 May 1660—an event whose significance has been overlooked as a means to interpreting the "ironies" and that are "almost automatically latent in the mode of hyperbole which pervades" Dryden's language (Vieth 92). This oversight is startling, given that Dryden places so much emphasis on Killigrew's birth—thirty lines in point of fact (two stanzas of the ten

that compose the poem), which include a full catalogue of her nativity.¹¹ Only days after the return of Charles II on his birthday at the brink of summer, the Pleiades would have been seen just before sunrise, marking the regeneration of an annual astronomical cycle and presaging the sun's growing influence on its path to the summer solstice. A reader familiar with such Restoration compilations as the 1660 *Britannia Rediviva*, or other celebratory odes and panegyrics of the same year by Cowley, Evelyn, Waller, Higgons, or Flatman, can see the likenesses between the odes occasioned by the Restoration and Dryden's *Anne Killigrew*.¹² All are loaded with imagery distinguished by stars that boast of messianic significance; with prophecies, mythology, metempsychosis, adulatory obsequiousness, and ironic language. If Dryden differs from these models in *Anne Killigrew*, he does so because he is writing in the Pindaric mode with special emphasis on elegy.¹³

Throughout Dryden's *Anne Killigrew*, themes of traduction and reincarnation continually exert their influence, ending in the poet's hope of a second birth and an apocalyptic vision of the wholesale redemption of Poesy—not just Killigrew.¹⁴ Vieth is not convinced of Dryden's sincerity in the apotheosis of the "Virgin-Daughter of the skies"; but Dryden leagues Killigrew with the stars from the outset (as a physical body divided from its celestial counterpart), and explicitly associates her with the Pleiadic *Virgiliae* (Virgins of Spring)—the mythical daughters of Atlas and Pleione (Dryden 1).¹⁵ Dryden sketches the postures of the heavens at Anne's birth, and the frame of the poem, through celestial observations, gives the ode a specific temporal stamp, as well, to keep Anne's "Holyday above" (55).¹⁶ What has often seemed hyperbolic in the Killigrew ode may prove nothing more than Dryden's recollection of the enthusiasm shared by poets at the outset of the Restoration. However, our recognition of this explanation depends on our ability to interpret Dryden's language in his own hand, both as it exerts itself within *Anne Killigrew* and how it operates in his critical theory, which is clearly evident in any ordered astrological survey of Drydeniana. In 1950, William Bradford Gardner published an article, "John Dryden's Interest in Judicial Astrology," in which he cataloged notable astrological referents in Dryden's body of works.¹⁷ Gardner's pioneering research supplies us with textual examples to promote



Figure 1: Frontispiece to Edward Matthew's tract, *Karólou trismegistou epiphanía, or the most glorious star, or celestial constellation of the Pleiades, or, Charles Waine* (1660), which features the star said to have appeared at the birth of Charles II. Matthew problematically identifies the star amongst two very distinct asterisms as if they were one constellation in the title and argument of his tract. Though both asterisms were often used as astrological symbols for the Stuart monarchy, they were used as such for different reasons.

this line of critical inquiry, loosely categorizing Dryden's references according to "(1) those which Dryden uses seriously, (2) those which are satirical, (3) those which are humorous, and (4) those which are merely embellishments" (506). This paper will attempt to take up Gardner's preliminary work and bring it to bear on Dryden's Killigrew ode, which is filled with astrological references that have often been interpreted according to Gardner's fourth designation—as mere embellishments. The Killigrew ode's "Pleiad's" are actually part of a trend Gardner highlights in his survey of Dryden's works, by which the poet uses stars to code for the Stuart dynasty, but often with a deeper significance than even Gardner identifies.

One of Samuel Johnson's chiefest critiques of Dryden, the man and the poet, was that "he put great confidence in the prognostications of judicial astrology" (320).¹⁷ Dryden's personal letters bear witness to the fact that he cast horoscopes and made predictions for his sons, which he later professed had proven true—prognostications that supposedly predicted the fatal mishap would befall his son, Charles.¹⁸ According to one biographer, "a tradition is yet preserved in the family descended from our from our author's brother, that on the poet's [Dryden's] death, his eldest son [Charles] found in his pocket-book the horoscope in which several of the calamities of his life were predicted" (Malone 420).¹⁹ But astrology and prognostication were immensely private and personal interests for the poet. According to Elizabeth Thomas's apocryphal evaluation of Dryden's astrological activities: "Mr. *Dryden*, either through fear of being thought *superstitious*, or thinking it a *Science* beneath his Study, was extremely cautious in letting any one know that he was a *Dabler* in *Astrology*."²⁰ Edmond Malone lists amongst Dryden's other esoteric interests oneirocriticism, citing as his source a story concerning a revelatory dream the poet had at Burleigh while translating the seventh book of the *Aeneid*.²¹

Admittedly, some of Dryden's celestial referents bear out little in the overall significance of the works in which they appear. Even so, many modern commentators have dismissed those astrological cruces that figure so greatly into his poems and plays that they can scarcely operate to their fullest effect and often seem steeped in obsequious hyperbole and disjunctive paradox as a result. That Dryden was not always precise in his astrological allusions in no way undermines the fact that Dryden clearly believed in

the engine driving those same portents that he so often put to paper, even if the more generic literary products of that belief are of little symbolic significance. Much criticism has so far carried the revisionary's torch and abandoned to darkness and neglect Dryden's serious astral symbolism, and Tillyard even goes so far as to say that Dryden "does not really believe in astrology" based on his own erroneous presumption that "the 'advanced' men of his [Dryden's] age did not believe in it" (54). While Dryden often expresses a certain degree of disdain for the most generic astrological predictions, he consistently employs astrology in his own body of works, and he is always well equipped to defend his those lines and to provide detailed astrological analyses of the items in question to his own vindication.²² The consequence of a rationalist revision of Dryden's works is what Michael McKeon cautions against in the introduction to *Politics and Poetry in Restoration England*: "the poet is not allowed to express those beliefs which critics think inconsistent with the beliefs that they are attributing to him" (23). The issue that remains to be resolved is what certain trends in Dryden's astrological artifacts signify, since they are so common in his works.

I intend to clarify a portion of the star lore that Dryden uses as a Stuart cipher, particularly in the case of *Anne Killigrew*. This is a lore complicated by the varied star identifications and myths that collided, melded, and finally settled into a general uranological confusion during that epistemological limbo before the standardization of the natural philosophies, when "God said, *Let Newton be!* and All was *Light*" (Pope 14).²³ As one early nineteenth-century primer for women describes the poetical rising and setting of the stars: "they are now chiefly useful in comparing and understanding passages in the ancient writers, though formerly they served to distinguish particular seasons of the year" (Martin 71).²⁴ Dryden is far from an "ancient writer," but he was one of the last few major poets who adhered to the ideal of a polymathic poet. To take Dryden seriously is take his notions of the universe seriously, for these selfsame notions fashion the filter through which he pours forth all of his literary expressions of worldly affairs.

There is ever a duality in Dryden: he describes a terrestrial world coded in literary expressions that evoke the cosmological perspectives of the Ancients, and he describes a cosmos heavily invested in

the terrestrial affairs of both state and society. Even while forging an early literary theory in *An Essay of Dramatick Poesie* that praised the use of verse, rhyme, and minced plots, Dryden couched English drama and literature in astronomical terms to legitimize his own approach to design:

Our Playes, besides the main design, have under plots or by-concernments, of less considerable Persons, and Intrigues, which are carried on with the motion of the main Plot: as they say the Orb of the fix'd Stars, and those of the Planets, though they have motions of their own, are whirl'd about by the motion of the primum mobile, in which they are contain'd (47.1-7)

He further describes the interplay of "Plots" and "by-concernments" as the apparent retrograde motion of celestial bodies, whereby "a Planet can go East and West at the same time," yet always move forward by the laws of nature—if only at the behest of the divine playwright (47.8-9). Dryden's social and cosmological poetic theories are coded in the precepts of judicial astrology—there are variegated layers of meaning, allegorical parallaxes, apparent retrogradations in plot, and a multiplicity of conflicting schemes, but they are all contained by the finished piece's (or, the *primum mobile*'s) celestial vehicle.

The year before his death, Dryden still maintained that Virgil and Chaucer were both respectable astrologers.²⁵ In all likelihood, Dryden was projecting his interests in astrology onto his forbears, since neither Chaucer nor Virgil earned their bread by casting horoscopes. Nevertheless, Chaucer frequently wrote with a keen astrological awareness, and Virgil's *Georgics* is a veritable handbook for natural and judicial astrology. Dryden saw in these two poets elements crucial to his own literary theory, and his translations of both witness to his understanding of their uranological referents. His own attempts to inject unities of Time and Place into his works are often linked to his astrological references.²⁶ In one sense, Dryden has created a code that we are free to decrypt at our leisure, so long as we are willing to engage his language in *his* particular idiom. If the stars were merely signifiers of changing seasons in the poetry of the Ancients, they were, for Dryden, something much more; for him, the heavens were linked—as they were for Virgil at the rise of Octavian Caesar out of civil wars—to an epoch-making, unifying regent. The changing of seasons and political regimes were inextricably intertwined with a network of astrological prophecies and the poetic traditions of the Ancients. The Augustan Age of Restoration poetry

famously saw itself as the return of the Golden Age, but these revolutions of good fortune were invoked as more than a poetic label to cast over the newly reborn Stuart dynasty, just rising on its shaky legs. Dryden surely found comfort in the fact that the very "Pleiad's" that he and his peers allied with the restored Stuart monarchy pitted English politics and English poetry, quite literally, at the center of the known universe.

II. Anne's Pre/Postmortal Transfiguration:

Dryden's "Pindarique" Pedigree and the Female Poetic Inheritance

The *Arctick* Circle lies immerst in Shade,
And vainly calls to feeble Stars for Aid¹

Early criticism of Dryden's Killigrew ode is largely invested in tracking the formal features of Dryden's elegy and establishing a tentative literary pedigree. In her article "On the Death of Mrs. Killigrew: The Perfecting of a Genre," Ruth Wallerstein traces Dryden's structural stratagems through the tradition of late Renaissance odes, and partly through John Milton's pastoral elegy, *Lycidas* (1637). Milton's elegy, which was written in memory of his drowned colleague, Edward King, features a speaker who "dallies with false surmise" and imagines King's body on a kind of postmortem odyssey through the seas (153). Milton writes:

Whether beyond the stormy Hebrides,
Where thou perhaps under the whelming tide
Visit'st the bottom of the monstrous world;
Or whether thou to our moist vows denied,
Sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old,
Where the great vision of the guarded mount
Looks toward Namancos and Bayona's hold (156-162)

The narrator's obsession with the young man's physical body leads him to imagine King's weltered corpse on a journey through the realms of myth and fable. This odyssey, which unfolds as a dialogue between the poem's speaker and various minor deities, details a highly metaphorical biography of Edward King, even as its episodic narrative effects the speaker's catharsis and King's transition to the postmortal plane.

By contrast, Dryden's Killigrew ode "has nothing of Milton's sense of the mystery of death and decay; rather, Dryden evokes...the theme of a great society and of art as the ornament of that society" (Wallerstein 525). Dryden, of course, has little recourse to the "mystery of death and decay" since Anne's death by smallpox would have been an open revelation of death's designs to all who had borne witness to it. Edward King's corpse had been lost at sea by shipwreck, so Milton's impersonal ruminations on the body's whereabouts do not raise the grisly images of death that Anne Killigrew's corpse would have

immediately conjured up: the blisters and scars of smallpox, which swept away, "at once her Life, and Beauty too" (Dryden 156). By transfiguring Anne's body, and perhaps also her soul, Dryden releases himself from potentially indecent corporal concerns; and to bring this theme of transfiguration to fruition while still detailing Anne's biography, Dryden adorns "the theme of a great society" with a fitting elegiac ornament, which connects the cosmos to the fortunes of humankind in an astrological age—namely, a star.

Dryden's opening conceit strikes a chord very similar to Milton's ruminations on death, in which the narrator queries the whereabouts of Killigrew's body and soul:

Whether, adopted to some Neighbouring Star,
 Thou rol'st above us in thy wand'ring Race,
 Or, in Procession fixt and regular,
 Mov'd with the Heavens Majestic Pace;
 Or, call'd to more Superiour Bliss,
 Thou tread'st with Seraphims, the vast Abyss (6-10)

Milton incorporates sea imagery in the narration of *Lycidas* as a reminder that King died in a shipwreck. His appeals to Orphic muses, various oceanic nymphs, and the river deities of the antiquity involve the supernatural world in mythical whodunit, and they in turn search through the natural world for a suspect in King's death and for the body itself. The poem ends with one last vision of the sun, who "tricks his beams, and with new-spangled ore, / Flames in the forehead of the morning sky"—lines which serve to translate King's physical body to the afterlife (Milton 170-2). Dryden utilizes a similar motif in his elegiac ode by comparing Anne to a shooting star, but he does so to such an extent that, as David Vieth observes, "it is uncertain whether Anne's soul inhabits a planet, the region of the fixed stars, or the empyrean" (Vieth 98). Dryden's opening conceit does not have the same frame of reference that Milton's has, being primarily universal rather than mundane, and is even more misleading than Vieth observes; for it is equally unclear whether Anne's body or soul has been transfigured into a celestial object. Instead, Dryden presents his readers with a kind of quintessence of Anne Killigrew, sometimes remotely physical, and generally universal. Since Dryden scraps nearly all corporal concerns, he distances Anne from

sentimentality brought on by nostalgia, and thereby opens her poems and paintings to his own seasoned critical review.²

If the reader of Dryden's ode wonders whether Anne embodies something celestial or something mundane through the first eight stanzas, by the ninth Dryden diminishes this confusion by concluding the search. He places Killigrew in a close-knit cluster of seven stars—the Pleiades. Anne's inherent material duality necessitates our recognition of her celestial mortal frame in between her speculative "cosmic" genesis and her final sublimation as an astral body.

Throughout the first three inflated stanzas of *Anne Killigrew*, Dryden does make bold declarations about Killigrew's "Heav'n-born Mind" (34) and her status as a premature "Candidate of Heav'n" (42). These two titles prep Anne for her poetic assumption as the apocalyptic "Harbinger of Heav'n" on the Doomsday that Dryden envisages in the final stanza (93). He leagues his female poet with the proprietor of the "vulgar" miracle of the bees (51-54), Sappho (33), Katherine Phillips ("Orinda"), and the immortal laureates; and this he does through the suggestion of both "Traduction" (23) and metempsychosis, as Dryden writes that Anne's "Præexisting Soul...did through all the Mighty Poets roul" (29-31). Dryden's ode, in its peculiar chronology, describes the following celestial biography: Anne's corporal existence is (1) drawn from the physical matter of a star, (2) burns for the twenty-five years of her life, and (3) in that span leaves the heavens bereft of one star amongst the Pleiades. At her death, the heavens regain what Anne's mortal body had deprived them of—the very star that donates to Anne her uncommon artistic talents and physical matter.

There are at least two other instances in which Dryden employs star imagery of a similar kind to flatter the female sex, if somewhat less ingenuously. In the dedicatory epistle to *Cleomenes* (1692), Dryden flatters the play's patron, Laurence Hyde, the first Earl of Rochester, by comparing his beautiful daughter-in-law to a constellation—"a more true and brighter *Berenice*" (75.3).³ A similar trope involving stellar translation, when used as a gauge for Christian piety, can be found in Dryden's *Eleonora*, where the poem's namesake, the late Countess of Abingdon, "shines above we know, but in what place, / How near the Throne, and Heav'ns Imperial Face, / By our weak Opticks is but vainly ghest" (266-8).⁴ In

the case of the former, Dryden flatters a young and attractive female by attributing to her, quite literally, a measure of ethereal beauty. In the latter, Dryden manufactures a "kind of Apotheosis, indeed; if a Heathen Word may be applyed to a Christian use," to close his panegyric with a Christian theme (232.12-13).⁵

Early in his career, Dryden had eulogized another victim of smallpox in his elegy "Upon the Death of Lord Hastings" (1649), first published in *Lachrymae Musarum*—a collection of memorial verses dedicated to a young man with familial ties to the Stuarts.⁶ In his contribution to the volume, Dryden remarks that the late Henry Hastings' pockmarked "Corps might seem a *Constellation*" (66).⁷ Dryden, in his poetic inexperience, was eager to resort to ill-conceived star imagery when the unsophisticated rhetorical mode of his poetry was incongruent with the gravity of the occasion. Samuel Johnson criticizes the Hastings apotheosis as a passé Cowlean conceit; and Dryden commits a fatal poetic mistake in that he looks to transition from the grotesque to the spectacular in a span of only five words. Smallpox was a disease common enough to be familiar to Dryden, but the Hastings apotheosis is tawdry precisely because it is grounded in sickness—"Each little Pimple" and "Blisters with pride swell'd"—and marks of visible decay, which undermine the mystery of death and metaphysical transformation (57-59).⁸ The "universal *Metempsychosis*" that Dryden envisions for Henry Hastings is just as grotesque in its unpolished hyperbole, and it appears in the poem as just one more trope that Dryden requires to fulfill the elegiac poet's duty (72). Where Dryden fails in the Hastings elegy, he succeeds in *Anne Killigrew*, precisely because the universal framework of the Killigrew ode recommends its own particulars.

Dryden was not alone in his use of elegiac astrology within *Lachrymae Musarum*—nor would he be alone in his use of the motif over the next forty years—but the Hastings elegy demonstrates how and why Dryden's early and unrefined astrological conceits fail to raise the quality of his verse.⁹ Despite his early awkwardness in handling star translations, apotheosis was something that Dryden refused to abandon. In *Eleonora* and the Hastings elegy, Dryden shows that he often follows the models established by peers in keeping to the thematic expectations of each occasion. In neither apotheosis does he name particular stars, since the translation motif is an end in itself.¹⁰ Apotheosis releases the poet from earthly

observations and allows Dryden to conclude the elegy with one last poetic thought, couched in the language of a high-flown epitaph. Translation by dint of pockmark probably lurks someplace behind *Anne Killigrew's* apotheosis, but Dryden's astrological ornament—the Pleiad—has a particular identity and Stuart association that suggests another kind of significance in the year of Anne's birth and death. This specificity of the astral body to its mortal counterpart marks a departure from Dryden's usual employment of astrological referents.

Much as Dryden immortalizes the female sex in *Eleonora* and the dedicatory epistle to *Cleomenes*, he engages in a similar strain of flattery in *Anne Killigrew*. He challenges the notion that Anne's soul could find "a fairer mansion...than was the beauteous frame she left behind" (36). Dryden only appears to reflect upon Killigrew's physical body and her faded beauty. By drawing a comparison between her physical body and a mansion, Dryden is in fact equating Anne's physical body with a celestial body, being such that a "mansion," in seventeenth-century astrological terminology, is any of the twelve houses of the Zodiac where an astrological event takes place.¹¹ Dryden questions whether Anne's already celestial beauty and excellence can possibly find a better home within the actual celestial sphere than in her physical body, which is itself, as the Killigrew ode testifies, something of an interstellar "Ball of Fire" (144). Even when Dryden refers to Killigrew in her mortal state, his language demands a simultaneous recognition of Anne's celestial—and therefore immortal—state of being.

At the death of the infamous Cromwellian astrologer, William Lilly, in 1681, one poet anticipated Dryden's elegiac motif in a poem likewise couched in a series of astrological metaphors:

The grateful stars a heavenly mansion gave
T' his heavenly soul, nor could he live a slave
To mortal passions, whose immortal mind,
Whilst here on earth, was not to earth confin'd¹²

Charles II, whose death in 1685 brought to a close his earthly reign as king, enjoys a place in the "Immortal Mansion of the Sun, / Where he receives a never-fading Crown" (Penn 3).¹³ Even the irreverent John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester, earns a place beside Killigrew in the "*bright Mansions*" of

the Zodiac.¹⁴ In each case cited above, the poet at once distances the subject of his elegy from the physical realm and reaffirms the body's mundane existence using celestial terminology. The zodiacal mansions, besides providing ornamentation to an elegy, manufacture a visible alternative to a metaphysical state of limbo at the outer limits of the Ptolemaic universe. By preserving Anne Killigrew in the apparent immortality of celestial objects, Dryden enables his narrator to picture Anne Killigrew free from sickness and corruption—the selfsame biological particulars that threaten to hamper his paragon of purity with too much mortality. Anne sits above in the heavens, waiting for Judgment Day, "When Sinews o're the Skeletons are spread, /...and Life inspires the Dead," instead of biding her time in a diseased husk or an urn of ashes (86-7).

Unlike the other instances in which Dryden utilizes apotheosis for poetic effect and mere flattery, Dryden involves the cosmos in Anne's generation and in her Pleiadic translation to establish a literary pedigree. Anne, we find, represents not only the poet that Dryden and the Killigrews knew in person, but also Sappho reborn, and is thus the inheritor of a sacred legacy left by the "Mighty Poets" of antiquity. Like Katherine Phillips ("Orinda"), yet another celebrated female poet lost to smallpox, Anne Killigrew belongs to a tradition of poetry whose highly feminized generative faculty is latent in the "universal *Metempsychosis*" of the Killigrew ode (162). Dryden chooses Sappho as an early incarnation of Anne's soul for the obvious reason that she is the most famous female lyric poet of antiquity; but the selection of Plato as Anne's metempsychotic forbear—which is a traditional identification that proceeds from the miracle of the bees Dryden mentions in the third stanza—has struck many commentators as the utmost in hyperbole. Killigrew's pedigree has been the subject of some contention of late, and much misunderstanding over the centuries, given that Dryden wavers between the acts of naming specific persons and a generic miracle of bees. This "Miracle" is further complicated by the fact that Dryden asserts it negatively and in the conditional mood.

Dryden writes of Killigrew:

And if no clust'ring Swarm of Bees
On thy sweet Mouth distill'd their golden Dew,

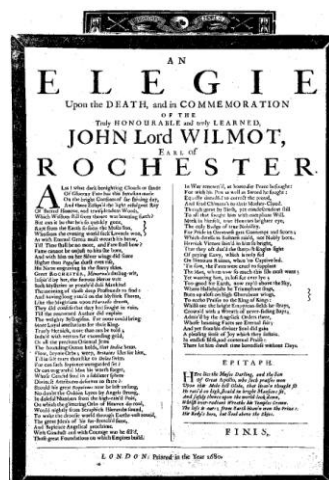


Figure 2: Rochester's "Memento Mori" Tombstone Elegy (1680)

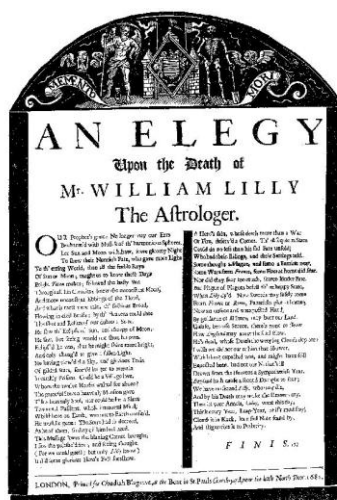


Figure 3: William Lilly's Tombstone Elegy (1681)

Like many *Memento Mori* elegies of the century, the memorial verses for Rochester and Lilly were published in broadsides that, by their very construction, are themselves tombs—each one a headstone inscribed with a biographical inscription and an equally solemn and witty epitaph. The elegy constitutes the broadside's main content, which reads like a highly rhetorical funeral address. The closing section, often given under a heading that denotes that the ensuing lines are intended for the tomb's epitaph, moves the elegy from a biographical frame—interlarded with astrological conceits—to a pious Christian frame.

'Twas that, such vulgar Miracles,
Heav'n had not Leasure to renew (50-3)

Though editors and critics have often associated this particular miracle with Plato, the same prodigy was applied to the births of Sophocles, Homer, Hesiod, Virgil, Menander, and Lucan. In a miracle more relevant to *Anne Killigrew*, by dint of the fact that the Pindaric is the verse form Dryden employs to eulogize his poet, Aelian, Philostratus, and Pausanias attributed this same prodigy to the lyric poet Pindar's nativity.¹⁵

Howard Weinbrot, in "Dryden's 'Anne Killigrew': Towards a New Pindaric Political Ode" (1993), argues that the attribution of Pindar's "Miracle" to Plato has allowed "modern commentators unwittingly to insult both Dryden and his subject" by injecting satire into their readings of the ode (361).¹⁶ The Pindaric "Miracle" manifests in the poem as one more supernatural occasion to mark Anne's birth, but it is an occasion that, juxtaposed with the ode's metempsychotic imagery, is consistent with the lyric pedigree that Dryden lays out, beginning with Sappho. The miracle of bees tacitly recommends to us the nativity of Pindar, which is an association Weinbrot qualifies by noting the recurrence of the irregular Pindaric in the collected works of Anne Killigrew to which Dryden's ode is prefixed.¹⁷

Arthur Hoffman, in his analysis of the Killigrew ode from *John Dryden's Imagery*, points us towards Dryden's dedicatory epistle to *Eleonora* to "give some idea of the principles of his practice in poems like the ode *To Anne Killigrew*" (98). Amongst the Ancients that Dryden therein catalogues as his own "Patterns," or influences, he notes "the inimitable *Pindar*, who stretches on these Pinnions out of sight, and is carried upward, as it were, into another World" (232.19-20).¹⁸ Dryden, though he writes *Eleonora* in regular heroics, insists that his poem "is of the Pindarique nature, as well in the Thought as the Expression" (8-9). Within the panegyric itself, Dryden manufactures an apotheosis that he justifies by invoking the models of the Ancients: "on all Occasions of Praise, if we take the Ancients for our Patterns, we are bound by Prescription to employ the magnificence of Words, and the force of Figures, to adorn the sublimity of Thoughts" (13-16). Dryden's hyperbole in *Anne Killigrew*, when placed within its Pindaric

context, is clearly the product of procedure; however, the implications of procedural duty do nothing to resolve the question of sincerity in Dryden's ironic tone.

In terms of the Pindaric miracle's apparent reality in *Anne Killigrew*, when Dryden invokes Pindar's "vulgar" miracle he affirms (albeit negatively) that Anne never actually received the blessing, but the true Pindaric legacy is the literary tradition of lyric verse—something that Dryden affirms separately in the metempsychotic pedigree. Dryden does not name Pindar for a reason when laying out Anne's pedigree, and the fact that he names only two other female poets—Sappho and Orinda—ought to qualify her lineage as necessarily feminine. Such a qualification demands the androgyny of Pindar in his anonymity. Howard Weinbrot would like to believe that rescuing Pindar from his negatively asserted anonymity rescues Anne from ironic disgrace by making the ironic readings of Dryden's ode both "illogical and unhistorical," but this is almost certainly not the case; for Pindar's "vulgar" miracle is not the beneficent event it purports to be (Weinbrot 360).

Expressions of negativity, ironic or not, are almost always a qualification of subjectivity, since they are activated by confusing grammar and produce in the discerning reader a measure of doubt with regard to meaning.¹⁹ The rhetorical device that Dryden employs in the negative assertion of the Pindaric miracle is a subspecies of irony—in fact, a kind of self-consuming, conditional *meiosis*—that denies Anne Killigrew access to a "vulgar" miracle (the *meiosis* being evident in the event's non-existence as the reduction of her birth's importance), whose vulgarity, or commonness, reduces the miracle's latent beneficence (hence its self-consumption). When we first encounter the miracle in *Anne Killigrew* and attribute its origins to Pindar and the immortal laureates, Dryden's assertion of negativity substantiates the fleeting—and ultimately false—impression that Anne is an inferior poet when measured against the rod of antiquity. "And if no clust'ring Swarm of Bees" is a clause that exemplifies this tortured negative conditionality; for Dryden's "no" does not presume the precondition of the miracle's actuality to establish Anne's excellence, and the power of "if" makes his speculation purely conditional. The condition upon which the narrator's opening clause relies is found in the concluding statement that, "Heav'n had not Leasure to renew" the miracle. If the miracle were to actually exist, rather than simply not exist (as a

suggestion or rule), it would rely on the "Leasure" of "Heav'n" to bring the event into existence. However, Dryden merely asserts the inevitability of the miracle's absence. The nonexistent miracle only reserves the power to recommend a model for eloquence that the present powers of "Heav'n" have already deemed "vulgar." The confusion that attends this interplay of magnification and reduction—that is, the apparent magnification of Anne Killigrew in the reduction of the Pindaric miracle, which does not even exist, or vice versa—leads Vieth to the fundamentally erroneous assumption that, "there was no miracle because Anne's birth was in no way extraordinary" (99). However, the absence of a "vulgar" miracle that might bestow eloquence upon Anne at her birth is not evidence of an absence of an occasion of sufficient grandeur, but only of the original absence of a "vulgar" miracle and the "Leasure of Heav'n" to actualize it. Dryden likely also saw the danger inherent in that "vulgar" miracle when applied to the female sex in his own time and age, manifest in the biblical proverb: "For the lips of a strange woman drop as a honycombe, and her mouth is smoother then oyle: But her end is bitter as worme-wood, sharpe as a two-edged sword" (*KJV*, Proverbs 5:3-4). The Calvinist Geneva Bible glosses this "vulgar" miracle as a sign of "whoredome" and "prodigalitie."

The real irony manifest in the miracle of the bees lies not in the magnification of Anne Killigrew's birth as an event that should have even troubled the attention of "Heav'n" in the first place; rather, the irony lies in the fact that Pindar's vulgar "miracle" has ever been termed a miracle at all. Miracles are justified by their unique status as divine, extraordinary, and supernatural events, which defy convention, expectation, and the natural order of things. The adjective "vulgar" is an intrinsically aristocratic term, meaning ordinary, plebian, or pedestrian, and thus softens the apparent miracle it modifies by placing on it a limitation; at the same time, the intrinsic divinity of "Miracles" intensifies "vulgar" by raising its vulgarity above mere plainness. While we have no notion of exactly what one such "vulgar" miracle is, since the concept is a truly paradoxical pairing of opposites, I would contend that it is certainly not a purely remarkable circumvention of natural order precisely because it is ordinary and unsophisticated. Rather, such a paradoxically "vulgar" miracle is something on the order of profligate superstition, manufactured by rumor, which has been bastardized into anonymity. Dryden accordingly

presents the event, in his negative speculation, as an unmanned, anonymous, and unqualified anomaly. Thus, the very standard to which Vieth would hold the conditional magnificence of Anne's birth is impotent in its ability to confer upon her birth anything worth troubling the "Leasure" of "Heav'n." Conversely, Weinbrot's suggestion that the hyperbole surrounding Anne's birth in the Killigrew ode should be vindicated by Pindar's miracle is also problematic for the exact same reason.

When negative expressions involve so many thrusts and counterthrusts, and Anne's vindication relies upon the ability of conditional subjectivity to counterthrust in her defense, one cannot help but wonder at the purpose behind Dryden's rhetorical flourishes; and it is the act of wondering in which readers engage that qualifies the inescapable recognition of double meaning in the Killigrew ode. Irony is always a complicated rhetorical element, but it need not signify an injection of sarcasm. The introduction of that-which-is-not-actually-introduced-into-existence (the "vulgar" miracle) opens the door for supernaturalism, and even in its denial, exerts the pressure of supernatural expectation upon the occasion of Anne's birth. If Anne would emerge from Dryden's equation unscathed, her birth—courted as it is by so many astrological omens foretold by her nativity—must be shown to be more magnificent than pseudo-Pindar's questionably remarkable nativity.

Nativities are a very particular kind of horoscope, which are cast to reflect the position of the planets in their houses at the exact minute of the subject's birth. Of Anne's birth, Dryden writes: "For sure the Milder Planets did combine / On thy Auspicious Horoscope to shine, / and e'en the most malicious were in Trine" (41-3). Like Horace Walpole and Sir Walter Scott after him, Anthony áWood had no more notion of Anne's exact birthday in his 1691 biographical notes on Anne Killigrew than we have of it today. Instead of providing her life's inclusive dates, Anne's biographers settled with informing posterity that she was born in the springtime just before the Restoration, and died of smallpox in the spring of 1685. Dryden, in all likelihood, was just as ignorant of Killigrew's exact birthday in 1685 as Anthony áWood was six years later. Almost of necessity, the dramatic restoration of Charles II, to which Anne's birth is unanimously dated, suggests itself as the referential context in which we ought to view Dryden's magnification of Anne's birth. That "Heav'n had not Leasure to renew" Pindar's "vulgar" miracle should

primarily imply that the miracle-workers of the celestial sphere had no leisurely hours in 1660 to superficially promote Anne Killigrew's birth, since the Restoration *is* the miracle of her birth. The association of Anne with the reinstatement of Stuart rule is further evidenced by the fact that Dryden chooses a very particular star, which had long been tied to the Stuarts and two legitimate "Miracles" of bees, in which to place Anne Killigrew at her death.

When contextualized in its historical and biographical setting, the pedigree that Dryden establishes on the behalf of Killigrew serves two important functions: (1) Dryden shows the origin of Anne's poetic style and inspiration, and (2) he utilizes the "Miracle" as a means of casting a horoscope, which introduces the superficially supernatural, before he notes the posture of the heavens at Anne's birth, which is a qualification of the legitimately supernatural. Pindar, although a phantom in Dryden's ode, may very well be implicated by name in the Cowlean legacy that lent Dryden his stanzaic form; but by reducing the Pindaric miracle a thing "vulgar" and empty of identity, Dryden also makes an important distinction for his commentary on Anne's poetic labors: the narrator will never require readers to hold Killigrew's poetry to the measuring stick of her male contemporaries. The female tradition of poetry that Dryden envisions establishes a tentative canon that passes from the androgynous phantom of Pindar, through Sappho, Killigrew, and Katherine Phillips.

Upon tracing Anne's metempsychotic pedigree, Dryden extends his inquiry beyond the formal subject of the elegy into a secondary theme (a "higher" theme)—what he had once termed the "Soul of Poesie."²⁰ This secondary theme encompasses those quasi-Pindaric qualities of verse that are the quintessence of high art in Dryden's critical viewpoint: passion, and the ability to move an audience with the magnificence of words. Dryden finds purity in Anne's unpublished ("Vestal") verses, which he portrays as "Unmixt with Forreign Filth, and undefil'd," and then uses them as a marker on the timeline of Restoration poetry while looking backwards towards Anne's origins (67-9). He simultaneously uses the elegy to backtrack through twenty-five years of personal feuds and degraded dramatic poetry of the masculine tradition:

O Gracious God! How far have we

Prophan'd thy Heav'nly Gift of Poesy?
 Made prostitute and profligate the Muse,
 Debas'd to each obscene and impious use,

 O wretched We! Why were we hurry'd down
 This lubrique and adult'rate age,
 (Nay added fat Pollutions of our own)
 T'increase the steaming Ordures of the Stage? (56-65)

Dryden's narrator does not speak as a voice of poetic purity; rather, he speaks on the behalf of London's fallen dramatists, the pimps of "the Muse," drawing a clear line between the denigration of poetry when used for pay, sensual pleasure, or public use, and the purity of lyric verse. Anne's poetry, which draws upon the female poetic inheritance, is private, formal, and free of obscenity. Arthur Hoffman, whose Christian analysis of *Anne Killigrew* depends upon a notion of Killigrew's sacrifice and Dryden's need for atonement, writes: "Appropriate to Anne, these images are also congruent with the traditional atoning figure...and [move] the figure of Anne Killigrew toward another world" (102). That Anne should ever be capable of performing this redemptive function in the ode requires that elements of the ode's hyperbole be absolute and not ironic; and this objective requirement is troubled by the ode's irony and Dryden's "gestures of concession," so long as the significance of Anne's birth relies solely upon a history of her modest artistic influence.

E.M.W. Tillyard interprets the ode's secondary theme as that of arch importance, "arguing...that Dryden's poem is about art, decorum, and order, an invocation of those values, which, for Dryden, constituted civilization" (Wheeler 2).²¹ Even more than this, Dryden is evoking a state of civilization that is conducive to high art, perhaps even necessary for it, which implicates something like the reinstatement of artistic patronage brought on by the Restoration. The poem transitions between "Anne's postmortal heavenly existence to her premortal heavenly existence" to establish her connection to female lyric tradition on one level of interpretation, but we ought note that by tracking back to her birth, Dryden pinpoints an exact time frame without explicitly having to name a date—a time frame that ties Anne's

earthly existence to a pair of key turning points in both the progress of dramatic poetry and the government of Great Britain: the Restoration of Charles II and the accession of James II (104).

Just as the torturous irony of the Pindaric miracle introduces as many negative feelings in the miracle's negation as positive feelings, Vieth finds that other passages within the ode "yield multiple meanings which are frequently opposed to one another yet everywhere functional" (93). In one example of the ode's several "reversible" compliments, Dryden evaluates the quality of Anne's poetry and asserts that, "Such Noble Vigour did her Verse adorn, / That it seem'd borrow'd, where 'twas only born" (75-6). Vieth observes, justifiably, that the very suggestion that Anne's "Verse" is plagiarized gives rise to a lingering and "unfavorable" portrayal of her talents—one that the ironic reversal cannot extinguish. Such reversals of meaning always retain the original impression that they create, precisely because the process of inversion can always be traced from ultimate positivity to initial negativity. This interplay of opposites, in which Dryden's authorial tone vacillates between rhetorical reduction and magnification, gives rise to "hints of irony... which, in their note of polite hesitation, tacitly qualify the eulogy by opening up meanings opposite to those urged by direct statement," and thus leaves readers with a series of problematic litotes (98). Laura Brown catalogues these thematic disjunctions as evidence that "Dryden's poem is clearly conscious of the modesty of its subject's talents" (Brown 400).²² For Brown, the human and transcendent claims Dryden makes for Anne Killigrew are incommensurable, in that she "was never visited by the swarm of bees that endowed Plato with eloquence," and, though she "knew nothing of life or love... [she] boldly wrote of both."

Vieth and Brown maintain that this irony remains "secondary to the ritual celebration of Anne's personal and artistic merits" (Vieth 92). However, the snowball effect produced by that irony undermines the narrator's sincerity in raising the universal architecture of the ode, which is grounded in astrological and metaphysical imagery, and soon calls into question the ode's structural integrity. Vieth concludes that Anne Killigrew, by Dryden's criteria of literary merit, is "lightly etched with an irony which implicitly concedes that she may not have been an apotheosized being after all, but only an ordinary, though attractive, girl" (92). Finding Vieth's conclusion distasteful, Howard Weinbrot counters that such a

reading is "illogical and unhistorical" (Weinbrot 360). Laura Brown concludes that the "unexpressed space between the terms of each equation" is Dryden's characteristic expression of the failure of form and equation (401).

While I agree with the original premises of the respective arguments of Brown and Vieth, with exception to a simplistic treatment of the Pindaric miracle and the overall effect of irony, the more problematic assertions in Vieth's analysis are epitomized by those conclusions that he reaches in his readings of Dryden's "ironic" compliments for Killigrew, which exploit Dryden's use of the conditional mood. The ode's hyperbole, almost always couched in Dryden's astrological conceits, supplies Vieth with his evidence, since the extents to which Dryden praises Killigrew may or may not be met by the conditions of her birth:

1. **Dryden:** "May we presume to say, that at thy Birth, /
New joy was sprung in Heav'n, as well as here on Earth" (39-40).
Vieth: "But perhaps we may *not* presume this" (99).
2. **Dryden:** "For sure the Milder Planets did combine / On
thy Auspicious Horoscope to shine" (41-2).
Vieth: "For sure' protests too much."
3. **Dryden:** "And then if ever, Mortal Ears/ Had heard the
Musick of the Spheres!" (48-9).
Vieth: "But has the music of the spheres ever been
audible to humans? (One thinks of Swift's Laputians.)"

The conditional mode of speaking necessarily requires the truth of a statement to be contingent on the fitness of certain criteria to achieve a certain end. As the base criterion for the conditional proof of Dryden's statements, the occasion of Anne's birth and its necessary temporal coincidence with the return of Charles II would certainly place such an extraordinary pressure on the ode's irony so as to effectively reduce it to rhetorical playfulness.

Dryden's "gestures of concession," that is, his assertions by way of speculation and inquiry ("May we presume," "For sure," and "then if ever") take it for granted that Anne's birthday *is* at least something on the order of the Restoration, and thus something of such obviously benefic aspect that its importance

is beyond contestation. The Restoration is not qualified as benefic on the whole, given Dryden's portrayal of its degradation of the "Muse" by the "adult'rate age" of 1685, but Anne's artistic purity (perhaps her "Vestal" obsolescence, but perhaps also her headstrong individualism and ambition) redeems the age's collective abuse of poetry to effect the restoration of the Restoration. Vieth certainly stretched too far and plunged too shallow when he concluded that, "perhaps we may *not* presume to say" (99) that Anne's birth should have witnessed a time when "New joy was sprung in Heav'n, as well as here on Earth" (Dryden 40). This is precisely what Dryden *would* have presumed as he revisited the scene of a nation shrugging off a decrepit republic, looking forward to a return to Stuart rule with its host of auspicious stars.

It is the ability of irony to mean and say different things, and to do so indefinitely, that underscores a much more meaningful task that irony performs in *Anne Killigrew*. As in all cases of irony, where its implementation yields "multiple meanings which are frequently opposed to one another yet everywhere functional"—or, in Kierkegaard's pessimistic terms, irony's "infinite absolute negativity"—irony primarily and necessarily calls attention to itself. Dryden's authorial intention forever lies behind that which infinitely negates what he asserts. This subjectivity calls into question assertions of Dryden's absolute intention and his absolute dissemblance, since neither extreme is absolute in itself. The impossibility of establishing Dryden's own values within the vortex of irony beckons us, as readers, to enter into the equation of infinitude to pronounce our subjective prejudices as arbiters of meaning and personal intent. In a poem that relies upon the amorphous structure of universal re-creation, where metempsychosis, regeneration, reincarnation, and redemption for personal salvation are dominant themes, irony should draw our attention to irony-in-itself as the agent of apparent limitless meaning. Irony is the engine of the "universal *Metempsychosis*" that requires our continual reappraisal of Killigrew's talents and influence, and forever keeps her from poetic death.

It is not Dryden's intent we wish to discover, and Dryden effectively reduces that possibility to infinite negation. Milton's *Lycidas*, by contrast, is bankrupt of formal limitlessness, since Milton defines the values that establish Edward King's importance to the narrator—but never to readers themselves. We require nothing of Edward King, but we require much of Anne Killigrew. Readers can only appreciate

the importance of Edward King in abstraction as a source of aesthetic valuation, and only then with reference to King's personal importance to the narrator himself. Dryden's ode abounds in limitlessness. At the base of his ironic equation is the ability to transcend words and to place Killigrew's value in the reader's hands, purely subjective, and always undermined by the nature of ironic possibility. Dryden thereby alleviates himself of the responsibility of pronouncing Anne's excellence in ironclad valuations, perhaps as a cop-out, but perhaps also to serve as an open-minded critic. As a piece of literary criticism, Dryden's ode is an engine of perpetual motion whenever we see it prefixed to Anne Killigrew's *Poems*, since it does not set the terms for our valuations. Dryden only provides certain boundaries for our judgments so that we cannot ignore the historical context of Anne's achievements. The charge of plagiarism Dryden introduces foreshadows Anne's defense of her originality in "Upon the Saying that My Verses Were Made by Another"; her naïveté is the trademark of her romanticism in "Love, the Soul of Poetry"; and her ambition is evident as she sets out to canvas the achievements of Alexander the Great in her "Alexandreis." Although the publication context of Dryden's ode has changed over time, sloughing off Killigrew's *Poems* to become a stand-alone piece in Dryden's own collected works and achieve new meaning, irony-in-itself is still the ode's truest delimiting equation for eternity in *Anne Killigrew*. If the ode is to maintain its status as one of the finest in the English language, as Dr. Johnson assures us it is, then Dryden's use of irony will likely be the reason it shall do so in the future, despite what Scott and many modern readers may see as its occasionally startling puns and chillingly tasteless conceits.

Though irony involves Dryden's ode in a great measure of abstraction, there is, I feel, a significant measure of reality missing from criticism of the Killigrew ode on the subject of its irony. It is oft the hard lot of the world's most precocious talents, cut down in the bloom of youth, to suffer comparative censure at the standard set by every Methuselah who has earned a place on the esteemed panel that congregates in the South Transept of Westminster Abbey. It should be remembered that the five poems Dryden produced in the first thirty years of his life might never be said to hold a dim candle to the volume that Killigrew produced in her meager twenty-five. When Dryden lavishes upon Anne Killigrew the honor of his high esteem, though we should find her representative saintliness

incommensurable with her negligible influence on the history of literature, we must consider that Dryden, in assessing his own comparative greatness, may have accorded his success to nothing more than the incredible good fortune of having lived to maturity in a Stuart age, which fostered the development of its elect Pleiades.

III. Dryden's Star Identification

"The youth, the bloom, the beauty which agree,
 In many a nameless being we retrace,
 Whose course and home we knew not, nor shall know
 Like the lost Pleiad seen no more below."¹

The Restoration of Charles II in 1660 witnessed the nearly spontaneous rebirth of the dramatic arts, the Anglican Church, the gentry, artistic patronage, and a slackening of Cromwellian censorship. In a panegyric evoking themes of rejuvenation, John Evelyn praised the changes brought on by Charles's return:

Our Churches, Tribunals, Theaters, Palaces, lift up their heads again; the very fields do laugh and exalt. O happy, and blessed spring! Not so glorious yet with the pride and enamel of his flowers, the golden corn, and the gemms of the pregnant Vine, as with those Lillies and Roses which bloom and flourish in your Chaplet this day (4)²

More locally, within the province of poetry, Charles's return to England brought with it a rather hackneyed poetical trope concerning a star that reportedly appeared at the Stuart prince's birth in 1630, which was also connected to the dawn of spring. Since Charles's return to England happened to coincide with his birthday, the prodigy had special significance at Restoration, as any survey of the year's odes bears out rather quickly (See Appendix 1.2). From the original star-filled Latin miscellany celebrating Charles's birth, *Britanniae Natalis* (1630), to the even more astrologically-themed poems from the men of Oxford celebrating his return in *Britannia Rediviva* (1660), the birth-star provided a frame of reference for the Caroline restoration that poets exploited because of its dualistic significance.³ Pulpits resounded with pledges of obedience to the new "Carolo Magno" at the King's return, in part because Charles's birth star was quite conveniently placed within the seven-star asterism (Charles's Wain in Ursa Major) that had formerly belonged to Charlemagne (Menzeis 24).⁴ What is more curious to consider in the case of Dryden's Killigrew ode, and generally overlooked, is the fact that the birth-star of Charles II was also popularly placed amongst the Pleiades in the zodiacal constellation Taurus (and in "error" near the northern celestial pole) based on two separate astronomical cruces.

The spring of 1660 was indeed a season in which Restoration poets maintained that, "Now might *Pythagoras* distinctly hear, / Melodious musick sound at ev'ry Sphere" (*B.R.*, 74).⁵ If Killigrew should seem an unlikely subject for apotheosis, a miracle of bees, or a celestial symphony, it should be remembered that such conceits were the commonest stock of poetic trades in the spring of 1660. Killigrew quite literally treads upon the coattails of the Restoration's auspicious comets at her own birth and death.⁶

Dryden braids together threads political, critical, and biographical in the Killigrew ode, and knots them at their ends with a star referent whose mythical and astrological significance is relevant to each of those individual strings. In the Introduction, I briefly discussed the specific astronomical error inherent in the present editorial stance towards the significance of the Pleiades in *Anne Killigrew*, based on Dryden's use of the crux, but this editorial error warrants further analysis before we can unwind Dryden's tangled braid. In the ninth stanza of *Anne Killigrew*, Dryden's narrator warns Anne's "Brother on the Seas" to slack his sails in his return voyage home with the English navy, for

No more shalt thou behold thy Sisters Face,
Thou hast already had her last Embrace.
But look aloft, and if thou ken'st from far,
Amongst the Pleiad's a New-kindl'd Star,
If any sparkles, than the rest, more bright,
'Tis she that shines in that propitious Light (172-77)

The Pleiades, which were used at their heliacal rising to mark the summer sailing season of the Ancients, would have been approaching this seasonal marker right about the time of Anne's birth and death, since both occurred in the same season. The many editors of the ode have explained this seasonal coincidence as the chief method of interpreting Dryden's star identification.

However, an important feature of Dryden's Pleiad—namely, its nighttime visibility—ought to caution readers that the poet does not mean to use the star as a seasonal marker after the manner of classical paraepemists. In his observations on the feasts and celebrations of the Roman calendar in the month of May, Ovid reports that, "Two nights before *the* ides the *Pleiads* rise /...from hence astronomers

our *summer trace*, / and here must *spring's* soft-op'ning season cease" (703-6).⁷ The Greek poet Aratus gives us a similar account of their seasonal importance:

Though small their size and pale their light, wide is their fame,
Both when they rise at dawn and when at eve; such Zeus' will,
Who bade them mark the entrances of summer and winter,
And the season when the fallows ask the plough
(Aratus 263-266)⁸

When Ovid uses the rise of the Pleiades as an astronomical crux, he describes either the cosmic rising or the apparent (heliacal) rising of the Pleiades to mark the beginning of summer. Aratus uses the Pleiades to presage the changes of the seasons at their heliacal rising "at dawn" in May, their achronycal rising "at eve" near winter, and their achronycal setting in mid-November "when the fallows ask the plough," respectively.⁹ But the importance of the Pleiades' spring rising is dependent upon the partial or complete disappearance of the asterism in the nights between late April and early June. Ovid and Aratus make equinoctial observations when they describe the Pleiades' heliacal rising in spring; they do not describe a nighttime phenomenon for Dryden, since the asterism is only visible moments before the rise of the sun at the outset of summer, or lost altogether in the dawn's twilight in late spring—the season to which Killigrew's death is dated.¹⁰

When Knightly Chetwood looked back on the return of Charles II, he employed the heliacal rising of the Pleiades to mark the occasion in a manner that is consistent with astronomical calculations of the Ancients:

As when that *Annual Chaos*, Winter, flies,
Whilst the soft *Pleiades* do mount the Skies,
And *Philomel* to Western Gales does sing
The *Advent* of the Heaven-born Spring,
Such Joy *blest Charles* did to his Subjects bring¹¹

Chetwood's seasons travel through the "*Annual Chaos*" of equinoctial progression and winter's cold climate until the Pleiades "mount the Skies" at their heliacal rising, at which point "*blest Charles*" returns on his birthday and the Pleiades make their pre-dawn reappearance, emerging from their month-long

sojourn with the sun. Chetwood ignores the precession of the equinoxes to accommodate his imagery and set the return of the Pleiades and Charles II at the "*Advent*" of the Ancients' spring season, but his equinoctial observation is calendrically valid as a Restoration prodigy. Dryden, however, urges Anne's brother to look up into the heavens and pick out the "New-kindl'd Star" amongst the Pleiades. His direction presupposes an ability to perceive that star, which is an ability negated by the nature of the seasonal crux so often attributed to Dryden's star referent.

All the stars in the heavens wester approximately four minutes total in a twenty-four hour cycle, and this is due to the earth's advancement along the ecliptic by about one degree per day. In Dryden's age, the Pleiades disappeared altogether from the night sky between late April and the days or the week just after May 29 because of the proximity of their rising and setting to the morning and evening twilight.¹² For Chetwood, the return of Charles II at the spring's chief astronomical crux is a confirmation of universal order, presaging the bloom of England's new dynasty. Each day succeeding its heliacal rise, the asterism would have reappeared on the eastern horizon four minutes earlier than the previous morning, and would have set four minutes earlier in the west as well. The asterism's gradual distancing from sunrise would have allowed the Pleiades to mount ever higher in the night sky over the eastern horizon as the year progressed, until the asterism had finally reached a position in mid-November that was exactly opposite its heliacal rising in late spring. During their heliacal rise, the Pleiades appear in the predawn sky like a celestial firefly, quickly blinking into sight over the eastern horizon before being swallowed by dawn's twilight. By early July, more than a month after the latest date we can provide for Killigrew's death, the Pleiades would have risen roughly two hours earlier than they had on Restoration Day.

Dryden leaves little room for calendric gerrymandering on his behalf, for he directs Anne's "Brother on the Seas" to observe the Pleiades while this same brother is still unaware of his sister's death from smallpox, as demonstrated by Dryden's lament: "Alas, thou know'st not, Thou art wreck'd at home!" (171). Dryden is indeed indicating that the Pleiades were visible in the late spring of 1685. Even if we were to grant Dryden a ten-day margin of error, and perhaps a month more beyond the crux for

messengers to convey the news of Anne's death, Dryden has given Anne's star a meager forty-minute to two-hour span in which to shed her consolatory light in the unenviable pre-dawn hours—hardly primetime viewing. There is, of course, no reason to be so lenient, as Dryden's directions to the sailor are immediate, and transcend spatial and temporal concerns through the omniscient narrator's immediacy—his ability to speak on a cosmic level and witness to metempsychotic events and celestial prodigies that span the millennia. In fact, Dryden has granted the "Pleiad's" no time at all above the horizon to comfort the distant mariner.

Were we to speculate at Dryden's motives, we might be influenced by Vieth's argument for the potentially damaging irony "almost automatically latent in the mode of hyperbole" used in *Anne Killigrew*, since Dryden describes an astronomical event that cannot be observed. With the disappearance of the Pleiades from the night's horizon in the spring, Anne's apotheosis—considered by many readers to be Dryden's most generous concession for Killigrew—would appear to foretell the eternal occultation of her artistic accomplishments, whence gentle irony turns from clever reversals of conditional phrases to a biting satire in the vein of *MacFlecknoe*. Some readers may prefer to credit Dryden's "mistake" to his own astronomical ignorance, or to reliance upon outdated sources that would fix the helical rising of the Pleiades to the month of March, forgetting that the precession of the equinoxes had shifted the date of that rising from the dates noted by the Ancients. In "The Four Seasons of the Year," the seventeenth-century American poet Anne Bradstreet made a similar seasonal mistake, incorrectly placing the sweet "influence" (27) of the Pleiades in the month of March, which is early even for a heliacal setting date, while paradoxically maintaining that in April the "Sun in *Taurus* keeps his residence" (43). Clearly Bradstreet was relying on ancient calendric observations, which had not taken into account five thousand years of precession, and was miming precepts she had absorbed from unreliable poets; but if we partially disregard the primacy given to Dryden's Pleiad as a seasonal marker and instead turn to classical sources and the astrological symbolism of early Stuart pageantry to explain the significance of the Pleiades and their "New kindl'd Star," central as the asterism and its attendant astrological framework are to the ode's rhetorical gestures, then the connection between Anne Killigrew and Charles II becomes more concrete

than casual, temporal coincidence.

The Pleiades were well known to those Restoration poets who were not avid stargazers, and even to those readers who lacked a deep understanding of ancient astronomy. Dryden was doubtless more familiar with the story of the "lost" Pleiad in one of its various incarnations, and should Dryden be found in scientific error by invoking the asterism out of its season of visibility, his mistake is mollified by mythology. Ovid, in his *Fasti*, tells us that there were once seven "Pleiad's," which, due to the following circumstances, left the heavens bereft of one sister:

Of sev'n, no more than six the eye can trace,
 But each of these has known a god's embrace

 But Meropé, thou didst a mortal wed,
 For which she now repents, and hides her head;
 Or does Electra shut her clouded eye,
 In pain to see her Troy in ruins lie? (214-23)¹³

There is a longstanding debate in classical literature over which of these two "Pleiad's"—Electra or Merope—is in fact the disappearing sister. Merope is the only Pleiad who marries a mortal man, and a particularly wicked one—Sisyphus. Merope's nuptial blunder, in the face of her sisters' marriages to deities, results in her demotion from the stars. Electra, on the other hand, is the mother of Dardanus, the mythical founder of Troy, who flees her sisters at the destruction of the city to spare herself the sight of its fall.

Great Britain was long held to be the "New Troy" founded by Brutus, son of Aeneas; and if Dryden's "New-kindl'd Star" amongst the "Pleiad's" is in fact Electra, then the narrator of *Anne Killigrew* describes the return of the mother of Dardanus and the advent of resurrected Trojan glory. As Dryden's Electra, Killigrew's parallel star enacts a full atonement for the "obscene and impious" dramatic poets of Charles's reign in her selfless poetic sacrifice, by which she forfeits her mundane existence to restore the Pleiades to their former number and signal the restoration of Troy.¹⁴ Though Aratus denies the tradition of the disappearing Pleiad, based on his belief that, "No star, I wis, has vanished from heaven's floor /

Within mortal tradition," by Ovid's age—nearly three centuries later—the disappearing Pleiad had engendered several separate legends; and the legend of Electra's disappearance resurfaced in early Stuart England at the turn of the seventeenth century to herald a new Pleiadic Age (58-9).¹⁵

On March 15, 1603, the Lord Mayor's pageants for the coronation of James I featured masque-like astrological encryption in the day's entertainments. Ben Jonson, the leading masque writer of his day, was requisitioned to lend a hand in the drafting of the speeches delivered by various actors along the king's progress to his coronation. After filing through a series of six arches on his way to Temple-Bar in the Strand, the King entered at a seventh gate, which led him into the *Templum Iani*—the Temple of Janus. Jonson borrows his device from both the *Fasti* of Ovid and the *Astronomica* of Hyginus. Ovid had utilized Janus as a mouthpiece to explain the workings of the cosmos and the risings and settings of stars, which were events upon which the Roman calendar was predicated. The seventh gate of James I's coronation procession, which was in part supposed to represent the balance of day and night near the Vernal Equinox (the king's coronation was celebrated on the ides of March), was invested with Pleiadic imagery. The Temple, whose doors closed behind the king after he proceeded through the gate, Jonson apprehends "to be both the house of War, & Peace; of War, when it is open; of Peace when it is shut" (Jonson 12).¹⁶ The arch was decorated with a "Raine-bow, the Moone, Sunne, and those seauen Starres, which antiquitie hath stil'd the *Pleiades* or *Vergiliae*, aduanced betweene two Magnificent Pyramid's" (14). In keeping with Ovid's tale of the disappearing Pleiad, Jonson presents Electra "hanging in the ayre, in figure of a Comet." Electra delivers a speech to the king, during which she declares herself the official Augustan star of early Stuart England:

*Long maist thou liue, and see me thus appeare,
As omenous a Comet, from my Spheare,
Vnto thy raigne: as that did auspicate
So lasting Glory to Augustus state* (15)

Although Jonson uses the astronomical crux described by Ovid, he appears to do so incorrectly; for the Pleiades' heliacal rising took place two days before the Ides of May, and not two days before James I's coronation date—the Ides of March.

The Pleiades were once styled the "Virgins of Spring" in more than name, for they marked the Vernal Equinox around 3300 BCE in the Early Bronze Age, which is the astrological Age of Taurus.¹⁷ But Jonson is unconcerned with the traditional astronomical role of the Pleiades not because of the change in the date of their heliacal rising brought on by precession, but because he has another uranological scheme in mind—one that would place the returning Pleiad in another region of the heavens altogether. In their taurine configuration, the Pleiades had attracted Dryden's attention early in his career, and his mention of a specific cluster of stars in *Anne Killigrew* ought to draw our attention to that particular asterism's meaning in English tradition, since Dryden is rarely so specific in his star referents.

In the *Heroique Stanzas* (1658), which Dryden writes in memory of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, Dryden appears to draw a comparison between Cromwell and a rainy taurine asterism. In doing so, the poet portrays the stars of Taurus in a negative light, for he distances the subject of his elegiac verses from the "*starr's* which only shine / When to pale *Mariners* they stormes portend" (69-70).¹⁸ The California editors note that Dryden's allusion is "to the rising and culmination of such star clusters as were thought to bring storms, the best-known being the Hyades" (201).¹⁹ The Hyades are the mythical half-sisters of the Pleiades, and as an asterism near the eye of Taurus were said to glitter brightly before the onset of a storm. The Pleiades are by far the more conspicuous of the two taurine asterisms, and as testified by Hesiod in his *Works and Days*, have long shared a similar reputation in late autumn:

When the Pleiades flee mighty Orion
And plunge into the misty deep
And all the gusty winds are raging,
Then do not keep your ship on the wine-dark sea (619-22)

What may be important to consider is just why Dryden draws a comparison between the stormy stars of a taurine asterism—which he explicitly dissociates from the subject of his elegiac stanzas with regard to

their stormy disposition—and Cromwell himself. In *Astrology and the Seventeenth Century Mind*, Ann Geneva informs us that Cromwell, "born under the sign of Taurus, would figure readily as a bull in an astrologically-minded age" (4). The popular seventeenth-century astrologer William Lilly had achieved notoriety for his support of the Parliamentarians during the Civil War and the Commonwealth era. In an astrological tract from 1651, *Monarchy or No Monarchy in England*, Lilly included a set of nineteen hieroglyphics in which he attempted to pictorially predict the future of English politics. An illustration opposite Lilly's depiction of an ensiferous Charles I, over whom lurks the ascendant sun in typical astrological fashion, shows Cromwell in the form of a bull to set the historical framework for Lilly's ensuing prophecies—namely, that Lilly intends to divine the progress of the Commonwealth under the Lord Protector to the peril of the crown.²⁰

Dryden, aware that the Pleiades and Hyades could signify both for balmy weather and calm waters at their heliacal rising and for violent weather as they neared their cosmic setting (Cromwell died September 3, 1658), is careful to negate the stars' violent aspects by dissociating Cromwell from his taurine asterism, rather than dwelling on its benefic aspects in other seasonal positions. Dryden makes certain that no conniving fanatic could thereby twist his lines and negate the benefic with the malefic aspects of his stars to arrive at an unfavorable portrayal of Cromwell. The Pleiades and Hyades, entering their stormy season after the Autumnal Equinox (September 10), would have been entering their malevolent season just seven days after Cromwell's death.

Nor was Dryden to prove too careful in his wording, given the perilous state of the Commonwealth at the Lord Protector's death. Edmund Waller's poem, "Upon the Late Storme and Death of his Highnesse Ensuing the Same," which was published in the same collection that Dryden's *Heroique Stanzas* appeared in, stirred up immediate controversy upon publication. In his poem, Waller speaks of a storm that had ravished London in the decease of the Lord Protector, which is likely the very same storm that provides the occasion of Dryden's stormy taurine "*starr's*." In opposition to Waller, one "Anti-Panegyrist" of Oliver Cromwell debates Cromwell's "Panegyrist" (Waller) in verse, and phrases Waller's assertions in the same numbered quatrains that Dryden employs in the *Heroique Stanzas*.²¹ The "Anti-

Panegyrist" contests Waller's comparison of Cromwell with the inimitable Julius Caesar, whose death at the hands of conspirators produced first an ominous eclipse, and afterwards an earthquake that ravaged Rome. In the Anti-Panegyrist's poem, the "Panegyrist" (Pseudo-Waller) with whom the author debates notes that just as Caesar (Cromwell) died, and "a thousand meaner stares / Gave a dimme light to violence and warres, / To such a tempest as now threatens all," so would England falter without Cromwell's "mightie arme" to prop the nation (20.38). The "Anti-Panegyrist" counters with his own interpretation of the "tempest" and the proper Augustus (Charles II) needed to quell those storms:

The *Sun* is set, none but *dimme lights* appeare,
That would faine *glaze* a Night can't *guild* a Yeare,
Till our *Augustus* by his birth' and merit
Come the *usurped Chariot* to inherite;
He'll with his conqu'ring rages all clouds dispell,
Check *Boreas*, how big soere he swell (20.39)²²

The royalist backlash that followed Waller's panegyric, with its special thematic focus upon the storm at Cromwell's death, is precisely the reaction that Dryden preempts by thwarting the reader's temptation to link Cromwell to such a tempestuous prodigy—something that could at once be employed in Cromwell's favor and used to discredit the Lord Protector's reputation.

If Dryden's star referent in the *Heroique Stanzas* does indeed correspond to the stars of the Hyades or Pleiades, Dryden's characterization of those taurine stars sets them diametrically opposed to their earthly counterpart and to the figurehead of the Commonwealth. Anne, who is fashioned from taurine cosmic matter at the time of the Restoration, only exhibits positive astrological qualities. Her birth is nothing less than ideal: "For sure the Milder Planets did combine / On thy Auspicious Horoscope to shine, / And ev'n the most Malicious were in Trine" (41-3). The "Malicious" planets—Mars and Saturn—are cast in a trine aspect, which is an aspect that negates their ability to exert malefic influence upon Anne's nativity. In this way, the taurine Pleiades (mellifluous when invoked as a harbinger of spring) work in the favor of Anne and Charles II, just as the stars of Taurus were diametrically opposed to the inborn nature of Oliver Cromwell.

Ben Jonson's 1603 coronation pageants for James I utilize the Pleiad Electra not only as an astrological symbol, but as an harbinger of restoration and renewal as well. "*Electra*," he notes, "signifies Serenity it selfe" (15).²³ Her appearance in the "Arctick" north just before the Ides of March, on the day that James VI is to assume the English throne, is due to more than coincidence:

*The long Laments I spent for ruin'd Troy,
Are dried; and now mine eyes run teares of Ioy.
No more shall men suppose Electra dead,
Though from the consort of her sisters fled
Vnto the Arctick circle, here to grace,
And guild this Day with her serenest Face* (15)

The legendary lost Pleiad promises to bless the first Stuart monarch's reign by curbing her sisters' unpleasant attributes, "*That no offensiue mist, or cloudie staine / May mixe with splendor of thy golden raigne*" (15). Anne Killigrew, as the Electra of the restored Stuart line, is a signifier of this same measure of serenity to her brother on the seas, and she tacitly exploits the astrological link between the Stuart dynasty and the stars of the "Arctick" pole. For Dryden, Anne represents the relatively peaceful reign of Charles II and the restoration of poetry, even as Dryden figures Anne in a newborn Pleiad to translate her soul to the heavens—particularly "English" heavens.

Jonson cites the *Astronomica* of the Roman poet Hyginus to justify the historicity of his "Arctick" Pleiad. According to a legend related by Hyginus, the Pleiad Electra fled her six sisters at the destruction of Troy in form of a comet, and found refuge somewhere in the arctic pole.²⁴ The story of Electra's arctic shift was periodically revisited by Europe's leading astronomers in explications of "new stars" and comets that appeared in the northern skies throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the flurry of pamphlets and essays that discussed the "New Star" sighted by Tycho Brahe in 1572, two contemporaries hailed it as the prophetic return of Electra, which furnished them with matter for their astro-political prognostications through the reemergence of the "lost Pleiad" in the circumpolar constellation Cassiopeia.²⁵ How much this particular astrological omen was entrenched English Pleiadic lore is difficult to determine; but Jonson's transplanted Electra—influenced by contemporary astrological

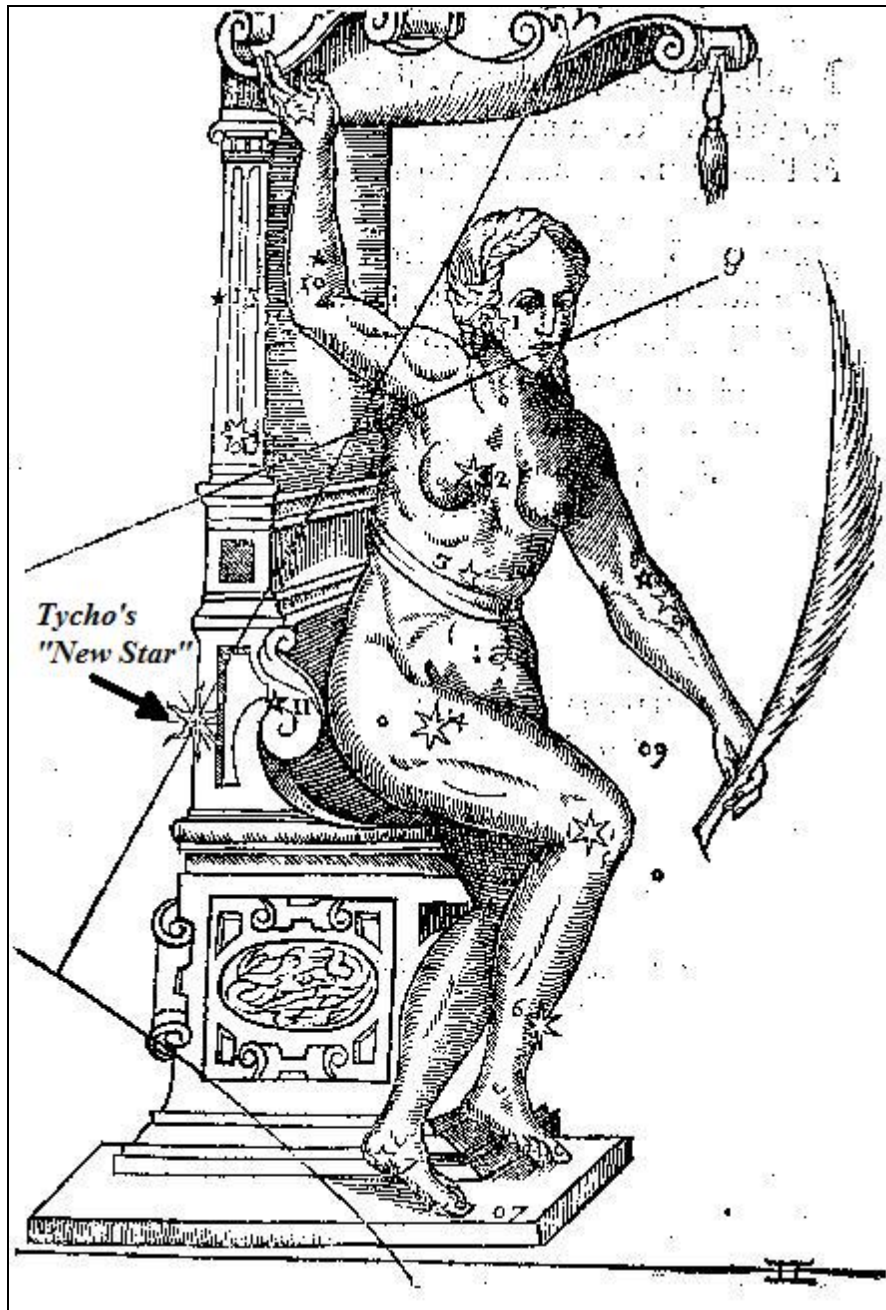


Figure 6: A depiction of the 1572 Nova in Cassiopeia's chair, as seen by London astronomer Thomas Digges in *Alæ Seu Scalæ Mathematicæ* (1573). Along with fellow astrologer John Dee, Digges attempted to measure the coordinates of the famous Nova and explain its motion in the heavens with the fixed stars.

pamphlets or no—links the Stuart dynasty to ancient traditions telling of an "Arctick" Pleiad. To be sure, an arctic Pleiad, placed amongst the circumpolar constellations, would have allowed Dryden to employ the Stuart asterism without compunction outside the confines of the Pleiades' annual visible season in his Killigrew ode.

In 1691, Dryden's eldest son, writing from Rome, published a pastoral on the subject of Tycho's "Nova," which was entitled "A Song to a Lady, Who Discovered a New Star in Cassiopeia," wherein he explores the theme of the "new-born glory in the skies":

As Ariana, young and fair,
By night the starry change did tell,
She found in Cassiopeia's chair
One beauteous light the rest excel:
This happy star, unseen before (C. Dryden 1-8)²⁶

Charles Dryden's poem thus dates his father's verifiable knowledge of the same "happy star, unseen before" (compare to *Anne Killigrew's* "New-kindl'd Star") to the maximum limit of six years after the publishing date of *Anne Killigrew*. John Dryden would presumably have been familiar with Italian interpretations of the 1572 nova well before his son explored Tycho's famous prodigy, given its popularity amongst astronomers and astrologers alike, and may have even recommended the subject matter to his son.

Even before Italian astrologers tracked Electra's progress to the circumpolar constellation Cassiopeia in 1572, Talmudic tradition had linked the arctic stars of Ursa Minor/Major (*Aish*) to those of the Pleiades (*Kimah*) in quite another fashion, pointing to an actual exchange of stars in the time of Noah. In an explication of the stars named in Job 38:31 and their function in Hebrew tradition, the Talmud relates that

when the Holy One, blessed be He, sought to bring the flood upon the world, He took two stars from the Pleiades and thus brought the flood upon the world; and when He sought to stop it, He took two stars from the Bear and stopped it (388)²⁷

The stars of *Kimah* are inherently linked with rains and the Deluge in Hebrew tradition. By plucking two of the Pleiades from the firmament, God punctures a celestial dam and allows the asterism's pent-up

waters to flood the earth; but he does not simply put the stars back in place when he sees fit, since a "'pit cannot be filled with its own clods.'" He therefore pilfers two stars from *Aish*, translated loosely as one of the Septentrional Bears, in order to stop the two holes that he had opened in the Pleiades while uncorking the heavens. And the reason that "*Ajish* follows the *Kīmāh* is that it says to it, 'Give me back my children.'"

In tracking the final origins of Electra in her Arctic flight, which Italian astronomers placed in Cassiopeia in 1572, Giorigo de Santillana and Hertha von Dechend trace an inverse exchange of stars through Hipparchus' commentaries on Aratus, wherein Electra retires to the Fox star, Alcor, near the end of the handle in Charles's Wain (385).²⁸ The mythic exchange of Pleiadic and Septentrional stars spans continents and oceans, and one cannot tell how ingrained it was in oral English star lore of Dryden's age, though it appears to have survived into the sixteenth century. In Edward Matthew's compendious interpretation of Restoration prophecy, *Karólou trismegistou epiphanía: The Most Glorious Star, or Celestial Constellation of the Pleiades, or Charles Waine* (1660), which I will discuss in Chapter 5, Matthew catalogues astral myths, astrological pamphlets, and a legacy of prophecies and divinations that support his panegyric in celebration of the king's restoration under an unwieldy birth-star.²⁹ Even though Matthew's catalogue is impressive in its breadth and detail, Matthew nowhere addresses the source of the Pleiades-Charles's Wain concatenation he makes in the title and text of his tract; for he treats the taurine Pleiades and their anomalous *cognomine vulgi*, "Charles Waine" (the "Seven Stars" of Ursa Major), as one conglomerate asterism. Matthew gives no mention of Electra's arctic shift or Alcor's Pleiadic link, though he generically refers to the disappearing Pleiad, which leads one to assume that his Pleiades-Charles's Wain poecilonymy is indicative of the pervasiveness of the "Arctick" Pleiad in lay uranography, the legend's entrenchment in vulgar star referents circulating in London's oral star culture, or of the uranological ignorance of the tract's author.³⁰

Dryden's "New kindl'd Star" among the "Pleaid's" in *Anne Killigrew* signals the glorification of a dynasty that Anne's lifespan neatly encompasses (1660-1685). The "Pleiad's" also bring with them a well-known miracle of bees mentioned by Virgil, Ovid, and Aristotle—sources from whom Dryden

borrowed greatly and even turned a profit in translation. The "Pleiad's" are not merely a collection of individual stars, mythical daughters of Atlas, a rainy taurine asterism, Killigrew's transfigured soul, or the proprietors of the Stuarts' Augustan star. They are also a link between calendric observations of the sun's procession through the equinoxes and the resultant changes in animal behaviors on earth—and in particular, the honey production of bees. Aristotle, in his description of the natural markers of spring, touches off the season with the labors of the bee, typified by a degree of sweetness, in his *Historia Animalia*:

the honey is what falls from the air, especially at the risings of the stars
and when the rainbow descends; on the whole there is no honey before
the <morning> rising of the Pleiad" (5.22.192-93)

By "<morning> rising" Aristotle signifies the month of May, when the Pleiades achieve their heliacal rising. The specific Pleiad in question is the star, Alcyone—the brightest of the Seven Sisters (Peck 399).³¹ Jonson follows Aristotle's heliacal imagery in his coronation pageant in quite another way, as Electra declares that she is the mother of Iris, the goddess of rainbows and the messenger of the gods.³² In that pageant, Iris throws her "*Roseat wings, in compasse of a bow, / About our state*" at the approach of "*Mithras coach*," or the Sun (*viz.* James I), and thus draws forth the full beneficence of the other six Pleiades to glorify the new Stuart king at their heliacal rising, when James I receives his crown (15). Jonson interweaves classical observances of the astronomical importance of the Pleiades' heliacal rising, but these observances comprise a thread of Electra's speech that is still somewhat subordinated by her "Arctick" identity. From the Vernal Equinox forward, James I is thus positioned to exert his solar influence in greater degrees as his reign approaches the summer solstice, when daylight hours reach their peak.

In the fourth book of Virgil's *Georgics*, Aristotle's observations on Alcyone's "*aerii mellis*" are rehashed when Virgil recounts the history of Aristæus, the mythical keeper of bees (Virgil 4.1).³³ In Virgil's story the Pleiades (specifically Taygete) are used to mark the seasons of the honey harvest at their heliacal rising and setting:

Two Honey Harvests fall in ev'ry Year:

First, when the pleasing *Pleiades* appear,
 And springing upward spurn the briny Seas:
 Again, when their affrighted Quire surveys
 The watery Scorpion mend his Pace behind,
 With a black Train of Storms, and winter Wind;
 They plunge into the Deep, and safe Protection find
 (4.337-343)³⁴

These lines from Dryden's *Works of Virgil* (1697) sufficiently demonstrate Dryden's knowledge of literary astronomy. Dryden corrects Virgil's *piscis* (commonly translated, problematically, as "watery Pisces") by substituting "Scorpion," since Dryden would have known, at least by 1697, "that the two harvests come at the rising and setting of the Pleiades...in mid-May and late October" (937).³⁵ Dryden's substitution of Scorpio for *piscis* is in accordance with the principles of cosmic setting, since when Scorpio rises with the sun, its opposing sign, Taurus, sets cosmically.³⁶ In *Paradise Lost*, Milton too alludes to the enervation of the bees "In springtime, when the Sun with Taurus rides" (Milton 1.769).

Dryden demonstrates that by the time he was translating the fourth book of Virgil's *Georgics* (1666-1696) that he was adept enough at natural astrology to fix Virgil's troubled lines. Ostensibly, though, this does not excuse Dryden from the charge that he did not know that the risings and settings of stars (*viz.* heliacal) do not describe visible risings and settings of those stars by night in *Anne Killigrew*, if we were to adhere to the stock reading of Dryden's "Pleiad's." However, when one combines the miracle of bees in the first stanza of *Anne Killigrew* with Dryden's Pleiadic catasterism in stanza nine, one may observe parallels between the interactions of poesy and the Pleiades in Dryden's ode, which are consistent with Anne's status as an Electra-like poetic redeemer.

"Aerial Honey," which seems to distill from the very air at the matutine rising of the Pleiades in early spring, would have dewed Anne's birth at the Restoration of Charles II even without Pindar's blessing. Dryden and his poetic brethren do not exert the same benefic influence on the poetry of the Restoration; rather, they add "fat Pollutions of [their] own) / T' increase the steaming Ordures of the Stage" (64-5). Anne, who may not have enjoyed the poetic miracle of bees, nevertheless represents a

honeyed voice of poesy, who has "no Dross to purge from [her] Rich Ore" (35). Dryden's Pleiadic "Virgin-Daughter" (of the seven *Vergiliae*) haunts over a polluted age. She is an Electra whose reemergence atones for the fallen poetics of Brutus's New Troy, without which there could be no honey, and thus no lyric rebirth.

In response to the poor reception of his play, *The New Inn*, Ben Jonson once penned a short Pindarc ode, addressed to himself, in which he struck the same critical tone as Dryden, lamenting the lowly state of the "loathed Stage, / And the more loathsome age, / Where pride and impudence in faction knit" (Jonson 1-3).³⁷ Jonson's advice for posterity, that its poets might purify the stage of the age's corruption, is to "Leave things so prostitute" as representations of gaming and drinking, and to return to "thine owne *Horace*, or *Anacreons* Lyre; / Warme thee by *Pindars* fire" (41-44).³⁸ Anne Killigrew atones for the "lubrique and adulterate age" of Restoration drama, which flourished under the relative stability of Charles II's reign and his restorative powers as a patron of the arts. Jonson had hoped to see this change during the reign of Charles I, urged on by those who would write of proper themes, namely:

The glories of thy King;
His zeale to God, and his just awe of men,
.....
That no tun'd Harpe like ours,
In sound of peace or wars,
Shall truely hit the stars:
When they shall read the Acts of *Charles* his reigne,
And see his Chariot triumph 'bove his waine (51-60)

It is the king's immortal person, present in the stars of Ursa Major (Charles's "Chariot" in Charles's "waine"), whose patronage shall make possible the reformation of poesy for the new Carolingian literary Pleiades. Jonson recommends a specific kind of poetry, rooted in the tradition of the Ancients, which could simultaneously bring to fruition the glory of a Stuart Age and English poetics on the world's stage. Dryden's similar concerns for the establishment of English poetics throughout his prefaces and essays

details a career-long effort to realize Jonson's dream, albeit under another Charles, and in another Stuart age—but within the very same region of the heavens.

When we consider Dryden's labors in the years surrounding the Killigrew ode, and particularly the imagery of his 1684 "dramatick opera," *Albion and Albanus*, which I shall return to shortly, there is reason to see in Dryden's *Electra* a definite signifier for the Restoration. The ode's astrological hyperbole is a signifier of a momentous political shift in power when we associate the "New joy...sprung in Heav'n" at Anne's birth with the spring of 1660, as well as to the ensuing artistic renewal. In such a way, I must concede that Vieth is right that "the posture of the heavens at the birth of Anne is almost too good to be true: even the 'most Malicious' planets are 'in Trine'" (98). This was certainly a view that Dryden would have been especially sensitive to when recalling the events surrounding Anne's birth, and the uranographic gerrymandering that attended the return of Charles II and his birth-star.

IV. Arcturus, the Pleiades, and Charles's Wain:

Heaven's Regents and the Stuart Kosmokratores

With starry troops I am environed, in the pole of the world;
I bear a war-chariot with a famous surname of the vulgar,
Rolling in a circle, continually, I do not decline downward,
As the other luminaries of the heavens hasten to the sea.¹

The Pleiades are only one of the traditional English asterisms associated with the Stuart dynasty, and Charles II was more regularly associated with the seven stars of Charles's Wain in Ursa Major than he was with his taurine Augustan star. Nevertheless, an important uranological anomaly that had currency in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London, especially at the time of the Stuart Restoration, confused the two asterisms for one another. In the previous chapter, I showed how the Pleiades were linked to the Restoration in various guises, but it is just as important to demonstrate how Dryden's mention of the "Pleiad's" may immediately require readers to recognize the stars of Charles's Wain as those which are signified, especially when we league Anne Killigrew to the inclusive dates of Charles's reign. To facilitate an understanding of this Pleiades-Charles's Wain poecilonymy, I will outline a brief history of England's Septentrional symbolism, since no comprehensive overview has yet been written that takes into account permutations in uranographic schemes throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This Pleiades-Charles's Wain amalgam, which I discuss at length in the next chapter, is a combination of Electra's arctic shift with the symbolism of traditional Stuart stars. Only after tracing uranographical permutations to their sources can we see just why Dryden's star referent may have been the subject of so much misunderstanding for the past three centuries.

According to most accounts of Charles's birth-star prodigy, on 29 May 1630, Charles I hastened to the northeast corner of the churchyard at St. Paul's Cross, where open-air services were often held, to pray for his firstborn heir and to offer thanks to God at the foot of the old cathedral's altar for the babe's safe delivery. By one account of the proceedings, the King there heard "a Sermon...the Text whereof was, *Samsons Probleme or riddle, Jud. 14,14. Out of the strong came forth sweetnesse*" (Matthew 5).² Popular rumors arose that while the king was engaged thus, a Septentrional star appeared at high noon

over London, clearly discernable against the sun's meridian light.³ Arise Evans, an English astrologer and pamphleteer, reports that the following interpretation of the prodigy was delivered to Charles I during his passage to the cathedral:

When to Pauls-Crosse the gratefull King drew near,
A shewing Starre did in the Heavens appeare,
Thou that consults with Divine Misteries,
Tell me what this bright Comet signifies?
Now is there borne a valiant Prince i'th West.
That shall eclips the Kingdomes of the East (30)⁴

This "shewing Starre," which is usually identified as one of the seven stars of Charles's Wain, and its six partner stars have a rather complicated history of uranographical identifications made by poets, astrologers, and historians throughout antiquity. This tangled uranological history was again revived in the charged political climate that defined the years between the English Civil War and the Restoration of the monarchy, due to its association with the Stuart line and Charles II in exile.

Charles's Wain is the English cognomen for the hindquarters of the constellation Ursa Major ("The Big [or Greater] Bear"), and the asterism is alternately known as the "Wagon," the "wain (-es)," the "Churl's wagon," the "Plough," "Arcturus" (Appendix 1), "Arthur's Wain/House" (Appendix 2), the "seven oxen," the "seven stars," the "northern car," and "The Big Dipper." In Anglo-Saxon, the constellation was known as *wænes þisl*, literally the "pole wagon," which is a name that serves to describe the asterism's circumpolar revolutions and the progress of "the seven oxen" about the earth's Arctic pole.⁵ Homer and Hesiod both mentioned the asterism in their uranological surveys—the former in his description of the shield of Achilles, which boasts a relief of the "*Pleiades, Hyads...and the greater Bear*," and the latter in his calendric observations (Dryden 469).⁶ The pastoral astrology of Virgil's *Georgics* is laden with references to the Plough and the Ploughman—respectively, Ursa Major and the constellation Boötes (the Greek demi-god Philomelos, who invented both the wagon and ploughshare).⁷ In Edmund Spenser's poem, *The Teares of the Muses*, it is Calliope who boasts the power to translate men to the stars as a rite of deification, amongst whom she lists Charles II's Septentrional predecessor: "*BACCHVS* and

HERCVLES I raisd to heaven, / and *CHARLEMAINE*, amongst the Starris seaven" (275).⁸ Charles's Wain has generally been central to poets in their astronomical observations due to its connection to the north celestial pole.⁹

One of the most common uranological "errors" committed by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poets versed in literary astronomy is the attribution of the star name "Arcturus" to the asterism Charles's Wain. This confusion is due in large part to the multiplicity of star names and their vulgar cognomens employed across varying English translations of the Bible, which are found in their greatest concentration in the Book of Job. For modern readers, Arcturus is the star of the first magnitude between the thighs of Boötes. Before the eighteenth century, however, Arcturus was used to signify Polaris (or, Ursa Minor), Arcturus in Boötes (or, synecdochically for Boötes), and the seven stars of Charles's Wain. Beginning with the Great Bible commissioned by Henry VIII in 1539, early translators rendered "the waynes of heuen" for the Hebrew star referent *Aish* in Job 9:9 and 38:31-2 to identify—in a general sense—the stars of the arctic pole. Subsequent editions rendered "Arcturus" (*Aish*) for the "seuen sterres" based on the presumption that Arcturus was Polaris, or the surrounding stars of Ursa Minor.¹⁰ Astronomical reforms of the seventeenth century changed the usual understanding of which stars were signified by codifying the definite coordinates of those stars through the efforts of Flamsteed, Hevelius, and Halley. These reforms moved the biblical Arcturus from the center of the arctic pole to Boötes for good, though the original biblical *Aish* still stands to reason as the ursine Arcturus of sixteenth-century uranography. How quickly the star and asterism made that same transition in the mind of the seventeenth-century poet working from biblical uranological referents is difficult to determine.

The editorial legacy of the early twentieth century has privileged the identification of Charles's birth-star as Venus, operating on an assumption that the "populace of London...who were not in those days very profound astronomers, regarded the shining star as a supernatural occurrence altogether" (Abbott 17).¹¹ By neglecting the prodigy's symbolism in favor of conjecture based in rational astronomy, some editors have shrouded the prodigy's symbolic significance in their own misunderstanding of the phenomenon. In the previous chapter, I showed how Knightly Chetwood used the precepts of natural

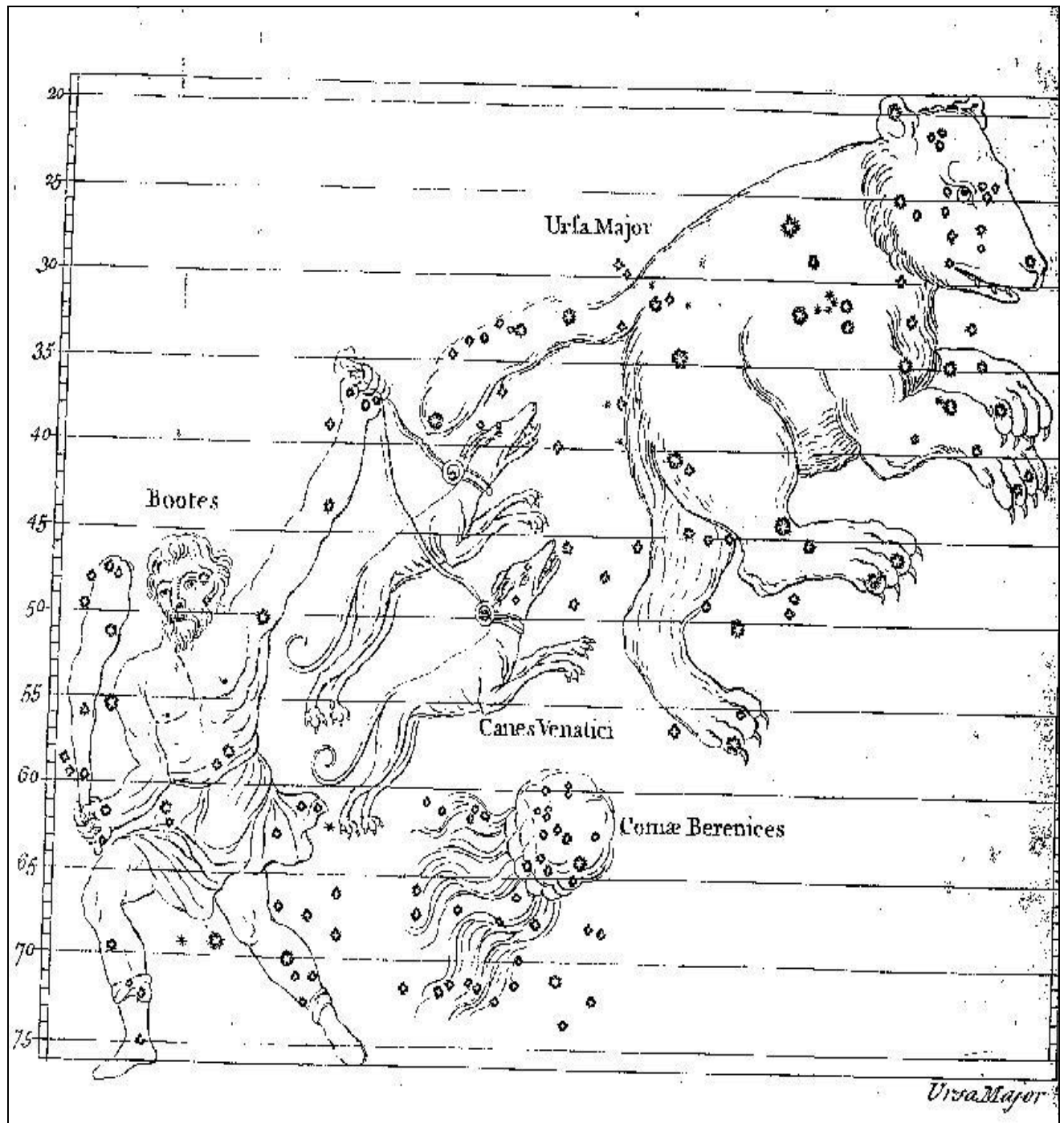


Figure 7: A detail from John Hill's *Urania* (1754), which depicts just one of the many relationships between Boötes and Ursa Major. Boötes is here shown in his Bear-baiting "Lymerer" form, taking on the mythical role of Arcas, which was popularized by Johann Hevelius.

astrology to date the Restoration—in an echo of the king's birth-star—at the departure of the Pleiades from their journey with the sun. For Chetwood, the asterism's association with the sun was at once a confirmation of Charles's birth-star and a calendric marker for the Restoration. The Septentrional birth-star identification also carries as much astronomical weight as the editorial legacy involving Venus, even without a supernatural counterweight attached. Like Jonson's Electra in his 1603 coronation pageant, and perhaps Dryden's out-of-season "Pleaid's," the Septentrional star's association with the North Pole is what gives the prodigy its distinct meaning.¹² The king, as an astral body, was seen as "a fixt Star in the midst of his People, or as a greater Light among the lesser, distributing...his Curative Faculty, to his poor miserable and diseased Subjects" (J. Browne 16).¹³ In the eyes of some subjects, it was Charles's Septentrional birth-star—perhaps more so than the holy oils with which he was anointed at his coronation—that lent the king his curative powers in the traditional laying-on of hands to rid his subjects of the King's Evil.¹⁴ Still, the king's central position as a conspicuous star "in the midst of his People" is a reflection of his cosmological identity as a kind of terrestrial Pole Star.

Charles Scarborough pointed to Cor Caroli—a star whose discovery is sometimes attributed to him, as well—as the Restoration's chief auspicious star.¹⁵ Cor Caroli (Charles's Heart) is a single star just to the south of the shepherd's crook brandished by Boötes and the tail of Ursa Major. This single-star constellation was soon to become obsolete in star atlases with the rising popularity of the Herdsman's bear-baiting hounds (the Canes Venatici), Asterion and Chara, which subsumed Scarborough's star. Pictured as a "crowned heart," Cor Caroli lies in between Arcturus in Boötes, Charles's Wain, and Coma Berenices.¹⁶ In *Star Names*, Allen reports that Scarborough "said that [Cor Caroli] had shone with special brilliancy on the eve of the king's return to London on the 29th of May, 1660" (115). Scarborough's identification pinpoints a star that inhabits a region adjacent to Ursa Major, and hence Charles's Wain. A late seventeenth-century star chart by Sir Edward Sherburne labels the star "*Cor Caroli Regis Martyris*" in honor of Charles I, who was executed in 1649 and canonized in 1660 (see Figures 8 & 9). Edmond Halley, who succeeded John Flamsteed as Astronomer Royal in 1720, secured the status of the star as a



Figure 8: Detail From Francis Lamb's *Astroscopium* (1673), which Shows the Crowned Heart of *Cor Caroli* (Center) between Ursa Major and Boötes

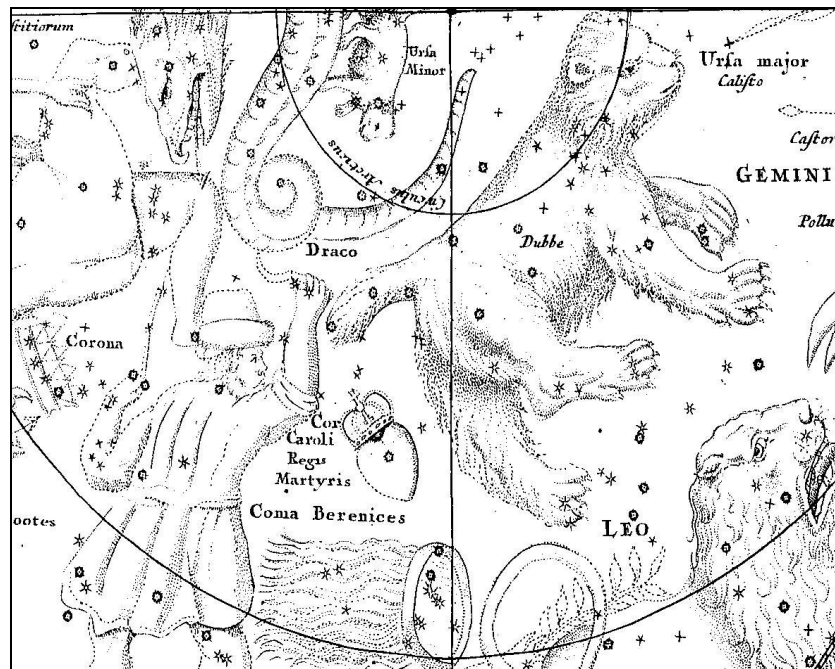


Figure 9: Detail of a chart from Sir Edward Sherburne's translation of Manilius (1675), which shows the "*Cor Caroli Regis Martyris*" (Center)

commemoration of Charles I in 1725 (Allen 115). Despite the fact that Halley thus diminished Charles II's celestial counterparts for posterity by siding with Charles I in his codification of the *Cor Caroli*'s proper orientation, he did expand the celestial dominion of Charles II by plotting the southern constellation Robur Carolinum (Charles's Oak) on his voyage to St. Helena in 1676, "in memory of the tree in which Charles II saved himself from his pursuers after the battle of Worcester" (W. Butler 192).¹⁷ In large part thanks to the efforts of Halley and Scarborough, the Restoration touched off a royalist uranological movement, which at once expanded England's knowledge of the cosmos by charting new stars and conquered the heavens in the Stuart name by subsuming known constellations. When Dryden describes the return of the lost Pleiad in Anne's departure and return to the heavens in conjunction with the Restoration, he participates in the ongoing astronomical expansion of Stuart empire.

In locating the star of Charles II, some poets trusted to naked eye observations, rumor, and report; some merely mimed the trope for the sake of tradition. Still others turned to the flurry of annual astrological almanacs that mentioned the king's prodigy. But the world of professional astrology in seventeenth-century England was one driven by political factions, and the prodigy's meaning changed in different hands. George Wharton, imprisoned during the Commonwealth era for his royalist prognostications, was often the voice of royalist sentiments in his annual almanacs, *Calendarium Carolini*, turning nearly every prognostication in the throne's favor. William Lilly spoke for the Parliamentarians (under Cromwell) and proto-Whigs in the years after the Restoration in his almanac, *Merlinus Anglicus*. As such, Charles's birth-star was open to each faction's interpretation, either to uphold its legitimacy as a royalist portent or to debunk it altogether. William Lilly regularly made the correct association of Charles's Wain with the tail of *Ursa Major* in his annual almanacs, proving he knew that those seven stars corresponded to their *cognomine vulgi*—or that he consulted reliable sources; but since Lilly was an astrologer attached to the Parliamentarians and later Oliver Cromwell, he would have known that associating the star with Charles's Wain "lent credence to this star's reputation as a royalist portent long before 1660" (Geneva 207).¹⁸ To counter the significance of the royalists' astrological emblem, he had surely found himself pressed to find a more practical star to identify the prodigy with. In the

marginal notes of *Monarchy or No Monarchy in England* (1651), he associates the prodigy with "the Planet Venus, who is usually seen in the day time" (92). Should he have acknowledged that Charles's star was linked to Charles's Wain, he would have confirmed a powerful astrological link between the disenfranchised Charles II and the prophetic return of King Arthur.¹⁹

Charles's Wain signifies the stars that had once belonged to Charlemagne; but even before Charlemagne took over the asterism as its namesake, its stars had belonged to King Arthur (Arcturus in Ursa Major).²⁰ Perhaps Lilly understood that the legendary second coming of King Arthur was still latent in minds of the English people, and was therefore reluctant to name Charles's Wain as the birth-star of Charles II due to its Arthurian connotations, considering that Charles II was eager to reclaim the throne and had already mounted one unsuccessful attempt at reclamation in 1651. Throughout the decade of Republican rule, the nation's fanatical pamphleteers interpreted the turbulent politics of England through the matrices of Arthurian prophecies; and in their millenarian tracts, these Parliamentarian "prophets" unflinchingly glossed Charles I as the ill-fated "Mould-warp, a red Lyon, white King, or Flower de Luce" and his eldest son as the "white King, the Flower of the Rose"—namely, the last king to ever stake his claim to the crown (Pugh 6-7).²¹ Interpreted in the Commonwealth era, Malory's transcription of Arthur's epitaph in *La Morte Darthur* carried with it a very real threat: "*Hic iacet Arthurus, Rex quondam Rexque futurus*" (136).²² The British people, especially those of Cornwall, had retained the hope of King Arthur's messianic return well into Elizabethan times, and much further on in folklore. As Cervantes reports in *Don Quixote*, popular legends told of King Arthur's transformation into a crow, which was a form he would retain until his return to reclaim the British throne.²³ Since the proliferation of the tales that related Arthur's survival and messianic return were largely grounded in an oral tradition, the particulars of the stories vary. Nevertheless, Arthur's star mythology was ingrained in the political pageantry associated with England's monarchs dating back to the Tudor dynasty, and so became relevant to Charles's ursine birth-star and his two Stuart ancestors.²⁴

In Ben Jonson's masque, *The Speeches at Prince Henries Barriers* (1610), King James I participated in the role of King Arthur.²⁵ Before the action of the masque commences, King Arthur is "discouerd as a starre aboue" the stage as the overseer of the challenges, and announces his apotheosis:

I thy ARTHVR am
Translated to a starre; and of that frame
Or constellation that was calld of mee
So long before, as showing what I should bee.
ARCTVRVS, once thy king, and now thy starre (966)²⁶

The very last line of the passage cited above indicates that James I is the reincarnation of King Arthur, as foretold by Malory's transcription of Arthur's epitaph, marking a transition from a "once and future king" to the "once and future" star of Great Britain. Jonson clearly refers to the seven stars of Charles's Wain in his invocation of Arcturus (in Ursa Major), much as in "An Ode: to Himself" he yokes Charles Stuart to the Caroline constellation, "*Charles...waine*"—the very same asterism that contains the birth-star of Charles II and neighbors Charles Stuart's memorial star, Cor Caroli.²⁷ Stuart astrological symbolism conveniently places Jonson's arctic Pleiad, Electra, in the company of the famous royal asterism.

The Stuarts' Arthurian astral legacy would have been reason enough for a Parliamentarian like Lilly to deny that Charles's birth star was a remarkable portent at all, or for Dryden to use *Anne Killigrew's* arctic Pleiad as a memorial for Charles II's reign. Gardner humorously notes that Lilly's mention of Venus in *Monarchy or No Monarchy in England* is "a most appropriate prognostication when we consider the King's venereal life" (509).²⁸ But Lilly's identification of Venus is also a practical choice when taken on astronomical terms, since Venus is the familiar Morning and Evening Star. However, Lilly was a controversial astrologer with political connections and "safe" predictions were generally not his stock in trade, so we ought to understand the political undertones of his precise star selection. Arise Evans preferred to see in the birth-star the fulfillment of a popular Arthurian prophecy from Merlin Ambrosius: "The splendour of the Sun shall languish by the paleness of Mercury, and it shall be dreadfull to the Beholders" (Evans 30).²⁹ Evans accordingly identified the star as the planet Mercury in 1654.

At the Restoration in 1660, however, there was almost unanimous consent in celebratory odes in favor of Charles's Wain (Arcturus in Ursa Major). The celestial legacy left by Charlemagne and Arthur occupied a region in the heavens that was in turn claimed by each of the Stuart kings: King James I (Arcturus in Ursa Major/Electra), Charles I (Cor Caroli/Charles's Wain), and Charles II (Charles's Wain/Cor Caroli/Pleiades). Even in the absence of Charles II from England during the Commonwealth era, as testified by Evans's extrapolation of Merlin's popular prophecies, the link between King Arthur and the royal bloodline—based on astrological and uranographical lore—persisted.

As a heavenly body, Ursa Major is representative of fixed universal order. John Evelyn's 1661 poem on the king's coronation highlights the particular meaning in the Charles's Wain trope in his description of the "noon-day star" that declared Charles II "*August*":

The Seamans Art, and his great end, Commerce
Through all the corners of the Universe,
Are not alone the subject of Your care,
But Your delight, and You their Polar-star" (9-11)³⁰

The Arctic pole star (Evelyn's "Polar-star"), Polaris, was vital to navigators in designating the orientation of celestial North. By the obliquity of ecliptic, the Earth's axis points approximately 23.4° from its orbital plane around the Sun; and at its current inclination, the axis points more or less at Polaris because of the star's proximity to the celestial pole.³¹ Polaris is the brightest star on the tail of the constellation Ursa Minor. Because Ursa Major (Charles's Wain) is such a conspicuous constellation, and Ursa Minor is not quite as large or bright, navigators of the northern hemisphere often used the lead pointer stars of Ursa Major's bowl, Merak and Dubhe, to find Polaris because they describe a straight line to celestial pole (at approximately five times the distance between Merak and Dubhe [as seen in Figure 4]). Both Ursa Major and Ursa Minor are quite unique in the portion of the sky visible above the 40th parallel (what Restoration poets referred to as the "northern sky" or the "northern stars") because, unlike other stars rise and set each night like the sun in its diurnal rounds, these two constellations never dip entirely below the horizon, and Polaris does not appear to move at all because of the Earth's axial tilt thereto. Furthermore, Charles's

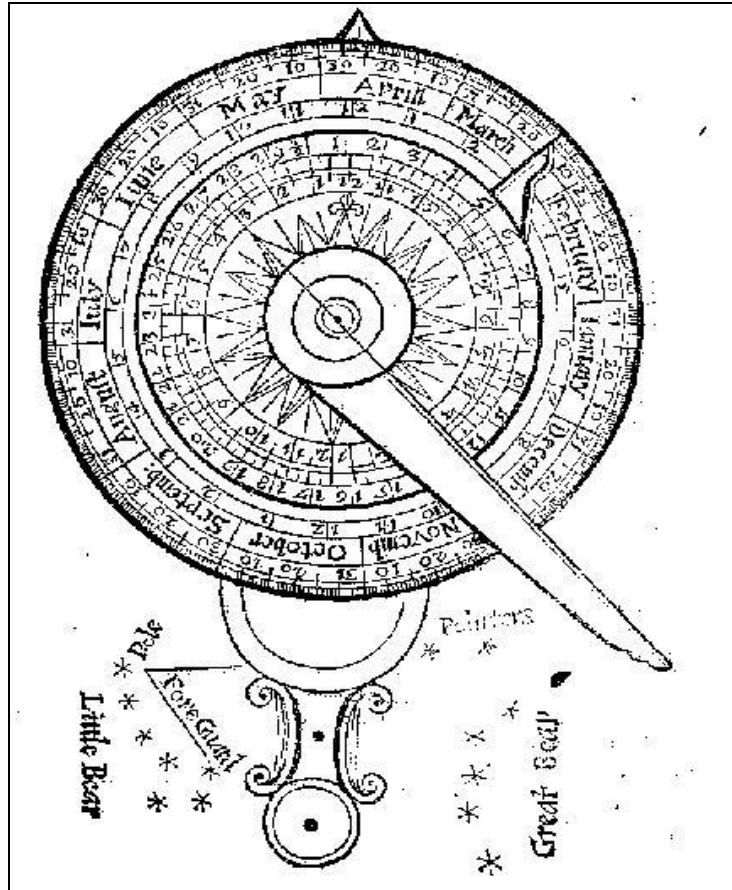


Figure 10: The Nocturnal, from *The Mariners New Kalendar* (1677). This Nocturnal (engineered for Ursa Minor), as positioned above, shows the proper alignment of the handle for the determination of time on March 10 when set to the Guard (Kochab), giving a time of 3:00.

"To find the hour of the Night, and upon what Point of the Compass the Guards are...set the Index of the middle part of the day of the Month; then hold the Instrument upright, which may be discerned by the Tip on the top of the Nocturnal; then look through the Hole in the middle of the Nocturnal for the North Star; which having found, turn the edge of the long Index to the Guards, (for which the Nocturnal was made) either of the Little or Great Bear, then shall the edge of the index (upon the inntermost circle of the middle part) give the Hour of the Night; and at the same time on the back-side of the Nocturnal, is the Point of the Compas on which the Guards are" (Colson 83).

Wain (Ursa Major) describes a complete counterclockwise circle about the North Pole (Polaris) in a twenty-four hour cycle.³² Granted, so do the heavens in their entirety; but because of its circumpolarity, Charles's Wain is visible at all hours of the night throughout the year, while most other constellations pass below the horizon for part of their nightly progress and disappear for months at a time. Such constellations cannot be seen out of their season because they journey towards the nadir with the "southern stars." Thus, in ages without clocks or watches, or those in which such contraptions were items of some luxury, the Big Dipper's position was used as a general means of determining time at night.³³ For several centuries, a simple pocket nocturnal, if aligned with Polaris and the pointer stars of Ursa Major, served to tell the hour of night (see Figure 10). When Restoration poets sought to identify which star was the birth-star of Charles II, they selected a convenient vehicle, since the very familiar stars of Charles's Wain would have been circling Polaris above the horizon during daylight hours when the star was spotted, just as they did every day and night.

After the complete dissolution of monarchy during the Commonwealth, one of the Septentrional stars would have pointed the way to the apparent center of the universe where the king ought to have stood, and where Polaris was actually perched upon the Earth's axis. If Charles's Wain was not, in this instance, representative of Charles II, then Polaris was, as

Atlas, upon whose shoulders lies the burden of these three Kingdoms, in
whose head are conserv'd the Axioms of eternal truth for the Government
of this Nation, and in whose breast lodges the universal equity (Fane 4)³⁴

The Wain would also have been seen as a symbol of luxury, power, and prestige, due to its importance to England's "star-guided" navy and its seaborne trading companies.³⁵ Sir Audley Mervyn placed the "lesser Stars the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses" in Ursa Major's "pointer" stars, whom he dubs "the Guards of CHARLES Waine," while the king, representative of the asterism as a whole, embodies universal order by his link to the North Pole (12).³⁶

The Charles's Wain birth-star trope shares much in common with Jonson's arctic Electra in the 1603 coronation pageant, since the reappearance of a taurine star in the northern hemisphere announces the coronation of James I, just as Charles's birth-star returns at the Restoration. For Dryden, the return of

the "lost" Pleiad in Anne Killigrew's catasterism is a pacific omen of similar import—one that represents security and fixedness, atones for the Restoration's excesses, and broadcasts two decades of lyric triumph. The three separate strains of astrological influence for Stuart kings, which draw from the Pleiades' heliacal imagery, Electra's arctic shift, and the Arthurian stars of Charles's Wain, were subject to confusion in Dryden's lifetime out of uranographical ignorance. Often, one cannot separate references to the Pleiades and to Charles's Wain because the motifs and uranological schemes were fused. The name "Pleiades" was increasingly transferred onto the stars of the ursine Wain. To invoke Pleiadic stars by name at the time of the Restoration—especially with reference to Charles II—may have been to draw on the Septentrional asterism itself, as I argue in the next chapter.

V. Charles's Bipolar Wain

"Himselfe alone the heaven abroad doth spread;
And on the seas impetuous billowes tread.
He doth *Arcturus* and *Orion* make,
And *Pleiades* from him their being take:
The chambers of the South his power owne,
With both the torrid and the frigid Zone."¹

"*Hyad*, for Her, leans o'er her Urn;
For Her, *Orion's* glories burn
The *Pleiads'* gleam. For *Britons* set, and rise
The fairfac'd Sons of *Mazarothe*,
Near the deep chambers of the *South*,
The raging *Dog* that fires the *midnight* Skies."²

In Edward Matthew's compendium of Restoration prophecies, *Karólou Trismegistou Epiphanía: The Most Glorious Star, or Celestial Constellation of the Pleiades, or Charles Waine* (1660), the author makes a startling identification of Charles II's birth-star. The title of the tract and its nuanced astrological discourse imply that Charles's Wain numbers amongst the seven stars that comprise the taurine Pleiades, even as the asterism is simultaneously—and paradoxically—composed of the seven circumpolar stars on the tail of Ursa Major. Matthew's dislocation of Charles's Wain and Pleiades is only one example of an anomalous uranographical error that appears to have circulated in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as evidenced in the works of a handful of more influential writers. Though I have argued thus far that Dryden's "New kindl'd Star" amid the "Pleiad's" in *Anne Killigrew* actually refers readers to the myth of the lost Pleiad as a reaffirmation of Jonson's Augustan star, this Charles's Wain-Pleiades amalgam complicates any reference to the Pleiades in the seventeenth century, especially when linked to the Restoration and Charles II. Such Septentrional-Pleiadic poecilonymy draws upon Dryden's star referent elements of the longstanding link between the Stuarts and the stars of Ursa Major because Anne Killigrew's star "Amongst the Pleiad's" links her to the Stuart dynasty at her nativity, commonly dated to the Restoration, and at her death, as I have argued in Chapter Two.

Matthew makes use of the many connections between the Stuarts and their disparate asterisms, and addresses himself to "the most Augustuous Prince my Dear and Dread Sovereign *Charlemain*...King Defender of the true ancient Christian Catholick Faith." Matthew also sees in Charles a metempsychosis by nominal proxy, for

The propitious cœlestiall signe, the Pleiades hath also another name, 'tis sometimes called Charls waine, which seems to portend and signifie our Illustrious CHARLS, shall by glorious achievements gain the additional surname of Charls the great, become a second Charlemaine, raise, rare Trophies of Renown to his perpetuall honour, riding triumphantly in the cœlestial Charriot of resplendent Charls his Waine, from the Western and Northern bounds to the Eastern and Southern parts. Dilataberis ad orientem, & occidentem, & septentrionem, & meridiem (22-3)

By Matthew's assessment, Charles II rides in the "Charriot" formed by the stars of "Charls his Waine," and is therefore leagued with his namesake "Charlemaine" by his placement in the Carolingian asterism. The "cœlestiall signe" ought to have been properly notated as Ursa Major or Ursa Minor (*septem triones*), since only the two polar asterisms can incline to the four cardinal directions and accommodate the Wain's earthbound conquest.³ Certainly, Matthew's Pleiadic "Charriot" is easily linked to the Septentrional cognomen, "the Wagon," but the two asterisms inhabit two very different constellations in the heavens, and are traditionally conspicuous in poetry for the reasons I have outlined in the last two chapters. Charles's Wain is a much more expansive asterism than the Pleiades, and it is easily found due to its relationship to Arcturus—a star of the first magnitude in Boötes. If Charles's Wain is in fact the chariot of Charlemagne by etymological distinction, we must also consider that, either in error or in extension, Charlemagne is also the proprietor of the Pleiades in Dryden's time, and so is Charles II by Matthew's extrapolations of astrological prophecy.

In assessing the source of Matthew's co-identification of Stuart asterisms, which is a combination of the two astrological symbols for the royalist cause, we should probably look to the "cœlestial Charriot of resplendent *Charls* his Waine" for the source of the error. The famed English historian Edward Gibbon charges Samuel Johnson with a similar mix-up in the latter's failed play, *Irene* (1737), wherein a reference to the "Pleiads' golden chariots" makes its appearance (Johnson 62).⁴ Gibbon notes: "The golden chariot does not exist either in science or fiction; but I much fear that Dr. Johnson has confounded the Pleiads with the great bear or waggon" (494).⁵ The French identified Charles's Wain as "*le Chariot*," signifying an exact parallel with its Pleiadic counterpart, but only the wains of Ursa Major and Ursa Minor can ever be said to constitute more than one chariot (Fontanelle 11).⁶ Just to the North of the

Pleiades lies the Charioteer (Auriga), and the Pleiades may have been interpreted as the seven star chariot of Auriga well into the eighteenth century, though I find no explicit references to this relationship outside of modern archaeoastronomy.⁷ Gibbon more than likely reaches his conclusion by comparing Johnson's "golden chariots" with Alexander Pope's referent, "*Boötes'* golden Wain," from Pope's 1712 translation of Statius, which properly describes the relationship between Ursa Major and Boötes and was a popular line for early lexicographers when glossing Charles's Wain—albeit in a different set of stars (Pope 36).⁸ Both the Pleiades and Charles's Wain have been identified, problematically, as the Seven Stars, but Johnson appears to have committed his error based on each asterism's status as a celestial chariot. To his credit, Johnson correctly pinpoints the location of Charles's Wain in the dictionary that he compiles a decade later, listing it as "the northern constellation, called the Bear."⁹ But for the asterism in possession of the "golden chariots" found in *Irene*, the "Pleiads," Johnson provides: "a northern constellation."¹⁰ For the Pleiades' sister stars in the eye of Taurus, the Hyades, Johnson gives "the seven stars," which is a name usually reserved for the Pleiadic and Septentrional chariots.¹¹

I would contend that Johnson's citation in *Irene* signifies for Ursa Major, despite the fact that he names the Pleiades, just as Matthew conjoins the two asterisms in his Restoration tract. In the relevant passage from Act 2 of *Irene*, Mahomet scoffs at the notion that his antagonist, Cali, can escape retribution:

Elude my vengeance! No—My troops shall range
Th'eternal snows that freeze beyond Meotis,
And Africk's torrid sands, in search of Cali.
Should the fierce North upon his frozen wings
Bear him aloft above the wond'ring clouds,
And seat him in the Pleiads' golden chariots (62)

Lake "Meotis" is an archaic name for the Sea of Azov, which is just to the north of the Black Sea, touching the southern border of Ukraine and the Southwestern part of Russia. Johnson's Mahomet, however, does not recommend to us lands based in practical geography or even the known countries to the north of Iran, the Caucasus, and Meotis; rather, Johnson directs us to "Th'eternal snows" of the

mythical Hyperboreans, whom Pliny and Pomponius Mela placed in the lands of eternal sun and snow to the north of the Riphean mountains "that freeze beyond Meotis." One popular Mediterranean name for Polaris was Transmontane, since the star was seen at night above the mountain ranges that lined the northern boundaries. Johnson associates the Pleiades with the extreme climate of "the fierce North," which is characteristically "frozen" because it is the region where Boreas (the North Wind) presides; and the circumpolar chariots, being Charles's Wain and Ursa Minor, are the dominant star formations of the Arctic pole.¹² Thus Juvenal calls them the "Cold wains" ("Sarraca"), which are "Frigida, cold—because of their proximity to the North pole" (Juvenal 5.23).¹³

Throughout the eighteenth century, the Pleiades gradually take on an increasing quality of Englishness in poetry, just as Charles's Wain had formerly signified for the English throne in pageants and verse. In 1701, Joseph Addison speaks patriotically of the cold English climate under the Pleiades:

We envy not the warmer clime, that lies
In ten degrees of more indulgent skies,
Nor at the coarseness of our Heav'n repine,
Tho' o'er our heads the frozen Pleiads shine (53)¹⁴

Traditionally, the Pleiades have been associated with rain, not winter's "coarseness," and have been harbingers of spring's "indulgent skies" as the *Vergiliae*. Called either the "wat'ry Pleiads" or "stormy pleiads," the taurine asterism earned these descriptors through its links to the spring and its characteristic showers.¹⁵ In the marginal notes to Job 38:31 in the 1560 Geneva Bible, the editor explains the role of the Pleiades at their heliacal rising in May: "Which starres arise when the sunne is in Taurus, which is the spring time, & bring floures."¹⁶ Addison, Johnson, and other eighteenth-century writers began to use the Pleiades as a marker of a wintry climate, which is a role traditionally played by Ursa Major and Ursa Minor.

Addison uses the Pleiades as a measure of Britain's latitude in the passage quoted above, when in fact Charles's Wain is the asterism more sensitive to changes in latitude because of its circumpolar nature. In the winter the Pleiades achieve their most prominent position in the mid-evening sky, and Aratus makes their achronycal rising the signal of the winter season in late November; however, Polaris is the

star most commonly used to determine one's latitude, and Charles's Wain is the asterism most nearly allied with Ursa Minor and the North Star. This new Septentrional classification of the Pleiades may be an echo of the Pleiades-Charles's Wain amalgam that seems to have been in common circulation from the time of Edward Matthew up to Samuel Johnson's *Irene*, which would confuse the Bears for wintry Pleiadic chariots.

Due to variances in English translations of the original Hebrew texts of the Old Testament and the several translations from the Septuagint and Vulgate, which I have outlined in Appendix 3, the stars of Arcturus, the Pleiades, and the *septem triones* were mapped virtually all over the Arctic pole—presaging nearly two millennia of uranological chaos. In *Moralia in Iob* (578-595 CE), Gregory the Great appears to identify the star "Arcturus" as Polaris, and perhaps also Ursa Minor in its entirety, when he notes that, "Arcturus so illuminates the seasons of night, as placed in the axis of heaven, to turn itself in divers ways, and yet never to set" (Gregory 350).¹⁷ This aptly describes any circumpolar constellation; and though most English references that combine Arcturus with one of the bears generally annex "Arcturus" over the Seven Stars in Ursa Major, Gregory refers to Ursa Minor (see Appendix 1). He proceeds to note, in contradiction to his original circumpolar identification, that Arcturus rises from the north, and that whichever way "Arcturus turns itself in its circle, it presents to view the Pleiades" (354). This relationship could describe both Ursa Major and Ursa Minor, since two of Ursa Major's stars, Megrez and Dubhe, point to Capella in Auriga, which sits above the Pleiades; but only Ursa Minor actually points towards the Pleiades. Should one draw an arc to the Pleiades from the handle of the Little Dipper, Ursa Minor appears to point at the taurine asterism. The marginal notes of the 1560 Geneva Bible gloss "Arcturus" as "The North starre w^t those that are about him" (Job 38:32).¹⁸ Since Arcturus was often linked to Charles's Wain, such that the Wain itself was often simply referred to as "Arcturus," the Pleiades may have held onto an association with the circumpolar stars via exegetical notes even without considering the arctic shift of the Pleiad Electra to Cassiopeia or Alcor—the Fox Star on the handle of Charles's Wain, just above Mizar.¹⁹

Even if we read *Anne Killigrew's* catasterism as a retelling of the story of the arctic Pleiad, we are still confronted by the fact that Dryden places his Electra "Amongst the Pleiad's" when that asterism is not visible in the night sky. "Amongst" suggests that Dryden's "New kindl'd Star" is situated within the other six "Pleiad's." By 1697, Dryden was well aware of just what heliacal and achronycal risings and settings of stars meant, and he defines both cruces in no uncertain terms in his commentary on Segrais in the preface to his translation of the *Aeneid*.²⁰ In 1668, Segrais had published a French translation of Virgil's epic, and in its preface argued for a chronology of events based on seasonal observations of Virgil's star cruces. However, Dryden's commentary on Segrais dates his own knowledge of those specific cruces to the late 1690's, and it is perhaps impossible to date Dryden's specific understanding of the Pleiades' heliacal rising due to the protracted span in which Dryden completed his *Works of Virgil* (1666-1697). In the 1680's, Dryden was occupied with his dramatic operas *Albion and Albanus* (1684) and *King Arthur* (1691), which are heavily indebted the allegorical symbolism of Jacobean masques. Dryden's operas retell certain events of Charles II's reign and James II's accession, and by 1685 Dryden would likely have been looking back to the masques of Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones to assure his own success in his operatic endeavors. It is likely that Dryden would have picked up Jonson's Augustan Pleiad from the 1603 coronation masque about this time while studiously pursuing a nationalistic operatic style, working with Henry Purcell to modernize the Jacobean masque. Perhaps in a confusion of Seven Stars nomenclature, Dryden could not keep his taurine *Vergiliae* distinct from his ursine *septem triones* in the Killigrew ode while reflecting on the astrological symbolism of the Restoration, and so produced for *Anne Killigrew's* catasterism a translation to ursine "Pleiad's" after Edward Matthew's original mistake in interpreting the same astrological crux in his millenarian tract for Charles II. Though from an uranographical and astronomical standpoint Dryden stands in error in *Anne Killigrew*, the importance of Dryden's star referent lies in its arctic origins, and not necessarily its dividual taurine or ursine attributes.

Nor could Dryden be faulted for his lapse in judgment, since the same "Seven Stars" error has misled contemporary editors in many fields of inquiry, including the California editors of Dryden's collected works. Permutation in celestial referents is often a byproduct of the decision to gloss a given

referent using an authoritative source like the *OED*, rather than attempting to understand the uranological schemes that poets and playwrights were familiar with. One such referent, which confuses the Pleiades for Charles's Wain based on shared "Seven Stars" nomenclature, can be found in the California Dryden's notations to *Amphitryon* (1690). The play, which is a recapitulation of the events leading up to the birth of Hercules, portrays Jupiter attempting to woo Alcmena by disguising himself as her husband, Sosia. To secure his desires, Jupiter requisitions the service of Mercury to deliver the following message to the figure representing Night: "He has sent me to will and require you to make a / swinging long Night for him: for he hates to be stinted in his / Pleasures" (1.1.245-7). Night, who drives a celestial chariot, receives further orders: "About your business then: put a Spoke into your Chariot Wheels, and order the Seven Stars to halt" (1.1.273). While Mercury perpetrates Jupiter's fraud, the real Sosia remarks upon the night's unusual length, invoking those same stars: "What, is the Devil in the Night! / she's as long as two Nights: the seven Stars are just where they / were seven Hours ago!" (1.2.70-2). For these "Seven Stars" the California notations provide "The Pleiades" based on the authority of the *OED*. While the Pleiades often appear in literature as the "Seven Stars," they are only one of four major asterisms to do so.

The Pleiades cannot be used to speed up or slow down time in Dryden's *Amphitryon* with any frame of reference pertinent to the seventeenth-century Englishman, outside of some rather impractical mathematics.²¹ The Pleiades do progress a remarkable distance each night in the winter's sky, but one would not attempt to tell time based on that protracted shift, since there is no fixed referential backdrop against which to judge their movement. The California editors' mistake, then, proceeds from the fact that Dryden names a generic "Seven Stars" asterism and the "Chariot" of Mercury without a specific epithet to qualify his stars. Since the "Seven Stars" of Charles's Wain and Ursa Minor were often used to gauge the hour of night by their position in the sky using a pocket nocturnal against the fixed celestial pole (Figure 9), Dryden has in mind the "Seven Stars" of either of the Septentrional wains, and not the Pleiades—unless, of course, Dryden utilized ursine "Pleiad's." It is impossible to determine which of the two Wains Dryden speaks of in *Amphitryon*, but he certainly does not have a taurine asterism in mind.

In her commentary on Edward Matthew's 1660 tract, Ann Geneva comments that Matthew, "in his astral delirium...even deemed the new star of 1572," which was famously sighted by Tycho Brahe, "a signifier of Charles' glorious restoration" (Geneva 206).²² Matthew's tract is certainly awash with "astral delirium," but his prophecies are solidly grounded in Brahe's own interpretations of the star's appearance. Brahe notes that, "if we take our direction by comparing the place of this Conjunction from the Zodiacke, or the degrees of the Eclipticke, unto the place of this new *Starre*, then it is likely that the force and influence of this *Starre*, will chiefly shew it selfe in the yeare of our Lord 1632" (17).²³ This two-year differential between Brahe's appointed date and the birth of Charles II would have been of little consequence to Matthew, since his Stuart Pleiades-Charles's Wain prodigy was seen as a near perfect coincidence. Curiously, the Sicilian polymath Francesco Maurolyco identified Brahe's "Nova" as the "lost" Pleiad Electra, arguing that Electra had returned to the Arctic pole in the circumpolar constellation Cassiopeia—an interpretation confirmed in halves by Ben Jonson's 1603 masque and Dryden's eldest son:

Therefore I deem that she now comes to light again, hoping that the
 Empire of the Romans descended from the Trojans is to be restored, and
 that Constantinople is to be regained...For the very star about which we
 speak is named Electra, next to the constellation Cassiopeia, somewhat
 higher, because more northerly than Cassiopeia

(Hellman 330)²⁴

Matthew was most assuredly not aware of this distant Italian prophecy firsthand, as Maurolyco did not publish his findings, but the uranological coincidence in both prophecies (namely, the placement of the Pleiadic "New kindl'd Star" in a circumpolar constellation) is too marked to go without mention.

Matthew's unexplained concatenation of Septentrional and Pleiadic stars allows him to interpret his collection of Septentrional prophecies by Pleiadic standards. His tract's conceits are predominantly Pleiadic in nature, even though their uranographical scheme is strictly Septentrional. Matthew links a biblical passage from Chapter 14 of the Book of Judges to the imagery of Job 38:31; and his explanation of their relevance is dependent upon a prevailing celestial "sweetness" associated with the Pleiades. The passage from Judges, which was reportedly preached on at the birth of Prince Charles, involves the exploits of the young Samson, who, in his passage to retrieve a wife from the Philistines, slays a young

lion that confronts him while traveling through the vineyards of Limnath. On his return passage, Samson finds

The carkeis of the Lion: and beholde, there was a swarme of Bees, and honie in the carkeis of the Lion. And hee tooke thereof in his handes, and went on eating, and came to his father and mother, and hee gave them, and they did eate: but he told not them that he had taken the hony out of the carkeis of the Lion (*KJV*, Judges 14:8-9)²⁵

Upon returning home with his wife in tow, Samson tempts his family with a riddle: "And hee said unto them, Out of the eater came foorth meate, and out of the strong came foorth sweetnesse" (Judges 14:14).

In Matthew's hands, Samson's Riddle becomes a convenient vehicle for astrological prophecy, since the Pleiades (and therefore Charles II's star in Charles's Wain) were associated with "swete influences" (Job 38:31), and in Interregnum interpretations of the prophecies of Merlin Ambrosius, the "Red Lyon" was seen as both Charles I and James I.²⁶ It was no great stretch of Matthew's imagination to envision Charles I as the slain lion of Samson's riddle, and Charles II's Pleiadic star as that which presaged a return to sweetness, since he describes the pertinent star cluster accordingly as a thing "sweet and most mellifluous" (61). Samson's Riddle, combined with Matthew's parallel treatment of Job, reads thus:

There shall come a Star out of peaceable James the Olive-bearer of this Isle, and a Scepter shall rise out of pious Charls (a precious Martyr for the Laws of the Land, and Liberties of the People)...out of the strong shall come the sweet, a Ruler so pleasing, so much longed for, & desired by the People (Matthew 13-4)

The Pleiades, therefore, represent Charles II, the "great Septentrional Star...the Lyon of the North or great Northern Monarch" (79). This prophecy would have proven a decidedly Arthurian and pointedly convincing prophecy in the king's favor were it not founded on a basic uranological mix-up, due to the author's assignation of the Pleiades (as daughters of Atlas) at the Arctic pole, circling the North Star, where "our Sovereign *Charls*, is divinely designed (as *Atlas* is said, to bear up Heaven) to be a most firm pillar for supporting and promoting the glory of God" (18).²⁷ There can be no doubt that this Pleiadic Atlas is either Ursa Major or Ursa Minor, given that both circumpolar asterisms were traditionally charged with the weight of the world at the north celestial pole. The return of Charles II, associated not

only with the Pleiades but also a *third* miracle of bees, serves Matthew as an historical proof of astrological prophecies, just as Dryden's astrological phenomena in *Anne Killigrew* are used in the same manner as proofs of a specific historical event.

A small collection of poems celebrating the king's coronation in 1661, *Stella Meridiana Caroli Secundi Regis*, features two poems built upon the same auguries, either supporting Matthew's tract through parallel observations or pinching the theme of Matthew's *Karólou Trismegistou Epiphanía*. James Parry, one of five authors to contribute to the collection, provides what is now a familiar account of Charles II's birthday:

The Text was Samsons Riddle intricate,
And puzzled with his Audience too great State,
In Scruples of his Text the man was maz'd,
.....
The business fraught with much dark mystery
Of a dead Lion, a strange History,
In which a Commonwealth of Bees did build,
Their waxed Garison with Honey fill'd,
Suck'd from the flow'ry Meads, and seem'd to thrive,
Having that Princely Carkas for their Hive,
And arm'd with stings Levellers seem'd to be
Their Houses equal, all of like degree (8)²⁸

It is clear that Parry has invited an interpretation of Matthew's prophecy based on the same typological conceit, even if it varies in the actual revelation. While Matthew interprets the honey as the celestial sweetness of the Pleiades, and thus the whole as a prophecy that foretells Charles II's rise to power through his birth-star, Parry sees in the busy bees the activities of the Interregnum's Republican reformers in the decease of Charles I. Nowhere in his poem does Parry provide a star referent, although he does refer to the birth-star in another poem within the same collection.²⁹

The birth-star miracle is a motif that frequents Dryden's pen throughout his career beyond *Anne Killigrew*, and it often displays both Pleiadic and Septentrional characteristics when encoding for the Stuart dynasty. Only when readers understand the significance of the two Stuart asterisms—the ursine

septem triones (Charles's Wain) and the taurine Pleiades—do Dryden's star referents convey enough information to recover scraps of celestial identity. We first read about the vernal star's reappearance on the double-birthday for the King and monarchy in *Astraea Redux* (1661), wherein it displays classical Pleiadic attributes:

How shall I speak of that triumphant day
 When you renewed the expiring pomp of May!
 (A month that owns an int'rest in your name:
 You and the flow'rs are its peculiar claim.)
 That Star that at your Birth shone out so bright
 It stain'd the duller Suns Meridian light,
 Did once again its potent Fires renew,
 Guiding our eyes to find and worship you (*I.288-91*)

May "owns an int'rest" in Charles's name in more than the coincidence of the Restoration with the "flow'rs" of spring, since May is also the month of Charles's birth. Furthermore, the month is intimately linked to his natal asterism, the Pleiades, by its very name; for, May takes its name from the Pleiad Maia. Dryden separates his account of Charles's natal "Star" and the springtime Restoration in the two separate pairs of couplets, but he also uses the spring to usher in Charles's prodigy, which indicates that Dryden looks to Pleiadic stars in the first of his many birth-star referents. In fact, Dryden's presentation of the birth-star's aspect paraphrases the Geneva Bible's gloss on the Pleiades in Job 38:31, which makes the asterism's heliacal rising announce "spring time, & bring floures."³⁰

In *Annus Mirabilis* (1666), the first naval sally against the Dutch is touched off with celestial phenomena:

And heav'n, as if there wanted lights above,
 For tapers made two glaring comets rise (63-4)

Dryden guesses at the identity of one of the infamous comets of 1664:

One that bright companion of the Sun,
 Whose glorious aspect seal'd our new born King;
 And now a round of greater years begun,
 New influences from his walks of light did bring (69-72)

The vernal "Star" of *Astraea Redux* has become an auspicious comet by 1666, as if to confirm for us that Charles's "bright companion" is Electra in comet form, which is just how Hyginus portrays Electra in his *Astronomica*, and Ben Jonson as well in his coronation pageant for James I. Granted, "star" and "comet" are often interchangeable terms in seventeenth-century astrological tracts, but the exchangeability of those terms has a greater significance when we consider the history of imagery that accompanies the Stuarts' Augustan star. The only significant difference between traditional Pleiadic imagery (*viz.* of Electra) and that which Dryden employs in *Annus Mirabilis* is in the gender of the comet. Dryden makes the shooting star masculine to bond the king and his Pleiad in such a way that either Charles II or his comet could be the one whose "walks of light" may be said to bring forth "greater years." According to the gender specificified, Dryden's imagery may be classified as slightly Septentrional, since nominal coincidence would facilitate such an exchangeability of Caroline-Carolingian identity. We see the king's Septentrional birth-star again privileged when Dryden employs the star by name in *Astraea Redux*, where the poet describes the despoliation of the heavens brought on by the Civil War, which "storm'd the skies and ravish'd *Charles* from thence" (143). This "*Charles*," which signifies a link between a celestial Charles and its earthbound counterpart, serves as two persons—a remarkable fusion of star matter and flesh: Charles II and Charles's Wain. Because Charles II is "ravished" from the throne, so his Carolingian star is "ravished" from the heavens, which sets the stage for each respective Charles to return in the king's Restoration.

Another theme common to Restoration odes and panegyrics is the comparison of Charles II to King David, since both men reclaimed their thrones after a period of exile. When Dryden describes King David (Charles II) in *Absalom and Achitophel*, he is careful to note that, "Heav'n by Wonders has Espous'd his Cause," as if to say that heavenly portents go hand-in-hand with monarchical legitimacy (*II*.320). Meanwhile, Absalom, the usurping prince (or, the Duke of Monmouth), can only claim that, "Some Royal Planet rul'd the Southern sky" at his birth (231). I agree with Gardner that "Dryden had in mind the appearance of the same star [of Charles's Wain] when he has Achitophel (Shaftesbury) adress Absalom (Monmouth) thus," but Gardner seems to have missed that Dryden is here commenting with

gentle irony on just how Monmouth's peculiar incarnation of the birth-star trope reflects his own illegitimacy as the bastard son of Charles II (Gardner 510).³¹ Dryden's assignation of the "Southern sky" as the backdrop for the prodigy suggests that the bastard's planet rules an antipodal region, someplace in the southern hemisphere. The "Royal Planet" shares Monmouth's own status as a bastard, for it is only visible abroad in southern latitudes or taken solely on the status of report. Monmouth's star does not share the same power as David's Septentrional star, which is by nature royally arctic and circumpolar. Had Dryden made Monmouth's prodigy a northern planet, comet, or star, Monmouth's celestial birthright would have qualified its own legitimacy as the rightful successor to Charles II's natal star.

In a critical elegy of 1685, James Scot, Duke of Monmouth, is likened to a Septentrional Lucifer because of his attempt to claim the throne against the rightful Stuart succession. Like the Morning Star, the poet tells us, Monmouth was,

Once the Bright Leader of a Shining Train,
The Constellations in Great Charles his Waine;
Till from thy Forfeit glittering Orb of Light,
Thy Black Ingratitutte, t'Eternal Night,
Too Justly doom'd, and down all headlong driven,
A Falling-Star from thy once Native Heaven³²

Monmouth's "Native *Heaven*" is at once the English asterism "Charles his Waine" and the good graces of the legitimate Stuart kings, who are ever-present in the seven stars of England's royal constellation.

Even beyond Dryden's poetry, the birth-star trope exerts its influence in his dramatic and operatic pieces. In *The Essay of Dramatick Poesie* (1668), Neander (*viz.* Dryden) praises at least one of Corneille's contributions to poetry without thrusting the French playwright into contradistinction with his English rivals; this peerless merit, Neander explains, is manifest in that the Frenchman "laid down as the greatest which can arrive to any Poem, and which he himself could never compass above thrice in all his Playes, *viz.* the making choice of some signal and long expected day, whereon the action of the Play is to depend" (XVII.54). In *All for Love*, the play that best exemplifies Dryden's attempt to bring dramatic action into accord with "*les Trois Unitez*," Dryden chooses a "signal day" that is quite beyond the

scope of the immediate historical setting associated with the play; in particular, this is a day that would have resonated with Restoration audiences quite clearly. The play's "signal day" is a birthday of some moment, for it is the "happy day / That gave the world a lord: 'tis Antony's" (*XIII.1.153-4*). To put even greater weight upon Dryden's representation of Antony on the day of his birth, Alexas situates Antony's birth amidst the stars:

A love which knows no bounds to Antony
Would mark the day with honors, when all Heaven
Labored for him, when each propitious star
Stood wakeful in his orb to watch that hour
And shed his better influence (1.171-5)

The image of stars sitting in a beatific assize over Antony's nativity conveys a rather messianic message on its broadest level of interpretation, and most certainly recalled to some audiences the birth of Christ. But this astrological omen, as do nearly all Restoration references to nativity stars, more nearly recalls the Stuart birth-star. Dryden elaborates on the pertinent parallels in Antony's conversation with Ventidius:

They tell me 'tis my birthday and I'll keep it
With a double pomp of sadness.
'Tis what the day deserves, which gave me breath.
Why was I raised the meteor of the world,
Hung in the skies, and blazing as I traveled,
Till all my fires were spent, and then cast downward
To be trod out by Caesar? (1.222-8)

Antony draws a parallel between his celestial self and his birthday to stress his nativity's relevance to that of Charles II.

While the manner in which Dryden presents the motif in *All for Love* is, admittedly, only in the most generic terms, the convention that Dryden introduces through this "signal day" is actually an inversion of Shakespeare's original setting of it; for it is not Antony's birth that marks the date in *Antony and Cleopatra*, but rather that of Cleopatra. She notes, in Shakespeare's original: "It is my birthday. / I had thought to've held it poor, but since my lord / Is Antony again, I will be Cleopatra" (3.13.188-90).³³

Dryden actively redrafts Shakespeare's plot to put significant stress on Antony's birthday and to furnish it with astrological phenomena so characteristic of his many invocations of the quintessential Stuart prodigy. In this way Dryden signifies for the Stuart monarchy much the same way that he had throughout the previous decade.

In 1683, readers find Dryden denying the significance of the birth-star trope in *The Vindication of the Duke of Guise*. A flurry of pamphlets had entered into circulation that accused Dryden of seditious sentiments in his contributions to the controversial play, in part because he drew a "Parallel betwixt *Henry the Third*, and our most gracious *Sovereign*" (Dryden XIV.349). Thomas Shadwell, as a playwright speaking for the popular party, charged Dryden with "endeavoring to make his *King* in his Play (whom he hath shewn to be Fearful, Weak, Wicked, Bloody, Perfidious, and Hypocritical, even to fawning) a Parallel to our most *Excellent and Gracious King*," thereby degrading Charles II in effigy (9-10).³⁴ In the *Vindication*, Dryden insists that he has drawn no such parallel between his fictional king and Charles II, despite the fact that in the play he suggests that, "at *King Henry's Birth*, there shone a *Regal Star*: [and] so there did at *King Charles the seconds*" (XIV.349). In his own defense Dryden claims that the similitude in birth-star imagery is purely coincidental, but this is an incredibly weak defense for a poet with a rather long history of using that very trope as a Stuart portent. The *Vindication* is unconvincing, on the whole, since Dryden shirks the issue by "spinning an astrological web around it," which neither resolves the "crime" with which he is charged nor addresses his use of the motif (507).³⁵

In the "dramatick opera" *Albion and Albanius* (1684), Dryden does more than merely report astrological phenomena by name or intimation; for, he actually incorporates the Pleiadic birth-star motif into the set design. At the conclusion to the first act of the opera, Iris—the daughter of the Pleiad Electra and the Homeric messenger of the gods—descends upon the stage in elaborate machinery to announce the restoration of Albion, who is shown to represent Charles II. The stage direction reads:

Iris appears on a very large Machine. This was really seen the 18th. of March 1684. by Capt. Christopher Gunman, on Board his R.H. Yacht, then in Calais Pierre: He drew it as it then appear'd, and gave a Draught of it to us. We have only added the Cloud where the Person of Iris sits (XV.27)³⁶

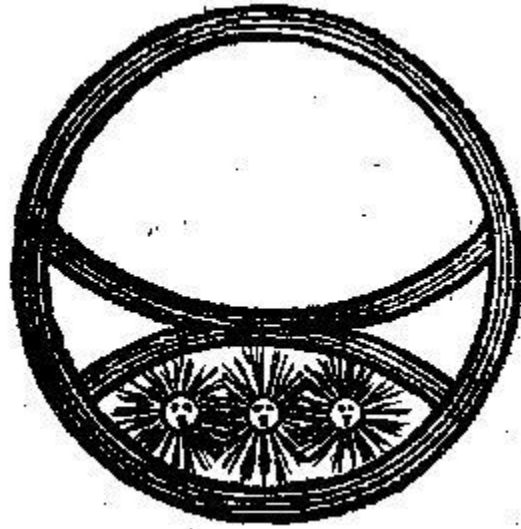


Figure 11: Capt. Christopher Gunman's Sketch of the Three Suns. Gunman writes: "March 18th. It was variable cloudy weather: this morning about seven o'clock saw in the firmament three suns, with two demi-rainbows; and all within one whole rainbow, in form and shape as here pourtrayed" (Scott 190)³⁸

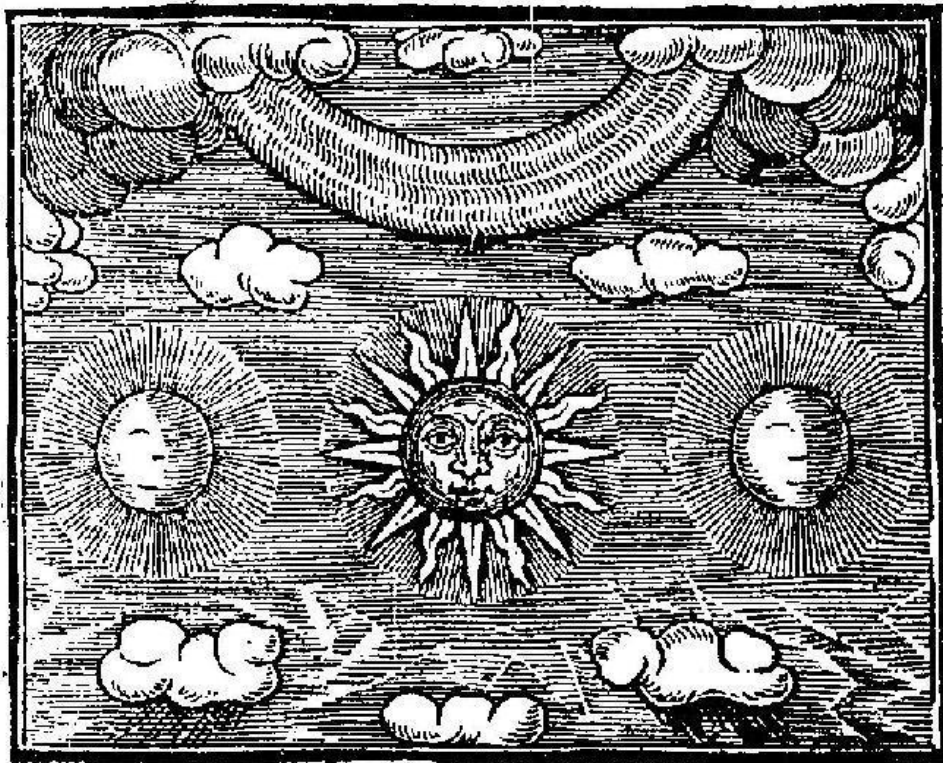


Figure 12: The Frontispiece to Lilly's *The Starry Messenger* (1645)

The sketch, which is shown in Figure 11, is of three suns encompassed by two rainbows. The device is nearly an exact reproduction of the figure that Electra describes in Jonson's coronation pageant for James I, which took place at the seventh gate—the *Templum Iani*.³⁷ In Jonson's Jacobean pageant, Electra announces her blessing for the Stuart dynasty before introducing her daughter Iris, who "*hasts to throw / Her Roseat wings, in compasse of a bow*" about the state, thus girding the dawn of the Stuart dynasty with encircling rainbows. As if to draw this parallel for us at the ascent of Iris back into the heavens in *Albion and Albanius*, Dryden directs that a chorus be sent up by Augusta and Themesis, prompting whatever pageant-spinning Jonson or Inigo Jones that might be at work to "Erect Triumphal Arches, / For *Albion* and *Albanius*" (XV.1.1.240-41).

In *The Starry Messenger* (1645), the Parliamentary astrologer William Lilly catalogues no fewer than thirty-two instances of multiple suns and moons, usually as portents of catastrophes. These false suns, "amongst the learned called *Parelii*," were widely known to be nothing more than "images of the Sun in a thick and neighbouring cloud in the form of a Mirror" (Lilly 10).³⁹ Nevertheless, Lilly casts aside the obvious conclusion that all occurrences of parhelion are mere mirages due to the limited number of reports he provides in his pamphlet and the commonness of the conditions that ought to give rise to this atmospheric phenomenon. He also links the specific occurrence he reports—that of the three suns appearing on Charles Stuart's birthday on 19 of November, 1644—to an "Opposition of *Saturn* and *Venus*, and the matutine setting of the *Virgiliæ* [Pleiades], and other most violent fixed Stars" (10-11). Lilly links the Pleiades to the "*Paralii*" in the month of November, when the Pleiades are in their violent season during their achronycal setting and rising; but more importantly, he links the Pleiades to the appearance of rainbows and the same atmospheric anomaly Dryden reproduces for the descent of Iris to announce the Restoration. Contrary to Dryden's design, Parhelia were almost never interpreted as good omens.⁴⁰ However, Dryden's "Machine," mounted by Electra's daughter, announces the Restoration in the month of May, when the Pleiades are in their mellifluous season, which justifies his presentation of the phenomenon by classical standards.

While it is difficult to determine whether the Iris device in Dryden's opera indicates that Dryden understood the proper placement of the Pleiades in the heavens, it does suggest that the "Pleiad's" were on his mind in 1684 when signifying for the miracles of the Restoration, just one year before he wrote *Anne Killigrew*. In *Albion and Albanius*, Dryden recalls a well-known natural phenomenon involving the Pleiades and Electra's mythic daughter; but like his out-of-season Pleiad in *Anne Killigrew*, which shines in the wakeful hours of the night when it ought to be well below the horizon waiting for its brief moment of glory in the sunrise, Dryden has trimmed and fitted the prodigy for the new Stuart king as a portent of an overwhelmingly benefic aspect with a blatant disregard for conventional understandings of the phenomenon. Like James I at his coronation in March, Charles II rises to glory at the Restoration of the monarchy in the month of May, on his day of birth, when his anomalous birth-star works in conjunction with the heavens and Iris announces the season with her pacific rainbows.

Dryden does not use the Pleiades after the manner of classical astrologers in *Anne Killigrew*, and the respective phenomena reported by Tycho Brahe, Charles Dryden, Edward Matthew, and Ben Jonson suggest other Pleiadic associations, which would link Dryden's "Pleiad's" to the Stuart stars of the north celestial pole. Dryden employs his "New kindl'd Star" as a reinterpretation of the Augustan Pleiad in order to signify for the reign of Charles II and its conjunctive rising and setting with *Anne Killigrew*, but does so without a marginal gloss to signal his intentions. The prevailing uranological confusion concerning the proper placement of the Pleiades also suggests why Dryden's astronomical "error" has so long gone unnoticed, even in the hands of learned critics like Samuel Johnson, as a general distaste for natural astrology increased with each successive generation of Dryden's editors, withering into ignorance.

It seems, however, that Dryden's Restoration "Machine" in *Albion and Albanius* shares much more in common with his "Pleiad's" of the ensuing year than casual coincidence may suggest in the successive appearances of Iris and Electra between 1684-85 as Restoration prodigies. In the prologue to his 1684 opera, Dryden strikes a critical chord that is echoed in *Anne Killigrew*; for he casts a backward glance on the "*twenty years and more, our lab'ring Stage / Has lost, on this incorrigible Age*" in the same way that Jonson had looked back on the "*loathed Stage, / And the more loathsome age*" in the era of

Charles I (1-2).⁴¹ In the Killigrew ode, Dryden ponders the very same question about drama's efficacy in reforming public vices, utilizing Pleiadic imagery to signify for the second Caroline age and for the purity of lyric poetry. Dryden's critical melancholy and astrological ardor for the Stuart birth-star prodigy were little abated by the death of the king and the accession of James II to the throne in the span of a single year.

In the preceding survey of Dryden's birth-star referents, I have attempted to show that the astrological quality of Dryden's conceits is predominantly Pleiadic, even though his uranography is predominantly Septentrional. Dryden treats the birth-star motif as a symbol of the lost Pleiad and the Stuart Wain, and often with through a blend of the two star cruces associated with Charles II. In the Killigrew ode, the narrator invokes a conspicuous Stuart star that represents twenty-five years of Stuart rule, the lifespan of Anne Killigrew, the apex of Dryden's own career, generations of poetic mastery, and the beginning of a new literary era. In "An Ode: to Himself," Ben Jonson had looked back on his waning career and health with a sharp satirical eye, knowing his better days lay behind him, while looking for patronage from the lord of "*Charles...his waine*"; but Dryden was on the cusp of an era that promised the possibility of a new beginning and greater success.

Anne's "New kindl'd" Pleiad can only be thought of as the utmost in fulsome hyperbole when it appears in the poem as a random star of a stock poetic conceit, used for mere embellishment. When Anne's Pleiadic catasterism is seen in its proper sphere as a generic signifier for the Stuart age of Pleiadic poesy, the sarcastic irony that Vieth sees as "almost automatically latent in the mode of hyperbole" that attends Anne's birth shows through as not only misleading, but altogether uninteresting. Sir Walter Scott writes that Dryden, in his elegies, "is often content to substitute reasoning for passion, and rather to show us cause why we ought to grieve, than to set us the example by grieving himself" (315).⁴² While posterity has generally agreed with Scott's sentiments, what many find disagreeable is his assertion—which stands at the base of Vieth's thesis—that Dryden treats Killigrew with condescension and idle flattery because he "could not even pretend to be interested in the mournful subject of his verse." Vieth's popular supposition that "there was no miracle" at Anne's birth to announce her latent talents "because Anne's birth was in no

way extraordinary" does not hold up under scrutiny, particularly because of her birth's coincidence with such a monumental "miracle" as Charles II's return, attended as it was with miracles of bees and "New kindl'd" stars (Vieth 99).

If Anne's excellence is, as critics have argued, only vindicated by the circumstances Dryden sets upon her nativity, then Dryden's "gestures of concession" do indicate that the astrological prodigies of the Restoration announced "New joy...sprung in Heav'n, as well as here on Earth," that "For sure" Anne's birth in the same year was astrologically ideal, and that "then if ever" the return to normalcy in Stuart rule betokened universal harmony, manifest in the "Musick of the Spheres." The Killigrew ode's "gestures of concession" are not so much tokens of irony as they are statements of the obvious. Dryden establishes two separate poetic inheritances: one distinctly masculine (and notably impotent) to which he and the "wretched" dramatists belong, and another that is a "Vestal" stereotype of femininity, which lends the universe the generative faculties latent in the very metempsychosis that yields the fruits of female poetry. The female tradition of lyric blossoms into Killigrew's hands, marking the formation of a female literary Pleiad as the exaltation of Electra's New Troy and the poetry of the Stuart Age.

NOTES

I. Introduction:
Dryden and the Seventh Sister

1. *Ethan Frome* (Wharton 34).
2. Vieth, David M. "Irony in Dryden's Ode to Anne Killigrew." *Studies in Philology* 62.1 (1965): 91-100.
3. *The Works of John Dryden* (Scott 9: 102). For one example of a sincere yet ineffective ("formalist") rebuttal of Vieth's thesis, see Judith Slobman's article, "The Opening and Closing Lines of 'To...Mrs. Anne Killigrew': Tradition and Allusion."
4. From Tillyard's *Five Poems 1470-1870: An Elementary Essay on the Background of English Literature*. See also David Wheeler's article, "Beyond Art: Reading Dryden's *Anne Killigrew* in its Political Moment." The full title of Dryden's ode is: "To the Pious Memory of the Accomplisht Young Lady Mrs Anne Killigrew, Excellent in the two Sister-Arts of Poësie, and Painting. An Ode." For the sake of brevity, I will henceforth refer to this poem as *Anne Killigrew*.
5. Although the constellation is actually located on the bull's shoulder, Richard Hinckley Allen provides a catalogue of their alternate locations in ancient poetry:

They generally have been located on the shoulder of the Bull as we have them, but Hyginus, considering the animal figure complete, placed them on the hind quarter; Nicander, Columella, Vitruvius, and Pliny, on the tail...although Pliny also is supposed to have made a distinct constellation of them. Proclus and Geminus said that they were on the back; and others, on the neck, which Bayard Taylor followed in his *Hymn to Taurus*,...Erastosthenes, describing them as over the animal, imitate Homer and Hesiod...while Aratos...placed them near the knees of Perseus (392)
- Julius Schiller, whose 1627 star atlas sought to replace pagan constellations with those formed in the image of saints and apostles, places the Pleiades on the right shoulder of St. Andrew. Schiller's Andrew is shown seated on a cloud, with a rough-hewn cross lying across his lap.
6. Editor's "Commentary" *WoD* (1: 324).
7. The Pleiades were used by the ancients to determine the end of spring by their matutinal rising (heliacal), and the beginning of the winter months in November at their achronycal rising. The heliacal rising of a star describes the time when a star emerges from the sun's light, and can be seen on the Eastern horizon just before sunrise. Dryden exhibits his general knowledge of this basic astronomical crux in *A Discourse on Epic Poetry*, but this dates his knowledge of the crux to 1697, and limits his knowledge of it to what he managed to glean from Serais' notes on Orion and the progression of the seasons in the *Aeneid*.

Even if we were to give Dryden the boon of a five-day margin of error in his calculation of the asterism's heliacal rising for visibility issues, this would account for only twenty minutes of Pleiadic "glory" in early June's predawn sky—certainly a dubious honor to confer upon Anne Killigrew. Since Anne's birth is commonly dated simply to "late spring" and to a time just before the Restoration, and the Pleiades are absent from the sky for approximately forty days and forty nights between their heliacal setting and their heliacal rising, this does not leave Dryden much slack in his calculations, assuming that he made any, and pushes any Pleiadic visibility beyond the end of spring and into early summer.
8. From Dryden's *Preface* to his translation of the *Georgics*.
9. Wheeler, "Beyond Art."
10. Several literary eras have boasted of seven elite literary minds that have gone by the name of "Pleiades." The first era on record to record seven such minds was that of ancient Greece, represented by the Seven Sages: Bias, Chilo, Cleobulus, Pittacus, Epimenides, Periander, and Thales. Under Ptolemy Philadelphus, seven poets reclaimed that title: Apollonius of Rhodes, Callimachus, Nicander, Aratos,

Theocritus, Homer the Younger, and Lycophron. In the age of Charlemagne, six more writers claimed the title (Charlemagne was the seventh Pleiad): Alcuin, Angilbert, Adelard, Riculfe, Varnefrid, and Einhard. Again, under Henry III in sixteenth-century France: Ronsard, Jodelle, Thiard, Baïf, Remi-Belleau, Du Bellay, and Dorat. For more, see *Star Names* (Allen 402-3).

11. A nativity is a horoscope cast with specific relevance to the exact moment of its subject's birth. Whenever I use this term, I will be referring to this kind of horoscope.

12. See the following works: *Britannia Rediviva* (1660), a collection of odes by various authors, which includes Rochester's famous celebratory poem; Cowley's *Ode, upon the blessed restoration and returne of His Sacred Majestie, Charls the Second*; John Evelyn, *A Poem upon his Maiesties Coronation the 23. of April 1661*; Thomas Higgons, *A panegyrick to the King. By His Majesties most humble, most loyal, and most obedient subject and servant, Thomas Higgons*; and, Thomas Flatman, *A panegyrick to His Renowed [sic] Majestie, Charles the Second, King of Great Britaine, &c.* Thomason dates "Astraea Redux" to June 19, 1660. As California editors Hooker and Swedenberg note with regard to Dryden's poem: "Dryden himself seems to have borrowed from several [poems]: most freely from Martil Lluelyn, a bit from Sir Thomas Higgons and Cowley and Waller, and possibly a bit from Brome" (*Works I*, 214). Although I cite from Cowley and Evelyn and length throughout this essay, the famous odes of Higgons and Flatman do engage in appeals to Charles and his birth-star. The poems I list are just a few notable poems of the numerous birth-star odes from 1660-1662. For a handy index of such poems, see Gerald MacLean's Restoration ode etext database on the University of Virginia Library's site, *The Return of the King : An Anthology of English Poems Commemorating the Restoration of Charles II*: <<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/MacKing.html>>.

13. Dryden freely interpreted the Pindaric form, and he did not necessarily limit his ode theory to the irregular Cowlean stanzaic structure that was popularized in the seventeenth century. In *Threnodia Augustalis* and *Anne Killigrew*, Dryden uses the Pindaric for the sake of elegy in the usual Cowlean form. But in the introduction to his other late panegyric/elegy, *Eleonora*, Dryden admits that he views the poem as a Pindaric even though it is written in heroics. For more on Dryden's elegiac Pindaric, see Wallerstein, pp. 524-5.

14. Hoffman provides the most convincing argument for Anne in the role of "an atoning and redemptive poet," yet falls short of establishing Anne as anything more than a convenient figurehead, sainted more for her virginity and beauty than her poetic merit (118).

15. Although some calendric observances are quite outside the reach of this paper, Dryden's association begins to make sense when one endeavors to understand the prominence that the Ancients gave to the Pleiades at the vernal equinox, and at their heliacal rising in May on the cusp of summer, their traditional prominence on the cross-quarter day between the Autumnal Equinox and the Winter Solstice (All Saints' Day [Nov. 1]), and in the context of ancient myth, where tales of a disappearing Pleiad figure into Pleiadic lore. If one were to place these dates on a timeline marking important religious and political events, one would see a conjunction between the heliacal rising of the Pleiades and Anne's birth or the return of Charles II; between the Pleiades as harbingers of spring at the vernal equinox and the dawn of the Stuart dynasty; and, perhaps, between the elegiac mode of the Killigrew ode, with specific focus on the apocalyptic resurrection of the dead, and the traditional position of the Pleiades at their achronycal setting on the brink of All Saint's Day.

16. I am here citing the original 1686 *Anne Killigrew*, which was printed in the prefatory poems of Killigrew's posthumous *Poems by Mrs Anne Killigrew*. This version of Dryden's ode gives "Holyday" rather than "holiday."

17. *Studies in Philology* 47.3(1950): 506-521.

18. See Johnson's "Dryden" in *The Lives of the English Poets*. It should be noted that Dryden was a believer in the branch of astrology known as "judicial astrology," which is not to be confused with the more practical branch "natural astrology." According to boundaries set by *OED*, Judicial Astrology is "the art of judging the reputed occult and non-physical influences of the stars and planets upon human

affairs; star-divination, astromancy. (The only meaning of 'Astrology' since end of 17th c.)." Natural Astrology is to be differentiated due to its focus on

"the calculation and foretelling of natural phenomena, as the measurement of time, fixing Easter, prediction of tides and eclipses; also meteorological phenomena. This sense (exc. in *Hist.*) became obs. In 17th c., all the regular physical phenomena passing into the domain of Astronomy, and those that concerned the presumed influence of the moon and planets on weather, etc., being called Astro-meteorology"

I will not draw a distinction between the two studies of astrology henceforward, nor yet between the branches of astronomy and astrology with regard to the particular scientific values retained by the former from the latter's methods of inquiry, for Dryden professed a belief in judicial astrology, which encompassed the others in its scope but with primary focus on human affairs. Since his astrology is freighted with quasi-royalist politics, horoscopes/horaries, and the apotheosis of notable individuals, there really is no other alternative than to classify his entire body of star-lore according to the judicial branch. I will also occasionally classify his astrological impulses as expressions of "literary astronomy," but without the pejorative stigma attached to the term in literary criticism. When I speak of "literary astronomy," the term will be in connection with the knowledge of the cosmos Dryden picked up from Virgil, Ovid, Chaucer, etc., in order to subdivide that particular inheritance of knowledge from what he may have picked up from contemporary astrological tracts. While Virgil, Ovid, and Chaucer no doubt believed in judicial astrology, their importance to archaeoastronomers has been primarily in their catalogues of phenomena that would best be classified as natural astrology.

19. *The Letters of John Dryden*, 93-4.

20. From Edmond Malone's *Life of Dryden*, prefixed to the first volume of *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden* (1800).

21. "John Dryden's Interest in Judicial Astrology" (Gardner 508). Other biographers, including Samuel Johnson, called into question the veracity of Thomas's account because Thomas wrote the report of Dryden's astrological predictions nearly thirty years after their initial casting. Of course, truth of the prediction itself is of no matter here; but the fact that Dryden's intense interest in judicial astrology was subject for discourse in his own day and after, anecdotally and biographically, tells how generations of readers may have approached the author and his texts. For a fuller critical account of the tale, see the first volume of Edmond Malone's *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, 1.414-420.

22. Although the story was supposedly contained in the manuscripts of William Oldys, the English antiquarian, in his handwritten marginal annotations to a confiscated copy of Langbaine, the exact details of Dryden's dream and its interpretation appear to have been lost (Malone, 420). Elizabeth Thomas may have attempted to provide an alternate account of Dryden's portentous dream in her poem, "The Dream. An Epistle to Mr. Dryden."

23. In "The Character of Polybius," Dryden criticizes Livy's credence in prodigies while praising the inquiring, scientific mind of Polybius, saying:

His [Livy's] new years could no more begin without them [prodigies], during his description of the Punick wars, than our prognosticating almanacks without the effects of the present oppositions betwixt Saturn and Jupiter, the foretelling of comets and coruscations in the air; which seldom happen at the times assigned by our astrologers, and almost always fail in their events" (Malone 3.256)

While Dryden appears to show a marked disdain for popular astrology, his continual insistence on employing the same occult science to his benefit (generally *ex post facto*) shows a seeming disconnect between his criticism of the art and his approbation. His continual insistence on the effectiveness or validity of literary astrology (via Virgil and Chaucer) also demonstrates his reluctance to criticize the art itself over its methods of employment and its more egotistical practitioners. Dryden criticized what he

viewed as "fake" astrologers, such as William Lilly, or any run-of-the-mill Nostradamus, on the same grounds; in the third part of *The Hind and the Panther* (1687), Dryden writes:

Most prophecies are of a piece with these;

Each Nostradamus can foretell with ease,

Not naming persons and confounding times;

One casual truth supports a thousand lying rhymes (519-22)

In *The Vindication of The Duke of Guise*, Dryden shows just how savvy his astrological awareness was, even if poorly referenced (*WoD*, 14: 350).

For those interested in debunking any readings of Dryden's works that rely on the author's outright belief in astrology—much as Tillyard is in *Five Poems*—such passages as quoted above may seem to strengthen their position. However, Dryden rarely criticizes the prophetic arts so much as he criticizes its charlatans and power mongering devotees, who vie for favors to abuse their privileges as public grandstanders, and then mislead restive factions with manufactured portents.

24. From Alexander Pope's epitaph, "*Intended for Sir Isaac Newton, In Westminster-Abbey.*"

25. Martin, *The young gentleman and lady's philosophy* (1781).

26. In the *Preface to Fables Ancient and Modern*, Dryden writes of Ovid and Chaucer:

Their studies were the same, philosophy and philology. Both of them were knowing in astronomy, of which Ovid's books of the Roman feasts and Chaucer's treatise of the astrolabe are sufficient witnesses. But Chaucer was likewise an astrologer, as were Virgil, Horace, Persius, and Manilius (404)

Earlier on, in the *Vindication of the Duke of Guise* (1683), Dryden had noted the same with regard to Chaucer while defending his own use of astrological symbolism: "'tis usual with *Poets*, especially with the *Italians*, to mix *Astrology* in their Poems: *Chawcer*, amongst us, is frequent in it" (*WoD*, 14: 350). He also implicates Boiardo of the same in *Orlando Innamorato*, but without providing a source for his particular citation. That he would cite Boiardo and Ariosto is no surprise, since their romances were invested in astrology and magic.

27. *WoD*, 17: 17.14-17; 53.12.

II. Anne's Pre/Postmortal Transfiguration: Dryden's "Pindarique" Pedigree

1. Manilius, *The Five Books of Mr. Manilius* (Creech 113). From Creech's 1700 translation of the third book of the *Astronomicon*.

2. In many ways, Dryden's tactics are similar to Ben Jonson's in the latter's famous lines on Shakespeare for the 1623 First Folio, "To the memory of my beloued, the AVTHOR Mr. William Shakespeare: and what he hath left vs." There Jonson simultaneously praises Shakespeare's poetic mastery (while raising him "*in the Hemisphere / Advanc'd, and made a Constellation there*") and criticizes Shakespeare's classical learning.

3. *Cleomenes: the Spartan Heroe*, the "Dedicatory Epistle" (*WoD*, 16: 73).

Coma Berenices is a constellation that lies just to the south of Cor Caroli and the Canes Venatici of Boötes, which forms a triangle with Ursa Major and the brightest star of Boötes—Arcturus. These stars would be important to Dryden throughout his career due to their connection to the Stuart kings; and their presence here places Dryden's attention upon the region of the heavens close to the north celestial pole, centered upon Ursa Major and "the Circle of the Bear" (*WoD*, 3: 27).

4. *WoD*, 3: 243.

5. Cited from the prefatory epistle to *Eleonora*.

6. Henry Hastings died of smallpox on the eve before his wedding day.

7. *WoD*, 1: 4.

8. David Shuttleton, in *Smallpox and the Literary Imagination, 1660-1820*, offers alternate readings of Dryden's lines to meliorate Dryden's use of grotesque imagery in the Hastings elegy, based on informed readings of smallpox elegies throughout the century. Nevertheless, I would side with nearly two centuries of editorial shock at Dryden's startling conceits—which he wisely avoids altogether in the Oldham elegy (Oldham died of smallpox in 1683)—and maintain that it is nearly impossible to mollify the poem's startling leaps between the grotesque and the sublime in such short spans. Dryden's attempt to establish a karmic pedigree—"An universal *Metempsuchosis*"—for Hastings falls short of his aims as well, based on its particular irrelevance, which draws comparisons between Hastings and Alexander, "*Seneca, Cato, Numa, Caesar*" (70-72).

9. Just over a quarter of the elegies contained in the same volume resort to astrological conceits and stellar translations. Amongst these is Andrew Marvell's elegy, which nevertheless handles the motif with a greater sense of appropriateness than Dryden.

10. Only one poem in *Lachrymae Musarum* endeavors to place Henry Hastings in a specific region of the heavens. J.B.'s poem, "In Honour to the Great Memorial of the Right Honourable *Henry Lord Hastings*," which is couched in political language, and laments "this *Matchless Tyranny*" (51)—both the young man's death and the king's recent execution—places Henry near Ursa Major and the northern celestial pole:

If the tall Cedars must be Levell'd, why
Should humble Shrubs expect Security?
Resolved, also, Their Condition's best,
Whom Heaven hath taken to Eternal Rest:
Whither, Great Soul, th'art fled, and now dost reign
Above in Majestie, neer *Charles* his Wain (53)

Since Charles's Wain was linked to the Stuarts—to Charles I and Charles II specifically, and James I (via Arcturus, when Arcturus is used in its old "mistaken" form as signifying for the seven stars of the Wain)—these lines refer to the execution of Charles I (the royal "Cedar") at the hands of Parliamentarians and Levelers, which would have translated Charles I to Ursa Major (Charles's Wain). The Hastings family was loyal to Charles I during the Civil War. By placing Hastings near this asterism, this poet memorializes the late King, who was executed on January 30, 1649, and gives Hastings a very honored seat in the heavens next to Charles I.

11. Solar mansions should not be confused with the 28 lunar mansions often used by astrologers in their horoscopes.

12. *An Elegy upon the Death of Mr. William Lilly the Astrologer*. Published anonymously in broadside.

13. *The Quakers Elegy on the Death of Charles Late King of England*. This elegy, which is written by W.P., "a sincere Lover of *CHARLES* and *JAMES*," immortalizes the king in typical fashion by drawing a comparison between Charles II and the sun. The sun travels the zodiac every night, and rises matutinally in each of the twelve mansions throughout the year.

14. *An Elegie Upon the DEATH, and in COMMEMORATION of the Truly Honourable and truly Learned, JOHN Lord WILMOT, Earl of ROCHESTER*. This elegy was published as an anonymous broadside.

15. According to the parallel legend of Pindar's birth, amidst a flurry of revels by nymphs and satyrs led by Pan, who "[neglects] his leaping and [sings] the odes of Pindar," a swarm of bees attends to the young child to instill in him the requisite sweetness for his lyric odes (Philostratus 2.12). In 1706, Dryden's protégé, William Congreve, revived this tale in *A Discourse on the Pindarique Ode* to contrast Pindar's Greek verses against the "bundle of rambling incoherent thoughts, expressed in a like parcel of

irregular stanzas" that was the hackneyed English tradition of the Cowlean Pindaric (2). In Congreve's parallel version of Pindar's miracle, which he adopts from Pausanias, "the Bees brought their Honey, in Omen of the future Sweetness and Melody of his Songs." For Congreve's source, see Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, 9.23.2. In this version of the "miracle," Pindar is a young man traveling to Thespieae. In a fit of fatigue brought on by the noon's heat, he collapses on the road. A swarm of bees alights on his mouth and spreads wax (*viz.* honey) over his mouth. Another version of this tale, which accords with Congreve's and Dryden's version, can be found in Aelian's *Historical Miscellany*, 12.45.

16. Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue*.

17. For examples of Anne's Pindaric verses, see the following works in her 1685 memorial collection: "The Discontent," "An Ode," "Cloris Charmes Dissolved by Eudora," "Upon a Little Lady," and "On the Soft and Gentle Motions of Eudora."

18. *WoD*, 3: 232.19-20.

19. Søren Kierkegaard characterizes irony as "infinite absolute negativity" and "a qualification of subjectivity" in *The Concept of Irony*, which are two terms I will refer back to at times throughout this essay (262).

20. Dryden's conception of the "Soul of Poesie" was something that found voice in "An Essay of Dramatick Poesie" as that which distinguishes the English writer's irregularity in dramatic design and in scope of verse from French theories *Des Trois Unitez* (*WoD*, 17: 44.19-24). Dryden soon after linked this same idea to Shakespeare, "who of all Modern, and perhaps Ancient Poets, had the largest and most comprehensive soul" (55.20-2). The quality of this comprehensive soul cannot be described, in Dryden's terms, as anything less than that which consists of the "passions" of the "Soul of Poesie." Shakespeare drew upon the "Images of Nature" not by rote, nor by supreme theoretical design, but "luckily" (22-3). And the value of his imagery is in its empathic tangibility; for, "you more than see it, you feel it too" (24).

Anne Killigrew exploited this same idea in her poem, "Love, the Soul of Poetry." The poem is predicated on a critique of the common pastoral, there given voice through its subject, Alexis. The author denigrates Alexis's purely pastoral poems as things that "never aim'd at any noble Flight" because they described only herds, groves, and streams (4); that is, until "Love these Thoughts, like Mists, did soon disperse...Biding him more Illustrious Subjects choose" (7-9). The reformed and passionate Alexis then recites the heroic deeds of "God-like Men" (10) and the gods themselves, whereby he stokes the sacred fire of Poesy—"the Worlds Soul, the Soul of Poetry" (18). For both Dryden and Killigrew, the power of the "Soul of Poesie" lies in its ability to move the reader. In a way, Dryden and Killigrew see this soul as a gnostic stream that makes available full access to the emotional potential of words via poetry.

21. From "Beyond Art: Reading Dryden's *Anne Killigrew* in its Political Moment."

22. "The Ideology of Restoration Poetic Form: John Dryden."

III. Dryden's Star Identification

1. *Beppo* (Byron 109-12)

2. Evelyn, *A Panegyric to Charles the Second*. Although Evelyn delivered his panegyric before the King on April 24, 1661, the work was never in widespread circulation due to the fact that the Lord Chancellor and some unidentified noblemen requested his original copies (Bédoyère 13). The work was finally identified in 1927.

3. At the birth of Prince Charles, Ben Jonson remarked upon the Christ-like birth-star and inquired: "What heavenly favour made a starre appeare, / To bid wise Kings to doe their homage here, / And prove him truly Christian?" (Jonson 21-3). From "Another on the Birth of the Prince," found in the 1640 reprint of *Epigrams* (Jonson 102). Henry Wotton as well observed the phenomenon in his short "Hymn Upon the Birth of Prince Charles."

4. Cited from a sermon by John Menzeis, *Britannia Rediviva, or a Gratulatory Sermon For His MAJESTIES safe Arrivall and happy Restitution to the exercise of His Royall GOVERNMENT*. For more on the Charlemagne-Arthur metonymy, see the entry for "Arcturus/Arthur's Wain" in Appendix 2, and *Star Names* (Allen 425-26).

5. "While mournfull *England* lay sore Feaver-sick," from the Oxford *Britannia Rediviva* (74). The poem is attributed to "G.V.A.B.è Coll." The original miscellany is unnumbered. Pagination here refers to the document image number in *EEBO*'s database. All citations from the same miscellany will follow this model.

6. Tillyard, who dismisses Dryden's astrological beliefs, argues that when Dryden speculates at Anne's premortal existence in the heavens, he is referring readers to an Augustan legacy. Tillyard writes: "Dryden knew that...every educated reader would know that he was recalling, though in Christian terms, Virgil's speculations at the beginning of the *Georgics* on where the apotheosized Augustus would have his heavenly seat" (*Five Poems*, 60). This astrological legacy would have inevitably involved the planet Venus; for as Dryden notes in *A Discourse on Epick Poetry*, "the seals which we have remaining of Julius Cæsar, which we know to be antique, have the star of Venus over them...as a note that he was deified" (Ed. Malone, 458). Dryden would have been aware that Augustus Caesar's "Goddess Mother," Venus, was one possible star identification for the succeeding Caesar in turn (*Georgics* 1.37). The California editors note that, "Venus was the mother of Aeneas, supposed ancestor of Augustus" (*Commentary* vol. 6, 913). This may inform one undercurrent of *Anne Killigrew's* imagery, but Dryden was also interpreting the new Caesarian age within those bounds, represented by a Stuart Augustus rising out of civil war, but stamped with an English asterism. Virgil suggests that there is a space for Augustus "near the Balance" (Libra) at the Summer Solstice, "Where in the Void of Heav'n a Space is free, / Betwixt the *Scorpion* and the *Maid*" (Dryden I.46-48). Tillyard was simply comparing the "celestial" nature of Dryden's ruminations to Virgil's in the broadest sense, but given Dryden's mention of the Pleiades in early spring in the Killigrew ode, his seasonal remark does not match up with Virgil's. Both poets clearly identify two different equinoctial markers.

7. From *Ovid's Fasti, or the Romans sacred calendar*, translated by Massey in 1757. Ovid places the apparent heliacal rising of the Pleiades on May 13, which is when it would have taken place in the first century CE. For Hesiod the event would have fallen on May 7, due to equinoctial precession.

8. From Aratus's *The Skies and Weather-Forecasts of Aratus*, translated by Poste in 1880.

9. Throughout the paper I will occasionally refer back to the rising and setting of the Pleiades and other notable fixed stars. Below I have provided basic definitions along with general date guidelines for times on which these particular risings and settings currently occur across latitudes (I am in Atlanta at 33°N latitude, but I have calculated approximate present-day dates using a basic computerized planisphere for London's latitude [51°N]).

- Heliacal Setting: the last day on which one can see the Pleiades set on the western horizon just after sunset (May 5).
- Heliacal Rising: the first day on which one can see the Pleiades rise over the eastern horizon just before sunrise (June 5).
- Achronycal (Evening) Setting: the last day on which one can see the Pleiades set on the western horizon just before sunrise (November 13)
- Achronycal (or, Second "Helical") Rising: the first day on which one can see the Pleiades rise over the eastern horizon just after sunset (November 22).
- Cosmic Rising/Setting: the day on which the Pleiades either rise or set in conjunction with the sun, just before their heliacal rising/settings, and therefore cannot be seen at all.

Any naked-eye observation of these risings and settings will necessarily be dependent on weather conditions and other visibility issues (fog, morning haze, clouds, etc.), since one will need to be able to pick out the star from the morning and evening twilight, and therefore will by no means be exact. For the Pleiades, a cluster of third magnitude stars, the asterism has to rise about thirty minutes before sunrise to be seen by naked-eye observers. Without the use of telescopes or other aids, all dates would require just under a two-week delay for apparent rise-set phenomena to manifest, and a two-day margin of error beyond their exact calculation or the general dates I have provided. Even where others calculate exact rise-set dates with mathematical equations, naked-eye observation will change the dating of the phenomenon.

If we were to humor the traditional understanding of *Anne Killigrew's* "Pleiad's" with the assumption that Dryden was simply incorrect in his use of the phenomenon out of ignorance, we must try to reconstruct Dryden's likeliest methods of tabulation. If we were to assume that Dryden was working from calculations that he borrowed from classical poetry, perhaps the Roman poets Virgil and Ovid, or from the Greeks Aratus and Hesiod, his calculations could be off by a margin of 10-14 days, given the differences in latitude between Rome (41° N), Athens (37° N), and London (51° N), much less from the precession of the equinoxes, which puts about a month between classical rise-set dates and present-day occurrences. I am not aware of a full set of seventeenth-century catalogue of rise-set dates, so I assume that Dryden would have familiarized himself with Virgil or Ovid (the former whom he credited as "exact astronomer"), the rough guidelines provided by Sacrobosco in his occasional commentary on those two Roman poets, naked-eye observation, a seventeenth-century planisphere, or oral report. All dates provided above correspond to contemporary observations of the Pleiades' risings and settings, but to calculate approximate dates for the years 1660-1685, one must subtract about four days from already vague apparent dates to make up for the changes effected by precession. The general rule of thumb is to add 1 day onto rise-set dates for every 70 years that pass. Utilizing a 1678 planisphere published by John Seller, I place the cosmic rising of the Pleiades at May 4, 1678. Allowing for the sun's progression along the ecliptic to the extent required for an "apparent" heliacal rising, I would date the "apparent" rising of the Pleiades to May 23-4, 1678. This is undoubtedly too early, since the visible heliacal rising was in the early June. Perhaps the most complete and conservative catalogue of ancient rise-set referents in poetry, which accounts for changes in calendars, latitudes, etc., the first volume of *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* lists, by constellation, the vital cruces Dryden encountered in his own career during his classical translations, or for his selection of celestial events (Smith 223-233).

Varro (first century BCE) prescribes the general rule of calculation: there are forty-six days between the vernal equinox and the heliacal rising of the Pleiades (Hesiod assigns "forty days and forty nights" when the Pleiades are invisible between heliacal set-rise dates). If the vernal equinox fell on March 19, 1660, then by Varro's rule of thumb Dryden's "classically-based" heliacal rise date is either the fourth or fifth day of May, depending on whether he began his tabulation on the vernal equinox or the day after. If we add the requisite days to account for precession, since the vernal equinox would not be the proper starting point for Dryden (since Varro wrote 1700 years before Dryden), this would extend Dryden's dates approximately 23 days: April 11-May 28. This is a date for true heliacal rising, not the apparent rise. With the addition days needed for the sun's position below the horizon, this would place the "apparent" heliacal rising in the first days of June, which is approximately within a week of the date provided by the 1678 planisphere. Although the heliacal rising of the Pleiades may not have been an exact match with Charles II's return, the coincidence was close enough to still be relevant. I am, of course, not as concerned with any exact rise-set tabulation of the Pleiades' heliacal rising as the methods poets may have used to justify their observations, and Dryden doubtless was not keeping track of the stars with mathematical precision.

10. Nearly any modern astronomical star guide or star atlas will show the progression of the constellations by season, as will a basic planisphere. But for a simplified illustration of those stars visible by naked eye observation in each season, I recommend W. Peck's guide to constellations. For illustrations of the Pleiades in their seasonal cycles, see Map II (18) and Map VIII (24).

11. "An Ode, in Imitation of Pindar, on the Death of the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Ossory," printed in 1701.

12. Dryden had no need to calculate these figures precisely, as they are only now employed to understand the motions of the heavens from the mindset of an individual standing on the Earth with a generally Ptolemaic perspective, looking into the heavens from an earth-centered point-of-view, rather than the classical Newtonian perspective of the cosmos. He had only had to look into the sky to observe the disappearance of the Pleiades for a month, and their reappearance before dawn in late May or early June.

13. Massey's translation; see *n.* 7.

14. The story of Electra's disappearance is also confirmed by Hyginus in *Astronomica* (2.21). A fuller account of Electra's arctic shift from a world perspective can be found in the fifteenth appendix of Giorgio de Santillana and Hertha von Dechend's ethnographic investigation of precession myths and star lore from a mythological point-of-view, *Hamlet's Mill: An Essay on Myth and the Frame of Time* (1969). See also *Star Names* (Allen 406).

15. *The Skies and Weather-Forecasts of Aratus*.

16. The page citation here refers to the document image number on the EEBO database, where Jonson notes this in the margin; actual page number is "D2." I will follow this pagination method for all subsequent citations. Also, this and all subsequent citations from Jonson's coronation masque for James I are cited from Jonson's 1603 publication, *His Part of King Iames His Royall and Magnificent Entertainement through His Honorable Cittie of London, Thursday the 15. of March. 1603*.

A similar "Janus Gate" theme was briefly employed in the Lord Mayor's pageant for Charles II at his return in 1660. At the East-End of Cheapside, Charles was entertained by a scene featuring the allegorical figure of Time, who was seated in a triumphal chariot. Time promises that, just as the state of Julius Caesar was brought to order after his execution, so will the state of Charles II in the wake of his father's death and the fall of his Republican usurpers. Time boasts that during the time of Caesar, he "reveal'd the Murderers; and then / Their better Genius did return agen, / And clos'd up *Janus Temple*" (R. Brown 5). John Ogilby describes the reemployment of Janus Gate imagery in the entertainments for the Charles II's coronation (1662), pp. 67, 136. See also Dryden's translation of the seventh book of the *Aeneid*, which features an illustration of the ceremonial opening of the Gate of Janus in accordance with Virgil's description of the war between the Latins and Trojans.

17. The date I have provided corresponds to dating of the Early Bronze Age, during which the Pleiades would have risen heliacally at the vernal equinox in the astrological Age of Taurus. Astrological ages are a product of equinoctial precession, and they correspond to the point on the timeline of precession when the sun rises through a zodiacal constellation at the vernal equinox. Before the Age of Taurus, it was the Age of Gemini; after, the Age of Aries. The Age of Pisces began around the birth of Christ, and we are currently on the cusp of the Age of Aquarius. Each astrological age lasts 2160 years. The sun will, on a monthly basis, gradually move from one zodiacal constellation (30°) to another with each successive sunrise, and travel the full zodiac in the span of a year; but for the 2160 years of a constellation's astrological age, the sign in question will rule the vernal equinox and give the age its name. When the Earth completes its complete circuit of the twelve astrological ages, it is said to have completed one Great Year.

18. *WoD*, 1: 13.

19. See California editor's *Commentary*. In *Tamburlaine the Great*, Christopher Marlowe describes a sailor with "pale complexion" in the face of "Comets, menacing revenge," and when "the Seaman sees the Hyades / Gether an armye of Cemerian clouds" (3.2).

20. Figures 4 & 5 of Lilly's hieroglyphics, respectively.

21. See "The Anti-Panegyrike Answering the Panegyrike," which was printed in Richard Watson's *The Panegyrike and the Storme* (1659), pp. 1-24. All parenthetical citations from this work refer to the page number and the stanzas, which are numbered in the poem.

22. The "*usurped Chariot*" mentioned here should not be confused with the Septentrional or Pleiadic chariots I shall discuss in further chapters. The extended metaphor of Watson's poem is essentially a recapitulation of the Phaeton myth, which involves the chariot of the sun.

23. Cited from Jonson's footnotes, *n.*(d).

24. According to Hyginus: *alii dicunt Electram non apparere ideo, quod Pliades existimentur choream ducere stellis; sed postquam Troia sit capta, et progenies eius quae a Dardano fuerit, sit euersa, dolore permotam ab his se remouisse, et in circulo qui arcticus dicitur, constitisse, ex quo tam longo tempore lamentantem capillo passo uideri; itaque e Cometen esse appellatam* (63-64).

25. The two contemporaries of Brahe to whom I refer are the Italians Francesco Maurolico and Frangipani. Maurolico's essay on the 1572 nova was never published, and by and large never read, although many antiquarians and contemporaries had noted its existence over the centuries. Brahe knew of

its existence, and even attempted to procure a copy. A history of the manuscript and a translation of Maurolico's essay can be found in Doris C. Hellman's 1960 essay for *Isis*. Brahe notes that Frangipani came to the same conclusion in *Astronomiae Instauratae Progymnasmata*, p. 743 (Dreyer 64). The "New Star" was located "near the three stars that comprise the right-hand half of the familiar W of the constellation Cassiopeia" (Thoren 56). The "New Star" was often described as a comet, but this particular denomination perplexed many contemporaries due to the Aristotelian limitations placed upon comets, which strictly set them within the sublunary sphere. The "comet" also defied parallactic expectations, since did not have a tail.

In his 1615 *Annals*, John Stow remarks upon the star's appearance in Cassiopeia's chair during Elizabeth's reign in his entry for November 18, 1572 (Stow 673). John Dee (*Parallacticae commentationis praxeosque nucleus quidam*, 1573) and Thomas Digges (*Alæ Seu Scalæ Mathematicæ*, 1572) both worked on calculations for placing the coordinates of the 1572 Nova after sighting it from London. Astrological tracts and political prophecies often exploited the star well into the 1680's, as can be seen in William Knight's *Momento's to the World* (1680) and *A Prophecie Lately Transcribed From an Old Manuscript of Doctor Barnaby Googe* (1672).

26. From the first volume of Malone's 1800 ed. of Dryden's works (Malone 402).

27. From Cohen's 1921 translation of *The Babylonian Talmūd: Tractate B' rākōt*. The Talmud's "Ajish" is more than likely Ursa Minor, since the handle of the polar asterism points in a southwesterly direction to the stars of the Pleiades.

28. *Hamlet's Mill*. Alcor is just above Mizar, and can be seen by naked-eye observers with a very keen eye. For those with weaker vision, Alcor only serves to magnify the brightness of Mizar. John Dee published a pamphlet on the 1572 Nova entitled *Hipparchus Redivivus* (1573), which has not survived to posterity but is supposed to have recalled the nova Hipparchus witnessed during his lifetime.

29. Matthew's Restoration tract appears to be a sequel to another celebratory 1660 tract by an Edward Matthews of London, *King Charles the II. his Restitution*, which ends with a promise for "more in the next, this being but the first of seven stars, which (by divine assistance) shall be set forth to shine as bright beams and illustrious rayes of the Sun-like glory of this right *Royall Plant of Renown*" (5). In *Karolou trismegistou epiphania*, likely the sequel to *King Charles the II*, Matthew briefly mentions yet another tract that he had intended to publish, but he does not appear to have succeeded in doing so (12). Although Matthew does not pretend to be an astrologer or a diviner of any kind, he fashions himself an interpreter of signs, and relies heavily upon biblical portents, sixteenth-century astrology, two centuries of prophecies, and even numerology.

30. In the tract's defense, Matthew's publication enjoyed at least four separate press runs without substantial changes made to the body of the work, and it likely served as an almanac for John Parry's coronation poem one year after its initial publication. I discuss Parry's poem at greater length in Chapter 5.

31. See A.L. Peck's guide to the stars of Aristotle's astronomical calendar, which is appended to his translation of *Historia Animalium*.

32. The introduction of Iris into Jonson's arrangement may be more than a typological conceit clothed in pagan astronomy, whereby Iris summons forth a rainbow to signify the Covenant made between God and man after the Great Deluge, or a throwback to classical myth. In Isaac Oliver's portrait of Elizabeth I, which is dated to the years surrounding James I's coronation, Elizabeth I is pictured holding a rainbow in her right hand, next to which a Latin inscription appears: *Non Sine Sole Iris* ("No Rainbow Without the Sun"). She had been further associated with Iris in a marriage masque that she took pains to suppress, *Zabeta*. Jonson's Iris may be a messenger of the continuity of his succession according to divine will, passing from Elizabeth I to her Scottish cousin.

James I, in a scheme for a proposed poem of his own, utilizes Iris as his poetic intercessor to the Muses, and even offers to "marry" her through his poetic pledges, but "she saide it was not lawfull to her to accept anie mortals suite" (Westcott 59). Iris thus conveys his "marriage" offer to the Nine.

33. In his translation of Virgil's *Georgics* (4.2), Dryden gives "Aerial Honey," (239).

34. Trans. Dryden.

35. Cited from the California editor's notes to the *Works of Virgil* (*WoD*, vol. 6). The latter harvest, at the achronycal/cosmic setting of Taygete, occurs on the brink of November in Virgil's day, when the sun enters the zodiacal sign of Scorpio, just on the cusp of what would have been for Dryden—were he not taking sixteen hundred years of equinoctial precession into account—All Souls' Day.

36. According to the thirteenth-century Englishman, Johann de Sacrobosco (John Holywood), in his astronomical manual, *De Sphaera* (which retained its popularity as a university textbook into the seventeenth century and was used by Milton in teaching students astronomy from his home in Aldersgate), the calculation of a zodiacal constellation's Cosmic Setting was often treated less by precise calculation of the pertinent constellation's setting than it was through the concept of zodiacal opposition. Thus, when Scorpio was rising cosmically or heliacally, Taurus—which sits opposite Scorpio in the circle of the zodiac—was said to set cosmically (Sacrobosco 158).

37. From Jonson's "An Ode: to Himself," printed in the 1640 *Epigrams* (Jonson 135). Jonson addressed three odes to himself. The ode to which I am referring is the piece written in response to the poor reception of his comedy, *The New Inn* (1629). In the satiric ode, written in the wane of his dramatic career, Jonson engages in self-censure even as he censures others, and his appeals to the king did not fall on deaf ears. Charles I sent him £100 to recommend his service as a Chronologer to the City of London (Linklater 294).

38. *Ibid*, 137.

IV. Arcturus, the Pleiades, and Charles's Wain: Heaven's Regents and the Stuart Kosmokratores

1. From Bishop Aldhelm's riddle, *De Arturo*, (in most editions titled "De Arcturo") translated and printed in Joseph Ritson's *The Life of King Arthur*, p. 95. Although there is very little likelihood that Aldhelm had in mind King Arthur in this riddle, given that he also writes riddles in the first person for Eosphorus ("De vespero sidere") the Pleiades ("De pliadibus"), and the north celestial pole ("De vertigine polis," see Stork pp. 174, 108, 159), Ritson relies on the old association of Arcturus with King Arthur. In Ritson's understanding of Aldhelm's configuration of King Arthur's stars, King Arthur is Polaris and his chariot is either the "wain" of Ursa Minor or Ursa Major. Arthur is thus at the center of Ritson's universe, which implies that Arcturus—as Arthur's star—is being used in the same fashion that Gregory the Great used the asterism in *Moralia in Job* (*viz.* the North Star in Ursa Minor). Here Ritson is more savvy than his critics have allowed, for he places Arcturus in the correct asterism by Aldhelm's designation—Ursa Minor. This is also the identification of Arcturus that informed the marginal notes for the translators of the Geneva Bible (Job 38:32). I have examined the Arcturus/Arthur's Wain confusion in Appendix 2. The last lines of Aldhelm's riddle, in Ritson's translation, are as follows:

I am enrich'd with this gift, forasmuch as I am next to the pole.
He who wanders in the Ryphaen mountains of Scythia,
Equaling, in numbers, the Seven-stars, in the top of the poles;
Whose lower part, in the stygian and lethean marsh,
Is reported to fall down in the black bottom of hell.

For the original Latin verses, see Appendix 2. An earlier translation by Ritson can also be found in a letter dated July 5, 1803, addressed to Robert Surtees.

2. *Karolou Trismegistou Epiphania*.

3. I briefly argue in Appendix 2 for an alternate association of the original *septem triones* in early modern and medieval English poetry, but for clarity of argument here, I have chosen to employ "Septentrional" according to the understanding of Restoration poets, who almost unanimously understood the term to refer to Ursa Major.

4. This English translation of the famous distich is taken from *King Charls his starre*. Arise Evans provides the translation in company with the original Latin verses, and attributes his English version to "J.B." Edward Matthew provided another English version in his 1660 tract, pp. 6-7. The earliest version I have found is the original Latin verse in Lilly's *Monarchy or No Monarchy in England* (92).

The only precise attribution of the original Latin verses I have found is in the 1660 tract, *Stella Meridiana Caroli Secundi Regis*, wherein the editor describes the circumstances of their composition:

Sir William Jones sitting in the same seat with Serjeant Hoskins, and both of them beholding the Star with admiration; Sir William Jones, said [to] Judge Hoskins, (who was a very learned and ingenuous Poet) Brother, here is a fair Subject for you to write something upon. Who then composed these Verses following, which were presented to the Kings Majesty the same day at Dinner (4)

The Latin verse of *Stella Meridiana Caroli Secundi Regis*, attributed to Hoskins, differs from Lilly's (5). The more common chronology places the Latin prophecy as being delivered to the king either in passage to St. Paul's, or at his arrival thence (see Lambert Van Den Bos's [Lambert Wood] *The Life and Raigne of King Charles, from His Birth to his Death*, p. 25). Variable translations substitute the notion of the king's destiny to eclipse other kingdoms with literal prognostications of a solar eclipse, which was said to follow the king's birth two days later. For an early report of this eclipse in poetry, see Ben Jonson's 1640 epigram, "On the Princes Birth-day" (100).

5. For the Anglo-Saxon, see Allen's *Star Names* (429). In the medieval *Anglo-Saxon Manual of Astronomy*, these stars are described as the "*septemtrio*," which "untaught men call carle's-wain," viz. "*carles-wæn*" (Wright 16). See Appendix 2.

6. "The Speeches of Ajax and Ulysses, from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: Book the Thirteenth." From Tonson's original edition (1700).

7. *Star Names* (Allen 94).

8. *The Faerie Queen: The Shepherds Calendar: together with the other works of England's arch-poët*, Edm. Spencer (1611).

9. Polaris has not always been at the north celestial pole, so the stars of Ursa Major have not always been regarded in relation to the pole star. See Appendix 1.1.

10. The Great Bible of 1539 employs the septentrional epithets "waynes of heuen" and "seuen sterres" for *Aish*.

11. *Charles II*. For an echo of this opinion, see Osmund Airy's biography of Charles II (Airy 1).

12. When invoking the Septentrional star, many Restoration poets, astrologers, and pamphleteers do not explicitly locate the specific star in the parent asterism.

13. *Adenochoiradelogia* (16).

14. From the *Dedicatory Epistle* to John Bird's *Ostenta Carolina* (1661):

Nor let is seem more strange unto your Majesty, that Diseases should portend such great matters, than a Star, that Star, which with the next rising Sun after your joyful Nativity, shining with the glorious Sun as gloriously in his ascension, and even at mid-day, should designe your Majesties Person, and future Glory, which undoubtedly it did. For there is a similitude and proportion betwixt sins and calamities on the one side, and bodily Diseases on the other; for both disquiet and disease us; as likewise therefore betwixt the healer of the one, and the taker away of the other (3)

15. Scarborough served Charles II as his personal physician. Edmond Halley appears to attribute discovery of the star to Scarborough in *Catalogus* (30).

16. Cor Caroli as a single-star constellation does not appear in many uranographical works beyond the seventeenth century, due to its diminished popularity and a growing regard for the more

modern constellation of the Canes Venatici, which subsumed Cor Caroli into the southern hunting dog, Chara. The Hunting Dogs are now counted amongst the official 88 constellations. Allen notes that despite the absence of the "crowned heart" from Flamsteed's 1753 uranographical charts in *Atlas Cælestis* (Flamsteed utilizes the *Canes Venatici*), "the Heart perhaps is shown in the tail-piece to the preface" (115). The object in question is certainly the "crowned heart" of Cor Caroli, which can be clearly discerned above the Coma Berenices in a globe surmounted by an angel (Flamsteed 9). The notion of the Hunting Dogs being attached to Boötes had currency long before Hevelius codified them with his 1690 star atlas, *Prodromus Astronomiae*, but the popularity of his work played an integral part in standardizing the constellation. Before this, the constellation Boötes was pictured holding a shepherd's crook, as seen in Figure 7. In Bode's 1801 atlas, *Uranographia*, the Cor Caroli became a pendant on the connecting point between the leash held by Boötes and Chara's collar. Jehoshaphat Aspin's 1825 atlas, *Urania's Mirror*, followed Bode's depiction.

Cor Caroli is still often attributed to Charles II instead of his father, even in modern star atlases.

17. From the entry for "Robur Caroli" in *Exercises on the globes*. Like Cor Caroli, the Robur Carolinum appears to have been primarily observed by English uranographers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. While Flamsteed ignores the constellation altogether, the German astronomer, Johann Bode, depicts the oak in his celebrated uranographical charts from *Uranographia*, as does Johannes Hevelius in his posthumous catalog of 1690 (Cook 79). The Robur Carolinum appropriated stars from the still extant—if incomplete—southern constellation known as the Argo Navis, which led to the Stuart constellation's unpopularity with later uranographers.

18. *Astrology and the Seventeenth Century Mind*.

19. "The Legend of King Arthur's Survival" (Loomis 64-71).

20. Though in Appendix 2 I have outlined the difficulties of Arthur-Arcturus equations in English poetry of various centuries, by the seventeenth century, when the Stuarts assumed the English throne, Arcturus in Ursa Major was the only relevant crux.

21. Thomas Pugh, *Brittish and Out-landish Prophecies: Most of above a 1000 years Antiquity, the rest very Antient*, document image 6 on EEBO database.

22. In English: "Here Lies King Arthur, the Once and Future King."

23. Cervantes refers to a rather common Arthurian tradition in Chapter XIII of *Don Quixote*. According to Courtney's *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore*, at Arthur's death, "in the pauses of the solemn tolling of the funeral bells, sweet voices came from fairy-land welcoming him there, from whence one day he will return and again be King of Cornwall. No luck follows a man who kills a Cornish chough (a red legged crow), as, after his death, King Arthur was changed into one" (58).

24. At his marriage to Mary Tudor in 1554, Phillip II of Spain reportedly promised to relinquish his crown should Arthur make his prophesied return (Loomis, "The Legend of King Arthur's Survival," 65). Loomis cites Juan del Castillo's *Historia de los Reyes Godos* (Madrid, 1624), p. 365 as his source, pointing to the year 1582 as time of the story's original circulation. On September 14, 1456, Margaret of Anjou was received at Coventry by King Arthur and the Nine Worthies amid thirteen elaborate celebrations ("Reception of Queen Margaret in 1456," reproduced in Appendix 3 of Craig's *Coventry Leet Book: Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays* [1902], 113). The pageants that marked the ill-fated marriage of Prince Arthur to Catherine of Aragon in 1501 also involved the house of Henry VII in Arthurian entertainments, but couched in an astrological frame (Grose's *Antiquarian Repertory* [1808]). In the first of Arthur's Tudor pageants, Prince Arthur is identified by utilizing the stars of "Jobbe, the holy p[ro]phet," and particularly through Arcturus in Ursa Major, which nominally leagues the prince with the stars of King "Arthure, illumyneing iche cost / W' VII bright sterrys, VII gefts of the Holy Gost" (Grose 271). Another account of the wedding pageant can be found in John Leland's 1774 *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*. Francis Bacon offers a small record of the astronomical entertainments in *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seuenth* (1622), p. 205. In addition to the wedding pageant of 1501, we have records of other Arthurian pageants linking Prince Arthur to his namesake. On October 17, 1498, at age of twelve, Prince Arthur was received at Coventry by the Nine

Worthies, headed by King Arthur ("Reception of Prince Arthur in 1498," reproduced in Craig's *Coventry Leet Book* [1902], pp. 116-18).

25. The Barriers were a kind of ceremonial rite of passage for the young Prince Henry, wherein he was to undergo certain martial challenges on foot. Prince Henry (in the masque called "Meliadus, lord of the isles") confronted "fifty-eight defendants," and "each bout consisted of two pushes with the pike and twelve sword-strokes, and the young prince gave or received that night thirty-two pushes and about 360 strokes" before he symbolically restored chivalry and earned a place in St. George's Portico (Chambers 393). Chambers dates the masque to January 6, 1610.

26. *The Workes of Beniamin Ionson* (1616).

27. Jonson utilizes Arcturus as a "constellation"—not necessarily the single star between the thighs of Boötes, which was later permanently fixed by astronomers to the west of Charles's Wain; he refers, instead, to the seven stars of Ursa Major.

28. Gardner, "John Dryden's Interest in Judicial Astrology."

29. *King Charls his starre*. Throughout the English Civil War, astrologers often interpreted politics through the frame of Merlin's prophecies, usually in favor of the Parliament party. See Thomas Pugh's *Brittish and Out-landish Prophetes*, which foretells the permanent end of monarchy in England three years after the Battle of Worcester.

30. *A Poem upon his Maiesties Coronation*. Since the poem is not lineated, I have provided page numbers.

31. In reality, Polaris is 0.7° from the celestial pole.

32. The circumpolar revolution of Ursa Major is what Samuel Butler describes in the first canto of the first book of *Hudibras*, when he gives an account of the origins of bearbaiting:

For Authors do affirm it came
From Isthmian, or Nemæan Game.
Others derive it from the Bear
That's fixt in Northern Hemisphere,
And round about the Pole does make
A Circle like a Bear at Stake (684-689)

33. Shakespeare famously utilizes Charles's Wain in this manner in the first part of *Henry IV* (2.1.1). In the 1598 Andrew Wise edition, it is given as follows: *Carrier*: "Heigh ho. An it be not foure by the day ile be hangd, / Charles waine is ouer the new Chimney, and yet our horse not packt."

34. *A Panegyrick to the Kings most excellent Majesty*.

35. *Karolou trismegistou epiphania* (Matthew 71).

36. Sir Audley Mervyn, *A speech made by Sir Audley Mervyn His Majesties prime serjeant at law in Ireland, the 11th. Day of May in the House of Lords*; a panegyric filled with astrology and a host of poetic themes likely pinched from Restoration odes or Matthew's 1660 tract.

V. Charles's Bipolar Wain

1. Thomas Manley, *The Affliction and Deliverance of the Saints*, Job 9:8-9.

2. Edward Young, *Imperium Pelagi* (3.11.1-6). These verses are a play on the star catalog of Job 38:31-2, as if to put the heavens in service of the English navy. Young follows the Greek lexicographer Suidas in his substitution of Sirius (the "Dog Star") for Mazzaroth.

3. See Figures 13 & 14.

4. *Irene*, from the 1796 *Works of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Arthur Murphy.

5. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter 58; footnote 53.

6. *Conversations on the plurality of worlds*.

7. In *Star Names*, Allen supports a similar Auriga-Pleiades (Charioteer-Chariot) uranological scheme in ancient Arabic tradition.

8. "The First book of Statius his Thebais."

9. See the entry for "Charles Wain" in Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*. I have provided definitions found in the 1790 ed. Though this edition and the others that precede it do not provide page numbers, "Charles Wain" can be found in image 152 on the *ECCO* database.

10. *Ibid*, "Pleiades" (657).

11. *Ibid*, "Hyades."

12. The *septem triones* were often thought to represent the origin of the North Wind (Boreas). See Appendix 2, p. 146 for more on Transmontane.

13. From the textual notes to "Satire V," found in *A new and literal translation of Juvenal and Persius*, trans. Rev. M. Madan.

14. "A Letter from Italy, to the Right Honourable Charles Lord Halifax."

15. See *Fuimus Troes* (Rev. Isaac, ed. 485) and "Valesus: An Eclogue" (Pullein 232).

16. See Appendix 3, Tables 3 & 4. All Geneva Bible citations are from the ed. listed in Works Cited under William Whittingham.

17. *Morals on the Book of Job*.

18. See Table 4, Appendix 3.

19. See Chapter 3, p. 43.

20. *WoD*, 5: 312.20-25. Dryden appears to be citing Segrais, but he expands upon the latter's observations to some extent.

21. There is only one instance in which the Pleiades have been used to determine time of night in literature, which can be found in Sappho's fragments; however, even this lone Pleiadic anomaly is found to be an error in traditional translations of her ode. Scholars have often debated the meaning of Sappho's fragment, in which she notes the position of the Pleiades and the moon, and from these seems to draw inferences as to the time of night. Since the Pleiades are a seasonal marker, and the asterism is certainly a poor determinant for the hour of night, the passage most nearly means: "The Pleiades are in mid-heaven [viz. at meridian or the ecliptic], the night season [viz. winter] is passing" (Reiner and Kovacs, "ΔΕΔΥΑΕ men a ΣΕΑΑΝΝΑ: The Pleiades in Mid-Heaven (PMG Frag. Adesp. 976=Sappho, Fr. 168 B Voigt)," p.154).

22. *Astrology and the Seventeenth Century Mind*.

23. *Learned: Tico Brahae his astronomicall coniectur of the new and much admired [star] which appered in the year 1572*.

24. The English translation of Maurolyco is cited from C. Doris Hellman's 1960 article for *Isis*, "Maurolyco's 'Lost' Essay on the New Star of 1572."

25. *KJV*, 1611. Listed in Works Cited under Cornelius Bol.

26. Pugh, *Brittish and Out-landish Prophecies*. See n. 21 for Chapter 4.

27. Atlas as representative of a king or commander was a common trope in English poetry. One English poet, "J.H.," used the trope in *An Elegie Upon the Much Lamented Death of His Highness Oliver the Late Lord Protector* (1658): "Load then, and hang the Poles with Eligy's, / *Atlas* is fal'n." See also the Oxford elegy for Cromwell by T.M. When applied to English regents in astrological fashion, Atlas is placed at the north celestial pole, since the heavens circle around Polaris.

28. "Somewhat more on the Text and Eclipse observed."

29. "Some further Observations on the same Subject," pp. 6-7.

30. See Table 4 in Appendix 3.

31. "John Dryden's Interest in Judicial Astrology."

32. Anon., *An Elegy on James Scot, Late Duke of Monmouth*.

33. From the Norton Shakespeare's edition of *Antony and Cleopatra* (Shakespeare 2679).

34. *Some Reflection upon the Pretended Parallel in the Play called The Duke of Guise*.

35. Cited from the California Commentary on *The Duke of Guise*.

36. Citation is for page number in the California ed.

- 37. See Chapter 3, p. 46.
- 38. The illustration and its caption—which is a reproduction of Gunman's notes on the sketch—are taken from Sir Walter Scott's *Life of Dryden*.
- 39. Parhelia are also known as sundogs.
- 40. See John Everard's chronicle of parhelia, *Somewhat Written by Occasion of Three Sunnes Seene at Tregnie in Cornewall*.
- 41. *Prologue* from *WoD*, 15: 14; Jonson, "An Ode: to Himself," discussed on p. 45.
- 42. *Life of Dryden*, 315.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1:

Star Primer

I.i. The Arctic Stars

Polaris: Alpha Ursae Minoris, a star of the second magnitude on the tip of the Lesser Bear's tail (the handle of the Little Dipper). Because of its proximity to the northern celestial pole for the last two thousand years, Polaris has been used to determine true celestial North by naked-eye observers and navigators. Polaris can also be used to verify northern latitude, since its position over the horizon appears to rise the further that one travels north. At absolute north, Polaris stands overhead, and at the equator the pole star is level with the horizon; thus at any position in between, the degree differential between Polaris and the horizon represents one's current latitude. Every star in the heavens appears to rotate around Polaris from the viewpoint of an individual standing on Earth. Due to axial precession, Polaris has not and will not always occupy that space, but it will serve as the northern pole star for at least another thousand years. From 3000 BCE-1700 BCE, a much dimmer pole star was found in the constellation Draco (Thuban [Alpha Draconis]); and between 1500 BCE and 500 CE, Kochab (Beta Ursae Minoris) and Pherkad (Gamma Ursae Minoris), the two stars on the end of the Little Dipper's cup, shared the honors as the "Guardians of the Pole." Isidore of Seville makes Polaris the septentrional pin on northern wheel rotating around the earth's axle (the second wheel being at the antarctic pole), thereby qualifying Ursa Minor as the foremost wain amongst the *plaustrum* (*Etymologies* 13.5.3).

Boötes: Called the Herdsman and the Waggoner, Boötes the Herdsman was formerly depicted as a shepherd holding either a sickle or crook in his upraised left hand (Figure 7). From the Greeks onward these two uranographical configurations (Herdsman/Waggoner) were combined, hashed, and confused for one another, such that the actual etymological significance of Boötes has a complicated relationship with the specific uranology of its varying referents. When Boötes is pictured as the crook-bearing Herdsman,

he tends to the seven plough-oxen (*septem triones*) of Ursa Major, which are the constituent stars of either the Big Dipper/Charles's Wain or, in the uranography proposed by Sacrobosco, the seven stars of the lesser Wain in Ursa Minor (*i.e.*, Virgil's *geminisque Triones*). By Sacrobosco's design, Boötes presumably drives the cart of Charles's Wain, to which the seven oxen (*septem triones*) of Ursa Minor are tethered. During the seventeenth century, the "Lymerer" form of Boötes was popularized (Figure 7) as an updated depiction of Arcas baiting the Greater Bear, Callisto, around the north celestial pole. In this latter configuration, Boötes bears in his left hand a pair of leashes to tether his hunting dogs, Asterion and Chara. As the bear-baiter, Boötes stands in relation to the entire form of the Greater Bear, and not just the seven stars of Charles's Wain as he does in his Herdsman form.

Arcturus: Alpha Boötis, a star of the first magnitude on the left thigh of Boötes, just above the knee. This star was often linked to the seven stars of Charles's Wain because its brightness makes Arcturus an easily recognizable point of reference in searching for Ursa Major's stars. Since Polaris (a star of second magnitude) is not the brightest star in the sky, the pointer stars of Charles's Wain were used to find the celestial pole. When one looks north, Arcturus immediately stands out in the night sky; and from thence, looking eastward in an arc, one can easily discover the handle of the Wain. Before the seventeenth century, Arcturus was used somewhat loosely to describe the stars of both Ursa Major and Ursa Minor, or synecdochically for Boötes itself. For Gregory the Great, Arcturus in Ursa Minor (or, Major) represented the Church because of its fixedness at the apparent center of the cosmos, and thus upheld the laws manifest in the Old Testament.

Ursa Major: The Greater Bear, also called Arcturus in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century England, is the older of the two Septentrional bears. The actual uranographical configuration has been open to interpretation, but the seven stars on the bear's tail are its main attraction. These seven stars have been called Arcturus, the Plough, the Wain (of Charlemagne/Arthur), the Seven Stars, the Big Dipper, etc. The two "pointer" stars (the "Guardians") on the tip of the Dipper's bowl, Merak and Dubhe, can be utilized to

find Polaris (see Figure 4). Thirteenth-century astronomer Johannes de Sacrobosco gives the Greater Bear the appellation "Arthus" (*viz.* Arctos/Arcturus) and reserves the usual Latin cognomen of Ursa Major—*septem triones*—for the seven stars of Ursa Minor, probably in deference to Varro's etymology concerning the exact nature of the polar "plough-oxen."¹ For more on the *septem triones* confusion, see Appendix 2.

Ursa Minor: The Lesser Bear, also called the Plough, the Wain, Arcturus, the Seven Stars, etc. The Lesser Wain is difficult to pick out in Early Modern English poetry due to the proliferation of cognomens that it shares with Ursa Major. Polaris, on the tip of the Bear's tail, is the chiefest star of Ursa Minor.

Gregory the Great uses Arcturus in Ursa Minor as the celestial symbol for the Holy Church:

But by Arcturus, which illumines the night season in its orbit, and never sets, is designated, not the doings of the Saints separately manifested, but the whole Church together, which suffers weariness, but yet does not incline to fall from its own proper position, which endures a circle of toils, but hastens not to set together with time (352)

Some have understood Gregory's Arcturus to signify Ursa Major, but it is quite clear that Gregory is using Arcturus at the "axis of heaven" to signify Ursa Minor:

Arcturus so illuminates the seasons of night, as placed in the axis of heaven, to turn itself in divers ways, and yet never to set. For it does not revolve out of its orbit, but placed in its own position, it inclines to all quarters of the world, though it will never set (350)

It is much easier to understand Gregory's uranological scheme when we imagine how Ursa Minor looks when "inclines to all quarters of the world," as shown in Figure 13.

In contradiction to many other fifteenth-century uranological referents, Sacrobosco calls these stars the "Septentrional" stars because they plough slowly around the north celestial pole—notably slower than the stars of Ursa Major, due to their proximity to Polaris and their resultant sluggishness by virtue of relative velocity. Thus, many celestial referents that refer to one of the bears/wains by noting its slow revolutions refer to Ursa Minor (*e.x.* Sir Walter Scott's "Arthur's slow wain," which has often been confused for Ursa Major). Aldhelm's riddle, "De vertigne poli," makes a similar classification of "septem

¹ *Tractatus de sphere* of Sacrobosco, p. 124.

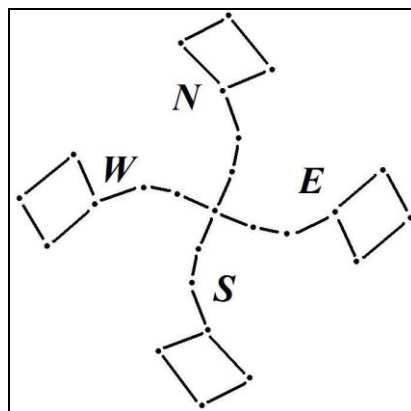


Figure 13: Gregory the Great's *Northern Cross*,
The Symbol of the "Church Universal"

sidera," the Seven Stars of the axial wain (presumably Ursa Minor by Varro's denomination), which impede the axis's ability to turn at full career: *Nec rota per girum quam trudit machina limphae / Currere sic posset ni septem sidera tricent* (Stork 159). Nancy Stork provides a record of marginal notes for Aldhelm's riddle, which shows that the manuscript's editors often understood *septem sidera* as a reference to planetary bodies, since the known planets were sometimes referred to as the "seven stars" (the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, and Saturn). Those same marginal notes are almost certainly evidence of a common misunderstanding that proceeds from generic quality of "seven stars" referents, given that it is the *septem triones* that plough slowly around north celestial pole. Ursa Minor, then, is the asterism that reserves the power to retard the Earth's rotation—not the various planetary bodies.

Pleiades: The cluster of seven stars on the shoulder of Taurus, whose heliacal rising once marked the Vernal Equinox in the astrological Age of Taurus, by which the Greeks determined the beginning of the summer sailing season. Hyginus tells us that one of the Pleiades, Electra, fled from the constellation Taurus at the destruction of Troy to the stars of the arctic circle. Other legends simply tell of a disappearing Pleiad, whose disappearance diminished the asterism's seven stars to a mere six. The Pleiades are the mythical half-sisters of the Hyades, which are located in the eye of Taurus, and are the

daughters of Atlas and Pleione; hence, these sevens stars are often called the Seven Sisters or the Atlantides. At their achronycal rising, when the Pleiades rose opposite the sun, the asterism was thought to signal the onset of winter. Gregory the Great writes that these stars are the embodiment of the "Saints, who amid the darkness of this present life, illumine us with the light of the Spirit of sevenfold grace, who, from the first beginning of the world, even to its end, sent at divers times to prophesy, are in some degree united, and in some degree separate from each other" (358). The Saints' Pleiadic essence is manifest in the precepts of the New Testament: "But wherever Arcturus turns itself in its circle, it presents to view the Pleiades...Arcturus, then...can be designated the Law; but by the Pleiades, which rise from the East, the grace of the New Testament" (354).

I.ii The "Charles's Wain" Birth-Star Trope

When we read into the Restoration birth-star trope on the whole, we are typically confronted by five *major* poetic interpretations of the "Charles's Wain" prodigy, each dependent on the particular uranological configuration utilized by the poet in question:

1. The star's significance (when said star is nameless or extant under one its "wain" epithets) is merely as a parallel to Biblical prophecy—a new English star of Bethlehem. Herrick's poem, "A Pastorall Upon the Birth of Prince Charles, Presented to the King, and Set by Mr. Nic[olas] Lanieri," sets the birth of the Prince and the appearance of his natal star amidst shepherds watching their flocks by night. In the book of Oxford verses celebrating Charles II's return, *Britannia Rediviva* (1660), one poet saw in Charles's birth-star the Christian prodigy of the "Great Redeemer," for "both [their] Births were usher'd by a Star" (58).² When mentioned only by name, or referenced as a generic prodigy with special significance only because it was linked to the King, the identification of Charles's Wain and its stars is dubious at best, since the star merely functions on a typological level. Some prophetic traditions identified Christ's star as

² "After such gloomy storms, and fatall jarrs..." For all subsequent poems cited from *Britannia Rediviva*, I will provide *B.R.* for the author's name where a full name is not given, and use first lines as titles for the poems. Due to the lack of page numbers and line numbers, all citations refer to the document image numbers provided by *EEBO*.

a Pleiad; and in 1572, the Puritan minister Théodore de Bèze saw in Tycho Brahe's "Nova" the return of the star of Christ. Cowley refers to Charles's prodigy in typological terms in the last book of *Plantarum*:

That glorious Star the shining Pomp do's lead
 Than all the starry Host more gay and bright,
 Which thirty Years before did Wonder breed,
 And signaliz'd your Birth with sacred Light (31)³

2. The "Wagon" functions as a celestial chariot (the Big Dipper's bowl) in which Charles II (as the Pole-Star) rides through the night sky, pulled by three horses/oxen (of the *septem triones*) that form the "handle" of the Big Dipper (see Figure 4). The team's constituent stars would be Alioth, Alcor/Mizar, and Alkaid, while the stars Phecda, Merak, Dubhe, and Megrez fashion four wheels for the celestial cart. John Ailmer pictured this classical figure of the Wagoner and his Wain in the birth-star portent, fluffed with all the trappings of a triumphal procession, for "Upon his Throne shall wait Honour and Love, / And Charles's Wain be drawn by *Venus's Dove*" (*B.R.* 59).⁴ William Clarke also triumphed in the fact that "CHARLS his Waine / Hath got it's Rider once againe" (*B.R.* 69).⁵

Or, conversely, Charles II is the "Driver" as figured in Arcturus in Boötes, or the entire Herdsman constellation itself, seated on a coach. In yet another driver configuration, the "Plough" becomes the chariot of Boötes. The "handle" of the Big dipper serves in the capacity of the driver's reins (Alkaid, Mizar, and Alioth), and the four stars of the asterism's bowl run before him as a team of horses. In *Iter Boreale*, Robert Wild makes George Monck the Waggoner (Boötes), drawing Charles II in his Wain (15).

3. The seven stars of Charles's Wain are confused for Arcturus in Boötes, in which case he is the celestial Herdsman tending the seven oxen (of Ursa Major) or pushing his "Plough" (as we see in Virgil's *Georgics*). This lends itself to the metaphor of a pastoral kingship; one that promises luxury, wealth, and

³ A translation of the Sixth Book of Mr. Cowley's *Plantarum*, stanza 121. The translator of this work is unidentified.

⁴ "Wonder of Kings and men! to thee we owe."

⁵ "Ye empty Comets of the Skies..."

increased trade, largely due to the cosmic setting of the Pleiades (in early November) and the heliacal rising of Arcturus at the outset of harvest season, culminating near the Autumnal Equinox when the sun is in Libra. This is the subject of another investigation into Dryden's star lore that I am currently working on, which is entitled: "*King Arthur's Ephemeris: How Arcturus, the Pleiades, and the Northern Bears Inform the Political Pageantry of Dryden's Musical Georgic.*"

4. Charles's Wain goes by its more general name of the "seven stars," and surrenders its specificity as a constellation, due to fact that several other constellations share that name. Or, Charles's Wain becomes confused with Ursa Minor. Although retaining generic nominal specificity, the celestial referent is treated superficially on the basis of nominal coincidence alone, or as an archetype of English royalist symbolism.

5. Charles's Wain is confused for the Pleiades, due to the association of the birth-star with the advent of spring. Such mentions of the star blend the asterism with maritime imagery, linking the prodigy specifically to the seas—at times to draw the parallel between the king's return via the seas in May (when the Pleiades formerly were used to mark the beginning of the summer sailing season at their heliacal rising) and Charles's sure-to-come maritime prowess, or as a presage of naval victories yet pending—a theme that would be important to Dryden when chronicling the wars with the Dutch. This is a theme readily adaptable to the king's role as "Neptune" in his coronation pageants.

I.iii. The Pilot Star and the King

Charles's Wain, beyond its obvious nominal link with Charles II, was of utmost importance as a navigational tool; and thus we often see the link between maritime images of navigational prowess and the portrait of Charles as the Supreme Navigator:

Brittaine a floting Iland was twelve yeares,
Ballast with heavy hearts and fraught with feares.
But now shee hath recovered sight of Land:
CHARLES our true Pilot saves her from the Sand (66)⁶

⁶ "High Courts above all Justice slew our King..."

On the one hand, Charles the "true Pilot" steers the nation's collective ship with his savvy seamanship and his superior sense of political orientation; on the other hand, he is the pilot's star, which designates the closest equivalent to true North in the heavens—Polaris.

The ever feckless Flecknoe gave Charles II an even greater boost on the hierarchy of the seas, elevating him to the status of an English Neptune, carrying the triple-tined scepter of his three kingdoms:

mighty CHARLES with Trident stands,
And like some God, the Sea commands.
Having so gloriously orecome,
What now remains, but to come home,
And fixed in our British Sphere,
Shine a bright Constellation there,
Most pow'ful ore the Watery Main,
Next unto that of Charles his Wain (13-20)⁷

Nor were the poets of the Restoration beyond drawing parallels to esoteric religious iconography, as their solar epithets invited Persian parallels, playing on the Zoroastrian worship of the sun in the person of an anglicized Ahura Mazda.⁸

Appendix 2:

The Bases of Uranological Confusion in Arctic Stars

Arctos/Arcturus (Greek): Arctos is the name by which the Greeks (*ex.* Homer and Aratus) refer to Ursa Major, meaning "bear." Arcturus, which means "bear-ward," was linked to the stars of Arctos through to the legend of Callisto and Arcas, which can be found in the second book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Either through laziness in dissemination of the myth, through likeness in name, a confusion of the

⁷ "To his royal Highness, On his Return from our Naval VICTORY, *An.* 65."

⁸ See Dolling's lines in *Britannia Rediviva*: "Arise Great Sun, and with thy light / Vanquish thy Britains shorter night, / And tell the Persians they mistake, / When theirs a Deity they make" (62). See also Topping's poem *B.R.*, which utilizes the very same theme: "The Sun it self, if it had alwaies shin'd, / In Persian Temples had not ben enshrin'd" (65).

relationship between the three involved asterisms, or the changes in the actual positions of the stars with regard to the celestial pole brought on by precession, these polar stars were often confused. The Welsh word for bear, "Arth," was also linked to King Arthur, and informed the early vulgar association of Ursa Major with King Arthur in Great Britain.

Pleiades/Wain (Hebrew *Chimah/Kimah*): For more on uranological confusions in the Bible, see Appendix 3; see also John Hill's entries for "Pleiades," "Wain," "Amara," "Chimah," "Taurus," "Mazaroath," and "Negim" in his 1754 astronomical dictionary. I cover some of the basics of Hill's arguments on biblical stellar referents in Appendix 3. Babylonian Talmudic tradition links these two asterisms through an actual physical exchange of stars at the time of the Great Deluge. In order to produce forty days and nights of rain, God plucks two stars from the Pleiades and unleashes the floodwaters. To cork up the heavens in the Earth's demise, God plucks two stars from one of the northern bears.

***Septem Triones*/"Ursa Major or Ursa Minor?":** In what is undoubtedly one of the most enduring and least probed celestial confusions in the appellations of the polar stars in England and Western Europe, the *septem triones* have been attributed at different periods and on different continents to each of the Bears. This co-identification of asterisms was perpetuated in part by the inability of early moderns to dissociate their own notions of uranography and nomenclature from the information originally provided for the same stars on uranological and etymological grounds, and even further complicated by conflicting uranological schemes provided by poets with their profusion of cognomens. Ursa Major has emerged from this Septentrional conflict an undisputed victor, though any rationalization of the information originally provided in scholarly astronomical sources like Sacrobosco—whose *Tractatus de Sphaera* was required reading in universities for nearly four hundred years after it was written—would necessarily favor Ursa Minor. The difficulty in pinpointing a correct asterism for the *septem triones* is that for two thousand years both Bears have signified for the same term, although the Lesser Bear's Septentrional identity is

unacknowledged altogether, thereby complicating our understanding of those poets who relied upon Ursa Minor in that capacity. Sacrobosco's *septem triones* in Ursa Minor are the product of a literal reading of Marcus Terentio Varro's etymology for *Septentriones*. Sacrobosco writes, with Varro in mind:

It is to be noted that the pole which always is visible to us is called "septentrional," "arctic," or "boreal." "Septentrional" is from *septentrio*, that is, from Ursa Minor,⁹ which is derived from *septem* and *trion*, meaning "ox," because the seven stars in Ursa move slowly, since they are near the pole. Or those seven stars are called *septentriones* as if *septem teriones*, because they tread the parts about the pole (124)¹⁰

Ursa Major, on the other hand, is derived from Arctos in quite another manner: "'Arctic' [Articus] is derived from [Arthos], which is Ursa Maior, for 'tis near Ursa Maior. It is called 'boreal' because it is where the wind Boreas comes from (87).

For Sacrobosco, the oxen of Ursa Minor are thus *triones* by Varro's peculiar denomination, rather than mere *boves*, precisely because they are in the act of "ploughing the earth" around the axis—that is, churning the heavens at the north celestial pole by turning the northern wheel of the earth's axle (axis), of which Ursa Major would then be the wagon, and Boötes its Waggoner. We should not fall into the error of thinking Sacrobosco wrong, nor yet on par with Homer and Virgil, since the asterisms of the arctic pole have precessed. For, in the times of Homer and Virgil, Kochab and Pherkad, the stars on the end of the Little Dipper's cup, were closest to the northern celestial pole. One can envision this easily by inverting the diagram of Ursa Minor I have provided in Figure 14 so that the cup is at the center of the diagram. Indeed, even Guido delle Colonne, in his immensely popular and influential romance, *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (1287), shows some familiarity with Sacrobosco's *septem triones* in Ursa Minor (as the result of precession) in his description of the stars. He makes Draco the "Master" of the seven pole stars as if invoking the ancient pole star of erstwhile millennia, Thuban, which had changed out to the

⁹ 4 of 13 manuscripts that constitute the text from which I am quoting provide Ursa Major (2 Oxford folios, one commentary on Sacrobosco by Robertus Anglicus (1271), and one folio of the *Sphere* with glosses now located at Princeton). Sacrobosco's corresponding Latin text may be found on p. 87 of Stork's text.

¹⁰ Varro gives us the etymology for *Septentriones* as follows: *nostrae eas septem stellas triones et temonem et prope eas axem; Triones enim et boves appellantur a bubulcis etiam nunc maxime cum arant terram; e quis ut dicti valentes Clebarii qui facile proscindunt glebas, sic omnis qui terram arabant a terra Terriones, unde Triones ut dicerentur de tritu* (7.74).

"Guardians of the Pole" by Homer's age (1.205-222). Ursa Major was then much closer to the northern celestial pole, and Ursa Minor rotated around the tip of its cup rather than the tip of its handle—Polaris. This interaction of the two Wains would have created something more of a pinwheel/windmill effect in the spinning of the Dippers' handles.

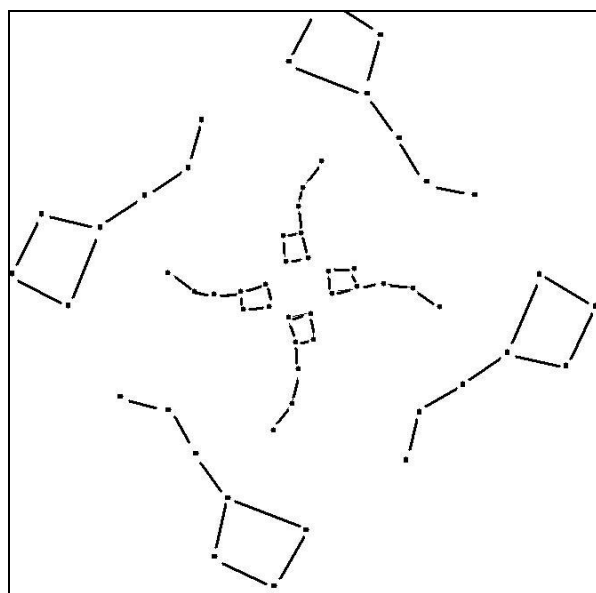


Figure 14: *Septem Terriones* and the World Mill:

The North Celestial Pole (1500-500 BCE)

One cannot help but wonder, by Sacrobosco's uranological configuration, if those scholars and poets of the next two hundred years who were dependent upon his *septem triones* in Ursa Minor would not have placed Virgil's *geminisque Triones* amongst the stars of Ursa Minor, and in particular the erstwhile "Guardians of the Pole," Kochab and Pherkad. When we recognize Ursa Minor in *septem triones*, there is always the possibility that the "Twin Triones" are in fact those same "Guardians."

As per the more conventional, if only more popular, attribution of *septem triones* to Ursa Major, in *The Faerie Queene* Spenser spots the "seuenfold teme behind the stedfast starre, / That was in Ocean waues yet neuer wet" (1.2.2-3). Spenser's "seuenfold teme," the English *septem triones*, is actually more indicative of Ursa Minor's ploughing-oxen, which guide "all, that in the wide deepe wandering arre" through the asterism's physical connection to the pole—not Ursa Major's incidental connection to Polaris

as the Wain (5). Since Spenser's astronomical passage begins with the "Northerne wagoner," and only after leads us to the "seuenfold teme," the asterisms that immediately suggest themselves are Boötes and Ursa Major, justifying the editorial habit of glossing as these stars by relating both asterisms to a passage in Boethius (1.2.1). I would argue, nonetheless, that on Spenser's own terms, as per the *septem triones* in Ursa Minor, that Spenser's axial oxen ("teme"), yoked to the "stedfast starre" in Polaris, more nearly describe the seven stars of Ursa Minor. After all, it is not only the "stedfast starre" that "firme is fixt, and sendeth light from farre," but Ursa Minor as well, by its fixedness upon the earth's axle (4). In "Amoretti and Epithalmion," Spenser confirms my supposition, for he calls upon "Helice, the lodestar of my lyfe" (34.10). Helice (Callisto) is the usual name for Ursa Major, but Spenser quite clearly believes that Helice is Ursa Minor, since his Helice contains the lodestar itself (Polaris). It is likely that Spenser picked up his uranographical scheme from Sacrobosco.

Arcturus/Polaris: I have cited Ritson's rendition of Aldhelm's riddle, *De Arturo*, at the beginning of Chapter 4, which I would read as follows: King Arthur (as Arcturus-Polaris) stands at the north celestial pole and bears (*viz.* is circled by) his *essed*a in the stars of Charles's Wain (the first of the two wains to partially dip below the horizon [*viz.* "the stygian and lethean marsh"] towards the nadir [*viz.* "the black bottom of hell"] in lower northern latitudes). The obvious appeal to Aldhelm would be the transformation of the zodiac into Arthur's Round Table, and Arthur's position at the northern celestial pole—the region sacred to English poets as the British zone. In Aldhelm's time (8th C. CE), Arthur/Arcturo in Polaris would have been a relative "newcomer" to the northern celestial pole, and therefore could have been seen as a kind of celestial conqueror.

According to Gregory the Great, Arcturus represents the Holy Church, "placed in the axis of heaven, to turn itself in divers ways, and yet never to set" (350). Sydney Anglo associates Gregory's Arcturus with Arcturus in Ursa Major in his analysis of Prince Arthur's 1501 wedding pageant based on the pageant's explicit uranological arrangement and its religious undertones; however, Gregory insists on the stationary motion of Arcturus, because

doubtless, while Holy Church is shaken with numberless tribulations, the shade of the present life comes to an end; and the night passes by, as it continues stationary, because while the Church remains in her original condition, the life of this mortal state passes away (353)

This stationary and fixed motion is only applicable to Ursa Minor, indicating that Gregory the Great identified Arcturus in Ursa Minor rather than Ursa Major, while other notable writers, like Boethius, placed Arcturus in Boötes. In the 1501 pageant, there is no doubt that King Arthur's asterism (and thus Prince Arthur's, as well) is Arcturus in Ursa Major. We must assume that the association of heavenly grace and the Holy Church was more entrenched in the name itself, than in the actual stars of whichever Arcturus any literary source raises on high. But the original Arcturus is very likely Ursa Minor, which was thought to be a fitting asterism for the heavenly church by its recently assumed fixedness in the north celestial pole for the newborn Christian millennia.

Arcturus/Arthur's Wain: The error entrenched in this specific trend of astral misidentifications is perhaps best characterized by the entry for "Charles's Wain" in the *OED*, such that, "the name appears to arise out of the verbal association of the star-name Arcturus with Arturus or Arthur, and the legendary association of Arthur and Charlemagne; so that what was originally the wain of Arcturus or Boötes...became at length the wain of Carl or Charlemagne." What is more difficult to pinpoint is an exact origin of Arthur's star referent, being such that for nearly every critical stance that has been taken to date, which would either debunk or resolve "erroneous" editorial references by explaining the seemingly simultaneous placement of Arthur between Arcturus in Boötes and Arcturus in Ursa Major (Charles's Wain), another literary artifact can be found to refute that critical stance. Criticism on this particular reference-to-star relationship must proceed based on each artifact in question, and more importantly with the caveat that there is no one correct astral identification to be had in Arthur's uranological schizophrenia.

Throughout this paper, I have used the more common Arthur/Arcturus in Ursa Major crux to avoid this tangential line of astral criticism where it would only clutter the argument, but it is a line of

argumentation that cannot be avoided, and of necessity destabilizes the heavens beyond what we imagine in any Arthurian-based uranographical arrangement. All too common is the unqualified—and ultimately misleading—claim that Arthur or Charlemagne reside *de facto* in the seven stars of Ursa Major via the "mistaken" annexation of Arcturus as a Septentrional cognomen. This is a claim increasingly found in twentieth-century Arthurian sources as a novelty of folklore due to the rising popularity of archaeoastronomy, ethnographic studies of mythology, and astrological encryption. But such a claim is founded upon gross assumptions that are in turn founded upon even grosser assumptions. As I shall argue herein, the earliest appearances of Arthur's association with his seven stars imply that Arthur was linked more readily, and purposefully, with Ursa Minor. The idea of a princely succession in the wain of Ursa Major is the foundation of the Arthur-Charlemagne metonymy, predicated on the popular *cognomine vulgi* of the *septem triones*. However, it appears that Arthur's Wain/Plough was more generally associated with Ursa Minor or Arcturus in Boötes in its fifteenth-century vulgar manifestations, though royalist poets transferred their legendary king to the pertinent English asterism, Ursa Major, in the sixteenth century.

By 1660, the Septentrional wain of Arthur-Charlemagne had become the wain of Charles II in Ursa Major almost beyond doubt, conveniently promoting a new terrestrial sire to the lineage of the translated Christian Worthies. So even as the stars themselves were changing places with the succession of kings (through James I and Charles I) from Ursa Minor and Boötes to Ursa Major, due to a gradual compilation of standardized astronomical tables, the nominal identities of those same stars changed as well. And in that varied star culture comprised by English star-gazers and astrologically-minded poets dependent on dated literary astronomy, the confusion of earthly kings became the confusion of their heavenly counterparts in turn. While Arcturus in Ursa Major was still quite clearly the asterism Charles's Wain, it inevitably became associated with Arcturus in Boötes by a portion of each century's textual scholars when looking back on literary star referents with contemporary uranography in mind. The Ursa Major-Boötes confusion was in part due to their joint-ownership of Arcturus and its status as King Arthur's star by virtue of the likeness between the king's imperfect Latin name, *Arturus*, and Arcturus.

This homonymous Arthurian anomaly has informed a rather common "mistake" in approaches to Early Modern English literature for the last four hundred years, but it is a confusion that dates back to the proliferation of astronomical *cognomine vulgi* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which thus calls any "standard" interpretation from those years into question. In 1651, Hardick Warren, amid his discussion of the notable stars that appear in the Book of Job, names "*Arturus [sic], Orion, and Pleiades*," signaling that Arcturus (if not simply indicative of unidentified errata) had likely become the celestial home of King Arthur if only by a misnomer (28). The Great Bible (and Bishops' Bible as well) supplies "the waynes of heuen, the Orion, the seuen sterres" for what was later to become Arcturus, Orion, and the Pleiades (Job 9:9). The "the waynes of heuen" stands in the place of subsequent biblical renditions of "Arcturus" for the same set of seven stars. Which of the "waynes" the singular "Arcturus" was meant to identify is equally impossible to determine between differing biblical translations from the Latin Vulgate forward, as testified by the marginal notes to Job 9:9 in the 1560 Geneva Bible, which gloss Arcturus and his sons as Polaris and the surrounding stars of Ursa Minor.

Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne (d. 709 CE), authored an epigram entitled "*De Arturo*," which Ritson reproduced in his *Life of King Arthur*. I have provided Ritson's English translation in Chapter 4 and discussed its ramifications above. The original Latin verse is as follows:

Sydereis stipor turmis in vertice mundi,
 Esseda famoso gesto cognomine vulgi,
 In gyro volvens iugiter non vergo deorsum,
 Cetera ceu properant cœlorum lumina ponto.
 Hoe 'dono ditor quoniam' sum proximus axi.
 'Ryphæis Scytiaë qui latis' montibus errat,
 Vergilias æquans numeris in arce polorum;
 Cui pars inferior stygia letheaque palude
 Fertur 'infernî' fundo succumbere nigro (Ritson 95)

Given the date of Aldhelm's riddle, there is no reason, like Ritson, to assume Arthur's presence in *Arcturo*, through it may not be ruled out altogether based on *Arcturo*'s ownership of the "war chariot."

Erasmus utilized "Arcturus" in the Latin text of *In Praise of Folly* (1509) while ridiculing those who trace their lineages to mythical/historical persons—namely, Aeneas, Brutus, and "Arcturus." Those happen to be the very personages represented on the arms of Henry VII as his forbears, and they were

painted on the walls of Richmond Palace, as well. Erasmus first wrote his famous essay while residing at Cambridge in the reign of Henry VIII. Some editors have dismissed the "Arcturus"-Arthur connection by favoring an astronomical passage from Cicero to explain Erasmus's odd word choice. Others have rendered this original Latin star name as signifying King Arthur for the following reasons:

Henry VII and his Tudor successors encouraged the belief that their house was descended from King Arthur (for this very reason the elder brother of Henry VIII, who died in 1502, had been named Arthur). The collocation of three ancient progenitors of the English dynasty makes it unlikely that Erasmus intended "Arcturus" to refer to the star" (Miller 67).¹¹

We need only observe that King Arthur was regularly associated with this asterism/star, and had been so very recently in Prince Arthur's wedding pageant, which was played just seven years before Erasmus penned his essay. Erasmus may have been more precise in his "Arcturian" jest than we have so far imagined.

We get an incredibly insightful glimpse into fifteenth-century British literary astronomy in the vulgar tongue through John Lydgate's referents in the *Book of Troy*. In Lydgate's description of the ship pilot Philotetes, who could "warne afor of euery shour / That schulde falle, whan sterrys dide apere" (I.666-7), the poet falls into a discussion of the principles of navigation and exactly what astronomical knowledge is most vital in his estimation of savvy seamanship. In his catalogue, Lydgate replaces the classical names of Guido delle Colonne's Latin stars with vulgar English equivalents:

But to schipmen þat ben discrete and wyse,
 Þat list her cours prudently deuise
 Vp-on þe see, haue suffisaunce y-nowe
 To guye her passage by Arthouris Plowe;
 For it to hem is direccioun
 Vn-to þe costis of euery regioun,
 With help only of nedle and of stoon,
 Þei may nat erre what costys þat þei gon.
 For maryners þat ben discrete and sage,

¹¹ from the 2003 *In Praise of Folly*. For more on the Arcturus/Arthur, see note 5 (p. 452) the 1993 ed. Edited by Harry Vredeveld.

And expert ben of her loodmanage
 By straunge costys for to seille ferre,
 Guyen her cours only by þe sterre
 Which þat Arthour compasseth enviroun;
 Þe whiche cercle and constellacioun
 I-called is the cercle Artofilax (1.679-693)

Lydgate's identification of "Arthouris Plowe" has served dictionary and etymology editors as the prime example on this Charlemagne-Arthur metonymy in Ursa Major, but the exact meaning of his star referents has been the subject of some debate. These referents have been popularly configured as (1) "Arthour" in Arcturus, (2) "Arthouris Plowe" in Arcturus in Ursa Major, and (3) "Arctofilax," which has, problematically, generally gone unacknowledged. When we disregard our contemporary uranography to rationalize Lydgate on his own terms, it becomes clear that this longstanding interpretation is problematic. Like A.E. Brae, I would contend that "Arthouris Plowe" ought to stand in the place of Arthur's Wain in Ursa Minor, which thus bears out just why "Arthouris Plowe" was such a central asterism to seamen, much less to society at large. The "sterre" that "Arthour compasseth enviroun" is the Arctic pole star, Polaris, which was vital to navigators (500 CE-present) in designating the orientation of true celestial North. Lydgate expressly reminds us that the "Plowe" directs one to the coasts of every region, which is only true of Ursa Minor. Ursa Major directs one to the Pole Star in Ursa Minor; it does not serve navigators as the guide-in-itself to every coast. Lydgate's "Arthouris Plowe," according to A.E. Brae, is the composite constellation Ursa Minor, with the "Plowe" at the celestial pole. Others have taken "Arthouris Plowe" for Charles's Wain, which "compasseth enviroun" Polaris in a larger circle, and guides sailors to the North Star with its Guards. "Artofilax" is Arctophylax (the "bear protector"), and is commonly used as a cognomen for the constellation Boötes—familiar to poets from the second books of Ovid's *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses*; however, it seems to me that Lydgate is implying that the motions of the Lesser Bear and Polaris are governed by the "cercle" & "constellacioun" of "Arthour" and Arctophylax—viz. the Arctic Circle of Ursa Minor and Arcturus in Ursa Major (Dryden's "circle of the bear")—and not Arcturus in Boötes. Arcturus in Boötes ("Artofilax") is not a circumpolar star or

constellation; although, one could argue, that if Arcas is latent in Arctophylax, as Ovid suggests, Lydgate may be using the Bear-Ward in contradiction to his source, Colonne, to favor Ovid's stars. But if Lydgate cannot distinguish between Arctophylax and Arcturus in Ursa Major, the Ovidian scheme is compromised. Lydgate appears to follow the more problematic scheme. The stars of Lydgate's source, Colonne, are haphazardly borrowed from Isidore of Seville; and Colonne mistakenly translates Ursa Major (Arctos) as "The Greek" when explaining that Ursa Major, in Greek, is called Arctos. Lydgate's introduction of Arctophylax is on the one hand an attempt to explain Colonne's error by utilizing a Greek name for Ursa Major, and on the other hand a substitution for the "Master" stars of Draco, which have no place in Lydgate's uranological scheme. Thus "Arthour" must be Ursa Minor and "Artofilax" Arcturus in Ursa Major. While it is not clear that Lydgate intends to use "Arthour" to signify for Ursa Minor, the "Plowe" of Arthur is very likely an interpretation of Varro's etymology of the *septem triones*, which requires that the "seven plough-oxen" be yoked to the earth's northern wagon wheel and axle. I am therefore more inclined to accept A.E. Brae's position based solely on the evidence Lydgate provides than those modern interpretations tainted by contemporary nomenclature. One's identification of "Arthour" depends, I think, on the definition of "compasseth enviroun." If one has in mind the mechanical compass used in navigation to draw a perfect circle, then Ursa Minor would be the asterism of choice, centered as it is upon Polaris. Although I have no doubt that many have read "Arthouris Plowe" as a cognomen for Charles's Wain based on its English name, the Plough—and with good evidence from informed literary perspectives and later manifestations of the Arthur/Arcturus conflation—there is no doubt that the earliest references to the stars of Arthur are often concurrent with Charles's Wain referents, thereby nullifying the idea of their co-existence in the same set of stars. As it stands in Lydgate's own uranological scheme, "Arthour" is Ursa Minor, the proprietor of the "Plowe"-star Polaris.

By the etymology for *septem triones* provided by Varro, the "ploughing oxen" of the celestial pole (*viz.* of Sacrobosco) can only qualify as more than *boves* if tethered to a Plough—that is, the Plow Star in Polaris; the star at the head of the Earth's axle/*temo*, to which the *teriones* are tethered. The question to consider is if there is enough evidence that a fifteenth-century reference to "Arthouris Plowe"

should immediately correspond to Scott's "Arthur's slow wain" (likely Ursa Minor, due to his personal correspondence with Ritson) or the *cognomine vulgi*, Charles's Wain. This has a broader uranological impact than simply in the codification of Arthur's celestial coordinates, since this must also affect our presumptuous understanding of what Arcturus in Ursa Major refers to when tracking the origins of our (assumed) understanding of what the asterism signifies whenever it is predicated on Arthurian myth. When and where the polar shift of Arcturus/Arthur occurred will be the question to pursue in the future.

If we look to Lydgate's source in the second book of Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, we see shades of Ptolemy and Sacrobosco (the former as preserved in the latter), and even hints of Isidore of Seville, in the passage from which Lydgate draws his stars. For the same passage Lydgate translates, I have provided the Latin text below:

Multis itaque diebus ac noctibus nauigantibus illis sub ductu Thesalici Philotetis, discrete notantibus stellarum cursum uisibilium existencium iuxta polum, Maioris Urse scilicet et Minoris, que numquam occident, cum Angue¹² uicino, secundum posita poetarum, cum stellam illam quam nauigantes Tramontanam appellant poete dixerunt esse stellam extremam positam in cauda Vrse Minoris, et Maiorem Vrsam nauigantes ipsi Grecum nominant et Anguem dicunt esse magistrum— De quibus Ursis, Maiori scilicet et Minori, Ouidius in secundo libro Methamorphoseos fabulose commentans dixit Calistonam et Archadem filium suum has mutatos in vrsas. Vocantur eciam hee stele Septentrionales stele, cum sint vii iuxta axem. De quibus Iuno sic dixit:

*Nuper honoratas summon, mea uiscera, cello
Videritis stellas illuc ubi circulus axem
Vltimus inuoluit spatioque breuissimus ambit.
At uos si tangit lese contemptus alumne,
Gurgite ceruleo septem prohibete triones (10)*

[And so while for many days and nights they were sailing under the leadership of the Thessalian Philoctetes, and were noting carefully the course of the stars which are to be seen appearing near the Pole Star, that is, of the Big and Little Bears which never set, together with the constellation the Dragon nearby, according to the accounts of the poets, since that star which sailors call the North Star poets say is the last star placed in the tail of the Little Bear, and the sailors themselves name Big

¹² The editor, Nathaniel Edward Griffin, provides two variants for "Draco": *Agne*; *Argue*.

Bear the Greek [sic],¹³ and say that the Dragon¹⁴ is the master....¹⁵ About these Bears, that is, the Big and Little, Ovid in Book II of the *Metamorphoses* says, writing fictitiously, that Callisto and Arcas, her son, were changed into these bears. These stars are also called the septentrional stars, since there are seven near the Pole (2.205-216)]

The "seven near the Pole" (*vii iuxta axem*) are Sacrabosco's *septem triones* in Ursa Minor, not the stars of Ursa Major. Colonne names only Draco, Ursa Minor, Ursa Major, and Transmontane—the Pole Star. In setting Colonne's referents side-by-side with Lydgate's stars, we see an equivalence in the number of stars, but not in their nominal identities, as demonstrated in Table 1. Lydgate's mention of the "Plowe" of King Arthur should correspond to *Transmontanam*, since both describe, both in etymology and context, the Pole Star. This leaves the floating "Arthour" and "Artofilax" with its vague "cercle" in nominal jeopardy. "Arthour" is related to his "Plowe" and gives his name to all seven stars of Ursa Minor, while "Artofilax," which travels in a "cercle" around "Arthour," can only be Ursa Minor. After all, Colonne assures us that the Septentrional stars (in Lydgate, they pull the "Plowe") are the seven about the pole—not the seven stars rotating around the seven stars near the pole.

Colonne's Stars	Translation	Lydgate's Stars
<i>Maiores Urse; Calistonam</i>	Ursa Major	Calixtone (Callisto); Vrsa Maior; Artofilax
Minoris Urse; Archadem	Ursa Minor	Arthour; Archadius (Arcas); Vrsa Mynor
Anguem	Draco	- - -
Transmontanam	Polaris	Arthouris Plowe

Table 1

¹³ As the editor notes, Colonne reverses "the Greek" and the Greater Bear from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, which suggests that in Greek the constellation is Arctos, meaning Bear. In describing the four climate zones of his age, Isidore says *Septentrio* (the Northern pole) "is named because it rises in a circle of seven, *septem*, stars which seem to be borne on the world's head, turning itself on its back, citing Vigil's *Aeneid*, 2.250, for support (13.11.11). These seven stars are those "which revolve around its axis," which is "properly called the *vertex*, because it is turned, *vertitur*" (13.1.5)

¹⁴ From *anguis*, meaning serpent or snake.

¹⁵ Incomplete sentence in manuscript.

Lydgate gives for the "sterrys and constellacioun, / Which þe axtre rounde aboute goon," the name of "þe Septemtryon" (672-73). In accordance with Varro, Sacrobosco, and Colonne, Lydgate puts the *septem triones* in Ursa Minor, yoked to the axis ("axtre"). It would make sense, then, that Arthur's "Plowe" should be Polaris at the "pool y-called Arthicus," given the emphasis Lydgate puts on Philotetes' attention to "þe pool" (670). In *A Pageant of Knowledge*, Lydgate insists on the stability of "heuyn...whyche ys eternall," even more so than the "sterres seuyn" (39.282)—that is, the *septem triones* in Ursa Minor, which, according to his *Legend of Saint George*, are ruled by God, the "lord of þe sterres seven," which is an echo of Gregory's "Church Universal" in the polar stars of Arcturus in Ursa Minor (35.242).

The most well-known Arthurian star referent is found in Gavin Douglas's translation of *The third Booke of Eneados*, wherein "we se / Arthurs huse, and hyades betaiknyng rane / Syne watling strete, the horne and the charle wane" (66). Here, "Arthurs huse" (Arthur's house) is an obvious homonym for Arcturus, but the equivalence in referents is complicated by (1) the fifteenth-century understanding of which star/asterism corresponds to Arcturus, and (2) a surplus of English stars for the few referents that Virgil's original Latin verse supplies, which includes mention of Charles's Wain alongside "Arthurs huse." King Arthur's stars are obviously not the stars of Ursa Major here, and exhibit the kind of uranological confusion described in the passage cited from the *OED* at the outset of this section. Virgil names only *Arcturum* (Arcturus), *pluviasque Hyadas* (the rainy Hyades), and *geminosque Triones*, which are the twin oxen/bears (3.516). For Virgil's stars, Douglas gives us Arcturus as the House of Arthur, the rainy Hyades, "Watling Street" (the Milky Way), the Horne, and Charles's Wain. If we were to proceed in our examination with prejudice by way of Ritson's Aldhelm or Lydgate, Arthur would be the proprietor of Polaris and Ursa Minor, but it does not appear that Douglas follows this attribution. "Arthurs huse" is almost of necessity Arcturus in Boötes, placing the house of King Arthur in the star Arcturus as we now know it, since Douglas glosses the *geminosque Triones* by breaking the packed asterisms (*geminosque Triones*) into two: "the horne" (Ursa Minor, as described by Dante in *Paradiso* 13.10, being such that the tapered end at Polaris [*che si comincia in punta dello stelo*] empties out through the mouth in Kochab

and Pherkad [*la bocca di quel corno*]) and Charles's Wain (Ursa Major).¹⁶ In the *Palis of Honoure*, Douglas glosses the "poil artik" and the two polar wains in the same manner using sustained anaphora. The only extra referent in the *Eneados*, then, is "watling street," which in no way changes the distribution of stars and serves as metrical filler.

In his 1871 *Notes and Queries* article, A.E. Brae chronicles an old debate involving the Arthurian history of Joseph Ritson and his posthumous critic, Dr. Maginn, concerning Arcturus-Arthur uranology. Maginn accuses Ritson of a deficiency of understanding in his Latin translation of Aldhelm, and insists on the Arthur/Arcturus in Boötes connection. Brae, in defense of Ritson, provides the following identifications for Douglas's stars (in opposition to what he finds in John Jamieson's 1846 Scots Dictionary): (1) "Arthurs huse"-Polaris, (2) "the Horne"-Ursa Minor, (3) and "Charlewane"-Ursa Major. Brae accordingly identifies Lydgate's "Arthouris Plowe" in Ursa Minor. In John Vicars' 1632 translation of Vigil's stars, Vicars provides the "Plowe-starre, Wain, Hyades waterie" (79). The "Plowe-starre" can either be Polaris in Ursa Minor, as I suggested in the case of Lydgate, or Arcturus in Boötes, being such that Arcturus in Boötes marks early harvest season at its heliacal rising, and Boötes is the mythical inventor of the plough. Vicars only gives us one asterism for *geminusque Triones*, the "Wain" without its identifying epithet, which is most likely Ursa Major. Still, on the basis of date alone, I would credit Vicars with a contemporary astronomical referent by way of Arcturus in Boötes in the "Plowe-starre." In his explication of Douglas's *Eneados*, Brae locates Arthur's home in Polaris: "the Anglo-Saxon *hufe*, a cap or diadem, is infinitely more probable; for what name could be more appropriate to the pole-star than the cap or highest extremity of Ursa Minor, the cynosure of sailors by which the pilot Palinurus would 'guy his cours'" (92).¹⁷ Brae, however, does not endeavor to compare Lydgate with Colonne, and operates on the assumption that King Arthur's stars are equivalent in Lydgate and Douglas. But if Douglas was

¹⁶ Dante gives *Carro* for Ursa Major (13.7).

¹⁷ Ptolemy, in his discussion of precession in the seventh book of *Almagest*, chronicles the changes brought upon the Pleiades due to precession, tracing their origins in Agrippa to a place in Taurus where their southernmost regions would have adjoined the southern horn of Taurus (H27, p.334). Douglas' "Horne," if based on Ptolemy instead of Dante, could be the Pleiades—however unlikely it may seem.

working partly from the astronomical nomenclature of Dante, as his appointment of the "Horne" suggests, we cannot proceed upon like presumptions.

In *The Palis of Honoure*, Douglas provides a more muddled uranological composition that complicates stock readings of the stars in common discussion:

Thare wes the erth enueronyt wyth the see,
 Quhare on the schyppes saland mycht I se,
 The ayr, the fyre, all the four elymentis,
 The speris seuyn, and primum mobile,
 The sygnis twelf perfytly euery gre,
 The zodiak hale as bukis representis,
 The poil antertik that euer him selfe absentis,
 The poil artik and eik the ursoris twane
 The seuyn sterris, pheton, [and] the Charle wane
 (3.1837-45)

Sustained anaphora makes it difficult to link his referents to their celestial counterparts. Star catalogues in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century poetry were highly repetitive in this same manner. John Skelton, in *A Ryght Delectable Treatyse upon a Goodly Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell* (1523), describes "that pole artike whiche doth remayne / Behynde the taile of ursa so clere" and the misty "Pliades," yet quickly after lists "the two troons"—the *geminosque Triones*—as the redeployment of "ursa" Minor and "the pole artike" in addition to the introduction of Ursa Major (13). In the passage cited above, Douglas introduces the "speris seuyn," or seven spheres (the sun, moon, and five planets), before moving to the "sygnis twelf," which are linked to the ensuing mention of "the zodiak." The "poil antertik," being a kind of theoretical antarctic Polaris, is linked to the "poil artik" by the axis. An anaphorous reading would have both the "seuyn sterris" and "the Charle wane" be mere redeployments of the "ursoris twane" (the two Bears). If we were to disregard anaphora, "pheton" would perhaps signify the careering chariot of Phaeton (it would make no sense to introduce the Sun amidst fixed stars and constellations) in form of a comet, and thus break the sustained repetition. But through anaphora, it appears that Douglas is glossing Ursa Minor with the "seuyn sterris," and Ursa Major with Charles's Wain. I am inclined to think that in

such a reading "pheton" is a gloss on the "pole artik," as the redeployment of the North Star, Polaris, from the preceding line. On etymological grounds, Phaeton ("shining") would be closer in meaning to the various denominations of Venus (*viz.* Lucifer). Hence, in any reading that ignores Douglas's anaphorous tactics, he would be listing the Bears, the Pleiades, Phaeton (Venus), and Charles's Wain indiscriminately, and perhaps contradictorily. If the good Bishop of Dunkeld were familiar with Sacrobosco, which is highly probable, he may have interpreted Virgil's *gemonisque Triones* by the precessional model I suggested in the preceding section—making Phaeton the star Polaris in Ursa Minor—that is, a chariot careering around the arctic pole from the time of Homer and Virgil, which has, by Douglas' day, crash landed upon the Earth's axis. Thus, "pheton" would serve not as a descriptor of the "ursis twane," but as a simple explanation for axial precession (latent in the Ptolemaic "primum mobile"). In a non-precessional model of the universe, "pheton" is simply the pilot (*viz.* Pilot Star) of Ursa Minor. Thus, the simplest reading, and the one I would recommend is as follows: (1) "ursis twane" as the Bears, (2) "seuyn steris" as Ursa Minor, (3) "pheton" as Polaris, and (4) "Charle wane" as the hindquarters of Ursa Major.

Douglas again utilizes the stars of the *Eneados* in his *Prologue of the Twelt Booke: Spring (May)*, while speaking of various universal truths of which he has read:

The Pleuch,¹ and the poles, the panettis began,
 The Son,² the seuin sternes,³ and the *Charle* wane,⁴
 The Elwand,⁵ the elementis, and *Arthuris* husse,⁶
 The Horne,⁷ and the Hand staffe,
 Prater Ihone and Port jasse,
 Quhy the corne has the casse,
 And kow weirs cluse (117)¹⁸

The stars and asterisms included in Douglas's catalogue are as follows: (1) the Plough, (2) the Sun, (3) the Pleiades/Hyades, or simply the seven planets (4) Charles's Wain, (5) Orion's Belt (*viz.* the King's Ellwand/Jacob's Staff), (6) Arcturus, and (7) the Horne (Ursa Minor [as found in Dante and the *Eneados*]). To avoid accusing Douglas of needless impropriety in repetition—a fruitless act, since he is

¹⁸ As to "*Prater Ihone*" (Prester John), the "Hand staffe," and "Port Jasse," I know of no modern star equivalents. I presume that Douglas is recounting popular legends and folk riddles.

the primary source of our understanding of vulgar star names—I would recommend the following stars/asterisms: (1) Polaris (as the Plough grinding about the celestial mill—here mentioned concurrently with "the poles"), (3) the Pleiades/Hyades, (4) Charles's Wain, (5) Orion, (6) Arcturus in Boötes, and (7) Ursa Minor. One important thing to notice, however, is that Douglas makes mention of Arthur's traditional asterism, Charles's Wain, and the Plough ("pleuch") within the same passage—which is to say that the Plough and Ursa Major are not the same asterism at all for Douglas. Arcturus, the Plough, and Charles's Wain have been neatly conflated into Arcturus in Ursa Major in nearly every offhanded mention of Arthur's stars in literary criticism of the past two hundred years, even when based on readings of Lydgate and Douglas. Sources like the *OED* have only provided only one line of descent for Arthur's uranology when many disparate lines can be traced to their origins with different results. The amount of published research jeopardized by this complication of early modern uranography is astounding. If the "Pleuch" is Polaris, and Ursa Minor "the Horne," we also see in Douglas's uranography a coincidence with Lydgate's uranological scheme.

Roger Loomis provides us with another version of the story of King Arthur's survival in the phantasmagoric Wild Hunt:

Here at Cadbury there survived also the concept of Arthur as leader of the Wild Hunt, the phantom chase known to the peasantry throughout much of Europe; for an old track near the camp was called King Arthur's Lane, and on rough winter nights the king and his hounds were heard going along it. In many parts of France likewise the phenomenon was called 'la Chasse Artu', and this goes back to at least the twelfth century. Gervase of Tilbury and the Didot Perceval record the belief early in the thirteenth, and about 1260 Étienne de Bourbon tells how on a moonlight night a woodcutter met near the Mont du Chat in Savoy a large hunting-party, who declared that they were of King Arthur's household and that his court was near by (70)

Since King Arthur as a celestial king was associated with the constellation Boötes and Ursa Major, and in particular its brightest star Arcturus, the Wild Hunt as Loomis reports mirrors the king's messianic legacy in lay uranography, which refers to the nightly hunt of Boötes, in which the Herdsman (as Arcas) baits the

Greater Bear around the celestial pole's arctic circle when configured in its "Lymerer" form (see Figure 7).

Tennyson twice refers to King Arthur's star, but in conjunction with a heavenly harp. William Owen, working from the Welsh *Telyn Arthur*, thought this was a reference to Lyra (Ritson 60). In *The Last Tournament*, we see this "star" described in a conversation between Tristram and a fool named Dagonet (329-50), and again in *Gareth and Lynette* (1281).

Pleiades/Charles's Wain: The most common example of a co-identification of Charles's Wain and the Pleiades occurs in Edward Matthew's tract, *Karolou trismegistou epiphania* (1660). Charles's Wain is an asterism that was formerly known by the name of the *septem triones* (the seven plough-oxen), and often simply called the "Seven Stars." The Pleiades, which represent the "Seven Sisters," being the daughters of Atlas and Pleione, were also referred to as the "Seven Stars." The Pleiades, as the daughters of Atlas, may also have been mistaken for the seven stars of the arctic pole, due to the connection of Atlas to the pole as the bearer of the world. This was a common theme for poets describing the stabilization of the state for Charles II, as well as for the apologetic elegists of Cromwell.

Ursa Minor/Pleiades: The confusion of these two asterisms is generally made on the basis of a mistaken attribution of the "the Little Dipper" to both the Pleiades and Ursa Minor, due to their relative likeness in shape and size. Although the Little Dipper forms a much more conspicuous dipper in the night sky, and is only made more so by its partner in Ursa Major, the Pleiades provide a rival because they are such a tight-knit star cluster, even though they often require a discriminating eye to pick out all six or seven stars from the cloud of light they create. In his star catalogue, *Urania*, John Hill identifies Charles's Wain as the Lesser Bear, when in fact it is the Greater Bear (117).

Appendix 3:

Bible Astronomy's Uranological Labyrinth

There are several astronomical passages in the original Hebrew texts that comprise the Bible that have given translators notable trouble over the past five centuries; for, it is not entirely clear which constellations the Hebrew writers were referring to in the star names of their native uranography, and translators of those texts were therefore forced to render the stars in their own languages according to their best guesses and available parallels in English, Arabic, Latin, and Greek literature. The tentative nature of Hebrew star identifications becomes apparent when scanning through marginal glosses on the relevant passages in early English translations of the Bible, which often destabilize our notions of fixed stars. The stars that lie at the heart of the debate are Arcturus, the "seven stars" of either the Pleiades or Ursa Major (*viz.* Charles's Wain), the Hyades, Orion, and Sirius. Some of the translation errors perpetuated by the Septuagint carried through to the Vulgate and later English editions.¹⁹ Rather unsurprisingly, Pleiades-Charles's Wain-Arcturus confusions have been situated at the heart of exegetical controversy well into our modern versions of the Bible.

Those familiar with the star lore of Amos, Job, and Isaiah will surely recognize that the Pleiades, Orion, and Arcturus figure into descriptions of the secret works of God. Yet, as Schiaparelli notes in *Astronomy in the Old Testament* (1905): "the identification of these names with constellations now known to us, cannot be built upon the safe basis of fact" (53). One eighteenth-century commentator was even more skeptical: "as to what relates to the astronomy of the ancients, 'tis all uncertainty" (Heath 175).²⁰ Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, astrological apologists appealed to relevant astral passages in the Bible to justify their divinations; so in both astrological treatises and biblical exegesis, these same passages from Amos 5:8, Job 9:9 & 38:31, and Isaiah 13:10 became the center of contention, especially with regard to the true identities of the stars under examination. Hebrew commentary over the ages argued for wider understanding of the stars; oftentimes these commentaries differed from one

¹⁹ Schiaparelli 53-4.

²⁰ Thomas Heath, 157.

another, and this lack of standardized referents has only increased the doubt as to the meaning of *Kimah* (Pleiades/Hyades), *Aish* (Arcturus/the Greater & Lesser Bears), *Kesil* (Orion), and *Mazzaroth* (the Zodiac/Sirius). In Tables 3 & 4, I have provided the varying accounts of three English translations of the Bible while below (Table 2) I have provided the most error-ridden translations, whereby one can easily see how early translation difficulties of the very same Hebrew words were perpetuated even in varying books of the same translations.

In recent editions of the Bible, these passages have been amended to fit our understanding of what the Hebrew scripture writers (or, more importantly, their early English translators) meant by their star identifications. The New American Standard Bible (1995), for instance, has chosen to render the stars of Job 9:9 as "the Bear, Orion, and the Pleiades" (*Ash*, *Kesil*, and *Kimah*). With the exception of the singular "Bear," this is the same denomination of stars found in the Cranmer Bible (1540): "the waynes of heuen, the Orion, the seuen sterres." Meanwhile, other concerned passages remain unchanged: Job 38:31 provides "the chains of the Pleiades, or loose the cords of Orion" for *Kimah* and *Kesil*; Amos 5:8 gives "Pleiades and Orion" for *Kimah* and *Kesil*; and Isaiah 13:10 reads "constellations" for *Kesilim* (plural form of *Kesil*). *Eerdman's Dictionary of the Bible* (2000) maintains the relative certainty of "Pleiades" for *Kimah*, while allowing for differences in renderings of *Mazzaroth* and *Ash* (Freedman 277).

Hebrew Star/Transl.	Vulgate (Latin)	Septuagint (Greek)
<i>Kimah</i> (Heap/ Cluster)	Hyades (J 9:9) & Pleiades (J 38:31) & Arcturus (A 5:8)	Arcturus (J 9:9) & Pleiades (J 38:31)
<i>Kesil</i> (Foolish)²¹	Orion (J 9:9/A 5:8) & Arcturus (J 38:31)	Hesperus (J 9:9) & Orion (J 38:31)
<i>Aish</i>	Arcturus (J 9:9)	Pleiades (J 9:9)

Table 2:
Septuagint & Vulgate Misnomers

²¹ "This seems to suggest that, in consequence of some tradition which is unknown to us, the Jews saw in the constellation *Kesil* the form of a man chained for his folly or his impiety" (Schiaparelli 60).

For Job 38:31-32, the Cranmer Bible provides "the seuen sterres" (Pleiades, based on the earlier use of the same name in Job 9:9), "the circle of heuen" (the Zodiac, instead of the more common "Orion"), and "the mornynge sterre, or the euenynge sterre" (Hesperus/Eosphorus)—being a remnant of Latin transcription. Théodore de Bèze saw in the stars of Job 9:9 a generic reference to the stars of the North Pole, and I am inclined to think that this was all that Biblical editors intended to convey in "Arcturus"; however, this generic "Arcturus" of the North Pole requires of us the acknowledgment of *septem triones* in Ursa Minor.

Aben Ezra argued for the translation of *Aish* as Ursa Major due to its proximity to the Arabic word for that asterism, *na 'ash*; this was also the opinion of Royal Society Fellow, John Hill. This same line of inquiry led William Hales to a similar conclusion in his notes on Mazaroth:

In the primitive sphere of *Job*, this constellation [Mazaroth/Sirius] is finely contrasted with its opposite, in situation as in qualities, *Ursa Major*; and supposed to be dragged forward by an "almighty hunter," *Orion*, from "the recesses of *the South*" or *Anarctic Circle*, whence he seems to have issued, to face his game, *the Bear* and her whelps performing their diurnal rotation, in and near the *Arctic* (175)

In seventeenth-century London, the tribulations of Charles II in exile were easily adapted to Job's hardships. Arthur Brett used his 1661 lyric verse translation of the Book of Job as a way of interpreting the harrows of Britain under the rule of its Puritan Republican usurpers; for, as he states in his Preface to the Reader, "Whether Job was an Absolute Prince or no...*we are sure that part hath in this Age been acted by a Mighty Monarch.*" As one can see in the frontispiece to Brett's Pindaric Job, the king's coronation (pictured in the bottom right panel, including inscription of "Apr. 23," which is the coronation day of Charles II on St. George's Day)) signals the end of English Job's trials. When viewing works like Matthew's *Karolou trismegistou epiphania* (1660) in these trends of biblical prophecy and interpretations of biblical astrology, one sees that the stars of Job were exerting their influence well beyond their original setting as a kind of ancient morality play, situated in the stars.

The Pleiades and Charles's Wain are deeply etched in the star lore of the Restoration, and Arcturus (as the English asterism) contains the birth-star of Charles II. The Pleiades, as we see in Jonson's 1603 coronation pageant, announced James I's ascent to the throne at both their heliacal rising and Electra's arctic shift. The important point to keep in mind is not that any individual has at any point in history achieved a correct understanding of Hebrew uranography, but rather that we know these stars were in common currency, and their identities remained in a state of constant debate in one important frame of reference—typology. Brett hazarded a rendition of Job 38:31-2 that attempted to bring Hebrew uranography into accord with an English astronomy and the plethora of commentaries that justified particular selections of stars:

31. Look where the *Sev'n bright Sisters* are
 From your *Aldebaran* not far;
 Can you any hindrance bring
 Unto their shine
 As that they sha'nt make fine
 Their Lady *Spring*,
 Nor teach the airy Choristers to sing?
 Yonder's *Orion* glitters in the sky,
 His *Girdle*'s hung with Frost, and Snow, and Hail;
 Canst thou that *Girdle* e'r unty
 That these may all asunder fly,
 And so the Winter they compose may fail?

32. Have you such pow'r o'r th'Southern hemisphear
 Hard by *Arcturus* may be seen as plain
 Betwixt the legs of the renowned *Swain*;
 Thy sons were all at once extinct,
 His sons yet re'lly never winkt;
 Canst thou sons and sire so drive
 That while they hasten to look on
 Summer sooner may be gone,
 And its successor Harvest sooner thrive?

Aben Ezra supposed that *Kimah* signified northern stars and *Kesil* signified southern stars, such that "*Chimah* binds up Fruits, which are stiled Delights, and *Chesil* loosens them" (Costard 46). He also hazarded that *Kimah* stood for Aldebaran, the eye of Taurus (an opinion Brett deftly encompasses in the second line of Job 38:31 quoted above). Joseph Caryl describes this interplay of the Pleiades and Orion according to the usual understanding in his exposition on Job:

There are several opinions concerning these two Constellations of heaven, yet all agree in this; that one of them is a benigne Constellation, and very comfortable to the fruits of the earth, and that the other is as sharp and churlish; that the one is very friendly and favourable to all living creatures, but that the other is bitter, and as it were a killing Constellation...The *Pleiades* open the earth, and set all free; they call up the quickening moisture, and draw out the verdure of every growing thing: But *Orion* holds all in bands, *Orion* is a hard natured Constellation (Caryl 242)

Gregory the Great contrasts the Pleiades and Arcuturs in a similar fashion, insisting that the coldness of Arcturus represents the North, from which direction comes Old Testament Law, while the Pleiades usher in the warmth of the New Testament in their eastern rising.

King James Bible (1611) [Marginal Notes]	Amos 5:8 Seeke him that maketh the [*] seven starres and Orion, and turneth the shadow of death into the morning, and maketh the day darke with night: that [*] calleth forthe waters of the sea, and powreth them out upon the face of the earth: the LORD is his Name. [*] Job.9.9 and 38.31. [*] Chap.9.6. <i>Isaiah 13:10</i> For the starres of heaven, and the constellations thereof shall not give their light: the sunne shalbe darkened in his going forth, and the moone shall not cause her light to shine.
Geneva Bible (1560) [Marginal Note] [Marginal Note]	Amos 5:8 He ^e maketh Pleiades, and Orion, and he turneth the shadowe of death into hte morning, and he maketh the day darcke as night: he calleth the waters of the sea, and powreth them out upon the opé earth: the Lord <i>is</i> his Name. ^e He describeth y ^e power of God, Iob.9,9. Isaiah 13:10 For the ^h starres of heaven and the planets thereof shal not give their light: the sune shalbe darkened in his going forthe, and the moone shal not cause her light to shine. ^h They that are overcome, shal thinke y ^t all the powers of heaven and earth are against them, Ezek.32,7 iocl. 3.15 mat.24,29
Book of Common Prayer (1576)	Amos 5:8 He maketh the seven Starres and Orion, and he turneth the shadowe of Death into the mornying, and he maketh the day darke as nyght: he calleth the waters of the sea, and powreth them out upon the open earth, the Lorde is his name. <i>Isaiah (Esai) 13:10</i> For the starres and planettes of heaven shal not geve her light, the sunne shalbe darkened in the rising, and the moone shal not shine with her lyght.

Table 3:
Amos 5:8 & Isaiah 13:10

<p>King James Bible (1611)</p>	<p>Job 9:9</p> <p>Which maketh Arcturus, Orion and Pleiades, and the chambers of the South.</p> <p><i>Job 38:31-2</i></p> <p>Canst thou bind the swete influences of Pleiades? or loose the bands of Orion?</p> <p>Canst thou bring foorth Mazzaroth in his season, or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sonnes?</p>
<p>Geneva Bible (1560)</p> <p>[Marginal Note]</p> <p>[Marginal Notes]</p>	<p>Job 9:9</p> <p>He maketh <i>the starres</i>^a Arctúrus, Oríon, and Pleiades, and the climats of y^e South.</p> <p><i>a. These are names of certeine starres whereby he meaneth that all starres bothe knowen & unknowen are at his appointment.</i></p> <p>Job 38:31-2</p> <p>Canst thou restraine the swete <i>influences</i> of y^e Pleiades?^a Or loose the bāds of Oríon?^b</p> <p>Canst thou bring forthe Mazzaróth^c in their time? canst thou also guide Arctúrus^d with his sonnes?</p> <p>a. Which starres arise when the sunne is in Taurus, which is the spring time, & bring floures.</p> <p>b. Which starre bringeth in winter.</p> <p>c. Certeine starres so called: so me thinke they were the twelve signes.</p> <p>d. The North starre w^t those that are about him?</p>
<p>Book of Common Prayer (1576)</p> <p>[Marginal Note]</p> <p>[Marginal Note]</p>	<p>Job 9:9</p> <p>He him selfe alone spreadeth out the heavens, and goeth upon the waves of the sea.</p> <p>He maketh the waynes of heaven,^a the Orion, the seven starres, and the secrete places of the South"</p> <p>a. "These be the names of certayne starres, declaring the powers of heaven are at his commandement.</p> <p><i>Job 38:31-2</i></p> <p>Canst thou binde the seven starres togeather? or loose the bandes of Orion?</p> <p>Canst thou bryng forth the morning starre in his tyme? canst thou also guyde^a the evenyng starre with his sonnes?</p> <p>a. of Arcturus</p>

Table 4:
Job 9:9 & Job 38:31-2