THE WORKS OF THOMAS TRAHERNE ❧ VI

Poems from the Dobell Folio ¶
Poems of Felicity ¶ The Ceremonial Law ¶
Poems from the Early Notebook

Edited by Jan Ross

THE WORKS OF THOMAS TRAHERNE

Volume VI

Thomas Traherne (1637?–1674), a clergyman of the Church of England during the Restoration, was little known until the early twentieth century, when his poetry and *Centuries of Meditations* were first printed. There have been since only miscellaneous publications of his poetry and devotional writings. *The Works of Thomas Traherne* brings together for the first time all Traherne's extant works, including his notebooks, in a printed edition.

The poems in this volume are independent, not extracted from Traherne's prose, and demonstrate the range of his imagination. Each poem has its own unique form, line numbers, meter and rhyme and is personal in nature. They are also new transcriptions from four manuscripts, held variously at the Bodleian, the British Library, and the Folger Shakespeare Library. They include thirty-seven autograph poems from the Dobell Folio; *Poems of Felicity*, Philip Traherne's incomplete edition of his brother's poems; *The Ceremonial Law*, an incomplete, autograph, narrative poem in rhyming couplets, wherein Traherne not only gives a reading of events in the Old Testament as types fulfilled in the New, but also interprets his own spiritual journey in terms of stories from the Pentateuch; and the 'Early Notebook', made up of notes from various sources, probably from Thomas's undergraduate days, as well as five autograph poems.

Included in the Appendix are the 'Manuscript Foliation of Poems' and 'The Story of the Traherne MSS. by their Finder' by William T. Brooke; a glossary and index of titles and first lines complete the volume.

THE WORKS OF THOMAS TRAHERNE

Volume VI

Poems from the Dobell Folio

Poems of Felicity

The Ceremonial Law

Poems from the Early Notebook

Edited by
JAN ROSS

D. S. BREWER

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First published 2014
D. S. Brewer, Cambridge

ISBN 978–1–84384–382–5

D. S. Brewer is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620–2731, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

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This publication is printed on acid-free paper

Typeset in Monotype Ehrhardt Pro by
David Roberts, Pershore, Worcestershire

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For Richard Birt
and in memory of
A. M. Allchin

General Preface

Thomas Traherne (1637?–1674) left a substantial body of work, primarily in manuscript form, when he died before the age of forty. He published only one work during his lifetime, *Roman Forgeries* (1673), and prepared for the press *Christian Ethicks*, which appeared posthumously in 1675. He remained for the most part unknown until Bertram Dobell published his poems and *Centuries of Meditations* in the early twentieth century. The story of the discovery of Traherne's manuscripts is well known, beginning in 1896/97 when William Brooke chanced upon a group of manuscripts of Traherne's works in both prose and poetry. Included among them were the *Centuries* and what is now known as the Dobell Folio, which contains Traherne's autograph poems and the Commonplace Book.[1] In 1910, H. I. Bell found and published Philip Traherne's handwritten edition of Thomas's poems, *Poems of Felicity*.[2] In 1964, James Osborn unexpectedly found the manuscript containing *Select Meditations.*[3] This was followed in 1981 by the identification of Traherne's *Commentaries of Heaven* by Elliot Rose.[4] It was not until 1996–7 that other Traherne manuscripts were discovered. *The Ceremonial Law*, a poem of 1,748 lines, was identified as Traherne's by Laetitia Yeandle with the assistance of Julia Smith.[5] In the spring of 1997, Jeremy Maule found yet another Traherne manuscript[6] consisting of four more works plus a fragment. There are no doubt other missing notebooks and perhaps poems and treatises, as references in some of his works suggest.

[1] See Bertram Dobell, ed., *The Poetical Works of Thomas Traherne, B.D., 1636?–1674* (London, 1903); and *Centuries of Meditations* (London, 1908).

[2] See H. I. Bell, ed., *Traherne's Poems of Felicity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910).

[3] 'A New Traherne Manuscript', *The Times Literary Supplement* (October 8, 1964): 928.

[4] 'A new Traherne manuscript', *The Times Literary Supplement* (March 19, 1982): 324.

[5] 'Felicity disguisd in fiery Words: Genesis and Exodus in a newly discovered poem by Thomas Traherne', *The Times Literary Supplement* (November 7, 1997): 17.

[6] Denise Inge and Calum MacFarlane, 'Seeds of Eternity: A new Traherne manuscript', *The Times Literary Supplement* (June 2, 2000): 14.

There has been no attempt to gather all Traherne's extant works into a uniform, printed edition, with the purpose of giving a sense of the manuscript or printed originals. The primary purpose of this edition, therefore, is to present a printed text of all of Traherne's known extant works, both published and unpublished. In his 1903 introduction to Traherne's poems, Dobell wrote that 'there is a picturesqueness, a beauty, and a life about the manuscripts which is lost in the cold regularity of type',[7] to which Peter Beal has added that Traherne's texts 'should be edited according to manuscript, rather than according to individual "work" as defined by modern editors', since 'the MS is "the work"'.[8] This edition will present Traherne's texts by manuscript insofar as possible, giving due attention to the physical aspects and integrity of the manuscripts themselves, hoping to bring the reader as close as possible in a printed format to the manuscript originals and to the distinctive quality of Traherne's writings. His printed works will be edited with the same intention.

The text of Traherne's works will be printed in seven volumes, with an eighth volume of commentary, which will include a brief biography of Traherne and short essays about his influences, sources and seventeenth-century contexts as well as an index to the preceding volumes. Annotations in the separate volumes will be limited to textual notes, biblical references and immediately essential commentary. The arrangement of Traherne's works within the seven volumes is not an attempt to represent them chronologically, since their dates are uncertain.

Added to the eight volumes will be a supplemental volume nine, containing Traherne's notebooks, which consist primarily of extracts from other writers as well as undergraduate lecture notes. It will include its own introduction, annotations, glossary and index as well as translations of Latin and shorthand. Although separate from the eight volumes of Traherne's works, it will form a crucial part of the edition as a whole, increasing our understanding of his reading and breadth of knowledge as well as his early learning.

[7] *The Poetical Works of Thomas Traherne, B.D.*, pp. lxxiii–lxxiv.

[8] *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, Volume II: 1625–1700*, Part 2, compiled by Peter Beal (London and New York: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1993), p. 482.

Acknowledgements

Very special thanks are due to the staff of the Bodleian Libraries, the University of Oxford, for their good will in my work with the manuscripts of the Dobell Folio (MS Eng. poet. c. 42) and the Early Notebook (MS Lat. misc. f. 45) and for allowing me to print the poetry from both manuscripts as well as giving me permission to reproduce the plates. I am especially grateful to Mr Colin Harris, Superintendent, Special Collections Reading Room and to Dr B. C. Barker-Benfield, Senior Assistant Librarian Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, for their ready help and kind assistance in my work with the manuscripts. They often tracked down information and put me in touch with specialists who could further my work. I am also indebted to the staff of the Manuscript Reading Room of the British Library, St Pancras, London, for their competent assistance while working with Burney MS 392, *Poems of Felicity,* and for allowing me to print the whole of the manuscript as well as giving me permission to reproduce the plate. Warm thanks are due to the staff of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC, for providing a beautifully digitized copy of MS V. a. 70, *The Ceremonial Law*, especially Dr Georgianna Ziegler, Louis B. Thalheimer Head of Reference, and Betsy Walsh, Head of Reader Services, who generously supplied detailed information about the manuscript in answer to specific questions. I am also grateful to the library for permission to publish the contents of the manuscript and to reproduce the plate for Volume VI. I am indebted to Carol Ann Johnston and Heather Wolfe for help with difficult readings of some lines and words in *The Ceremonial Law*. I owe a continuing debt of gratitude to Stephen Taylor and Anne Lamb; and always to Allen for his constancy in encouragement and help.

Abbreviations

AV	Authorized Version of the Bible
BL	British Library, St Pancras, London
Bodleian	The Bodleian Libraries, the University of Oxford
Brooke's account	William T. Brooke's account of the discovery of Thomas Traherne's manuscripts: 'The Story of the Traherne MSS. by their Finder.'
Burney MS	Contains *Poems of Felicity*, Philip Traherne's edition of Thomas Traherne's poetry. In Margoliouth's notes 'F'.
C/Centuries	*Centuries of Meditations*
CH/Commentaries	*Commentaries of Heaven*
CL	*The Ceremonial Law*
CPB	Commonplace Book
Dobell Folio	Contains Thomas Traherne's autograph poems and Commonplace Book; originally referred to as Ledbury MS. In Margoliouth's notes 'D'.
Edn.	Edition
EN	Early Notebook; contains five autograph poems as well as notes from Thomas's undergraduate days.
Fol./fols./f.	Folio(s)
Folger	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC
Ledbury MS	Dobell Folio; see above.
Inducements	*Inducements to Retirednes*
MS/MSS	Manuscript(s)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004
Repr.	Reprint
A Sober View	*A Sober View of Dr Twisses his Considerations. With a Compleat Disquisition of Dr Hammonds Letter to Dr Sanderson. And a Prospect of all their Opinions Concerning GODs Decree.*
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

Introduction

The poems in this volume are taken from four manuscripts. Two are held at the Bodleian Libraries, the University of Oxford: the Dobell Folio, MS Eng. poet. c. 42, contains thirty-seven autograph poems plus a section of prose extracts from other writers, generally referred to as the Commonplace Book; a notebook, designated in the twentieth century as 'Early Notebook', MS Lat. misc. f. 45, contains five poems by Thomas as well as notes from various sources, probably from his undergraduate days. A third manuscript, *Poems of Felicity. Containing Divine Reflections on the Native Objects of an Infant=Ey*, Burney MS 392, held at the British Library, St Pancras, London, comprises sixty-two poems. The fourth is in the possession of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC, *The Ceremonial Law*, MS V. a. 70.

The majority of the poems are from *Poems of Felicity,* which Thomas's brother, Philip,[1] was preparing for publication in print, as indicated by the title page, so that there may be a missing copy text, perhaps folded leaves of poems in Thomas's script, similar to those of the first two gatherings of the Dobell Folio. Of the sixty-two poems, two are by Philip ('The Dedication' and 'The Publisher to the Reader'), and some are repeated from the Dobell Folio but with Philip's changes.

[1] Philip Traherne, 1640–1723, Thomas's younger brother, served as chaplain to the Levant Company (1670–75), Rector of Hinton Martell (1675) and minister of Wimborne Minster (1684), both in Dorset, where he died (23 July) and was buried (27 July). He produced a devotional manual: THE / Soul's Communion / With her / SAVIOR. / OR, / *The History of our Lord* / Jesus Christ, / Written by the / FOUR EVANGELISTS, / *Digested into* / Devotional Meditations. / *The First Part*. / LONDON, / Printed for *W. Crooke* at the *Green Dragon* nigh / *Devereux-Court* without *Temple Bar*, 1685. Philip married Susanna Blount, Susanna Hopton's niece and god-daughter. In his nuncupative will Thomas left his 'best hat' and his books to him. See Bertram Dobell, ed., *The Poetical Works of THOMAS TRAHERNE: 1636?–1674* (London, 1903), pp. 167–8, and H. M. Margoliouth, ed., *Thomas Traherne: Centuries, Poems, and Thanksgivings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), Vol. I, pp. xxvi–xxvii. See also Julia J. Smith, 'Thomas and Philip Traherne', *Notes and Queries* (March 1986): 25–31.

Philip not only designed a title page, indicated 'Vol. I', but also wrote a dedicatory poem to the memory of his brother, so that 'These Holy First=fruits of a Pious Mind ... may becom / A Publick good' (lines 3, 30–31). 'The Author to the Critical Peruser' indicates that Thomas himself started to prepare an edition of his poems for publication either in print or manuscript form; and the first two gatherings of the Dobell Folio may be all that remains of it.

Traherne's poetry first brought him attention as a writer, as William Brooke mentions in his account of the discovery of Traherne's manuscripts.[2] Bertram Dobell published the thirty-seven poems from the Folio in 1903,[3] followed in 1910 by H. I. Bell's publication of the sixty-two poems from the Burney manuscript.[4] In 1932, Gladys I. Wade[5] printed not only all poetry from Bell's and Dobell's editions but also poetry extracted from *Centuries of Meditations,* the *Church's Year-Book*, *Christian Ethicks* and *A Serious and Pathetical Contemplation of the Mercies of GOD* as well as the poems from *Meditations on the Six Days of the Creation*,[6] which Wade attributed to Traherne.[7] H. M. Margoliouth's 1958 edition[8] also included poems from the *Church's Year-Book*, *Christian Ethicks*, *A Serious and Pathetical Contemplation of the Mercies of GOD* as well as the Early Notebook, which he identified as 'Philip Traherne's Notebook' (PNB). Carol Marks, finding Margoliouth's title misleading, substituted it for 'Early Notebook'.[9] Margoliouth also mistakenly included poems by Frances Quarles copied into

[2] See Appendix, 'The Story of the Traherne MSS. by their Finder' (pp. 321–4).

[3] See *The Poetical Works of* THOMAS TRAHERNE, B.D., *1636?–1674*.

[4] See *Traherne's Poems of Felicity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910).

[5] See *The Poetical Works of Thomas Traherne* (London: P. J. & A. E. Dobell, 1932).

[6] See *The Works of Thomas Traherne*, ed. Jan Ross (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005–), Vol. IV, pp. xlviii–liii, and Appendix, pp. 437–509.

[7] See *The Poetical Works of Thomas Traherne*, pp. xii–xx and 237–45; and *Thomas Traherne* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 153–6; and Ross, Vol. IV (2009), pp. xlviii–liii and 437–512.

[8] See *Thomas Traherne: Centuries, Poems, and Thanksgivings*, 2 Volumes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958; repr. 1965 and 1972). Except for his introduction in Vol. I, all references to Margoliouth are taken from Vol. II (1972) unless otherwise noted.

[9] See Carol L. Marks, 'Thomas Traherne's Early Studies', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 62 (October–December, 1968): 511–36. She writes (p. 512, note 6) 'I have, of course, substituted "Early Notebook" (EN) for Margoliouth's misleading designation, "Philip Traherne's Notebook" (PNB)'. Most of the contents of the notebook are Thomas's not Philip's, who was its original owner. See Margoliouth, Vol. I, pp. xx–xxii.

the Early Notebook.[10] Ann Ridler[11] followed Margoliouth and Wade, printing however only poems with Traherne's initials from the Early Notebook.[12] Also unlike Margoliouth and Wade, Ridler omits poems in *Poems of Felicity* repeated from the Dobell Folio, beginning Philip's edition of Thomas's poems with 'An Infant-Ey'.

Margoliouth's edition of Thomas's poetry from the Dobell Folio is at places unreliable in that he often gave the original, uncorrected readings of the poems and made changes to the text that were speculative and based on personal preference. For an example see 'The Preparative', stanza 2, line 15 where Thomas substituted 'Just bounded with' for 'Far wider then' (p. 11), which he deleted. Margoliouth (p. 20, line 13) reads 'Far wider then' and notes (p. 341), 'I print what Thomas originally wrote. He changed it to "Just bounded with". The change seems to me to be due to one of those forgetfulnesses of the original imaginative vision to which poets are liable.'[13] In *Poems of Felicity*, Margoliouth, thinking Philip's editing of Thomas's text to be 'a disaster', also took the original over Philip's corrected version of Thomas's poems, hoping to restore Thomas's text. He explains that 'there is a strong presumption that what he first wrote down is generally a transcription of Thomas: sometimes, of course, it may be a version of his own on which he later thought he could improve . . . I have sometimes preferred what he first wrote, recording his change in the notes.' Margoliouth however recognized the difficulty of recovering Thomas's text: 'Where we could restore a first line of Thomas's but, for what should be the rhyming line, have only a line of Philip's which does not rhyme with it, there is nothing to do but print Philip's two rhyming lines and record in the notes what is recoverable of the

[10] See Anne Ridler, 'Traherne: Some Wrong Attributions', *The Review of English Studies* n.s. 18 (1967): 48–9. See also Ross, Vol. v (2013), p. xv, note 10.

[11] See *Thomas Traherne: Poems, Centuries and Three Thanskgivings* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966).

[12] Except 'Yee that Towers so much prize', a translation of Seneca's *Thysestes*, lines 342–52, 365–8, 380, 390 and 391–403. See *Thomas Traherne: Poems, Centuries and Three Thanksgivings*, p. 163, as well as pp. xv–xvi ; and Margoliouth, Vols. i, p. xxii, and ii, pp. 210–11 and 406. See EN, pp. 374–5. The poem has been excluded from this volume, to be included in Vol. ix.

[13] In his editing of the Dobell Folio, Margoliouth at times chose the corrected over the original reading; for example see 'The Anticipation', stanza 7, where Thomas changed 'And such, they are the Glory of the Cherubim' to 'They are His Joys before the Cherubim' (p. 54, line 65), which is Margoliouth's reading (pp. 161 and 390, line 58). See note at p. 264, line 65.

original.'[14] In 'The Author to the Critical Peruser', Philip changed lines 46–8 from 'Valu their Gems, but not their useful Eys: / Their precious Hands, their Tongues and Lips divine / Their polisht Flesh where whitest Lillies mix' to 'Valu their Gems, but not more precious Eys: / Their useful Hands, their Tongues and Ruby Lips / Their polisht Flesh where whitest Lillies mix'. Margoliouth takes the original reading, inserting his own version of what he thinks Thomas's lines must have been, noting (p. 336) 'I print these lines as first written in the manuscript, except that I have ventured on what seems to me the certain conjecture of "join" to rhyme (perfectly) with "divine". Philip ... transposed "useful" and "precious", thereby making both adjectives more obvious and destroying Thomas's point in both ... he changed the second "their" to "more". He also changed "Lips divine" to "Ruby lips". The best he could do in the way of a rhyme was the assonance "mix", but Thomas's word in front of him must have been "join".' Margoliouth rewrites the lines, so that his text reads 'Valu their Gems, but not their useful Eys; / Their precious Hands, their Tongues and Lips divine, / Their polisht Flesh where whitest Lillies join', keeping the deleted 'divine' and inserting his own rhyming word 'join'.[15]

Ridler, like Margoliouth, also attempted to present Thomas's original but without recording changes to the text. She directs the reader to Margoliouth for a full list of variant readings and writes of *Poems of Felicity* that 'the version first written down by Philip can generally be presumed to be Traherne's.'[16]

Alan Bradford noted Margoliouth's method of choosing the original over the corrected reading in the Dobell Folio and presented the poems with all authorial corrections.[17] However, Bradford, hoping

[14] See Margoliouth, Vol. 1, pp. xv–xvi; see also footnote 8 above.

[15] With Philip's changes lines 46–8 read 'Their woven Silks and wel=made Suits they prize, / Valu their Gems, but not more precious Eys: / Their useful Hands, their Tongues and Ruby Lips, / Their polisht Flesh where whitest Lillies mix'. Originally it read 'Their woven Silks and wel=made Suits they prize, / Valu their Gems, but not their useful Eys: / Their precious Hands, their Tongues and Lips divine', which had no corresponding rhyming line. Bradford (p. 80) and Ridler (p. 4) follow Margoliouth. Wade (p. 92) and Bell (n.p.) agree with the text in this volume on p. 85. See Textual Emendations and Notes, pp. 270–71.

[16] See *Thomas Traherne: Poems, Centuries and Three Thanksgivings*, p. 1.

[17] 'Thomas himself made several last-minute changes after copying out the Dobell poems, and the present edition aims to print *all* of these final authorial corrections. In doing so, I have departed from the precedent set by Traherne's two Oxford editors, H. M. Margoliouth and Anne Ridler ... this decision ... has the merit of

to represent Thomas's, as opposed to Philip's, version of the poems, follows Margoliouth's transcription of *Poems of Felicity,* taking the original reading without noting changes made by Philip. For Bradford *Poems of Felicity* as a text of Thomas Traherne's poetry, 'must be regarded as irretrievably corrupt' and that editing the manuscript was 'largely a matter of damage control. The trick is to make Philip's hand disappear, in so far as possible, but there are practical limits to what can be done. Whenever Philip deletes a line or part of a line and substitutes new wording, an editor must assume that Philip is revising Thomas's manuscript on the spot. Philip's revisions, however, do not always occur spontaneously in the act of transcription; and even when they do, restoration of the original is not always possible without doing unacceptable violence to rhyme, meter, and meaning since whole contexts will have been distorted to accommodate even relatively minor changes' (pp. xii–xiii).

What Bradford, like Margoliouth, recognized was the impossibility of recovering Thomas's version of *Poems of Felicity* because there is no extant copy text. What we have is Philip's edition of Thomas's poems, and it must be presented as that. We cannot with confidence act on any presumption about Thomas's original text without further evidence.

The poems in this edition are printed in the order they appear in the manuscripts and in their final corrected form, whether changes to the text were made by Thomas in the Dobell Folio, the Early Notebook and *The Ceremonial Law* or by Philip in *Poems of Felicity*. All variant readings from earlier editions are recorded in Textual Emendations and Notes.

The Dobell Folio

Description of the physical manuscript

The manuscript, originally labelled 'Ledbury Manuscript' and purchased by the Bodleian in 1950, is a folio measuring approximately 310 mm long × 200 mm wide and 18 mm deep. It was bound in the nineteenth century with dark brown calf and marbleized paper, now worn, faded and stained. The spine originally covered

representing the poems as Traherne would have published them if he had lived to do so.' See *Thomas Traherne: Selected Poems and Prose*, edited by Alan Bradford (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. xiii.

in calf extends approximately 43 mm on the front board and 40 mm on the back; most of the calf on the spine however has now disappeared. Calf covers approximately 47 mm of each of the fore-edge corners placed at an angle. The marbleized paper was placed over the calf, which is tooled with three lines where it meets the paper on both boards. It appears to have been sewn on five unevenly placed cords.

On the front paste-down is Bertram Dobell's signature plus the Bodleian class mark as well as his comments in graphite about the different scripts in the Folio, the first part of which is crossed through:

> Most of the Prose matter in this Volume is in a different handwriting from the Poems. Say about two-thirds? In Traherne's handwriting there is an abundance of capital letters – so much so that this [is] a distinguishing feature. In the other handwriting I think it will be found that there are very few caps. except of course at the beginning of sentences. This seems then to prove indubitably that in the prose portion of the volume two writers have been at work. Who was the other writer?

To which is added:

> This is wrong. There are good many caps. in the other handwriting, tho not perhaps so many as in Traherne's. And I am not now even sure that both the hands are not Traherne's. They seem to differ it is true, a good deal at first sight; yet on closer examination they have a good deal of resemblance. But this is a matter which requires to be very closely studied before a final conclusion can be arrived at whether the Matter of the Traherne and non-Tr. handwriting is alike in character and content? This is the final test. (1907)

On folio 1r are Bertram Dobell's initial comments in ink about the different scripts in the Folio:

> Poems: by Thomas Traherne, M.A. (born 16–, died 1674). The poems in this volume are undoubtedly in the handwriting of the Author, Thomas Traherne. But there are a few passages of alterations &c. which appear to be in a different and much later handwriting. Also the reference to other poems which appear at the end of "Innocence", "The Rapture", "The Improvement" & five others, are in the later handwriting. These references

would seem to show that there is (or was) another MS. Vol. of Traherne's Poems. As to the prose passages at the end of the Vol. it is evident that they are in two different handwritings– Traherne's and another. Who the later was I cannot conjecture. Grosart had an idea that the writer was Theophilus Gale, but I feel sure that it was not so. At a rough guess I should say that about one-third of the prose is in Traherne's handwriting, & the remainder in that of the unknown writer.* There is a good deal of curious learning and some good writing in the prose; but I hardly think, as Grosart did, that it is worth printing or publishing. However, I have not as yet examined it with sufficient attention, and might alter my opinion on further consideration. / Bertram Dobell / March 12, 1900.

*Not so: there is really comparatively little of Traherne's writing in the prose: probably less than an eighth of it is his. Yet it is possible (tho' not likely) that the whole of the writing is Traherne's. A man's writing often changes a good deal in the course of his life, & the diffs. in the two handwritings here are not so great that they may be the work of one person, writing at different periods of his life.

On folio 1[v] is Dobell's list of 'references to other poems by Traherne in this MS.':

At end of 'Innocence'		An Infant Ey.	p. 1×
		Adam	p. 12×
" " "	'The Vision'	Childhood. (crossed out)	p. 120 & p. 9
		News	p. 133×
" " "	'The Improvement'	The Odor	p. 124×
" " "	'Fulnesse'	The Inheritance	p. 113
" " "	'The Estate'	The Evidence	p. 3×
" " "	'The Amendment'	The Center	p. 12
" " "	'Another'	Insatiableness	p. 133 138
" " "	'Goodness'	The Inheritance multiplied	113
" " "	Following title of 'Goodness' & p. 143		

The poems to which a × is affixed are in the Oxford University Press ed. of Traherne.[18]

[18] Refers to Bell's edition *Traherne's Poems of Felicity*.

Most of the paper used in the Dobell Folio appears to be of one kind, identified by a watermark made up of two posts with a fir cone centred above the initials 'GM', each letter being encircled separately between the two posts.[19] It appears at the middle of the leaf; chain-lines are vertical throughout the manuscript, with seven to eight per leaf; no other Traherne manuscript uses this type of paper. Folio 1 as well as the blank leaf after foliation is of a thicker paper probably added when the manuscript was bound.

There are ninety-eight foliated leaves in the Dobell Folio, with a total of 196 pages, twenty-three of which are blank; two leaves are numbered 9 (9a and 9b) and two, 48 (48a and 48b). Except for Dobell's notes on folio 1, the manuscript is written in double columns, with each leaf folded at the centre. The manuscript is divided into two sections: the first part (folios 2^r–16^r) contains Traherne's autograph poems with some revisions and instructions by his brother, Philip; the second part (folios 16^v–96^r) contains the so called Commonplace Book, made up of extracts from other writers,[20] most of which are written in the script of an unidentified amanuensis, although Traherne wrote some of them; and the whole of it was no doubt supervised by him.[21] It is arranged alphabetically

[19] Identified as 'Posts and Fir Cone'; see Edward Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1950), no. 3515, although not completely similar.

[20] The complete Dobell Folio will be printed in Vol. IX, Notebooks, with a full account of the physical manuscript. The Commonplace Book sources are taken primarily from Thomas Jackson, *A Treatise Containing the Originall of Unbeliefe* (1625), *A Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes. The First Part* (1628) and *The Second Part* (1629) and *Christ's Session at the Right Hand of God* (1657); Theophilus Gale, *The Court of the Gentiles*, Part II (1670); Hermes Trismegistus, *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus*, tr. John Everard (1650; repr. 1657); Isaac Barrow, *The Duty and Reward of Bounty to the Poor* (1671); and Henry More, *Divine Dialogues* (1668). See Carol L. Marks, 'Thomas Traherne's Commonplace Book', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 58 (1964): 458–65, and 'Studies in the Reading of Thomas Traherne' (unpublished B.Litt. thesis, University of Oxford, 1962), Appendix IV, pp. 235–43. See also Ross, Vol. II, Appendix, 'Commonplace Book Sources', pp. 517–22; there are a few sources still unidentified.

[21] Traherne gave several instructions to his amanuensis: at 'Intercession' (fol. 57^r.2): 'go on in p. 239 to pag. 240,. Xians' and 'p 232 ad p. 236 to merits'; both refer to Thomas Jackson, *A Treatise Containing the Originall of Unbeliefe* (London, 1625); at 'Passion' (fol. 75^r.2): 'Turn back to the first Page, & there is more', a reference to Jackson's *A Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes* (London, 1628). See Ross, Vol. II, p. xx, note 31, and Marks, 'Thomas Traherne's Commonplace Book', pp. 459–60.

with topical headings and has certain affinities with *Commentaries of Heaven*.[22]

Generally considered a self-contained notebook into which Traherne collected preliminary research notes,[23] the physical makeup of the Dobell Folio suggests that work for the Commonplace Book was done prior to being assembled, sewn and bound. Traherne's poems, folios 2^{r}–16^{r}, comprise two gatherings of eight with sewing between the fourth and fifth leaves. There are many excisions, with some columns completely cut away and others, with a half to a third of a column excised. Folio 85 has been excised at the middle of the leaf and folio 9b, containing most of the poem 'The Estate', has been excised at the centre and bottom of the leaf.[24] The Commonplace Book begins at folio 16^{v} and continues to folio 96^{r}, with over half the folios being single leaves, folded at the inner edge and sewn either together or into the few existing conjugate leaves, suggesting the extracts were copied either on single leaves or on full sheets, folded in half, some of which were subsequently cut or torn into separate leaves and arranged alphabetically, so it is unlikely the manuscript was ever a proper notebook. It is possible that there are leaves of extracts now lost. Further evidence of the irregular manner in which the notebook was assembled includes miscellaneous notes with nothing to do with the poems or the extracts. For instance, folio 18, bound between 17 and 19 (both full folios), is a fragment of a sheet with 'Incident Expences 1746', written in a script different from those in the manuscript. It includes, for example, expenses paid on Nov. [2nd?] 'To Sus: Treherne Spin:', four shillings; on 'Nov: the 16th To the Keeper', five

[22] The connection between the CPB and *CH* is evident by the cross-references and corresponding topics in both manuscripts. See Ross, Vol. II, pp. xix–xxi.

[23] Marks thought the CPB was specifically compiled for *Christian Ethicks*. See 'Thomas Traherne's Commonplace Book', pp. 460, 461, 464, and her General Introduction to *Christian Ethicks*, ed. Carol L. Marks and George Robert Guffey (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1968), pp. xiii–xiv. See also Margoliouth, Vol. I, pp. xii–xiii.

[24] The collation of the poems is as follows: First gathering: fol. 2, watermark, conjugate with fol. 9a (one column measuring approximately 100 mm × 280 mm), no watermark; fol. 3, no watermark, conjugate with fol. 8, watermark; fol. 4, watermark, conjugate with fol. 7, no watermark; fol. 5, watermark, conjugate with fol. 6, no watermark; there is visible sewing between folios 5 and 6. Second gathering: fol. 9b, no watermark, conjugate with fol. 16, watermark; fol. 10, no watermark, conjugate with fol. 15, watermark; fol. 11, no watermark, conjugate with fol. 14, watermark; fol. 12, no watermark, conjugate with fol. 13, watermark; there is visible sewing between fols. 12 and 13.

shillings; 'Decem the 1st pocket expenses', seven shillings and 'De: the 16 Expen: at Ledbury', two shillings. On folio 46, written upside down, is a list of payments apparently to be made to a Mr. Allen: on the recto side is 'Woods Mr Allen' with 'Mr Allen' repeated on the verso side. Folio 84 is a remaining middle portion of an excised leaf and contains homemade recipes for curing toothache, 'rheume' and headache: 'Adders tongue wrapt in virgins wax and put into the left ear of an horse causes him to fall as if he was dead being taken out hee'l rise again . . . Gill briese it and put it into the ear for deafness . . . burn white Coperas and disolve it in the juice and put 3 drops into the ear morn and even dayly—or the juice alone . . . put into the nose purge the head; the juice with the juice of mouse ear put into the nose purge rheume and . . . the tooth ache & head ache–[for?] teeth ache anoint the teeth with the juice and pour it into the ear on the same side.'[25]

Provenance of the manuscript

Nothing specific is known about the early provenance of the Dobell Folio nor about any of Traherne's extant manuscripts. We know that Philip Traherne (d. 1723), Thomas's brother, inherited his books[26] and the Folio or perhaps merely the separate leaves, which make up the Folio, may have been among them. Philip started an edition of Thomas's poems,[27] but abandoned the project. The poems of the Dobell Folio have many of Philip's notes and changes, some of which he eventually incorporated into his edition.[28]

[25] Attached to the back board is a portion of brown paper foliated in graphite 'i ault'. It contains several addresses: P. J. Dobell, 77 Charing Cross Road, W., crossed through; Rose Cottage, Torrington Park, North Finchley, N., crossed through; The Hermitage, Windsor Terrace, Hampstead, N.W.3, crossed through; 2 Ornan Mansions, N.W.3, crossed through; 8 Bruton Street, London W.1, crossed through; 24 Mount Ephraim Road, Tunbridge Wells, not crossed through. Addresses at Torrington Park, Windsor Terrace and Ornan Mansions are various private home addresses for Percy Dobell. Addresses at Charing Cross and Mount Ephraim are locations of bookshops owned by Bertram Dobell's sons, Percy John and Arthur Eustace, as invoice forms and letterheads indicate. See Bodleian MS Johnson c. 17 (fols. 231–66).

[26] See Dobell, pp. 167–8, and Margoliouth, Vol. 1, pp. xxvi–xxvii, for a copy of 'The Will of Thomas Traherne, as Registered in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury'. See also Smith, 'Thomas and Philip Traherne', pp. 25–31.

[27] See BL MS Burney 392, Bell, pp. vii–xxxii, and Margoliouth, Vol. 1, pp. xiv–xvii.

[28] Philip's changes to individual poems in the Dobell Folio are recorded in Textual Emendations and Notes, pp. 251–70.

The nineteenth-century provenance of the Dobell Folio is connected to that of the *Commentaries of Heaven*. Both were owned successively by Benjamin Heywood Bright (1797–1843), book and manuscript collector, and William Pickering (1796–1854), bookseller and publisher.[29] At Sotheby's auction of Bright's manuscript collection, June 18, 1844, Pickering bought the Ledbury Manuscript (lot 129), as indicated by the lettering on the spine for one pound[30] as well as the *Commentaries* (lot 61) for twelve shillings. The sales catalogue for the William Pickering sale, December 12, 1854, lists the name 'Nisbet'[31] as purchaser of the Ledbury Manuscript (lot 105) for six shillings as well as the *Commentaries* (lot 41) for two shillings.[32] It was in the possession of William Brooke[33] along with the *Centuries* and owned by Alexander Grosart.[34] Mr Charles Higham purchased it at the Grosart sale at Sotheby's, 11–12 December

[29] See Hilton Kelliher, 'The rediscovery of Thomas Traherne', *The Times Literary Supplement* (September 14, 1984): 1038.

[30] Described in the sales catalogue as 'LEDBURY MANUSCRIPT; a volume so lettered. It contains, 1. Religious Poems in imitation of Herbert's Temple; 2. Common-Place Book of the writer's opinions on various Subjects in Theology and Moral Philosophy. Of the XVII century. *folio*'.

[31] The identity of the purchaser of the manuscripts is uncertain. Kelliher suggests Nisbet may be the Revd John Marjoribanks Nisbet, 'successively Rector of Deal and Vicar of Margate between 1856 and 1867' and chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury at the time of the Pickering sale, who died in 1892, a date Kelliher sees as 'close enough to Brooke's discovery of 1896 to be significant, although the portion of his library offered by Puttick and Simpson on January 16, 1893, included no manuscripts' ('The rediscovery of Thomas Traherne'). Neither books nor manuscripts are listed in the Rev. Canon Nisbet's will (London Probate Registry, No. 937, 30 September 1892). See *Catalogue of a Portion of the Library of the Rev. Canon Nisbet, (Deceased), Late Rector of St. Giles in the Fields, and other Private Properties, To be sold by Auction by Messrs. Puttick & Simpson … Monday, January 16th, 1893*. A more likely purchaser of the manuscripts at the Pickering sale is Thomas Nisbet, Edinburgh bookseller and partner of C. B. Tait & Co Auctioneers from 1836 to 1863.

[32] See *Catalogue of the Collection of Manuscripts and Autograph Letters, formed by the Late Mr. William Pickering, of Piccadilly, Bookseller … sold by Auction, by Messrs. S. Leigh Sotheby and John Wilkinson … On Tuesday, the 12th of December, 1854*. Described in the sales catalogue as 'A collection of religious Poems in the style of Herbert's Temple, and a Common-place Book of the writer's opinions upon various subjects in Theology and Moral Philosophy, XVIIth Century. *folio*'.

[33] See Brooke's Account, where he lists it among three manuscripts 'one folio' (Appendix, pp. 321–4).

[34] Alexander Balloch Grosart (1827–99), a Scottish Presbyterian minister, theologian and Elizabethan and Jacobean literary scholar, who reprinted and edited the works of several seventeenth-century poets, such as Donne and Herbert as well

1899.[35] Bertram Dobell subsequently bought it from Higham along with the manuscript of *Centuries of Meditations*, at the urging of William Brooke.[36] It may have been earlier in possession of a 'Ledbury' collector by the name of Skipp (Skip/Skippe).[37] A letter from Grosart to Brooke, dated 27 August 1897, mentions that 'there must be a Ledbury store of MSS. etc. for I distinctly remember having both books & MSS dated Ledbury. So long ago I can't for the life of me bethink me of it'.[38] Grosart also writes to Brooke (30 August 1897) that he thought he was still in possession of 'a thin folio MS' and that Skipp's work was auctioned by Puttick & Simpson in [May] 1888, mentioning an auction label 1112 at the bottom (folio 27r). Bertram Dobell died in 1914 and his books and papers went to his son Percy J. Dobell, who sold the manuscript to the Bodleian along with the *Church's Year-Book*, *Centuries of Meditations* and the Early Notebook

as puritan divines. He was also a bibliophile and collector of rare books and manuscripts.

[35] See *Catalogue of a Collection of Books and Manuscripts, including Portions of the Libraries of the late Dr. A. B. Grosart … and others … which will be sold by Auction, by Messrs, Sotheby. Wilkinson and Hodge, Auctioneers of Literary Property … On Monday, the 11th of December, 1899, and the following Day, at One o' clock Precisely.* See also *Summary Catalogue of Post-Medieval Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford. Acquisition 1916–1975*, compiled by Mary Clapinson and T. D. Rogers, Vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), no. 46711.

[36] See Brooke's account, Appendix, pp. 321–4; and Kelliher, 'The rediscovery of Thomas Traherne'.

[37] The connection of Traherne's manuscripts and the Skipp family of Ledbury, Herefordshire, is uncertain: when the wood-engraver, John Skipp (1741–1812), son of John Skipp of Upper Hall, Ledbury, Herefordshire, died without issue, the estate went to James Martin, who married Penelope Skipp in 1774. Part of the Skipp 'collection' sold in 1888, of which Grosart writes, is perhaps that auctioned March 26–29, when Puttick & Simpson sold a 'Portion of the Library of H. W. Martin, Esq. (of the Upper Hall, Ledbury, Herefordshire)', a direct descendent of James and Penelope, who probably succeeded to Upper Hall on the death of John Martin (his father?) in 1880. The auction of a 'portion' of Martin's library consisted mainly of printed books (including a folio and an octavo of engravings) and a few 'autograph letters' but no manuscript books. The Skipp family name is never mentioned; and there is nothing listed that resembles Traherne's manuscripts. Nor is there anything that appears to be Traherne's, the Skipp's or Martin's of Upper Hall, Ledbury, in the Puttick & Simpson auction catalogues for May, 1888. The contents of Upper Hall were auctioned in 1919 by Stephenson and Alexander of Cardiff and John Brawn of Ross-on-Wye; and there is a collection of the Skipp family papers at the Herefordshire Record Office (B38). I am grateful to Sylvia Pinches for confirmation about the Skipp/Martin connection; she generously shared this information with me.

[38] See Bodleian MS Dobell c. 56, fol. 1.

in 1950[39] 'at a figure very considerably less than they would have fetched in the open market'.[40]

Poems of Felicity

Description of the physical manuscript

The manuscript book is an octavo measuring approximately 154 mm long × 120 mm wide and 18 mm deep and is sewn on four raised cords. The binding, perhaps early twentieth century, is of dark brown calf and cloth. Calf covers the spine up to approximately 33 mm to the centre of both boards as well as each of the four corners approximately 25 mm from the corner to the centre of the boards. There is gilt tooling on the inside edges of the calf, where it meets the cloth as well as on each side of the four cords and at the top and bottom of the spine.[41] The paste-down on both boards is of a green, yellow and maroon marbleized paper.

The manuscript consists of seventy-one leaves with text; the verso of folio 71 is the only blank leaf within the text. It was foliated in graphite throughout by the British Museum, beginning with the title page (folios 1–71). There are three preliminary leaves: the recto of the first leaf is of the same marbleized paper as that of the paste-down;

[39] On fol. i^{r} the purchase date is recorded in graphite as 25. xi. 50, which corresponds to the purchase dates of *Centuries of Meditations*, the *Church's Year-Book* and the Early Notebook. The Bodleian Library *Catalogue of Post-Medieval Western Manuscripts* mistakenly records that the Traherne manuscripts listed under nos. 46709–12 (pp. 736–7) were 'bought from P. J. Dobell, 1952'. According to Dr Bruce Barker-Benfield, Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian, the correct purchase date is 1950. See Ross, Vol. IV, p. xix, note 6, and Vol. V, p. xxiv, note 36.

[40] The full record reads the following: '[Traherne] . . . is one of Oxford's major poets and apart from Milton, of whom there is a manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge, the only great poet of the seventeenth century whose works exist in the author's own handwriting. It is therefore with special gratification that we record their purchase from Mr. Percy Dobell. All students of English poetry will have reason to be grateful to Mr. Dobell, who sold the manuscripts to the Library at a figure considerably less than they would have fetched in the open market, and who has thereby made it possible for them to be kept together in Oxford.' See *Bodleian Library Record* 3 (August, 1951): pp. 179–80. I am grateful to Oliver House, Department of Special Collections, Logic School, Bodleian Library, Oxford, for the full wording of the record.

[41] Stamped in gilt in the spaces between the cords is the following: Poems by T. Traheron / Brit. Mus. / Burney MS. 392.

the verso is blank except for '163.g' written in graphite at the bottom of the page; the second is early twentieth-century, probably added at the binding of the manuscript with no watermark or chain-lines; at the top recto is stamped 'Burn. 392'; the verso is blank. The third is a fly-leaf of similar paper to that of the text with three vertical chain-lines and is blank. Attached to the recto side is a slip of paper with the British Museum coat of arms and the following note in black ink on the front: 'For Printed text or notices of the MS. see:– / Printed by H. I. Bell, *Traherne's Poems of Felicity*, Oxford, 1910. / [Students' room copy at 15b] / P.T.O'; and on the back in blue ink: 'Edited by H. M. Margoliouth, *Thomas Traherne: Centuries, Poems & Thanksgvings*, 2 Vols., Oxford, 1958'. The verso of the third leaf is blank. After fol. 71 are two end leaves: the first is early twentieth century with no watermark or chain-lines; at the middle of the recto side is the date of foliation 'Nov 1932' in graphite; the verso is blank. The recto of the second end-leaf is blank and the verso is of marbleized paper, corresponding to that of the first fly-leaf and front board.

All leaves of Burney MS 392 have been put on guards, due to the fragile state of the manuscript, and measure approximately 147 mm long × 96 mm wide (excluding the guards). The title page is stained and dark, as are the edges of the leaves, suggesting the manuscript remained unprotected for some time. The paper appears to be consistent throughout the manuscript and is identified by two related watermark forms of a post horn within an ornate shield (it is not a crown). The two similar shields vary in size and have slightly different bases. One form has rounded corners while the other is more angular; both end in a central point. The bottom of the watermark is a partial shield with a horn inside; the top is the ornate decoration of the shield, similar to that in Heawood, numbers 2670 and 2684.[42] The watermark appears at the bottom gutter, with three to four vertical chain-lines per leaf.

The title page and text appear to be in the script of Philip Traherne, who numbered each page within parentheses, beginning with folio 5^{v},

[42] See *Watermarks Mainly in the 17th and 18th Centuries* and W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger & Co., 1935), number 315, p. ccxlix and p. 79. See also Ross, *The Works of Thomas Traherne*, Introduction, Vol. I, pp. xviii–xix, for discussion of similarity between paper of Burney MS 392, Burney MS 24, Osborn MS b. 308 and the Lambeth Palace MS 1360.

the first page of poetry, entitled '*Divine Reflections* on the Native Objects of An Infant=Ey'. Philip's pagination extends from 1 to 133; he did not number pages holding introductory poems.[43] The pages are crowded, with Philip writing up to the fore-edge and often into the gutter. Due to the lack of adequate space between poems, Philip drew a line across the page, sometimes even when a poem began at the top of a page.[44] Catchwords are consistent throughout.

The manuscript may not have been bound when Philip used it but collated and sewn only, which is suggested by the holes at the gutter of the conjugate leaves. It was perhaps originally made up of nine gatherings of eight, with sewing between the fourth and fifth leaves, for a total of 72 leaves, or 144 pages. In the present manuscript, there are eight conjugate leaves, indicating at least seven gatherings of eight and one of seven. In the eighth gathering (folios 56–63), leaves four and five (folios 59 and 60) are not conjugate as the manuscript exists presently but may have been originally. There is probably a missing fly-leaf for the first gathering.

Provenance of the manuscript

The original owner of the manuscript was Thomas's brother, Philip, who was making a copy of Thomas's poems for publication in print but completed only one volume; it never reached the press. We do not know what happened to it after Philip died in 1723.[45] It was owned by the Reverend Charles Burney, D.D. (1757–1817),[46] collector of manuscripts, books and prints,[47] whose collection was offered to the

[43] 'The Dedication' (fol. 2); 'The Author to the Critical Peruser' (fol. 3); and 'The Publisher / *To the Reader* (fol. 4).

[44] See 'The Return' (fol. 10^{v}), 'The World' (fol. 17^{r}) and 'Bells. II' (fol. 31^{v}); for poems beginning at the top of a page Philip usually did not draw a line.

[45] Smith suggests that Philip's wife, Susanna (buried at Wimborne Minister, 9 March 1724/5), may have 'disposed of Thomas's manuscripts. The only two of their five children who could have inherited them were Philip [b. 1677], and Jane Raven [b. 1679 and married to Rawlin Raven, 1718]'; see 'Thomas and Philip Traherne', p. 30.

[46] Charles Burney, D.D., was born at Lynn in Norfolk on 4 December 1757 and died at the house belonging to his rectory of St Paul's, Deptford, on 28 December 1817. Educated at Charter House, Cambridge and Aberdeen. He was a classical scholar and avid collector of Greek and Latin classical and theological manuscripts.

[47] The manuscripts of the Burney collection are comprised of about 520 volumes, mostly having to do with theology. More than eighty volumes are in Greek, including five copies of the Gospels from the tenth century; one copy of the Epistles of St James, St Peter and St John from the fourteenth century; orations

nation immediately after his death and purchased by the British Museum for £13,500 in 1818 and has remained a part of the British Library's collection since that time.

The Ceremonial Law

Description of the physical manuscript

The manuscript of *The Ceremonial Law*, purchased by the Folger Shakespeare Library in 1958 and catalogued as an anonymous work, was identified by Laetitia Yeandle with the assistance of Julia Smith in 1997.[48] It is an incomplete, autograph narrative poem of 1,748 lines in rhyming couplets, wherein Traherne follows the stories mostly from Genesis and Exodus, not only giving a reading of events in the Old Testament as types fulfilled in the New Testament but also interpreting his own spiritual journey in terms of the history of Israel.[49] He also focuses on the Church as the bride of Christ, and thereby his own personal call to enter the service of the Church.[50]

The manuscript may have been bought as a blank bound book; it is a duodecimo volume measuring approximately 145 mm long × 84 mm wide and 18 mm deep. It is paginated in graphite, except for the first three pages, which are paginated in ink similar to that of the text. There are 170 pages including blank leaves.

The front and back boards are tooled in gilt with thin parallel double lines closely placed, which originally overlapped. At each corner inside of the lines is a gilt rosette, with four on each board. The original binding, including the spine, was of seventeenth-century brown calf. It was refurbished in 2002 by the Folger with the spine and cords replaced and the text block re-sewn on four cords. The original spine was damaged with only a portion remaining; it was tooled in gilt

and epistles by Gregory of Nazianzum as well as controversial treatises by Gregory of Nyssa.

48 See Julia Smith and Laetitia Yeandle, 'Felicity disguisd in fiery Words', *The Times Literary Supplement* (November 7, 1997): 17.

49 See p. 197, lines 4–13: 'My GOD prepard, before my self was born, / Great Joys wher with I might my Life adorn. / He first Ordaind that I a Life should liv / Of Sweet Delights; which His fair Hand did giv; / From whence since I by Sin revolted am, / He since ordaind His son to be a Man. / Whom that I might more certainly descrie, / With ancient Figures He did Beautifie: / And made those Types the pleasant Posies be / Of His great Lov, and Kindness unto me.'

50 See p. 204, lines 82–3: 'Send me unto thy Church, and let her prov, / To me and Thee, a burning Bush of Lov.'

with thin double parallel lines between the four cords with a rosette at the centre of the double lines. Both boards appear to have had two metal clasps attached by metal pins now missing. There are two pin marks, juxtaposed horizontally at 27 mm from the top and 28 mm from the bottom on both boards.

Both boards have paste-downs measuring approximately 141 mm long × 81 mm wide. The front board paste-down is unevenly cut and placed and is wrinkled at the top and gutter side, with rust marks corresponding to the metal pins. Written at the top of the front paste-down is '52pp. late 17th C. MS. in verse'. The back board paste-down is also unevenly cut and placed and appears to have been folded under at the right side. Written at the top is MS Add. 167, probably an earlier class mark; under that is the Folger class mark, V. a. 70 as well as a plate recording the date of its 2002 exhibition. There are also rust marks corresponding to the metal pins.

The manuscript falls into seven gatherings of twelve leaves plus two fly-leaves; the first gathering, however, has only nine leaves; the first and the twelfth leaves are missing, and the ninth leaf is a stub. At the end of the book there is a remnant of an eighth gathering, with four leaves plus five stubs. There is also sewing at the middle of the stubs. The manuscript book appears to consist of one type of paper approximately 141 mm long × 82 mm wide with five to six horizontal chain-lines per leaf and can be identified by its watermark form of a crowned shield with an enclosed horn and baldric;[51] at the bottom is hanging a number 4 with WR, a watermark created by Wendolyn Riehel in 1510.[52] The watermark appears at the upper corner of the fore-edge with no discernible counter-mark. Although the leaves on which the water mark appears are not conjugate, in all instances the top of the watermark appears first with the bottom on the following leaf. The top of the watermark measures approximately 45 mm long × 55 mm wide, and the bottom, approximately 43 mm long × 49 mm wide. The paper is gilded on the top, bottom and fore edges. On some pages there is a line drawn in graphite to serve as a guide; on some it appears at both the inner and outer margins at others, at only one margin; some pages have no line at all.

[51] See Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, nos. 2722, 2733 or 2724.

[52] I owe this information to Ruby Reid Thompson, given in conversation on 2 January 1999.

Written on the recto side of the first fly-leaf in an unidentified script[53] and in light brown ink different from that of the text is the following: 'I like this mightily but I pray prosecute it, for which reason I have sent to you this that you may know the better wher you Left & how to proceed. I would you would goe thorow the whole Sacred Story. God direct and Inspire you.' On p. 163[r] written upside down in an unidentified,[54] large untidy script, not found in any Traherne manuscripts is the following: 'Taken out of the wonderfull / Prodigies of Judgments / and mercey. written by the RB. / Author of the history of the / Wars of England, and the remarks / of London &c: in 300 Memo- / rable Histories.'[55] It was probably added after 1685, and has nothing to do with *The Ceremonial Law*.

The first page of text plus the title, THE CEREMONIAL LAW, appears at the third leaf (numbered p. 1) and ends at page 52; pages 53–163 and 165–8 are blank. The poem is incomplete and ends abruptly with 'Of God on Earth'.

Provenance of the manuscript

We know little of the early provenance of the manuscript. The Folger Shakespeare Library purchased it from H. A. Hammelmann, Esq. (1912–69), of Burgh Old Rectory, Campsea Ashe, near Woodbridge, Suffolk, England, 5 August 1958. In his original offer, he described it as 'MANUSCRIPT IN VERSE (late 17th Century), small 12mo volume containing ca. 52 pages neatly written: "The Ceremonial Law" with a few corrections made in writing, apparently unfinished, some 35–40 lines per page, old calf worn'.[56] It has been in the possession of the Library since its purchase.

[53] It may be similar to the script of the unidentified critical reader of *Inducements* and *A Sober View*. See Ross, *The Works of Thomas Traherne*, Vol. I, Plates I (p. 4) and II (p. 47).

[54] The manuscript page is unnumbered.

[55] RB refers to Richard (or Robert) Burton, pseudonyms of Nathaniel Crouch (1632–1725), who wrote *Wonderful prodigies of judgment and mercy: discovered in above three hundred memorable histories* . . . (London, 1681; with other editions in 1682, 1685, 1699).

[56] I owe this information to Georgianna Ziegler, Louis B. Thalheimer Head of Reference, Folger Shakespeare Library.

Early Notebook

Description of the physical manuscript

The manuscript book is an octavo measuring approximately 148 mm long × 104 mm wide and 40 mm deep. It was bound in dark brown calf, with two leather straps attached by metal pins. The pins and part of the leather straps are still visible on both boards. The calf was tooled with double lines on the top, bottom, gutter and fore edges on both boards, forming a rectangle of approximately 135 mm long × 80 mm wide, with approximately 2 mm between the lines. It was re-backed in reddish morocco in the twentieth century probably by the Bodleian, with the morocco tucked under the brown leather up to approximately 20 mm on both boards. The morocco on the spine was also tooled with double lines at the top and bottom and stamped at the bottom with the Bodleian class mark, MS Lat. misc. f. 45. It is sewn on three recessed cords with no paste-downs on either board. On the front board is the Bodleian stamp and class mark in graphite plus the numbers 63/1285. On the back board is the Bodleian class mark. On the front and back fly-leaves is doodling as well as signatures and initials by both Philip and Thomas.[57]

The manuscript appears to consist of one type of paper, measuring approximately 145 mm long × 93 mm wide and identified by a watermark form of an elaborate pot, topped with a quarter moon, attached to a cross, which is then attached to flowers at the top of the pot. The pot has a rounded shape at the bottom with a handle. The pot then sits on a bell-shaped stand with a cross in the middle of it. At the middle of the pot are the initials 'BM'.[58]

[57] The complete manuscript of EN will be printed in Vol. IX, Notebooks; it will include a description of the manuscript, and the contents of these pages will be fully discussed. Very briefly the fly leaves contain the following: on page i is the Bodleian purchase date, 25. xi. 50, signatures and initials by Philip and Thomas, plus 'I' or 'H Colway(?)' or perhaps 'Holway' and 'Warmeston' as well as 'vid pag. 83 / mercuri in bivio'. There are remnants of other words, for instance 'papists' and 'and' (written twice) as well as two illegible references, probably to *De augmentis scientiarum* with 'de medicina, pag. 212. 215' and 'De conjectum, 206. 209'; written vertically is 'apomte', crossed through. On page 387 is cipher plus the name Thomas T...; page 388 (ult) continues the doodling and cipher with 'John T...' written upside down at the bottom of the page plus 'quid' and 'Loyd'. See also Marks, 'Thomas Traherne's Early Studies', pp. 512–16.

[58] See Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, nos. 3601 and 3602.

There are 198 leaves, twenty-three gatherings of eight leaves and two of seven, with a total of 396 pages,[59] of which 222 are blank. Some of the leaves (at least six) appear to have been glued to stubs; all leaves have vertical chain-lines. The manuscript was erratically foliated in ink at the time of writing and in graphite by the Bodleian Library in the twentieth century. The first and last leaves were added probably when the manuscript was re-backed; they are unnumbered and neither is a part of a gathering. They are of a thicker paper with three vertical chain-lines; both are blank.

A brief overview of the contents of the manuscript

The manuscript contains notes in Latin, mainly by Thomas on ethics[60] and geometry, with geometic drawings to the right of the text. There are also excerpts from the following works: 'Compendium Historicum Ex Justino Excerptum',[61] 'Flores Elegantissimæ / D. Franc. Baconis / De Verulamio / Ex Lib. De Augmentis Scientiarum / Excerptæ / Lib. I.',[62] Edward Reynolds's[63] *Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (London, 1640),[64] a Latin essay on classical history and mythology, and notes from Thomas Burnet's *Telluris Theoria Sacra*, (1681)[65] by Philip, as well as the poems recorded in this volume.

[59] On fol. 388ult is a note in graphite 'vi + 388 pages' and under that is written 'really vi + 390 as 305 is triple', Bodleian numbers 305a, 305b, 305c.

[60] Entitled 'Totius Moralis Philosophiæ Perfecta / Epitome et concisa per Quaestiones / et responsiones Tradita' most of which is taken from the *Ethica* of Fr. Eustache de Saint-Paul (Eustache Asseline), *Summa philosophiae quadripartia: de rebus dialecticis, moralibus, phisicis, & metaphysicis* (1609) ; See Marks, 'Thomas Traherne's Early Studies', pp. 517–18, and her introduction to *CE*, pp. xix–xxii.

[61] Third century condensed version of Pompeius Trogus's *Historiae Philippicae* by Marcus Junianus Justinus. See Marks, 'Thomas Traherne's Early Studies', pp. 519–20.

[62] Thomas's note on the flyleaf 'vid pag. 83. Mercuri in bivio' indicates he used P. Mettayer's edition (Paris, 1624). See Marks, 'Thomas Traherne's Early Studies', p. 521.

[63] Edward Reynolds (1599–1676) was Bishop of Norwich 1661–76.

[64] See EN, p. 140, 'In perusing bookes of Learning', where Thomas notes, 'Reynolds passions. cap. 3. pag. 17.', p. 143, 'Of Physiognomie' with Thomas's note, 'Quod ad hoc pertinet. vid. Ed: Reynold lib. of the passions and faculties of the soule. cap. 1.2.' and p. 154, 'Of the Phancie', noted by Traherne 'Reynolds passions. cap. 4'.

[65] Noted by Philip on p. 237 as 'ex *Burnetti Theoria Sacra*, cap. 6. lib. 4. 197 [Published 1681]'.

Provenance of the manuscript

The original owner of the manuscript book was Thomas's brother, Philip Traherne, perhaps bought as a blank bound book. Philip is responsible for two different title pages: on p. iii is written the following: 'Philip Traherne / is the true owner / of this booke. / Amen. / Anno Domini / 1655.' The price is recorded next to the title as '00-0-11d'. Under that is tachygraphy and then 'Tis better for a man to die, and leave his / riches to his enemies; then in his life / to bee bound by necessity to the courtesie / of his friends', probably written by Thomas. The second title page (p. v) is elaborately decorated with a series of fleurs-de-lis, some of which form a square enclosing a rose. The title page reads as follows: 'PHILIP TRAHERNE / Si Christum discis nibil est si cætera necis, / Si Christum nescis nibil est si cætera discis.' At the bottom of the title page are Philip's initials (P T) surrounded by decoration. In the nineteenth century, it was owned by Rashleigh Duke,[66] whose signature appears on p. iii along with 'Salisbury. April 30. 1841', with a note in his script on p. 386, 'Hearne. Salisbury. / 002000. Pd'. Pages i, 148 and 387 contain Thomas's signature. Philip used the notebook very little; and it is clear that Thomas made it his own, with everything after p. 7, except Philip's selection from Burnet, in Thomas's script. After Thomas died, the manuscript probably returned to Philip, who had possession of some of Thomas's other manuscripts. Ultimately it was purchased by Bertram Dobell in 1935, who recorded the purchase date at the bottom of p. 386, '13.12.35'. In 1950, Percy J. Dobell sold the manuscript to the Bodleian, with the purchase date '25. ix. 50' recorded on the first fly-leaf.

General editorial principles

In this edition I have attempted to represent faithfully Traherne's manuscripts and printed works as well as to produce a clear, readable text. Traherne's spelling, punctuation and capitalization have been maintained insofar as possible. Standard abbreviations in the manuscripts including the ampersand are silently expanded. The S. for St or 'saint', bec. for 'because', ch. for 'church' when used in 'Church of England' and H. for 'holy' have been maintained in most cases.

[66] Robert Rashleigh Duke, son of the antiquarian Edward Duke. See Smith, 'Thomas and Philip Traherne', p. 30.

It is difficult to be certain when exactly Traherne intended a capital letter, particularly with letters C, K, M, N, O, U, V, W, Y, and especially with letters S, P and E. Traherne usually used a capital for these letters, which varies in size. When a capital was intended often had to be determined by comparing the size of letters within a context of ten to fifteen lines. First words of sentences when abbreviated, such as 'y^{t}' and 'y^{e}' are capitalized as are the first words of sentences or paragraphs when the initial capitalized word has been deleted.

Illegible words and phrases are indicated by an ellipsis within square brackets [. . .]. The rendering of uncertain words is indicated by square brackets plus a question mark [hid?]; missing words, including numbers for stanzas in the poetry as well as to distinguish separate poems, by brackets only [in]. Illegible marks, notations and deletions are not noted. Traherne often used a square bracket, sometimes not closed; at various places in the text he also inserted an unclosed square bracket at the beginning of a sentence, perhaps to indicate a new paragraph, or, as in some of Traherne's manuscripts, a section to be deleted; but this is uncertain. These have, therefore, been left as they appear in the manuscript and the place noted. Traherne often used multiple parentheses, as in '(when it is understood of Pleasing Him in all Eternitie) in its tru Dilated Notion)', which also have been left as they appear in the manuscript. Traherne often omitted the full stop after abbreviations, such as 'S' for 'Saint' and 'H' for 'Holy' as well as at the end of phrases and words that appear in lists or catalogues. All underscoring has been italicized. Corrections of obvious errors as well as any emendations I made, such as deletions, commas, full stops, etc. for clarity's sake, have been recorded with all textual emendations. Except in a few instances, to give the reader some idea of the handwritten manuscripts, the use of the = sign, has been substituted by a hyphen. All instances of the = sign have been recorded in Textual Emendations and Notes. Stanza numbers in the Dobell Folio are Thomas's; Philip however omitted stanza numbers in *Poems of Felicity*. Line numbers are recorded by the editor by poem for the Dobell Folio, *Poems of Felicity* and the 'Early Notebook' and by page and line number for *The Ceremonial Law*. Italics for titles of poems are added by the editor.

Thomas's spelling is idiosyncratic and inconsistent, sometimes in harmony with general seventeenth-century conventions; he often reverses the 'i' and 'e', especially in such words as 'cheifly', 'feild', 'freind', 'freindship' and 'greif'; he also spells 'deity/deitie' as 'diety/

dietie'. I have left these renderings as they appear in the manuscript. In many instances Traherne uses 'bruitish' for 'brutish', 'ubraid' for 'upbraid', 'seperate' for 'separate', 'breath' for 'breathe' and 'divel' for 'devil' among others. Some of these I have left as they appear in the manuscripts, others I have corrected for the sake of clarity; all changes have been noted with the emendations. Traherne's 'e' and 'o' are written similarly and are sometimes difficult to distinguish, especially in the words 'those' and 'these'. I transcribed them according to context. The abbreviation 'y^n' is transcribed as 'then' instead of 'than', in keeping with Traherne's usage. The abbreviations '$gover^{mt}$' and 'gov^{mt}' are transcribed as 'goverment', a common seventeenth-century spelling of the word.

Any eccentric conventions of the texts within this edition are due to the peculiarities of the manuscript or the printed work and have not always been noted.