Cavalier, libertine, wit, courtier: as the early modern biographer John Aubrey put it, Sir John Suckling (1609–ca. 1641) was “the greatest gallant of his time, and the greatest gamester.” Only posthumously were his literary and dramatic contributions gathered into a single volume, *Fragmenta Aurea* (1646), and throughout the second half of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century his complete works were regularly reprinted. Although Suckling is now considered a second-rate playwright and a minor poet, during the Restoration his works were more highly regarded. Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34 offers a tangible example of one late-seventeenth-century reader’s responses to Suckling’s work.

Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34 has been briefly discussed in relation to its Shakespearean extracts; however, this miscellany has been overlooked as a key example of seventeenth-century reader response, particularly in relation to early modern plays and, as this selection demonstrates, Suckling’s literary works. Even in the valuable research on his manuscripts and his later literary reputation, Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34 remains curiously ignored. With its at times trenchant

1 I would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Banting Postdoctoral Fellowship program for their generous research support. I would also like to thank Ray Siemens for access to his copy of *Fragmenta Aurea* (1648).


3 In the years of the interregnum and Protectorate immediately following his death, Suckling was seen as a royalist martyr. Through the Restoration, his literary reputation increased, as he was often classed with major poets and playwrights of his time. For more on his literary reputation, see Thomas Clayton, ed., *The Works of Sir John Suckling: The Non-Dramatic Works* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), esp. lixiv–lxxv. See also Charles L. Squier, “‘Right Worthy of His Honours’: Reputation, Influences, and Achievement,” in *Sir John Suckling* (Boston: Twayne, 1978), 149–56.

4 The only research on this manuscript to date is G. Blakemore Evans, “A Seventeenth-Century Reader of Shakespeare,” *Review of English Studies* 21.84 (1945): 271–79.

commentary, it has the potential to be as important to early modern literary reception as Samuel Pepys’s diary is to the discussion of Restoration audience response. Suckling’s poems and extracts from his plays can be found in dozens of seventeenth-century manuscripts; however, Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34 is extraordinary in that it contains not only extracts but also summaries and commentaries. In the late 1680s, an anonymous reader, P.D., copied extracts from and notes about the material that he read into his commonplace book, Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34. P.D. extracted from a wide array of works, ranging from classical authors (including Aristotle and Cicero), to historical tracts (such as notes on the trial of Sir Walter Ralegh), to religious pieces (including Bishop Burnett’s multi-volume History of the Reformation of the English Church, vol. 1, 1681). P.D. also included numerous extracts from and commentaries on many Restoration plays, such as Aphra Behn’s The Emperor of the Moon (1687), William Wycherly’s The Plain Dealer (1677), and John Dryden’s Marriage A-la-Mode (1673). The commentaries and extracts show that P.D. preferred Restoration drama to Renaissance drama: Restoration plays far outnumber Renaissance plays in the manuscript. P.D. extracted from only four pre-Restoration playwrights: Shakespeare, Jonson, Brome, and Suckling, and of these he copied most from Suckling and Shakespeare.

Although it might surprise today’s readers, P.D. approached Suckling’s collected works in the same way that he approached Shakespeare’s collected plays (fourth folio, 1685), showing that he valued their dramatic and literary contributions similarly. We know that P.D. copied his selections from the 1676 edition of Suckling’s Works and Shakespeare’s fourth folio because he provided page numbers. He extracted from and commented on both, devoting two and a half pages to Shakespeare and just over three to Suckling. P.D. offered nuanced reactions to a handful of Shakespearean plays: for instance, though he found Othello “very serious, & full of good thoughts, the Plott regular & Tragical,” he would have preferred “a greasy Cook” to add wit instead of Iago and Roderigo. Conversely, he did not approve of the low-class characters in The Merry Wives of Windsor: “their Witt & language & conversation so plain, that tis scarce worth

Clarendon, 1971), and Herbert Berry, Sir John Suckling’s Poems and Letters from Manuscript (London, ON: University of Western Ontario, 1960). These editions do not discuss Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34 since it is not an authorial or full-text source. See esp. Beaurline (Works, 33) on manuscripts consulted for his edition of Aglaura, Clayton (Works, xcviii–cv) on manuscript sources, and Clayton (Works, lxiv–lxxii) on Suckling’s literary reputation.

6 Pepys’s reaction to Restoration revivals of Suckling’s plays has been well documented. Unlike the views expressed by P.D. (the compiler of Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34), Pepys considered Aglaura “a mean play: nothing of design in it” (qtd. in Clayton, Works, lx).

7 Following Evans, “Seventeenth-Century Reader,” I refer to the reader as “P.D.,” though these are likely not the actual initials of our anonymous reader.

8 For instance, P.D. criticized John Lacy’s Sir Hercules Buffoon, beginning his censure with “The play is very far from being a good one” (f. 73v). He opened his consideration of Nathaniel Lee’s The Princess of Cleves (1681) by noting that “The serious scenes of this play are well writ. A Jealous Husband painted in the Prince of Cleves” (f. 118r). See Evans, “Seventeenth-Century Reader,” for a few other examples of P.D.’s commentaries and a complete list of the plays from which he extracted.

9 For more on the publication history of Fragmenta Aurea and The Works of Sir John Suckling, see Clayton (Works, lxvi–lxxi). The 1676 edition includes a title page for both Works (1676) and Fragmenta Aurea (1648). Works and Fragmenta Aurea, like other collected works of their time, included both repurposed and reissued earlier texts. Some copies, such as the 1658 Fragmenta Aurea at Trinity College Dublin, include only the opening poems and prose and not the appended plays.

10 Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34, f. 60r. For a complete transcription of P.D.’s Shakespearean extracts and commentaries, see Evans, “Seventeenth-Century Reader.”
reading." P.D.’s harshest comment about Suckling (that The Goblins is “confused”) is hardly a criticism at all compared with his views of Shakespeare.

P.D. was not the only Restoration reader to consider Suckling and Shakespeare as writers of a comparable calibre. As John Dryden lauded in his epistle to the second part of The Conquest of Granada, “Shakespeare, Fletcher and Johnson: whose excellencies I can never enough admire … have been follow’d especially by Sir John Suckling and Mr. [Edmund] Waller, who refin’d upon them.” P.D. himself might have been influenced by Dryden’s opinions; he included extracts from Dryden’s epistle:

> Ben Johnson in his character of Asper personates himself … True-Witt in the silent woman is his master-pace — Shakespear shewed the best of his wit in Mercutio & Fletcher in Don John. Dryden Epist. to 2d. part of Granada.

P.D. respected Dryden as a critic, poet, and playwright, praising Religio Laici as “easy, natural, neither too close, nor too prolix,” and finding The Maiden Queen “very well writ,” with “a great deal of wit & sense … and good language.” Although his tastes ran toward Restoration plays, like Dryden, P.D. valued earlier plays, particularly those by Shakespeare and Suckling.

Compared with his relatively extensive engagement with Shakespeare and Suckling, P.D. only cursorily considered Jonson and Brome. The Jonson extract, “Two lips wagging & never a wise word,” attributed to “B. Johnson,” is just a single extract rather than a collection of multiple extracts with summary and commentary. This single line offers no proof that P.D. read Cynthia’s Revels; it might have been passed along orally or copied from an intermediary source. Compared with his relative indifference to Jonson, his general praise for Suckling, and his mixed opinions of Shakespeare, P.D.’s remarks about Brome’s The Northern Lass are excoriating:

> The plott is tedious, and not pleasant when disclosed: Ther’s as little of any Comicall humour in the play, as instruction. then for witt & language no body aims at it but bully Anvile, as dull a jester as ever trod the stage.

In their time, Brome disdained Suckling as a courtier-playwright, but half a century later P.D. clearly favoured Suckling over his literary rival.

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11 Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34, f. 60r.
12 Ibid., f. 101v. See complete transcription below.
14 Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34, f. 120r.
15 Ibid., f. 64r.
16 Ibid., f. 117v.
17 Ibid., f. 121r. The extract also appears, crossed out, on f. 119v.
18 Ibid., f. 28r.
19 For more Brome and Suckling, see Brome’s “Upon Aglaura Printed in Folio” (Clayton, Works, 201–02), and John Freehafer, “Brome, Suckling, and Davenant’s Theater Project of 1639,” Studies in Literature and Language 10 (1968): 367–83.
P.D. extensively engaged with Suckling’s *Fragmenta Aurea*, copying extracts from the poem, plays, and letters. His first extracts from “Sir John Suckling’s Works,” as he titled the section, are four stanzas clearly marked to show that they are taken from three poems. In “Against Fruition,” “Loving and Beloved,” and “[Womans Constancy],” Suckling constructs love as a disappointment. From “Against Fruition,” P.D. selected a quatrain that captures the poem’s message: love, once consummated, becomes quickly boring. The other two poems fault women for their inconstancy. Even though, in his source text, “Loving and Beloved” and “[Womans Constancy]” were separated by twenty pages, P.D. recognized them as companion pieces, possibly because of their linked first lines: “There never yet was honest man” and “There never yet was woman made,” respectively. The organization of his miscellany shows that he read Suckling’s poems carefully, making intertextual connections; the selections themselves suggest that P.D. was drawn to the poet’s cynical (or, at best, wry) tone.

When he turned to Suckling’s plays, P.D. attended carefully to the convoluted plot of *Aglaura* in order to offer a detailed summary, yet he provided only a few sentences about *The Goblins*. His detailed description of *Aglaura* shows his interest in the complicated situations, including betrayals, double-crossings, and multiple disguises. His summary does not include Suckling’s tragic ending, which, like his commentary (“His second 5th Act is much the best”), demonstrates his preference for the alternative tragicomic ending. Rather than providing a character list to help navigate these otherwise confusing shifts, P.D. addresses each character’s identity as it becomes relevant to the plot: Ariaspes, for instance, is not mentioned until the second page, where P.D. parenthetically and succinctly describes him as “the King’s brother ambitious of the crown, & too familiar with Orbella.” Although his synopsis is generally neutral and descriptive, in one case he describes Aglaura “being kept Prisoner by Zirif,” when in the context of the play Ziriff is trying to protect his sister. The extensive summary of *Aglaura* reveals his interest in a play that has been otherwise dismissed for its “greater excesses and complications” than other cavalier drama. The summary suggests that P.D. appreciated the complicated plot and alternative ending that distinguishes Suckling’s play from other Caroline plays and revenge tragedies. Although Suckling’s plays are not often lauded now, they were often republished in his collected works in the late seventeenth century; furthermore, during the Restoration, they were regularly performed.

Although P.D. followed and enjoyed *Aglaura’s* complexities, he disparaged *The Goblins* as “a very confused play.” Even if he was not as captivated by *The Goblins*, he still found some wit and

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20 Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34, f. 100v.
21 Ibid., f. 101v. P.D. seems to have begun copying from the first (tragic) ending and quickly changed his mind, as the strikethrough on f. 101r indicates: the suppressed text likely reads “they kill him,” referring to when Ariaspes and Jolas kill the king. For a discussion of Suckling’s two endings as they relate to conventions of revenge tragedy and Caroline drama, see Robert Wilcher, *The Discontented Cavalier: The Work of Sir John Suckling in Its Social, Religious, Political, and Literary Contexts* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), esp. 203–11 and 217–19.
22 Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34, f. 101r.
24 For publication history, see Clayton (Works, lxvii–ix). During the Restoration, *Aglaura* was Suckling’s most performed play, enjoying revivals in 1659, 1661, 1662, 1668, and 1674, as well as a 1668 performance at court. See W. Van Lennep, ed., *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, vol. 1, 1660–1700 (Carbondale: Southern University of Illinois Press, 1965), esp. 6, 45, 48, 55, 108, 127, and 224.
21 Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34, f. 101v. See transcription below.
turns of phrase in Suckling’s writing worth noting. Rather than focusing on the events and characters in *The Goblins*, P.D. copied three “sentences” (*sententiae*): that is, commonplaces. His miscellany is primarily a commonplace book, which suggests that he actively read early modern plays and poems for their pithy phrasing and proverbial truisms. The practice of copying commonplaces from plays was widespread in the seventeenth century. As the textual notes demonstrate, at times P.D. crafted his dramatic extracts into phrases that could easily be reused in conversation or writing. He grouped his “sentences” from plays with poetic extracts, all of which offer vivid and perhaps unexpected images. For instance, P.D. was drawn to the image of a yawn as an “O yes” and the comparison of women to melons. His marginal comment “flowing & easy” refers to Suckling’s couplet “The sweat of learned Johnsons brain / And gentle Shakespear’s easier strain.”26 P.D.’s marginalia compliments Suckling’s verse and adds to Suckling’s praise of Shakespeare while also revealing what P.D. valued in good writing and how he selected some of his “sentences” from Suckling’s work.

Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34 showcases the opinions of one reader and contributes to our broader understanding of the reception of Suckling’s work. Currently, the claims made about his literary reputation rest largely on print evidence, such as the republication of his work, published commendatory poems and lampoons, and mention of Suckling in printed early modern literary criticism. P.D.’s miscellany is a significant document not only because it offers concrete evidence (extracts, summaries, and commentaries) of how Suckling was read in the seventeenth century but also because it contextualizes this response to him alongside commentary about other playwrights. These extracts show what drew readers to his work: his wit, his turns of phrase, and even his cavalier attitude. P.D.’s summary presents *Aglaura* from the standpoint of an early modern reader and shows the depth of that reader’s engagement with the play’s byzantine intricacies. These commentaries reveal the opinions of a thoughtful reader who carefully considered Suckling’s poems, plays, and epistles. The extracts, summaries, and commentaries in Bodleian MS Eng. misc. c. 34 offer one early modern approach to Suckling as a literary figure by both re-presenting selected words of the poet-playwright and preserving one reader’s response in his own words.

26 Ibid.
Manuscript Description

Shelfmark: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS English Miscellaneous c. 34
Origin: British, ca. 1687–88
Size: folio, 123 leaves

Editorial Conventions

Standard scribal abbreviations such as ye (the) and wh (which) have been silently expanded. Otherwise, spelling is taken from the original, except where editorial additions have been signalled with italics. Ampersands from the original are retained. Conjectural readings of illegible words are enclosed in angle brackets.

Punctuation, capitalization, and lineation follow from the original. P.D. sometimes used long dashes or underlines as punctuation, the distinction between which is unclear at times: they have been represented as faithfully as possible. Strikethroughs in the original have been retained. Supralinear additions are marked with forward and reverse primes (’’). Marginal additions are placed in the appropriate margin, retaining the mise-en-page of the original as much as possible.

Titles and marginal notations are not accounted for in line numbers. Line numbers are given separately for four sections: (1) the initial poetic extracts; (2) the summary of and commentary on Aglaura; (3) the plot summary of The Goblins; and (4) “Sentences,” taken from The Goblins, poems, epistles, and Brennoralt.

The Text

100v

[Sir John Suckling’s works.]

Women enjoyed (what ere before ‘t have been)
Are like romances read or sights once seen
Fruition’s dull & spoils the play much more
Than if one read or knew the plott before. p. 26.

—

What rack can fancy find so high
Here wee must court & here ingage
Tho in the other place wee die
Oh! ’tis torture all & couzenage.
And which the harder is I cannot tell
To hide true love, or make false love look well. p. 5.

—

If where the gentle bee hath fall’n
And laboured to his power
A new succeeds not to that flower
But passes by
’Tis to be thought the gallant elswhere leads his thigh

27 Curly brace in the original.
29 The third stanza of “Loving and Beloved,” ll. 13–18 (in Clayton, Works, 60–61); Works, sig. [A5], 5.
For still the flowers ready stand
One buzzes round about
One lights, one tastes, gets in, gets out
All always use them
Till all their sweets are gone & all again refuse them.  p. 27

Aglaura.  a Tragedy.

The Plott.    Aglaura mistress to the King, loved & in love
with Prince Thersames, after many attempts is at last
married to Prince Thersames in Diana’s grove by a
preist they had appointed to be there in private.

but the match was not carried on so privately but that
Jolas (a treacherous confidant of the Princes) by the help
of his Sister Jolina waiting woman to Aglaura discovered
it to the King— At night just as Prince Thersames
had stolen into Aglaura’s lodgings and ready to enjoy his
long-wish’d-for happiness, The King sends Zirif captain
of the guards (otherwise call’d Zorannez, brother to Aglaura,
friend to the Prince, & deeply in love with Orbella the
Queen: she had formerly accepted of his suit & had
in all likelihood been married to him had not the King
kill’d her father Zorannez’s father & made him fly
for his life, after which he came to the court in a
disguise and wait’d an opportunity for revenge) to
seize Aglaura: He reveals himself to Prince Thersames
and perswades him to deliver up Aglaura to his custo-

—dy, promising to assist him in any thing.  This counsel
was accepted by the Prince, he enters into a confederacy
with certain Lords of whom Jolas was one, to kill his
father—Jolas betrays the Plott to Ariaspes (the Kings brother
ambitious of the crown, & too familiar with Orbella:)31 both
haste to the King, perswade him to sett a guard to take
the Conspirators: which succeeded according to the purpose
only the Prince escaped & at last got to Aglaura
in the round tower where she was kept Prisoner by Zirif.
— The Prince not being safe in those lodgings ’twas
argreed by Zirif & Aglaura he should convey himself
into a (^22) through a vault of the tower into a
place of safety & wait an opportunity to accomplish
his designs ____ Zirif after these instructions hastes to
the King, whom he acquaints what had happened in the

30 Stanzas four and five of “[Womans Constancy],” ll. 16–25 (in Clayton, Works, 61–62); Works, sig. [B6], 27.
31 Here the O of “Orbella” seems to be written over an “A.”
32 There are two unclear characters after “into a” that are also crossed out, possibly “va” as an abandoned start
for “vault.”
tower & that Prince Thersames was by Aglaura's means conveyed into the vault where she was to meet him that night in the embraces of love, he persuades the King to feign himself the Prince & enjoy Aglaura, whilst he with the Lord Jolas, & Ariaspes, secured the Prince in the entrance of the vaults: after this he acquaints his Sister that the King did intend to personate the Prince & come to her at the place she had appointed to meet the Prince in ___ According to agreement, Zirif brings Jolas & Ariaspes into the vault, withdraws & brings the King the way the Prince was to come: `<they kill him>` then Zirif's guards seizes them. Zirif releases Ariaspes & fights with him in single combat for queen Orbella. In the mean time Aglaura goes to the place of appointment, & hearing the Prince come towards her mistakes him for the King gives him a wound: which did not prove mortal, & presently finding her mistake gets a Chirurgion who cures him. Zirif hastes to the Queen Orbella, & after he had charged her with her falshood towards him, gives her to his guards to be in custody ___ The scene opens & discovers Prince Thersames & Aglaura sitting on a bed: the guards bring in the King, Ariaspes, Jolas, & the Queen. Zirif accuses the King of his fathers death and desires leave of the Prince to kill him, but he intercedes in his Fathers behalf & prevails upon his friend for his life: which was no sooner done but the Kings guards come & change the state of affairs: Now the King was again restored & the conquerors his captives. But he mildly forgives all for satisfaction to Zirif he promises to build a tomb to his Father, & doe that Penance with his Queen 3 years: He gives his Mistris Arbella Aglaura to the Prince Thersames: he Banishes his ambitious brother for ever, & trayterous Jolas for 3 years: Thus the Tragedy is turned into a scene of joy.

Some Reflections. His second 5th Act is much the bests: it gives on Aglaura. a new beuty to the play: whereas in the former was nothing but blood & wounds, this has an amicable composure: The Poet shews greater skill in preserving his Heros alive than in Killing them: the sword & pistol & poison are always ready, but life preserv'd with honour costs a second thought.

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33 Here there are three words that have been crossed out with curly strokes (likely “they kill him”). Above the deletion, the compiler has inserted “then.”
34 A scribal error for “Ariaspes.”
Some Reflections on the Goblins: This is a very confused play – Orsabrin is the true character of a gentleman & a friend – The examinations of the Goblins is most satyrical in the young court Lord: where under pretence of putting questions to him they expose the tricks of court-favourets

He gapes as if he was sleepy: he looks like an O yes. – I hate him worse then sugar with muskadine it looks like a jade with his tail tyed up with ribbons going to a fair to be sold.

The sweat of learned Johnsons brain And gentle Shakespear’s easier strain p. 41 flowing & easy. His copy of verses, compareing love to siege, are incomparably well done. p. 37

He that enjoys her has no more to say But keep us fasting if you’ll have us pray p. 42

Weomen are like melons two green or two ripe are worth nothing; you must try till you find a right one: tast all: but you shall not need to eat of all, for one is sufficient for a surfit. Epist. p. 99.

It is the story of the Jackanapes & the partridges, thou starest after a beauty till it is lost: & then lets out another & starest after that till tis gone too ibid.

I cannot but think it as odd a thing as if I

In the 1676 copy of Fragmenta Aurea, the 1656 title page of The Goblins is included, where it is spelled The Goblings, though the running head reads Goblins. These variants account for P.D.’s inconsistent orthography.

Adapted from The Goblins, 3.2.36–37. All line numbers from Suckling’s plays refer to Beaurline’s edition. The original runs, “You gape as you were sleepy, / Good faith he looks like an — O yes” (Works, sig. [P6], 112 [= 95]). It was not uncommon to manipulate poems and extracts, as is the case here. Spelling (for the sources given in the footnotes) is taken from the 1676 edition.

Adapted from The Goblins, 4.3.10–11. The original runs, “I hate a woman drest up to her height, / Worse then I doe Sugar with Muskadine” (Works, sig. [Q8v], 112).

The Goblins, 4.3.13–14 (verbatim); Works, sig. [Q8v], 112.

From “[A Summons to Town],” ll. 21–22 (in Clayton, Works, 70); Works, sig. [C5], 41.

This refers to “[Loves Siege]” (in Clayton, Works, 65–66); lchWorks, sig. C3, 37.

From “Against Fruition [II],” ll. 21–22 (in Clayton, Works, 38); Works, sig. [C5v], 42.

From a letter, “To a Cosin (who still loved young Girls, and when they came to be marriageable quitted them, and fell in love with fresh) at his fathers request, who desired he might be perswaded out of the humor, and marry” (Clayton, Works, 160–61); Works, sig. F4–[F5], 97–99.

As P.D. notes, this is from the same epistle as the previous extract.
should see Vandike with all his fine colours & pensils about him, his frame & right light, & every thing in order & yet his hands tyed behind him. p. 103.

Every man trusting the Kings judgement so far that he knows no better measure of his own merits than his rewards. p. 105

— The little word behind the back, & undoing whisper p. 105 — As common as a barbers glass—


The extracts that P.D. took from pages 103 and 105 are from a letter, [“To the Earl of Middlesex, a Character”] (in Clayton, Works, 121–23); Works, sig. [F7]–G, 103–7.

Brennoralt, 4.1.20–21; Works, sig. [U7], [173]. As Thomas Hill explained in The Most Pleasaunt Artes of the Interpretation of Dreams (London: Thomas Marsh, 1576), “the Barbers glasse signified a common woman, who lightly was alured to any personne, to use her bodye wickedly” (sig. Gii).