Classical Themes in the Non-Satiric Poetry of

Andrew Marvell

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Abstract

Chapter 1 examines the grammar school curriculum in the early seventeenth century, paying special attention to the classical texts usually taught and to the normal pedagogic methods used. It also gives an account of the courses of study at Trinity College, Cambridge in the period. Chapter 2 discusses Marvell's Latin poetry, and includes a detailed analysis of those poems which have a close relation to the English lyrics. Chapter 3 considers 'To His Coy Mistress' in the context of the carpe diem tradition, suggesting that a particular affinity exists between Marvell's poem and the Greek amatory epigram, and also traces Lucretian influence on its metaphors and language. Chapter 4 discusses 'The Nymph complaining' as a pet lament which is in the tradition of the Greek Anthology, Book VII, and of neo-Latin pet poetry, but which also echoes the ecphrastic epigram, in its concentration on the aesthetic object. Chapter 5 analyses 'The Garden' as a version of the Horatian retreat poem which is much altered, chiefly by Marvell's use of Ovidian allusion and Neoplatonic metaphors and ideas. Chapter 6 examines the relation of 'Damon the Mower' and 'The Mower's Song' to the pastoral complaint in classical literature, and demonstrates the pervasiveness of the influence of Pliny's Natural History on 'The Mower against Gardens'. Chapter 7 argues that the Horatian Ode is a meditation on fate and human motivation in the manner of Lucan, and that Horatian influence is slighter than has usually been thought.
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Introduction

This study was conceived not as the exposition of a theory or set of theories, but as an investigation of the background in classical literature of Marvell's lyric poetry. An analysis of this kind must necessarily concentrate on the detailed examination of individual poems. I have therefore chosen to consider a small number of the lyric poems rather than to attempt a broader study, which would have had to rely to a large extent on generalization and to sacrifice most of the demonstrable individual instances of allusion and influence. Marvell's manipulation of these details is of great interest and importance in the interpretation of his major poems, and it is on this I have concentrated.

Nevertheless some general conclusions do arise from my work. First, the imitation of given patterns is the key principle of the seventeenth-century pedagogues, and in a sense it may be said to describe Marvell's lyrics also. The classical authors provided for the poet a whole language: of themes, sententiae, genres and characteristic metaphors. In Marvell's Latin poetry he is constantly playing with familiar topics and forms, a skill acquired no doubt from the verse exercises of his schooldays. Examples of such manipulation are the political epigram which puns on the ambassador's name, the panegyric which exploits the resonance of Virgilian epic by close adaptation of the language of the Aeneid, the rehearsing of classical common-places in a version of the debate between retirement and action, and the bringing together of Horatian and Ovidian metaphors and themes in Hortus. But in his English poetry, though the classical models are clearly present in the background, imitation of
them is a more complex matter; the disparity between Hortus and its English equivalent is a clear example of this. For example the gods of the Ovidian procession are a witty metaphor in 'The Garden'; in Hortus they are characters present in the poem. The Latin poems are valuable because they provide examples of an early stage of the process of distillation of classical literature by Marvell's poetic imagination. The Greek and Roman authors were the basic material for all study in Marvell's youth. They constituted the universal source of illustration for essential principles, first of grammar, and later of logic and rhetoric; indeed they were also largely the origin of those essential principles. From the most elementary stages composition was taught with the aid of the topics and forms of classical texts: the epistles of Cicero, the mythological tales of Ovid, the eclogues of Virgil furnished the young scholar's mind not only with fundamental subject matter, but also with his proper vocabulary and with examples of figurative devices and of the various genres.

Second, the corpus of the classical authors was broken down in certain ways so as to serve these pedagogic purposes: texts were filtered through many layers of commentary, emphasizing the logical and rhetorical structure of the original, and drawing attention to its place in the tradition. Virgil, for example, was treated as an imitation of Theocritus in pastoral and of Homer in epic. But even more important than the commentaries was the anthologizing of texts. The first encounter of a seventeenth-century reader with any classical text would almost always have been in a source book: a florilegium, commonplace book, or other aid to composition, such as Stobaeus' Anthology or any of the multitude of collections in which extracts from
both Greek and Roman authors were assembled. As I have remarked at various points in my discussion (especially in Chapters 1 and 3) these extracts were juxtaposed according to theme; so the reader was presented with the full range of treatments of a topic. Formal distinctions were blurred or obscured by this practice of selection: as I have shown in the case of the traditional metaphors for the personification of Time, instances from epic, tragedy, lyric and epigram were passed before the reader's eyes in an unbroken procession. Though formal analysis of texts was thoroughly inculcated from an early age, it seems to me that the classification of material by topic was a still more influential process. The result of this is evident, for example, in the use of topics from a variety of genres in 'The Garden': Horatian rural ode, Ovidian tale, and Platonic metaphor are brought together in a single form. Furthermore, such selection rendered the shorter forms more accessible; a six-line extract does very little to convey the nature of an epic or a tragedy to the reader, but it may form a complete lyric or epigram.

My third main point concerns the teaching of verse composition, chiefly in Latin, from soon after the beginning of schooling. At all stages of this the student was encouraged to juggle with the elements of his models - extracts from given authors. Certain genres, of course, lend themselves more readily to such five-finger exercises than others: so again the shorter forms in classical literature, such as the elegy, the eclogue and especially the epigram, had a particular influence. The sixteenth and seventeenth-century taste for epigrammatic poetry may in fact have been strongly conditioned by the influence of such pedagogic methods as double translation and the rephrasing of given distichs
from classical authors. Certainly the influence of the form and content of both the Greek and Latin epigram on Marvell is, as I have shown, very strong and pervasive. The nature of his wit is very often epigrammatic, in the sense of pointed, crisp, balanced between opposites. But there are further and more interesting affinities between Marvell's art and that of the Greek epigrammatists.

Marvell is a poet of art. Much of his most characteristic work sets up an order which frequently finds explicit images in objects of art: the statues in 'The Nymph complaining', the heraldic emblem in 'The Unfortunate Lover', the pictures in 'The Gallery'. In his lyrics it is very rarely possible to detach a moral, intellectual or philosophical 'meaning' from the poem itself; idea and form are perfectly co-extensive, and no other satisfaction from the world outside the poem is indicated; there is no reaching towards religious coherence or explanation, as in Herbert or Donne, no doctrine, as in More; there is not even any palpable emotion which may be named as describing the 'feeling' of the poem. In this quality Marvell's lyrics resemble those poems of Carew whose entire subject is artifice, and whose most obvious quality is grace. But while Carew is courtly, there is no single location in Marvell's lyrics; a striking feature of most of them is that they de-locate; thus the 'Indian Ganges' and 'Humber' are mentioned in 'To His Coy Mistress' rather as fantastic places, and conjured away by the suppositious status of the poem's 'If...' clause.

It seems to me that in many of these qualities Marvell has been greatly influenced by the Greek Anthology, in which the epigram form produces a stylization of emotion, without psychological or
narrative detail. The Greek epigram typically resembles an icon, inscrutable, compact and posed. There is no room in it for introduction or explanation; it remains its own announcement, frozen speech, retaining even in its literary form the most obvious qualities of the stone inscription with which it originated. As I have argued at length in Chapter 3, it exhibits a particular kind of scepticism, with which the brevity of the form is no doubt bound up. This wryness of attitude is shared by a strong strain in its cousin, the Greek lyric, and it is also evident in the speakers of Marvell's lyrics. There is very little attempt in them at the adumbration of a transcendent order; instead there is a marked sense of the isolated individual. The Mower and the Nymph are conspicuously without companions; the lover and his silent mistress are evidently marooned in an empty world; the Cromwell of the 'Ode' seems set apart by the force of his genius at the very moment of his triumph. Marvell's choice of form in this poem is also significant: the poise and control of Horace's ode form are features of his influence of equal importance with any particular passages from his odes.

There is no discernible philosophical system in Marvell's poetry, but it does have similarities to certain philosophical traditions. The Horatian Stoic determination to be content with things as they are is sometimes evident in it. It forms a part at least of the complex pattern of 'The Garden' (stanzas 1 and 8 especially); and the famous remark in The Rehearsal Transpros'd -

Which-soever was at the top, the other was at the bottom; but upon considering all, I think the Cause was too good to have been fought for. Men ought to have trusted God;
they ought and might have trusted the King with that whole matter.

— suggests, I suppose, a kind of Christian Stoicism. But the notion of Providence invoked here is a rather minimal one, very different from that which evoked the Puritan millennial excitement, and the opening statement I have quoted manifests an extreme scepticism about motives and beliefs.

Neoplatonism of a sort is also evident in 'The Garden' and perhaps in 'On a Drop of Dew'; but it is of a rather severely secular kind. Together with Marvell's later strong commitment to religious toleration, it has given rise to suggestions that he was influenced in his time at Cambridge by the early Cambridge Platonists. I think this is a sensible idea, as I have said in Chapter 5; the ecstasy traced in 'The Garden' is a cool and measured discovery of intellectual powers, not of mystical otherworldly forces, and the metaphors are demonstrably Platonic and Plotinian. Marvell's work generally has a clarity and logical control compatible with a thorough acquaintance with Plato (an acquaintance enjoined by Statute on all Trinity undergraduates in the period).

'To His Coy Mistress' has similarities to Epicureanism, but of far more importance is its use of Lucretian metaphor: the lovers are like Lucretian atoms. The most striking characteristic of Marvell's work is perhaps that it is paradoxical. The 'Horatian Ode' might serve as an emblem of this, being a still, posed form within which explosively turbulent action is frozen. So might 'The Mower against Gardens', in which the speaker praises innocence in the most knowing of language ('Seraglio',

'Eunuchs') and in the most ordered of speeches decries the falseness of order.

All Marvell's writings show his delight in paradox, but it is particularly prominent in his lyric poetry. The setting of opposites against each other may, I think, be a habit of thought acquired at university from the practice of logical disputation on set themes. But Marvell also constantly plays games with sensuous and witty contrasts which show the influence of Ovid. The Metamorphoses renders the transformations which are its subject with great sensuous vividness, but also with rhetorical skill; the paradoxical moment of change and the contrast between the state of the person before, and the nature of the plant, stream or tree after the alteration are emphasized. I have discussed at length in Chapter 4 the strong resemblance between this and some of those witty moments in Marvell which are usually labelled 'metaphysical' or 'baroque'; the projected metamorphosis of the Faun and the Nymph into statues is an especially interesting example. Louis Martz relates Marvell's lyric poetry to the art of the Mannerists and to that of the Caroline court in the 1630s;² I think Martz is right in seeing in Marvell a peculiar and highly sophisticated combination of sensuousness and clarity, but it seems to me that he may equally well have learnt from Ovid - almost certainly the first poet he would have studied at school - the trick of rhetorical poise in handling highly emotional subjects, and the taste for the creation of stylized poses, objects and feelings. I have argued in detail also in Chapter 7 that the 'Horatian Ode' is more deeply

indebted to that other master of rhetoric, Lucan, than has been hitherto thought. The pastoral complaint 'Damon the Mower' is close enough in places almost to be a version of some of Virgil's Eclogues; here again we see Marvell being drawn to a brief genre in which the quality of grace is paramount and feeling is strictly prescribed, limited and ordered in advance by the traditional form.

It is clear, then, that Marvell's imagination was stimulated especially by those authors whose interest in form, notably lyric form, was keenest, and among their works by those poems and kinds of poems in which a small space enforced a particular kind of self contained power. Ovid and Lucan might be considered exceptions to this statement, but in the work of both Marvell was evidently most attracted by the sensuous and metaphoric vividness of certain characteristic moments: the metamorphoses themselves in Ovid, and the violent force conveyed in the account of Caesar's career in Lucan. Overall design is not the most remarkable quality of either of these poets, but both of them show a strong interest in local rhetorical patterning. These characteristics Marvell shares. It seems clear to me that he acquired very largely from Latin poetry such as this and from Greek lyric and epigram his extraordinary ability to combine elegance with force. Even in poems where there is little discernible textual or generic influence from classical literature, such as 'Bermudas' or 'A Dialogue between the Soul and Body', he shows the almost magical power to create a self sufficient artefact in which nevertheless the harshness and intensity of human joy and suffering are held in suspension by the form, like the Faun's dying tears:
See how it weeps. The Tears do come
Sad, slowly dropping like a Gumme.
So weeps the wounded Balsome: so
The holy Frankincense doth flow.
The brotherless Heliades
Melt in such Amber Tears as these.
   I in a golden Vial will
Keep these two crystal Tears...

Note

The quotations from Latin, and the translations from Greek authors, are from the Loeb Classical Library editions except where I have indicated otherwise. The Biblical quotations are from the King James version.
I should like first to thank Miss Patricia Thomson, who has directed my thesis with great patience, kindness and discernment, and offered me much encouragement in despairing moments. The late Professor Norman Callan made many acute comments at the early stages, particularly on classical matters. I have received much assistance also from two sets of colleagues. At Maynooth College, Professor Gerard Meagher kindly helped me with biblical questions, and Professor Gerard Watson with Greek and Latin ones. Professor Peter Connolly and Mary FitzGerald provided intellectual stimulation during the writing of the greater part of the thesis. Dr P.J. McGrath painstakingly read all the drafts, and his suggestions have contributed greatly to the improvement of the syntax and style; remaining solecisms are my own. At University College, Cork, I have benefited especially, over many years, from the teaching and encouragement of Professor Seán Lucy, and from many discussions on Marvell and the seventeenth century with Una Nelly. Beatrice Doran gave me the benefit of her professional skill and time in organizing the bibliography. Finally, I wish to thank Jean Kearney for having shown such long-suffering, humour and efficiency in the typing of a long and difficult manuscript.
Chapter One

Marvell's Classical Education

Andrew Marvell was born in 1621, and entered Trinity College, Cambridge in December 1633, so it is probable that he attended grammar school from about 1629 to 1633.\(^1\) We have no evidence that he attended Hull grammar school, but it seems likely that he did, and in any case there is ample information on the contents of grammar school curricula in general. Though we do not have a Hull curriculum for the period in question, there is no reason to suppose that it was radically different from those of other schools.\(^2\)

Furthermore, there does survive a catalogue of books which were in the school library in 1676, when the mastership happens to have changed hands, and there is also a curriculum for the year 1680. I have based the following account of Marvell's probable schooling on that 1680 curriculum, supplementing it extensively, however, with information from other sources.

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2. Lawson, op. cit., pp. 113 ff.
The first school attended by a seventeenth-century child was the petty school, where the elementary skills of reading and writing were taught. The inculcation of the alphabet was commonly here combined with basic religious education, so that a child was able to read, and had some acquaintance with essential religious knowledge, by the time he came to the grammar school, at the age of about eight.

The grammar school was divided into five, six or eight forms (five at Hull, numbered in reverse order, starting with the fifth, and eight at St. Paul's and Eton). The first object of study, on which all later knowledge was based, was Latin grammar. The textbook used was probably that of William Lily, the humanist contemporary of More and Erasmus, which was the official grammar of sixteenth-century England, and continued to be the most widely used until

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well after Marvell's schooldays. The knowledge of Latin grammar acquired in the lowest form was put into practice as soon as possible, with the reading of one of the collections of colloquies, in Hull that of Corderius (first published in Paris, 1556, and translated into English by John Brinsley in 1614, presumably as a further aid to these elementary studies). Colloquies were dialogues on various subjects between pairs or groups of characters. In the case of Erasmus' colloquies, the subjects of discussion are quite general and varied, but in Corderius' they are more strictly moral and religious, and are generally set in the schoolroom, dramatizing in very simple and lively Latin the world of the scholars themselves. Corderius' work had been displacing that of other authors such as Erasmus, Vives and Castelion since the middle of the sixteenth century, no doubt because of the greater suitability of his book for specific pedagogic purposes. The scholars in the lowest form were sometimes also taught from a selection of Terence's comedies, a text chosen for a similar purpose, its simplicity and easy, familiar speech. Charles

4. Henry VIII issued a Royal Proclamation in 1540 authorizing it as the only grammar to be used in schools, and it retained this status, at least officially, until the nineteenth century. (Foster Watson, op. cit., p.243).

5. See, below, my discussion of 'The Garden', for an account of Erasmus' Colloquies, a highly influential text for adult readers as well as slightly more advanced scholars. See Foster Watson, p.337, on the relative popularity of the various authors.
Hoole commends it:

Terence, of all the School-Authors that we read, doth deservedly challenge the first place, not only because Tully himself hath seemed to derive his eloquence from him, and many noble Romans are reported to have assisted him in making his Comedies; but also because that Book is the very quintessence of familiar Latine, and very apt to express the most of our Anglicisms withall...

(A New Discovery, p.137) 6

The strongly ethical tone of Corderius is matched, though in secular mode, in another favourite text-book for the lower forms, the Disticha Moralia of 'Cato' (first published in England by Caxton in 1483) a series of sober platitudes on moral topics, which, like many other elementary schoolbooks, served the purpose of instilling the right ideas and a wider Latin vocabulary at the same time. A translation of the Distichs was published together with Aesop's fables by William Bullokar in 1585 in London; the fable was another form considered suitable for teaching purposes, and Aesop appears in his Renaissance adaptation in the next form at Hull. 7 The 1680 curriculum for the lowest, fifth, form also contains the

6. Terence, however, had disadvantages, pointed out by Castelion (himself the author of a popular collection of dialogues, based on the Bible) in a letter to Corderius: 'Terence...does not give enough except when he gives too much. Familiarizing children with immoral scenes is a heavy, too heavy a price to pay for even a good colloquial Latin'. (Prefatory letter to his Dialogi Sacri, Basle, 1551, quoted from Foster Watson, op. cit., pp.339-40).

Sententiae Pueriles of Leonard Culmann.\(^8\) This is a collection of sentences graded according to length and alphabetically arranged, with a sequence of Sententiae sacrae and one of Communiora atque quotidiana morum puerilium praecepta appended. At the lowest level and in the simplest way Culmann's work is an example of the filtering of classical literature through the Renaissance mind: that breaking down of the original forms and arranging in new ways which is the most obvious characteristic of the post-Renaissance acquaintance with Latin and Greek authors. In the sequence of three-word sentences, for example, under the letter 't' appear the seeds of the great classical commonplaces about time:\(^9\)

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Tempus edax rerum.
Tempus breve est.
Tempus celerrime aefugit.
Tempore omnia mutantur.
Tempus omnia revelat.
Tempore omnia peragnetur.
Tempore nihil velocius.
Tempore fiunt omnia.
Tempus dolorem lenit.
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It has the guise of a five-finger exercise, but in reality it is much more than that.

In the second, numbered fourth, form at Hull, scholars began written Latin composition. The progress in grammar school was from the writing of epistles to that of themes, then, at a more advanced stage, declamations and orations. The letters of Cicero were the universally used model for the first of these tasks, the epistle. The content or subject matter of the classical authors was

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\(^8\) Leipzig, 1543; I have used the first English edition, London, 1639.
\(^9\) See the discussion, Chapter 3 below, of the passage on time in 'To His Coy Mistress'.
being assimilated from the first day at grammar school by a seventeenth-century child; the study and imitations of the forms and genres rapidly followed. The principle of imitation proposed by the great early Renaissance thinkers was still central to the philosophy of education, though it was being modified by the increasing efficiency and detail of pedagogical methods and materials. In his study of Shakespeare's school learning, T.W. Baldwin sees the earlier humanists such as Erasmus, Valla and Vives as concerned directly with ideas and literature, and the minor, seventeenth-century theorists like Brinsley and Hoole with mere teaching methods. The Erasmian ideal was not mass education but the forming of the perfect speaker and writer of Latin in the mould of the public orator or rhetorician. There is already a degeneration from the first adventurous intellectual encounter to what R.R. Bolgar calls the 'verbalism' of commentators like Johann Sturm (the sixteenth-century editor of Cicero's letters whose work was the usual channel by which Cicero first reached the young scholar in the seventeenth century. Verbalism, however, may concentrate the mind, especially the poet's mind, very effectively, and it is certainly true that the training of poets in the age of Marvell and Milton benefited enormously from the close attention given in grammar school to the incessant practice of recreating the forms of classical authors in extreme and

painstaking detail.

The practice in the teaching of epistle writing in the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth century was to use a full text of Cicero's *Epistolae ad Familiares*, many editions of which were published in London from the last quarter of the sixteenth century. But by the time Marvell came to the making of epistles, the selection by Sturm had probably displaced the full collection; the first British editions appear in 1630 (Aberdeen) and 1631 (Cambridge). As in most other cases, the Hull curriculum does not specify a text. The way Cicero was used is described in great detail by Charles Hoole in his *New Discovery* (1660); the basis of the method was double translation, leading to a close imitation of the model, and then eventually to original composition:

> I would have them exercised in double translating these Epistles, so as to render many of them into good English, and after a while to turn the same again into Latine, and to try how near they can come to their Authour in the right choice, and orderly placing of words in every distinct Period...

*(Hoole, op. cit., pp.144-5)*

This pedagogic method of double translation, sometimes accompanied by the practice of paraphrase, has an obvious interest for the analysis of Marvell's Latin poems in relation to their English counterparts. In making either Latin versions of English originals, or the reverse, Marvell was engaging in an intellectual activity familiar since childhood.

The ideal result of this practice of imitation is well described by John Brinsley. Scholars were so to use their textual models, in their own efforts, 'that nothing may appeare stollen, but all wittily imitated'; and he expressed his concern 'that they take only so much as is needfull, and fit for their purpose, leaving out the rest; and...alter and apply fitly to the occasions...' The children were taught not only to produce idiomatic and grammatical Latin, but also to adapt the subject matter of their authors. Erasmus, in his guide to the subject, De conscribendis epistolis, advises the use for subject matter of Ovid's Heroides, Horace's epistles, Lucian, Terence or Plautus, or Valerius Maximus; but this would probably be at a later stage of the scholars' education; or perhaps the master might make suitable excerpts available.

Direct religious education was not, of course, neglected; in the lowest form at Hull, the Book of Proverbs, in a Latin Translation, acted as a supplement to Culmann and Corderius, and in the next form the Latin Testament began to be read.

In the third form, the pupils moved a step further in the practice of composition, from epistles to themes. Rhetorically, the theme is the basis on which all the more sophisticated prose forms, like the declamation and the oration, are grounded. So it is here that, in the 1680 curriculum, the use of a rhetoric textbook is mentioned. It is, unfortunately, unnamed;

14. De conscribendis epistolis was first published in Cambridge in 1521.
but the most likely candidate would have been one of the very popular Ramian rhetorics, perhaps Charles Butler's (Oxford, 1597, and again 1600, 1618, 1629, and many more times reprinted). Between them, logic, rhetoric and grammar constituted the whole Renaissance method of analysing all kinds of discourse, and also of generating it. In their attempts at epistle writing scholars would already have been using the rudiments both of logic and of rhetoric. They were now formally to learn the rhetorical figures, together with their classification, functions, and examples of their use from classical – and very occasionally from English – texts. In practice, logic and rhetoric functioned together, though theoretical disputes continued over the proper domain of each. Of the five parts of rhetoric, Ramus' method had removed Inventio (the finding of subject matter) and Dispositio (the ordering of it in discourse) to the domain of logic, leaving only Elocutio (the effective use of the figures of speech and thought – style), and the relatively unimportant Pronuntiatio and Memoria. This reorganization seems as if it was narrowing the province of rhetoric, so that its effective content was merely the tropes (all kinds of metaphor, figurative language in general) and schemes (other kinds of patterning in language, such as wordplay, repetition, parallelisms, contrasts). But the effect of the method may in fact have been to strengthen poetry, by bringing the dialectical understanding involved in invention and disposition into play as well as stylistic skill; Ramus' own analysis of classical texts certainly shows something like this
In any case, in this form the beginning of the progress through a rhetoric textbook accompanied and assisted the start of theme composition. The school theme was an organized piece of prose writing on any matter considered innocuous and edifying; general moral, historical, political and religious subjects were the favourite kinds of material studied and imitated. The organization of a theme was of primary importance. Brinsley's two schoolmasters return again and again in their dialogue to the problem of instilling in the scholars the capacity to perceive, identify and eventually reproduce the proper order of a theme. The divisions which made up this ordered whole were as follows: exordium, narratio, confirmatio, confutatio, conclusio. Two kinds of books, says Brinsley's Philoponus (the brighter of the two speakers), are necessary for the teaching of theme writing: not just quarries for material, but also textbooks on formal organization:

Some are to furnish them still, with more variety of the best matter; others, for the whole forme and frame of the Theame...

(Brinsley, op. cit., p.175)

This organization is, if not strictly a logical one, heavily dependent on a grasp of sequential thought. The textbook most frequently used for the second purpose named by Philoponus-Brinsley was Aphthonius' Progymnasmata, a collection of exercises in theme composition.

15. See below, pp. 43ff., for Ramus' commentary on Virgil; Rosemond Tuve's Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery, Chicago, 1947, argues the case for the benignity of Ramian influence on English poetry.
writing which had been in use for the purpose
for a thousand years. The second part of
traditional rhetoric, Discourse, was taught
from Aphthonius, which Philoponus is made to
recommend as an essential guide to the dialectic
of theme composition. Spoudeus, however,
representing the actual rather than the ideal,
worries about the difficulty of Aphthonius as an
elementary textbook. The Progymnasmata does not
appear in the Hull curriculum, probably because
it had gone out of print by the second half of
the seventeenth century; Hoole says (p.172):
'I would have them exercised in Aphthonius (if
it can be gotten, as I desire it may be reprinted)
both in Greek and Latine'. It seems to me that
Spoudeus' misgivings are quite justified.
Aphthonius is a difficult and highly theoretical
work, and can hardly have been meant for ten or
even twelve-year olds. Perhaps this is part of
the reason why, in an age of clear, handy pedagogic
guidebooks, it was out of print. Possibly it may
have been used by the master as a workbook from
which to guide pupils in his own, simpler, teaching
of rhetorical skills, rather than directly by the
scholars. Hoole's wording would admit of this
interpretation.

Aphthonius classifies the various kinds of
theme or oration, as deliberative, judicial, or

16. Aphthonius was a Greek rhetorician who lived
at Antioch in the fourth century A.D; his work
was at the heart of Byzantine as well as of
Renaissance education. See Bolgar, op. cit.,
pp.38 ff. for an entertaining but rather
hostile account of his book, and Baldwin, T.W.,
op. cit., Vol.II, pp.288 ff., for a very full
description of Aphthonius in sixteenth-century
use. The book was first published in London
in 1575 and prescribed by statute in some grammar
schools.
demonstrative, then further divides these three categories according to the type of discourse proper to each. So to the deliberative category belong fabula, narratio, chreia, sententia and thesis; to the judicial, confirmatio, confutatio, and locus communis; and to the demonstrative laus, vituperatio, imitatio and comparatio. The way the book proceeds is to describe each kind of theme, then to illustrate it with an exemplum, or with several in some cases. So the whole of classical literature subsequently encountered, and indeed vernacular texts too, were refracted through a fixed system, in which the reader's mind was exaustively trained, and whose effect must have been to give the habit of an extremely rigorous formal analysis. The fascination with genre and with exercises in different kinds which is evident in Marvell's work must surely owe a great deal to this school training.

The 'trivial' marriage of grammar, rhetoric and logic or dialectic may be clearly observed in another, humbler textbook which is recommended by Brinsley, John Stockwood's Disputatiuncularum grammaticalium libellus (London, 1607). This is a collection of disputations whose form is dialectically correct, but whose subject is grammar. The effect of it must have been to deepen still further the scholars' familiarity with the classical authors, since all Stockwood's illustrations are taken from the various Latin authors. A disputation is a form of theme, or rather two themes, set one against the other; in the higher forms of

17. See Foster Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660, Cambridge, 1908, p.430, for examples.
some grammar schools, the pupils practised oral disputations, called 'apposing' or 'opposing', in pairs against one another, though this was an exercise usually reserved for university, where, as we shall see, it constituted a very important part of the training.18 Nevertheless Brinsley makes it one of his chief 'Points' (set out at the start of his book) to train pupils 'to oppose schollerlike in Latine of any Grammar question necessary, in a good forme of words; both what may be objected against Lillies rules, and how to defend them'.19

The first part of Brinsley's two required kinds of aid in theme composition ('to furnishe them still, with more variety of the best matter') is exemplified in another book appearing in the Hull 1680 list, and very widespread in popularity since its publication in 1597, namely Wits Commonwealth. This is a collection of epigrams, in English, made by N. Ling, and also recommended by Brinsley as a source for 'matter'. The Adages of Erasmus also figure both in Brinsley and at Hull in 1680, though in the latter case they are in the version of John Clarke, entitled Formulae Oratoriae, which appeared in 1627, just in time for Marvell's schooldays. Many other works, all deriving their substance more or less directly from the classical authors, were in common use for this purpose; Nicholas Reusner's Symbola Heroica (1588; first English edition in 1619), which is an account of the reigns of the

various Roman emperors, and hence provided historical 'matter' for themes, is strongly recommended by Brinsley and Hoole; so is Conrad Lycosthenes' *Apophthegmata* (Basle, 1555, first London edition, 1596), a collection containing a large number of Erasmus' apophthegms.

On the Hull curriculum for the third form there also appears the school dictionary by the educational reformer Comenius, *Janua Linguarum* (first English edition, London 1631). This belongs to the new, more empirically based methods of education which were being developed in the seventeenth century; it ignores classical literature as a source for examples of the use of words, concentrating instead on 'the intimate connection between reality and language'.

Comenius was also the author of a word-and-picture book for younger children, using the same method:

"Words should not be learned apart from objects...but objects cannot be apprehended without words", and the correct order of learning is that a suitable object should be clearly shown to as many of the senses as possible until the mind has clearly received its image. Then the child should learn the name of the object and the names of its particular parts.

Charles Hoole was an admirer of Comenius and his methods, and the effect of his admiration can, as we shall see, be seen in his approach to the use

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of vernacular texts in literary training; but Marvell was at school a good many years before Comenius began to have influence on English teaching methods. Earlier dictionaries commonly used in schools, such as those by Ambrose Calepio (Reggio, 1502), Robert Estienne (Paris, 1531), or the Englishman Thomas Cooper (London, 1552), have far more kinship with the older general educational method of filtering all new knowledge through the classical texts. The title of another of the dictionaries intended for English schools is itself revealing:

A Dictionary in English and Latine; devised for the capacitie of Children and young Beginners. At first set forth By M. Withals, with Phrases both Rythmicall and Proverbiall... And now at this last Impression enlarged with an encrease of Words, Sentences, Phrases, Epigrams, Histories, Poeticall fictions and Alphabeticall Proverbs. With a compendious Nomenclator newly added at the end...

The flavour of all this is strongly literary; it suggests a whole web of contexts for words, making no attempt at the clear, rather antiseptic tone of Comenius' works.

The remaining innovation in the third form at Hull was that scholars began formally to study Latin poetry, namely Ovid's Metamorphoses. They may, as we have seen, have already had an acquaintance with the Heroides, the De Tristibus or even the Amores, or with the epistles of Horace, as material for theme writing. But it was here, halfway through the grammar school, that the concentrated analysis and subsequently the composition of Latin verse

began. The Metamorphoses was a very popular text for this first introduction to the 'making of verses'; so was Virgil's Eclogues, and it seems that the works of the other Latin elegists may also have been sometimes used for the purpose, a matter which caused some Puritan grumbling. The approach to poetry was essentially the same as that to prose, consisting of double translation, sometimes also of paraphrase, then of rearranging the elements of the model into a new set of relationships, and finally of proceeding to the construction, no doubt initially painful, of a pastiche. Besides the elements of grammar, logic and rhetoric already acquired by now, a grasp of metre had to be gained by the scholars. On this subject we have the solitary direct comment made by Marvell on his education:

This scanning was a liberal Art that we learn'd at Grammar School; and to scan verses...before we did, or were obliged to understand them.

It is evident from this remark that in poetry as elsewhere, technical familiarity with the formal organization of a text was considered pedagogically primary. The older Marvell just as evidently disapproved of this emphasis, at least in the matter of prosody, which a little earlier he describes as 'hacking and vain repetition', like the arguments of his adversary in the pamphlet;

23. D.L. Clark, John Milton at St. Paul's School, New York, 1948, p.119, cites accusations in 1560, and again in 1579 and 1633 (by Prynne) that Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius were read.
24. Mr. Smirke; Or, The Divine in Mode, 1676, p.6.
but he had nevertheless been formed by it.

Brinsley's account of the teaching of verse making is, I think, the most illuminating. First, advises Philoponus, the scholars should have read some poetry (Marvell's master did not apparently share this view):

...as at least these books or the like, or some part of them: viz. Ovid De Tristibus or De Ponto, some places of his Metamorphoses, or of Virgil, and be well acquainted with their Poeticall Phrases.

(Brinsley, op. cit., p.192)

Then he advises the use of Mirandula's collection of verse excerpts, as follows:

Take Flores Poetarum, and in every Common place make choice of Ovids verses, or if you find other which be pleasant and easie...and use to dictate unto them as you did in prose...

(Brinsley, op. cit., p.193)

The scholars were then put to rearranging the words to make verses, in as many ways as possible, and sometimes to contract the matter into a smaller metrical space; then they would progress to 'making verses ex tempore, of any ordinary Theme'. Gradually, as their skill increased, more and more difficult exercises were given them, as for example 'of sodaine...to versifie of some theame not thought of', and 'to bring the sum of their Theames, comprized in a disticke, or two or moe...' (Brinsley, p.195).

25. Octavio Mirandula's Flores Poetarum was first published at Cologne in 1480, and many times reprinted throughout Europe till the seventeenth century. There are two London editions before Marvell's time, 1598 and 1611.
the practice referred to rather mockingly by Marvell in *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*:

So one night after supper he gave them a Subject (which recreation did well enough in those times, but were now insipid) upon which, like Boyes at Westminster, they should make a French verse extempore.

(First Part, p.121)

Brinsley's speaker has no doubt of the efficacy of his methods:

This exercise is very commendable...and also for that it is a very great sharpner of the wit, as was sayd, and a stirrer-up of invention and of good wits to strife and emulation.


The most important exercise, to be practised daily, not merely at this, but also at the later stages of schooling, was

turning the verses of the Lectures, as was shewed; chiefly by contraction in Virgil, keeping strictly his phrase.

(Op. cit., p.198)

And as always behind the apparently monotonous repetition of pedagogic exercises lay the larger aim, the principle:

In this matter of versifying, as in all the former exercises, I take this Imitation of the most excellent patterns, to be the surest rule...And I would have the chiefest Labour to make these purest Authors our owne, as Tully for prose, so Ovid and Virgil for verse...

Half a century later, Charles Hoole's advice at first sight seems similar, except that he starts with a single text, Ovid's *De Tristibus*. It demonstrates again the close conjunction of grammatical and rhetorical analysis (perhaps the fact that the order of priorities belies Marvell's wry reminiscence is due to the fact that it is a counsel of perfection, a schema and not a realistic description of events):

Their afternoon Lessons on Mondayes and Wednesdayes, for the first halfe year (at least) may be in Ovids little book *de tristibus*, wherein they may proceed by six or eight verses a Lesson; which they should first repeat memoriter as perfectly as they can possibly, because the very repetition of the verses, and much more the having of them by heart, will imprint a lively pattern of Hexameters and Pentameters in their minds, and furnish them with many good Authorities.

Let them construe verbatim... Let them parse every word most accurately... Let them tell you what Tropes and figures they find in it, and give you their Definitions. Let them scan every verse...

(Hoole, op. cit., pp.156-'7)

But Hoole then demonstrates a shift in emphasis. The next exercise he recommends is a vernacular one:

And now it will be requisite to try what inclination your young Scholars have towards Poetry: you may therefore let them learn to compose English verses, and to inure them to do so, you should let them procure some pretty delightful and honest English poems, by perusal whereof they may become acquainted with the Harmony of English Poesie. Mr.Hardwicks late translation of Mantuan, Mr.Sandys of Ovid, Mr.Oglebys of Virgil, will abundantly supply them with Heroick verses; which, after they can truly and readily make, they may converse with
others, that take liberty to sport it in Lyrick verses...
(Hoole, op. cit., pp.157-'8)

Thay may be put to translating

some select Epigrams out of Owen, or those collected by Mr. Farnaby or some Emblems out of Alciat or the like Flourishes of wit, which you think will more delight them and help their fansies.
(Hoole, op. cit., p.159)

Of the original English verse, only the work of Herbert and of Quarles is mentioned by Hoole, probably because the master must

be sure you admit of none which are stuff't with drollery or ribaudry, which are fitter to be burnt, than to be sent abroad to corrupt good manners in youth.
(Hoole, op. cit., p.158)

Only after this would Hoole's scholars be set to making Latin verses, first trying to make infinite variations on a single distich, then by a thorough assimilation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, on which half a year was to be spent. Hoole advocates prose paraphrases and even English verse translations of Ovid:

Let them strive (who can best) to turn the Fable into English prose, and to adorn and amplifie it with fit Epithetes, choice Phrases, acute Sentences, pat examples, and Proverbial Speeches...Let them exercise their wits a little in trying who can turn the same into most varietie of English verses.
(Op. cit., p.162)

Hoole proposes a very much more passive kind of scholar than Brinsley: the balance of his interest
seems to have shifted from the production of original work in Latin and Greek - 'genesis' - to 'analysis', the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of the classics. He says that scholars 'may be easily taught to make all sorts of English and Latine verses' (p.165), but he is rather vague about the precise method by which this may be done. In fact, he clearly sees the work of making Latin and Greek verses as mainly one of adaptation and rearrangement. He does not seem to envisage his scholars as proceeding beyond the stage of the lowest form of imitation, that is, of the letter rather than the informing spirit of the classical texts. Thus, in the top form of the school, he says that

They should often also vie wits amongst themselves, and strive who can make the best Anagrams, Epigrams, Epitaphes, Epithalamia, Eclogues, Acrosticks, and golden verses. English, Latine, Greek, and Hebrew...

(Op. cit., p.201)

The shorter, minor forms dominate this catalogue, and English verses precede Latin and Greek ones. In this, one may see the classics just beginning to become the decoration of the mind of the educated man, rather than its main formative influence. In his study of the English grammar schools, Foster Watson perceives a degeneration already taking place between Roger Ascham, writing in 1570, and Brinsley, writing in 1612, in the growing dominance by grammar of the study of classical literature:

We have seen that Brinsley regards translation as a sort of inference from grammar, hence the method of grammatical translations.
Ascham looks on the problem of translation as an exercise in comparison of languages and authors. Grammar is for Ascham a deduction from authors; not a substructure for authors to rest in.

Watson sees the vast and learned output of learned writers of grammars, philological treatises, and of the collections of matter of knowledge from the body of the classics, which led to the breaking up of classical subject-matter into sciences of all kinds (Op. cit., p.365)

as itself coming between the texts and their readers, and no doubt it did; but there is, as I have suggested in connection with Comenius, a further alteration in emphasis during the seventeenth century, which was perhaps caused by changes in the larger world beyond that of textbooks and pedagogy, in the direction of the empirical and the practical.

No doubt it was the influence of such changes on Marvell during his adult life which lent him the insight to deprecate the mindless repetitiveness of the scansion teaching of his childhood; but his poetry everywhere exhibits evidence of an intellectual formation by the old grammar school method.

Two kinds of handbooks typical of that method, which were used as sources respectively for material

27. Hoole was a great admirer of the ideas of Comenius and his circle, and the first translator of his Orbis Pictus, in 1658. There is a certain irony in Watson's using Ascham as a stick to beat Brinsley with, since Ascham was heavily influenced by Johann Sturm, and Sturm was in turn accused, as we have seen (p.18 above), by R.R.Bolgar, of mere verbalism and a falling away from the intellectual forcefulness of Erasmus and the earlier humanists.
and for vocabulary in the making of verses, deserve some examination. The first kind consists of quarries for things to say. Of these, Brinsley recommends Mirandula's *Flores Poetarum*, as we have seen, and Hoole adds Thomas Farnaby's *Index Poeticus* (London, 1618). Another well-used work was the *Attica Bellaria* of the Jesuit Jacobus Pontanus (Augsburg, 1615, and subsequently reprinted seven times in thirty years). These handbooks were divided up by subjects, most of Mirandula's subjects being described by abstract nouns, thus: *De Tempore*, *De Forma*, *De Laetitia*, *De Aetatibus*, *De Morte*, *De Anima*, *De Otio*, *De Amore*, and so on. The collection has a strong moralizing tone, which is strengthened by the division of various topics by sub-headings, as in the case of *De Forma*, where one sub-heading is 'Forma bonum fragile est' (Ovid, *De Arte Amandi* Book II, 1.113.)

Essentially these handbooks are anthologies of the *loci classici* for various topics, omitting those considered unsuitable for children; there are, for instance, no exhortations to love included among the thirty-four pages devoted to *Amor*. The entry for *De Aetatibus* contains all the usual classical accounts of the degeneration of man's condition from the golden age onwards. There are quotations from the *Georgics*, the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*, from Petronius' *Satyricon*, Boethius, the *Aeneid*, Juvenal's sixth satire, Seneca's *Octavia*, Tibullus III.1, Horace, and many others.

Pontanus' book is likewise a feast of odds-and-ends from the classical authors. Book I, the only one which was completed, is differently
divided from Mirandula's work, into ten kinds of writing: *historiae, fabellae, apophthegmata, ritus prisci, sales et epigrammata, descriptiones seu ecphrases oratoriae et poeticae, epistolae, mira mirorum (poemata bella, pia, festiva, dulcia),* and *miscella.* Pontanus mixes neo-Latin quotations liberally with classical ones, with a large number of excerpts from the chief sixteenth-century Latin writers. His sixth section, *descriptiones,* includes sleep, paradise, a funeral, old age, a drunkard, the pleasures of the country, the Fortunate Isles, and what seems like every other general subject and literary topic under the sun.

The second kind of handbook used in verse composition was a collection of phrases, such as Joannes Buchler's *Sacrarum profanarumque Phrasium Poeticarum thesaurus* (Cologne, 1613), Ravisius Textor's *Epithetorum Epitome* (Paris, 1518), or Simon Pellegrumius' *Synonymorum Sylva* (London editions printed in 1580, 1585, 1603, 1609, 1612, 1615, 1619, 1622, and 1639). Textor's *Epitome,* in nearly universal use throughout Europe from the early sixteenth century, is a dictionary of epithets suitable for the listed nouns, including proper nouns, rather than a collection of synonyms. Its function was to suggest to the mind the range of possible epithets rhetorically suited to the particular purpose. The more precise the noun, the more strikingly does the book display its active purpose in the calling up of contexts mythological, historical, and literary. This, for example, is the complete set of epithets allotted to the word *quercus,* oak tree:–

*Dura, rigida, umbrosa, sublimis, sacra Iovi, annosa, cava, silvestris, dononis, donia,*
Buchler's *Thesaurus* is the next most common of these handbooks, and it is equally illuminating about Renaissance poetics. It consists of a huge list of phrases, or words in common use and of evocative power, with their attendant ideas and significances, and suitable circumlocutions. The allegorical, allusive, and the plainly explanatory are jumbled together without the slightest distinction. Often bound with this was the *Synonyma Vergiliana*, a dictionary of Virgilian phrases.

To assist in the exercise of turning verses as many ways as possible within a given metrical pattern, the practice of epigram making was encouraged. For this practice a collection of epigrams from the Greek Anthology was used. This was John Stockwood's *Progymnasma Scholasticum* (London, 1597), adapted from Henri Estienne's Paris edition (1531) of the *Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum* published by the Aldine Press in Venice in 1521. Hoole recommends Stockwood, and Brinsley says it is 'instar omnium to direct and encourage young scholars' (op. cit., p.198). Stockwood selects a number of Greek epigrams and appends Latin translations to them, in each case a literal crib first, then one or two of his own verse translations, 

²² I have used a 1626 London edition of *Textor*. For further discussion of its influence on poetry, see below, Chapter 6.
then versions in verse by other hands, of which in most cases Estienne's are by far the most inspired. There is a wide range of epigrams on topics of the kind which made a strong appeal to seventeenth century taste in general, and to Marvell's in particular. There is, for instance, a collection of ecphrastic poems, concerning realistic statuary, animals looking quite alive (pp.284-303), which has an echo in the 'Nymph complaining'; an epigram by Xenodotos suggests the conceit of Damon failing to find a stream which can cool his desire for Juliana:

Quis fonti admovit tenerum quem sculpsit
Amorem
Huncque ignem extingui posse putavit aquis?
(Stockwood, p.87)

and even into this careful textbook anthology, widely used in schools, has crept this sophistic, acid little distich by Meleager which contains the germ of the argument of 'To His Coy Mistress':

Si tua forma perit, cur quod perit, Aula, negabis?
Si manet, anne neges quod manet usque dare?
(Stockwood, p.374)

Stockwood's book had, of course, a further, linguistic, use. In the last two forms of the Hull grammar school, the most important new element in the curriculum was the beginning of the study of Greek. It seems that there may have been a special interest in Greek at Hull, since the ordering of Cooper's Greek-Latin dictionary

29. This was a kind of exercise which Marvell did not disdain in his maturity: See in Chapter 2 below, the group of epigrams entitled Inscribenda Luparæ (1671).
for its library is recorded in 1575, and in 1613 the master recommended a pupil to St. John's. College, Cambridge, for his Greek scholarship. So the knowledge of Greek displayed in Marvell's ten lines in honour of the King's new baby in 1637 may be fairly safely assumed to have originated, at least, in his schooldays, and not merely been acquired at Cambridge.

Scholars beginning Greek at Hull in 1676 used Eilhard Lubin's *Clavis Linguae Graecae*, which had first been published in 1620. After acquiring an elementary grammatical knowledge they proceeded, Brinsley, Hoole and the other accounts agree, to the use of the Greek Testament for the kind of exercises in double translation with which we are already familiar from Latin. Brinsley then recommends that the master should give them excerpts from Xenophon, Plato and Demosthenes, 'only to be for this purpose of getting the Greeke'. They should then be competent to tackle Aesop by themselves: Brinsley praises the available interlinear Latin translations as of great assistance in learning the grammar. Here Stockwood's book comes into use again; then for poetry 'Theognis his sentences with the other Poets joined with him' - and of course accompanied by all the accretions of commentary - then Homer with his scholia. Sixty- four years later, the Hull curriculum adds Hesiod and Isocrates as prescribed texts to the basic grammar and the Greek Testament, then in the top form, Aristophanes' *Frogs*, Homer and Demosthenes. St. Paul's in the

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sixteen-twenties had Homer, Euripides, Isocrates, and perhaps Demosthenes, as well as a collection of minor Greek poets, probably Theognis and the ‘other poets joined with him’ as mentioned by Brinsley. This collection may have been Henri Estienne’s *Poetae Minores Graeci* (Paris, 1566), or Crispini’s (Paris, 1600). Ralph Winterton’s English-printed version of the collection was not published till 1635, but its selection of poets is representative of current choices: besides Hesiod and Theognis, it includes Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, Callimachus, and most interestingly Mimnermus and Simonides. At Westminster School (which, like Hull, had strong traditional links with Trinity College, Cambridge), between 1621 and 1628, the same group of authors appears:

> Betwixt one to three, that lesson, which out of some author appointed for the day, had been by the Mr expounded unto them (out of Cicero, Virgil, Homer, Eurip, Isocr: Livie, Sallust etc.) was to be exactlie gone through by construing and other grammatical waies, examining all the rhetoricall figures and translating it out of Gr into lat: or out of lat into Gr. Then they were enjoyned to commit that to memorie against ye next morng.

In the form below this, at the start of Greek, Lucian’s *Dialogues* were read; presumably a choice dictated by the relative simplicity of his Greek, and one made also by Hoole. The other texts

33. See my discussion of ‘To His Coy Mistress’, Chapter 3 below.
34. From Laud’s Transcript of the Studies of Westminster School, made between 1621 and 1628, quoted in Foster Watson, *op. cit.*, p.496.
proposed in Hoole's sixth form are Hesiod, Homer, Pindar and Lycophron (an Alexandrian poet of the fourth century B.C.). These were prescribed for forenoon lessons on Mondays and Wednesdays, while Xenophon, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes were for Tuesdays and Thursdays (Hoole, op. cit., p.203).

In their Latin studies, meanwhile, Hull scholars were given the Aeneid, the works of Horace and Terence, and Justin, the Roman historian of the first century B.C. Marvell refers to this book, in The Rehearsal Transpos'd, very much as if he had encountered it at school:--

Now this of Sardanapalus I remember some little thing ever since I read, I think it was my Justine.
(First Part, p.67)

In the top form, they studied more Ovid, Senecan tragedy and the satirists Juvenal and Persius. Marvell uses Juvenal twice in his attack on Parker, and again seems to see it as a kind of school exercise to quote him:--

And so too was the Moral'Poet (for why may not I too bring out my Latin shreds as well as he his)... (Rehearsal Transpos'd, I, p.54)

Three unusual books are also included in the 1680 list: Erasmus' Praise of Folly (1509), not a work normally found in the pedagogical context, a religious play by the Protestant martyrologist Foxe, Christus Triumphans (1556) and a translation of Job into Greek verse by James Duport (Cambridge, 1637, too late for Marvell's schooldays).

Besides this official curriculum, with its
semi-official ancillary handbooks, there were other channels to the classical texts. These were those more general compendia, digests of illustrative works, which were the familiar reading of literate adults as well as children. One of the most important of these, the Anthology of John Stobaeus, a fifth-century A.D. compilation of extracts from Greek texts, is to be found in the Hull school library catalogue for 1676. It enjoyed enormous popularity throughout the Renaissance and seventeenth century. Other indispensable aids were the handbooks of Roman antiquities by Rosinus (in the Hull library) and Goodwin, Cesare Ripa's Iconologia and Conti's Mythologiae (also at Hull).

Finally, when considering the influence of Latin and Greek literature on Renaissance minds, one must take into account the great weight of commentary which it was made to bear. One may readily examine the effect of these accretions to the text by looking at one particular work, Virgil's Eclogues, which was in universal use as a school text. I have chosen to look in detail at Eclogue II, which is of importance because Marvell imitated it in 'Dâmom the Mower'. All later Virgilian commentary is essentially an expansion of that of Servius, whose remarks are very largely explanatory, grammatical and linguistic in the narrow sense.

35. I have discussed at length the function of Stobaeus and of anthologizing in general in Chapter 3 below.
But there is already in Servius a strong sense of genre, and of the linguistic and formal decorum required by it. Servius makes approving remarks in his preface on the suitability of Virgil's naming of his characters. The names Meliboeus and Tityrus are well chosen he says, because of the meaning in Greek of their component roots:

...ut Meliboeus, ὤτρυμέλει ἀντὶ ῥυν βοῦν, id est quia curam gerit bonum, et ut Tityrus, nam Laconum linguatityrus dicitur aries major, qui gregem anteire consuerit: sicut enim in comoedis invenimus; nam Paphilus est totum amans, Glycerium quasi dulcis mulier, Philumena amablis. personae, sicut super dixi, rusticae sunt et simplicitate gaudentes: unde nihil in his urbanum, nihil declamatorium inuenitur; sed ex re rustica sunt omnia negotia, comparationes, et si qua sunt alia. 38

Many of the earlier Renaissance commentators simply incorporate Servius whole and entire into their own text; Fabricius' influential edition of Virgil's works, published at Basle in 1547, does this, for example. But the humanists also initiated newer kinds of remarks on the text. Besides greatly expanding the Theocritean parallelling on which Servius had already dwelt, they introduced a specifically rhetorical form of analysis. This can be most clearly seen in the voluminous commentary of Ramus (Paris, 1572). 39

39. Recommended by Brinsley in A Consolation for Our Grammar Schooles, 1622 (reprinted New York, 1943, in the series Scholars Facsimiles and Reprints): 'See, the analysis of Ramus on the Eclogues and Georgicks for the Logicke and Rhetorique thereof.'
is here clearly visible, and so is the nature of his influence on pedagogic and poetic practice. He disapproves strongly of allegorical interpretation in general, and rejects it as undesirable in particular in the Argumentum at the head of his Eclogue II commentary:


Ramus is primarily interested in two things: the sustained work of imitation of Theocritus which he perceives in the Eclogues, and the rhetorical power and skill of the poems. He strongly emphasizes Theocritean borrowings throughout, and also, line by line, offers an analysis of the organization of the language by means simultaneously logical and rhetorical. A glance at his remarks about any group of lines in the poem will demonstrate this; on ll.14-18 his notes run:


And further on in the poem, at 'Nec sum adeo
informis...' which corresponds to Marvell's

Nor am I so deform'd to sight
If in my Sithe I looked right
(Damon the Mower", ll. 57-58)

Nec sum] Tertia laus a forma, quae probatur
adjuncta imagine & parium collatione, qualis
est, sed apertior, Idyllio 24 plurimus versibus.
Nec sum] Extenuatio est, qualis est pro Caelio
Ciceronis: Ut eum nihil poeniteat non deformem
esse natum. Locus autem est e sexto Theocrito
idyll. (quotes ll. 34-5 of Theocritus VI,
with a Latin translation) Ad hoc argumentum
Servio falsum est, ac negatur (ait) per rerum
naturam fieri, ut in mari conspiciatur imago...
(Op. cit., pp.48-49)

There follows a paragraph of discussion about the
acceptability of the sea-as-mirror image: is it
a suitable touch, since only rustic stupidity
could imagine reflections conveyed by the sea?
Or is it entirely possible in nature that the sea
can act as a mirror, as citations from Seneca and
Lucian would suggest? Ramus' commentary is
hydra-headed, but the main thrust of it is towards
a genuinely literary analysis; it is far from
being a rag-bag of information and tags from here
and there, which some of the other commentaries
are.

Another important sixteenth-century editor
was Jodocus Willichius, whose notes reveal perhaps
even more critical intelligence than Ramus'.
Willichius sets out a series of crucial oppositions
in Eclogue II at the start of his commentary:

40. Jodocus Willichius (1501-1552) was Rector
Academiae at Frankfurt from 1524, and combined a
commentary on Terence and medical learning and
teaching with his Virgilian work and with other
theological and philosophical writings.
Alexis/Corydon, Urbanus/Rusticus, Aulicus/Pastor, etc. He then says what kind of discourse the poem is:

Elocutio est in oratione propria, dulci, et ornata multis elegantibus figuris, quae bucolico generi conveniunt.

Willichius' purpose is to expose the causal relationship of rhetorical means (elocutio) to literary effect (expressing vividly the passion of Corydon for Alexis). On 11. 8 ff., He says

Moriundi causa est, quia numquam quiescet, sed immenso magis atque magis inflammatur amore, cuius haec est notatio, cum vestigia Alexidis sub ardore solis lustret. Fit amplificatio a dissimili: cum omnia pecora et theriaca, & messores laborissimi (quibus est alliatum moretum, cui herbas olentes admiscere licet, ut nepeta, calaminthen, et alias) quiescant, sese recreent, suasque miserias leniant.

It should now be obvious that Renaissance commentaries, whether conducted by the schoolmaster in the classroom, or perused by the educated adult in his later years, need not be merely a dreary listing of inert figures of speech. A direct connection between the persuasiveness as poetry of the text, and its organizing features - rhetoric and allusion - was frequently perceived and examined by the commentators to the undoubted benefit of a developing poetic talent in the reader of text and commentary. The very question of the function of literary tradition itself was also, as I have noticed in Ramus, an object of study: Virgil's debt to Theocritus finds a ready echo in the debt of writers of all kinds of discourse, and more especially of poets, to the whole corpus of
classical literature. There is no doubt at all of the interest in this question, or of the pursuit of it by readers. In a copy in the British Library of a 1632 Cambridge edition of Virgil, with the printed commentary of Paulus Manutius and Georgius Fabricius, further Theocritean parallels are noted in MS. by the side of the printed ones. Thomas Farnaby's edition of Virgil (London 1634) also makes very full and precise references to the Theocritean originals of Virgil's lines.

About the next stage of Marvell's education there is no doubt. We have the record of his matriculation at Trinity College, Cambridge on 14 December 1633, as well as two of his signatures on college and university documents in 1638 and 1639, and he contributed verses in Latin and Greek to the collection of poems brought out at the university in 1637 to celebrate the birth of the King's fifth child. Marvell graduated B.A. in February 1639, having been elected to a scholarship in April 1638. Nearly two years longer than was usual had therefore elapsed between his entry to Trinity and his graduation. This may relate to his unusually young age on matriculation (twelve) or possibly to the traditional story of his brief flirtation with the Jesuits while an undergraduate. He left Trinity, without taking his M.A., in September 1641, for unknown reasons.

42. See Margoliouth, loc. cit., p.1 above. J.D. Hunt explores the matter fully in his Andrew Marvell: His Life and Writings, 1978.
For the content of his undergraduate studies, however, there is a considerable amount of evidence. There are already two very full accounts of the curriculum at Cambridge in the first half of the century: H.F. Fletcher's *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, Vol.II (Urbana, Illinois, 1961) and W. Costello's *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958). I shall therefore deal in detail only with points of particular interest.

The main additions made in the universities to the essential contents of the grammar school curriculum were the formal study of logic, and, following upon that, fairly elementary investigations of ethics, physics, metaphysics, and even the rudiments of medicine and law. Logic was the heart of the university course of study, and Aristotle was its guiding spirit. The Trinity College Statutes still in force in Marvell's time laid down that

\[ \ldots \text{praeter Aristotelem in docendo philosophiam aliquum autorem praeterea neminem interpretur.} \]

This was, of course, a state of affairs persisting since the medieval period, and one which continued until well into the eighteenth century. As M.L. Clarke explains in his *Greek Studies in England 1700-1830* (Cambridge, 1945, pp.25 ff.), there was still at the later period a lack of co-ordination between school and university education. The schools were Renaissance in curriculum and

methods, the universities medieval; the staple of education in the schools was Greek and Latin literature, in the universities, logic and ethics. Clarke describes the shocked reactions of the poet Gray and his friend West when they went up from Eton in 1734 and 1735 to Cambridge. West found himself in 'a strange country, inhabited by things that call themselves Doctors and Masters of Arts; a country flowing with syllogisms and ale, where Horace and Virgil are equally unknown.'45

The judgement of Milton on the practice of his day is equally severe: '...they present their young unmatriculated novices at first coming with the most intellective abstractions of logic and metaphysics'.46

There is, nevertheless, evidence that logic continued to need rhetoric before it could function productively. The arguments of dialectic needed two things for their effective framing: matter and linguistic competence. So the study of literature did perforce find a place in the undergraduate's timetable, even if only as a quarry and a model for stylistic imitation. The classical texts were not primary, were scarcely even the objects of study, but they remained pervasively present; and formal analyses of them continued, in the search for elegant style and sound matter for use in the oral disputations which replaced written themes as the exercise of the student. So Richard Holdsworth's unpublished MS. Directions for a Student in the Universitie (arising out of

Holdsworth's work as a tutor in St. John's College, Cambridge, in the first two decades of the century) insists that 'the Greek and Latine tongues History Oratory and Poetry' are 'Studies not less necessary than the first i.e., logic, if not more usefull, especially Latine, & Oratory, without whch all the other Learning though never so eminent, is in a manner void & useless, without those you will be bafeld in your disputes, disgraced, & vilified in Publicke examinations, laught at in speeches, & Declamations. You will never dare to appear in any act of credit in ye University...47 Indeed Holdsworth divides the time of his students up between logical and philosophical studies in the morning, and a very extensive programme of literary (including oratorical and historical) studies in the afternoons. It is interesting to note that in the fourth undergraduate year Holdsworth adds a reading of Lucretius and of the Quaestiones Naturales of Seneca to the almost unvaried Aristotelian diet he has offered in the first three years. In the afternoon programme, many texts which must have been familiar from the scholar's secondary education appear again. These include most of Cicero's works, Erasmus' Colloquies, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Homer, Theognis, and Plautus. But there are also additions, such as Lucan, Macrobius, Statius, Sallust, Suetonius, Livy, Aulus Gellius, Theocritus, and Martial. Further, a number of rhetorical and stylistic works of a more advanced nature appear: Causinus' De Eloquentiae Sacre et Humanae (Paris, 1619) and Quintilian's

47. Holdsworth, op. cit., MS 1.2.27(1), Emmanuel College, Cambridge, pp.21-22.
Institutiones for oratory, Valla's *Elegantiarum Latinae Linguae* (Rome 1471) for increased grace and skill in Latin idiom, and Thomas Vicars' *Manu ductio ad Artem Rhetoricam* (1621). Alexander Ross' very popular *Mystagogus Poeticus* (1647) is also listed, for assistance in the mythological parts of Latin authors.

Apart from Holdsworth's *Directions*, the most useful source of information about the usual reading of undergraduates is provided by the tutor's account books of Joseph Mead or Mede of Christ's College, for the years 1614 to 1637. Mead's list of purchases made by students under his guidance suggests a range of reading very similar to that of Holdsworth's pupils, though it also contains a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works somewhat outside the usual classical and logical ambit. Some of the more interesting of these are John Owen's epigrams, Andrea Alciato's emblem collection, Sidney's *Arcadia*, Lodge's *Euphues*, three works by Francis Bacon, Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, and Drayton's *Heroic Epistles*.

The work done by students individually with their tutors, however essential and influential, was, however, officially ancillary to the formal teaching provided by the college. It so happens that there is more information about this in the case of Marvell's college, Trinity, than in any other. This is to be found in the 1560 Statutes, drawn up in Elizabeth's reign, and not much altered till the eighteen-forties.48 It is of course impossible

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48. See Mullinger, *op. cit.*, Appendix to Vol. II, which reproduces all the relevant statutes of 1560, and those of 1552, of which No.21 is useful. For later statutes, see *Documents Relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, 3 vols., 1852.
to be certain that these Statutes were carried out to the letter in the sixteen-thirties, but they do at least indicate the framework of what was expected officially of undergraduates; and it is unlikely that the main authors laid down for intensive study had been changed by the time Marvell came to tackle them.

Statute 9 stipulates that there should be nine college lectors, five for dialectic, and the remaining four for artes et disciplina. The first of these nine, the primarius, was to read

...vel Aristotelis Physica vulgo nuncupata, vel libros de Ortu et interitu, vel Meteora, vel libros de Anima
to the assembled students of the first two undergraduate years. The remaining four of the dialectic lectors taught the four individual classes, as follows:

Primus legat Topica Aristotelis; secundus exponat vel Rodolphum Agricolam de Inventione, vel libros qui Analytici dicuntur; tertius Praedicabilia Porphyrii, vel Praedicamenta Aristotelis, vel libros de Interpretatione ejusdem autors, prout classis ipsius postulat; quartus et infimus interpretetur dialectica introductionem, sic ut classis infima introductione informata, veniat at Porphyrium et Aristotelem paratior.

Of the four non-logic lectors,

primus Graecam linguam, secundus Latinam, tertius mathematica, quartus grammaticam Graecam juventuti interpretetur.

Greek is here given special treatment, and singled out first for detailed provisions:
Qui autem linguam Graecam praelegit, Isocratem, Demosthenem, Platonem, Homerm, Hesiodum, aut alium quempiam praeclarum autorem pro arbitrio magistri aut vicemagistri docet.

Presumably this choice of authors varied according to the lector's opinion of the capacity of each year's class to assimilate a text, and hence according to the level of Greek teaching obtaining in the grammar schools in the different periods. In any case Statute 9 goes on to insist that every student, including those qui jam Graecam grammaticam didicerint must be present at these classes. Their knowledge was to be tested each Sunday at a session where they must repeat the material taught during the week by the lector, and demonstrate their grasp of it.

In Latin, the 1560 Statutes clearly considered Cicero the most important author (an emphasis still reflected strikingly in Holdsworth's programme, in which almost all his works appear at one stage or another). The Statute does not mention any other Latin author, but makes other provisions which are of interest: there was to be a Sunday class in rhetoric:

Singulis vero Sabbatis legat vel Rhetoricam vel progymnastica Rhetorices, exemplaque petat ex autore Latino quem praelegit.

And there follows some metrical instruction:

Praecepta metrica, id est rationem condendi carminis, toti juventuti explicit, ut nemo sit qui non versus componere norit.

The 1552 statutes set out in more detail the linguistic training, using Greek and Latin literature, of the students. First-year students
were to be set to turning Demosthenes to Latin, and the speeches of Cicero to Greek; the second-year group to translating Plato to Latin, and the philosophical parts of Cicero's writings into Greek. The third and fourth years went over the same ground as the first and third years respectively, but in more depth. Statute 21, from which these provisions come, is quite clear about the object of these exercises:

Sic non multis legendis sed optimis idque multum, maximos fructus minimis laboribus percipient, et ad sapientiam, judicium, dicendique facultatem facile pervenient.

As is clear from that statement, the ability to participate effectively in disputations and to deliver declamations was the great aim of a student's career and his crowning glory if he came to possess it. To do this he needed an extreme logical skill, but also rhetorical flexibility and above all a mind well furnished with choice matter from the classical authors. Official disputations, Statute 18 (1560) lays down, were to be held three times a week in the college chapel, taking two hours - an hour each for the two participants, who were to be students of the third year or higher. These college disputations are a sophisticated version of the practice of 'opposing' engaged in at some grammar schools, and are really an oral theme, essentially a more complicated and more elegant form of the elementary composition exercise taught after the epistle. The chief difference was that at the university level students were expected to bring logical expertise also to their work. Accordingly they were given a great deal of practice in acquiring this: before the stage of formal or public delivery was reached, they disputed
first on logical problems—controversiae—with their tutors in private, then with small
groups of fellow students in class, all the time
gradually gaining in logical skill.49 Mead's
account books abound in logic textbooks of
various kinds, sizes, and degrees of difficulty.
The importance of these disputations in university
training sheds a certain light on a striking
characteristic of Marvell's mind as revealed in
his poems. The obvious structures of confrontation
in his dialogue poems are its most obvious manifes-
tation, and the more complex sets of oppositions
so often present in his work—often versions of
traditional topics, such as the debate between
action and contemplation, or that between nature
and art—must many times have been set out
before him in various ways as a result of the
method of his education.

It is clear from his work, both prose and
poetry, that the adult Marvell did not cease to
read and explore the classical authors made
available to him by that education, and others
besides. So when fourteen years further on we
find Milton recommending the thirty-two year old
Marvell to the President of the Council of State,
the terms of Milton's praise may be taken for
literal truth, not compliment. 'Besides' wrote
Milton 'he is a scholar and well-read in the Latin
and Greek authors.'50

50. The Life Records of John Milton, ed. French,
post for which Milton was recommending Marvell was
the Latin Secretaryship, and Marvell did not get
the job then in 1653, but in 1657.
Chapter Two

Marvell's Latin Poetry

Marvell's sixteen Latin poems may conveniently be divided into groups. The largest consists of the diplomatic and political pieces, *In Legationem Domini Oliveri St. John ad Provincias Foederatas*, 'A Letter to Doctor Ingelo', *In Effigiem Oliveri Cromwell*, and *In eandem Regiae Sueciae transmissam*, all of which belong to the period 1651-1654, and whose affinity is with the other Cromwell poems of the sixteen-fifties. Two brief and pointed political epigrams which date from 1671 and 1677 - *Bludius et Corona* and *Scaevola Scoto-Brittannus* - are akin in tone and atmosphere to the English satires of the post-Restoration period; *Bludius et Corona* is in fact a version of ll.178-185 of *The Loyall Scot*, which also belongs to 1671.

There remain besides a collection of six elegiac distichs celebrating the building of the Louvre in 1671, an undergraduate exercise in Horatian parody (1637), two epigrammatic and fragmentary jeux d'esprit ('Upon an Eunuch: A Poet', and a Latin re-translation of four lines from a new French version of Lucan published in 1655), and two genially humorous pieces, one addressed to Marvell's old Hull friend Doctor Robert Wittie on the occasion of his publication in 1651 of a collection of popular errors in medicine, and the other, probably in 1676, to a French graphologist who 'only upon the sight of the Author's writing, had given a Character of his Person and Judgement of his Fortune'. 
Finally, there are four poems which are of particular interest: *Ros*, which is a Latin version of "Upon a Drop of Dew", *Hortus*, a version of part of 'The Garden', *Epigramma in Duos Montes*, which, though not a translation, is closely related to 'Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow', and the quatrain *Magdala, lascivos...* which corresponds to one of the stanzas of 'Eyes and Tears'.

The Latin poems are of interest and importance to the student of Marvell's English work, but they have until quite recently been surprisingly little studied in their own right. Carl E. Bain made the first examination of them in 1959, and in 1964 all the Latin poems, together with the three prose epitaphs and the Greek poem, were reprinted from Margoliouth's edition with a commentary and translations, by W. McQueen and K. Rockwell. The introduction to this book is the fullest study yet published of all the Latin poems.

Marvell's Latin poetry forms part of a tradition which runs parallel to that of English literature right into the nineteenth century. There is ample evidence of the widespread popularity of Latin poetry from the Renaissance on. Much of the enthusiasm for its composition went into the type of work recommended by Charles Hoole to his sixth-form scholars: 'epigrams,

anagrams, acrosticks and other such witty trifles. In his history of the 'pointed' epigram, Paul Nixon says the numbers of the Latin epigrammatists from the fifteenth century onwards 'fairly appal one, not merely by mass, but by distribution'. Latin verse composition was, as we have seen, a constant exercise in the schools and universities; and the extent both of imitation of the classical authors, and of often only slightly more original work in Latin was vast, and its influence in turn on vernacular literature considerable.

John Owen, the celebrated epigrammatist from Wales, was 'acclaimed by many readers in his own day as a poet greater than Shakespeare... He was hailed as the English Martial'. The other literary forms were, however also much practised not just by schoolboys, but by literate and cultured adults. Since Latin was still the language of international communication in Europe, neo-Latin poets were often, in the seventeenth century, more widely known and more greatly esteemed than those (sometimes far greater) writing in the vernacular. At the end of the century, for example, Milton was still not widely known as a poet (as distinct from a controversialist) while Buchanan and Owen were 'read with admiration all over Europe'. George Buchanan, James I's tutor, was a Scotsman who had lived and taught in France and Spain; his Latin poetry in various genres was very famous and seems, indeed, to have

4. Ibid., p.56.
influenced Milton's own book of elegies. 6 This widespread knowledge of modern Latin poetry was not confined to that written in Britain. The characteristic humanist impulse to produce Latin literature in the classical mould - though sometimes serving aims entirely alien to those of Virgil or Horace - was at work from very early in the Renaissance. The heavily moralistic pious eclogues of the Carmelite friar Baptista Spagnuolo, called Mantuanus (published in 1498 in Padua) are a case in point. Along with a great mass of other, usually more intellectually respectable and interesting neo-Latin work, Mantuan became a part of the canon of acceptable literature which was handed on, even occasionally forming part of school curricula. Dr. Johnson remarks disapprovingly in his life of Ambrose Philips that "Mantuan was read, at least in some of the inferior schools of this kingdom, at the beginning of the present century". 7

Marvell's work, and indeed all the poetry of the period in both languages, must be seen against this background; and of course Milton, Cowley and Crashaw were among the contemporaries of Marvell who produced a considerable body of work in Latin as well as in English. But Marvell's Latin poetry is neither very varied nor experimental; it is imaginatively cramped by comparison with the range and aesthetic power of Milton's work in

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Latin, and with Marvell's own in English. His Latin style is generally less crisp and compressed than his English, and considerably looser and less syntactically elegant than that of the classical poets or the major neo-Latin writers. It seems to me that the influence of classical literature worked far more productively on Marvell's mind when it was made to encounter the challenge of expression in the English language.

Many of his Latin poems, of course, have a primarily public function, being written to serve some diplomatic or political purpose of Cromwell's regime, and this means that in most cases the project of composing them probably lacked aesthetic urgency. This, it appears to me, is the case with 'A Letter to Doctor Ingelo', the longest Latin piece (134 lines). It may be compared in intention with Milton's long epigram to the singer Leonora, and also with Buchanan's poems to Mary, Queen of Scots. The poem is ostensibly a familiar epistle in verse, and it is framed at the beginning and end by personal sentiments; but it is really a diplomatically commissioned piece, to compliment the queen with whom Cromwell was trying to cement an alliance. (There is a certain comic inappropriateness in the solemn military rhetoric of the poem's finale, and in the extravagant baroque apotheosis of Christina as heroic virginal goddess; what Cromwell really needed was a commercial link with Sweden's material resources.)


9. The mission appears to have needed all the urbanity it could get from such a polished classicizing effusion as Marvell's; Christina's courtiers complained of the English officials' ignorance of the proper court etiquette.
The 'Letter' begins by expressing mock-surprise to Ingelo at the length of his stay away from England. The speaker then turns his absence into a compliment to Christina, and her people; in spite of the inhospitable climate and terrain, nevertheless

Incolit, ut fertur, saevam Gens mitior Oram,
Face vigil, Bello strenua, justa Foro,
Quin ibi sunt Urbes, atque alta Palatia Regum,
Musarumque domus, & sua Templa Deo.

(11.11–14)

The reason for this is the restraint imposed by the royal virgin (1.16) on her potentially wild people (1.15): her rule is equal in glory even to Queen Elizabeth's (11.23–4). At several points in the poem there are close and, with one exception, hitherto unremarked parallels with the language and content of Book I of the Aeneid. The first of them is at 11.5–6 of the 'Letter,' in which the speaker questions Ingelo in tones of surprise and incredulity about the nature of the strange place where he is:

Quae Gentes Hominum, quae sit Natura Locorum,
Sint Hominis, potius dic ibi sintne Loca?

When Aeneas lands, storm tossed, on the shores of Africa, he encounters Venus disguised as a huntress-nymph, and questions her as follows:

o – quam te memorem, virgo? namque haud tibi voltus mortalis, nec vox hominum sonat; o dea certe!
an Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una?
sis felix nostrumque leves, quaecumque, laborem,
et quo sub caelo tandem, quibus orbis in oris iactemur, doceas; ignari hominumque locorumque erramus, vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti...

(11.327–333)
Later, when the Trojans come before the queen, Dido, their temporary leader Ilioneus complains to her of their treatment on landing:

> quod genus hoc hominum? quaeve hunc tam barbara morem permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur harenæ;

(11.539-540)

Marvell's questioning of Ingelo is a playful version of this formal epic questioning, perhaps intended to emphasize the very hospitality, comfort and security being afforded the English travellers by the Swedes. A little later in the 'Letter', the high civilization of the country is being described:

> Quin ibi sunt Urbes, atque alta Palatia Regum, Musarumque domus, & sua Templa Deo.
> Nam regit Imperio populum Christina ferocem, Et dare jura potest regia Virgo viris.

(11.13-16, 'Letter')

In Aeneid I, Jupiter promises a happy future to Venus for her son Aeneas as ruler of Italy:

> bellum ingens geret Italia populosque feroce contundet moresque viris et moenis ponet...

(11.263-4)

And Aeneas' posterity shall go on to still greater things, drawing their power and virtue from their ancestor, and upholding his fame - just as Christina upholds the fame and inherits the virtu of her ancestor Gustavus (11.29-30). The motif of the coincidence of physical, legal and civil edifices is again brought out later in the book, when Aeneas is approaching Dido's city:
iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum; 
his portus alii effodiunt, hic alta theatri 
fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas 
rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora alta futuris...
(11.426-429)

After his initial admiring summary of Christina's qualities, Marvell turns to the description of her portrait, in which are evident all her virtues. He borrows grace-notes from Ovid to embellish the extravagant praise (no doubt, as Legouis points out, diplomatically required). Although in Ovid (Metamorphoses II, 1.864-7) 10

non bene conveniunt nec in una sede morantur 
maiestas et amor;

nevertheless Christina unites these qualities in her countenance:

Augustam decorant (raro concordia) frontem 
Majestas et Amor, Forma Pudorque simul. 
('Letter', 11.27-8)

And she shines more brightly in her northern skies than Callisto, who feared Diana. Christina need fear no greater virgin, since indeed she herself is the very image of Diana. Virgil's description of Queen Dido in Aeneid I is paraphrased very closely in the ensuing description of Christina, and there is also, I think, some colouring from the earlier vision Aeneas has of his mother Venus. This is the passage in Marvell:

Nulla suo nituit tam lucida Stella sub axe;  
Non Ea quae meruit Crimine Nympha Polum.  
Ah quoties pavidum demisit conscia Lumen,  
Utque suae timuit Parrhasis Cra Deae!  
Et, simulet falsa ni Pictor imagine Vultus,  
Delia tam similis nec fuit ipsa sibi.  
Ni quod inornati Triviae sint forte Capilli,

10. These lines in Ovid are the beginning of the description of Jupiter's disguise as a white bull to seduce Europa. (See Chapter 4 below).
Solicita sed huic distribuantur Acu.
Scilicet ut nemo est illa reverentior aequi;
Haud ipsas igitur fert sine Lege Comas.
Gloria sylvarum pariter communis utrique
Est, & perpetuae Vir ginitatis Hon s.
Sic quoque Nympharum supereminet Agmina collo,
Fertque Choros Cynthi per Juga, perque Nives.
Haud aliter pariles Ciliorum contrahit Arcus
Acribus ast Oculis tela subesse putes...

This is, as has been noticed, clearly a borrowing from Dido's description:

qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi
exeret Diana choros, quam mille secutae
hinc atque hinc glomerantur Creades; illa pharetram
fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis;

but Venus is also seen as a lovely huntress:

cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva,
 virginis os habitumque gerens at virginis arma,
 Spartanae, vel quails equos Threissa fatigat
 Harpalyce volucremque fuga praeventit Hebrum.
namque umeris de more habilem suspendat arcum
 venatrix dederatque comam diffundere ventis,
nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis...

Both Venus and Christina are conspicuously virginal, and Christina's fastening of her hair contrasts not only with Diana's (Trinia) but also with Venus' flowing locks. Marvell adds playful conceits to the Virgilian resonances in his turning of her hairstyle into an emblem of her careful justice, and in

Luminibus dubites an straverit illa Sagittis
 Quae fovet exuviis ardua colla Feram.

These are touches of epigrammatic wit which are
very typical of the neo-Latin verse tradition. But they do not disturb the surface of the poem in any active, illuminating way. There is here very little of the complexity of effect which is such a virtue in Marvell's political, and indeed his lyrical poetry. The classical borrowings have a homogeneity which is rather uninspiring and predictable. In the English poems, there is a richness of effect which is lacking here, and which seems to be produced in part by the diversity of allusion. The witty touches here are few and cautious, and seem rather extraneous to the business of the poem, which remains simply to construct an unexceptionable compliment.\(^\text{11}\)

The praise of Christina does, however, acquire a certain accuracy of reference, and the poem more force, when Marvell turns to an account of the queen's way of life:

\[
\text{Hinc neque consuluit fugitivae prodiga Formae,}
\]
\[
\text{Nec timuit seris invigilasse Libris.}
\]
\text{(11.61-2)}

Christina's eagerness for knowledge and determination in pursuing it overcomes time, and she is to be found studying even at dead of night:

\[
\text{Jamque vigil leni cessit Philomela sopori,}
\]
\[
\text{Omnibus & Sylvis conticuere Ferae.}
\]
\[
\text{Acrior illa tamen pergit, Curasque fatigat...}
\]
\text{(11.65-7)}

Marvell is here setting up to good effect the contrast between the romantic story of Philomela, in wild natural surroundings, and the disciplined and strong nurture of the queen, wearing out time, beauty, and even her own sufferings. In the other text of the 'Letter', probably an earlier draft,

\[^{11}\text{There is a serious pun at 11.21-2 on the names of Christ and Christina, and there may be submerged wordplay on that of Bulstrode Whitelock, leader of the mission, at 11.9 and 106.}\]
which was discovered by W. Hilton Keliher, the poem ends five lines after this, and between 11.66 and 67 there is a distich not in the Folio text:

Ipsa sed et prono connivent sydera caelo
   Et flores lassis procubuere stylis.

It is interesting that these extra lines serve to expand the image of nature, and thus to strengthen the contrast. Furthermore, this version of the poem seems to me much improved by the absence of the rather inflated vision of Cromwell and Christina as joint holy warriors which takes up most of the remainder of the Folio text. Its ending is restrained and dignified:

Tanti est doctorum volvere scripta Virum.
   Et liciti quae sint moderamina discere Regni,
   Quid fuerit, quid sit, noscere quidquid erit.

(11.68-70)

This is a recognizable portrait of the patron who so dismayed Descartes by requiring him to discuss philosophical questions with her from five o'clock each morning.

In the remainder of the poem, however, a rather tired and undifferentiated rhetoric of praise is dominant. Cromwell and Christina are to join together in grand enterprises of conquest, two Christian leaders marked by God for his work (11.85-90, 101-112), which here consists of making war on Catholic France and Spain. This expansive passage is prefaced by Marvell's adaptation of the

millennarian aspiration which opens Virgil's *Eclogue* IV (1.83, 'Letter'). In the peroration, Christina is made the cosmic force which can thaw even the northern snows, exactly like the king-sun who is commonly the centre of Stuart panegyric. There is a further borrowing here from *Aeneid* I; 11.107-112:

> Et Lappos Christina potest & solvere Finnos,  
> Ultima quos Boreae carcere Claustria premunt.  
> Aeoliiis quales Venti remuere sub antris,  
> Et tentant Montis corripuisse moras.  
> Nanc Dea si summa demiserit Arce procellam  
> Quam gravis Austriacis Hesperisque cadat!

recall the journey of the vengeful Juno to the caves of Aeolus:-

> Talis flammato secum dea corde volutans  
> nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus Austris,  
> Aeoliam venit. hic vasto rex Aeolus antro  
> Luctantis ventos tempestatosque sonotas  
> imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat...  
> (*Aeneid* I, 11.50-54)

Christina is thus likened implicitly, by allusion, not only to Diana, but also to Dido, Venus and Juno. In the final eight lines, Marvell resumes the polite fiction of the epistolary form with a pastoral flourish mourning the absence from Thames-side of Ingelo:

> Nos sine te frustra Thamisis saliceta subimus,  
> Sparsaque per steriles Turba vagamur Agros.  
> Et male tentanti querulum respondet Avena...  
> (11.129-131)

Though *In Legationem Domini Oliveri St.John ad*

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13. See my discussion of 'An Horatian Ode' in Chapter 7 below.
Provincias Foederatas (1651) is also a poem from the world of diplomatic negotiations, it is a less public and less strained piece. Marvell seems chiefly to have been amusing himself with his wordplay on the ambassador's name, which combines pacific and warlike possibilities as does the purpose of the embassy itself (to negotiate an alliance with the Dutch, but not on easy terms). It is a neat and graceful poem, with a restrained allusiveness and sureness of touch:

Et Tu, cui soli voluit Respublica credi,  
Foedera seu Belgis seu nova Bella feras;  
Haud frustra cecidit tibi Compellatio fallax,  
Ast scriptum ancipiti Nomine Munus erat;  
Scllicet hoc Martis, sed Pacis Nuntius illo;  
Clavibus his Jani ferrea Claustra regis...  
(11.5-10)

The allusion at the end of the poem to Antiochus was, no doubt, recalled by Marvell from one of the schoolboy epitomes of Roman history, such as Valerius Maximus' (VI.4,iii); he makes the anecdote into the framework of his mocking argument in Mr Smirke, twenty-five years later, teasingly changing places with his adversary in the roles of Popilius and Antiochus.

The two late political epigrams are far more vigorous in tone. Both make their points broadly, and both are bitterly anti-episcopal. Bludiust et Corona (1671) is only eight lines long, and is really a single squib, sharply 'pointed' at the end:

14. St. John was Cromwell's cousin and throughout his career one of the ablest of his political aides and supporters. The complete absence of personal reference from the poem is remarkable; the witty play takes its place.
Si modo Saevitiam texisset Pontificalem,
Veste Sacerdotis, rapta corona foret.
(11.7-8)

There is a close English version of the whole piece in The Loyall Scot, 11.178-185:

When daring Blood to have his rents regain'd
Upon the English Diadem distrain'd,
Hee chose the Cassock Circingle and Gown,
The fittest Mask for one that Robs a Crown.
But his Lay pitty underneath prevailed
And while hee spared the keepers life hee fail'd.
With the preists vestments had hee but put on
A Bishops Cruelty, the Crown had gone.

The later Scaevola Scoto-Brittannus (1676 or 1677)
is somewhat longer, but shows the same sentiments;
thus lines 5-6:

Peccat in insonti sed Praesule missile Plumbum
(Insons si Praesul quilibe t esse potest)

and the conclusion:

Inter Pontificem quid distat Carnificemque?
Inter Luciferum Purciferumque quod est.

Polemic does not produce its effects by understatement.

Perhaps the most attractive of Marvell's Latin poems in their own right are those addressed to the clever graphologist and to his friend Doctor Wittie. Illustrissimo Viro Domino Lanceloto Josepho de Maniban Grammatomati is, as its title indicates, extravagant, but with a constant undertone of humour, or playful irony:

Bellerophonteas signat sibi quisque Tabellas;
Ignaramque Manum spiritus intus agit...
and

Scilicet & toti subsunt Oracula mundo,
Dummodo tot foliis una Sibylla foret.
(11.7-8, 31-2)

Some of the statements ostensibly expressing speechless admiration can (as McQueen and Rockwell point out) be taken two ways, as for example line 38:

Scribe, sed haud superest qui tua fata legat,

or line 40:

Quo magis inspexti sydere sperrnis humum.

As Bain remarks (loc. cit., p.443) this recalls Thomas More's epigrams on the astrologer. There are eleven of these, all playing on the same theme of the astrologer's worldly ineptitude due to his preoccupation with the heavenly bodies. Epigram No.42 in More's collection is particularly close to Marvell:

Non Cumaea sacro vates correpta furore
Certius afflata mente futura videt;
Quam meus astrologus diuina clarus in arte,
Praevidet inspecto sidere praeterita.

But, says More to his astrologer, while you observe the stars you miss your wife's infidelities.  

17. This is a version of the quasi-proverbial story of Thales and the milkmaid, told by Plato in the Theaetetus, 174A, and a cousin of Oscar Wilde's 'We are all in the ditch, but some of us are looking at the stars'.
The same kind of friendly semi-mockery is evident in the little poem to Doctor Wittie. It is both humorous and decorous, its subject rather reminiscent of Martial, and the treatment and tone of Horace:

Ah mea quid tandem facies timidissima charta? Exequias Sitiens jam parat usque tuas... (11.15-16)

The poem refers jokingly to the medicinal powers of tobacco, the marvellous modern discovery. This may be a sideways glance at Raphael Thorius' long epic-style *Hymnus Tabaci*, which is said to have been 'the most popular Latin poem of the century', being several times republished after its first appearance in 1625.  

Also in the tradition of Martial and hundreds of other such pieces is 'Upon an Eunuch: A Poet'. The paradox on which it turns is typical of the genre, recalling especially some of Owen's poems.  

The dignified figures of Fama, the nine Muses, and Echo, are nicely transposed into a facetious key:

Nec sterilem te crede; licet, mulieribus exul,
Falcem virginiae nequeas immiter messi,
Et nostro peccare modo. Tibi Fama perenne Praeagnabit; rapiesque novem de monte Sorores;
Et pariet modulos Echo repetita Nepotes.

The most interesting of Marvell's Latin poems are those which are related directly or otherwise to

See also Bk.I, No.44.
his English works. There have been varying opinions on the relationship between the group which may be called versions of English poems, or of parts of them - Hortus, Ros and the quatrain on Mary Magdalen - and their English counterparts. Since it has not been possible to establish positively from external evidence which version came first, the only absolute statement that may be made is that the poems are exercises on the same groups of ideas, handled in slightly different ways. Commentators agree on the greater exuberance and specification of the Latin compared to the more spare English style; but they have drawn opposite conclusions from this observation. I have no strong opinion on the question of the priority of the English or Latin versions; the basic ideas are the same, and may have been embroidered upon to produce the longer Ros and 'The Garden', or contracted to produce the shorter 'Upon a Drop of Dew' and Hortus. It seems clear that Marvell was modifying in his maturity the grammar school practice of double translation which, as we have seen, was one of the main methods of teaching. Marvell's near-contemporary, Crashaw, also wrote versions in both languages, but of a much larger number of poems - his sacred epigrams - and in his case it is likely that the Latin versions originated as an academic task, and therefore preceded the English. It is conceivable that

21. See Bain, loc. cit., and McQueen and Rockwell, op. cit.
22. See L.C. Martin's edition of Crashaw, Oxford, 1957, p. 434. Crashaw was made Greek Scholar at Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1631; the duties of this position included the making of verses in both learned languages on scriptural themes.
this may have been the framework of composition in Marvell's instance also.

_Hortus_ consists of fifty-eight lines, 'The Garden' of seventy-two. _Hortus_ appears to break off at the point corresponding to the end of stanza IV of 'The Garden', and resumes with the final address to the gardener, closely corresponding to stanza IX. On a cursory examination, then, four stanzas appear to be missing in the Latin version. This apparent gap is marked in the Folio edition (1681) by the words _Desunt multa_, inserted by an unknown hand between 11.48 and 49 of _Hortus_. There is no indication if the words have any authority from Marvell; this has led to much speculation on whether there ever was any more of the Latin poem, and whether the statement that the remainder is missing is a statement of a fact known to the 1681 editor but not to us, or merely a guess on the basis of the English poem.

It seems clear to me that the latter is the case: that the Latin poem as we have it is complete, and indeed that there is no need to engage in conjecture about any missing stanzas. The _Desunt multa_ was added, I believe, as a result of careless reading of the two poems, and it has remained ever since to bedevil subsequent more painstaking Marvell scholars. If we ignore the (probably) editorial interpolation and simply consider the texts as we have them, two main conclusions may be drawn. First, Cupid, the

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23. See W. McQueen's article on 'The Missing Stanzas in Marvell's Hortus', *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. XLIV, 1965, pp. 113-179, in which he several times sets out to imagine the situation without the _Desunt multa_, but fails to draw the conclusions which would result from its absence.
gods and the pastoral ladies are given much more extended treatment in Hortus, and so are the 'busie Companies of Men' of stanza II in 'The Garden', and the zodiac in stanza IX. Second, there is a rearrangement of material from one poem to the other, so that what is treated in Hortus at 11.10-19 and 23-4 is taken up at a different, later point in 'The Garden': in the 'missing' stanzas V to VIII. The first of these points has been noticed before, but is worth examining in detail.24

First, where 'The Garden' has the simple

Mistaken long, I sought you then
In busie Companies of Men.
(11.11-12)

Hortus particularizes with

...Vos ergo diu per Templa, per urbes,
Quaesivi, Regum perque alta Palatia frustra.
(11.8-9)

In the passage in stanza III concerning the carving of names on trees, 'The Garden' has

Pond Lovers, cruel as their Flame,
Cut in these Trees their Mistress name.
Little, Alas, they know, or heed,
How far these Beauties Hers exceed!
Fair Trees! where s'eer your barkes I wound,
No name shall but your own be found.
(11.19-24)

Hortus, on the other hand, gives names and therefore a far more material presence both to

the "Beauties" and the trees:

Ast Ego, si vestras unquam temeravero stirpes,
Nulla Neaera, Chloe, Faustina, Corynna, legetur:
In proprio sed quaeque libro signabitur Arbos.
O charae Platanus, Cyparissus, Populus, Ulmus!
(11.25-31)

The two linked ideas of stanza IV are both handled as witty, leisurely conceits in Hortus, where instead of the abstract

When we have run our Passions heat,
Love hither makes his best retreat
(11.25-6)

there is a full-dress Cupid with all his paraphernalia of wings, bow, arrow and torch (11.32-37). And where 'The Garden' limits itself to the two Ovidian pursuit-stories of Apollo and Pan, Hortus adds Jupiter and Vulcan:

Laetantur Superi, defervescente Tyranno,
Et licet experti toties Nymphasque Deasque,
Arbore nunc melius potiuntur quisque cupid.
Jupiter annosam, neglecta conjuge, Quercum Deperit; haud alia doluit sic pellice Juno. Lemniacum temerant vestigia nulla Cubile, Nec Veneris Mayors meminit si Praxinus adsit.
(11.38-44)

The 'Garden' version of this passage is, it seems to me, much the more interesting and successful; there are no mythological tales of Jupiter wooing a maiden turned oak tree, or of Vulcan languishing for an ash, so the joke is far more pointed and economical in the English poem. The language of 'The Garden' is also more lively, with its hint of complicated puns. 'Heat' in 1.25 has to do with the torch of love - the flame of passion -
but also possibly with the divisions of a 'race',
a word looking backwards, to the competitions
which are spurned in the opening stanza, and forward,
to 1.4 of this. But 'race' may itself also be
wriggling a little and suggesting its homonym
meaning 'root' (Latin radix), as well as indicating
the dynasty, or tribe, of the gods.

In the final passage of 'The Garden', the pun
on 'thyme' and the last graceful couplet carry
all the time-references; Hortus makes the point
far more explicitly, with brevibus Plantis (1.50)
and Crescentes horas, atque intervalla diei. (1.51)
The zodiac signs acquire a concrete presence, and
so do the conventional garden flowers, roses and
violets. There may be a reminiscence here of
Ovid, Metamorphoses II, in which Phaethon in his
borrowed sun-chariot must run the gauntlet of the
ferocious zodiacal monsters in the sky:

per tamen adversi gradieris cornua tauri,
Haemoniosque arcus violentique ora Leonis
saevaque circuitu curvament bracchia longo
Scorpion atque aliter curvament bracchia longo...
(11.80-82)

The second main point I wish to make concerning
the relationship of the two poems is to do with
the rearrangement of the sequence of thought from
one to the other. The first nine lines of Hortus
correspond closely to the first ten of 'The Garden'.
Then there is a divergence. Stanza II of 'The
Garden' is as follows:

Fair Quiet, have I found thee here,
And Innocence, thy sister dear!
Mistaken long, I sought you then
In busie Companies of Men.
Your sacred Plants, if here below,
Only among the Plants will grow.
Society is all but rude,
To this delicious Solitude.
(11.9-16)
But the passage in Hortus which one might have expected to correspond to this is quite different:

Sed vos Hortorum per opaca silentia longe
Celarant Plantae virides, & concolor Umbra.
O! mihi si vestros liceat violasse recessus
Erranti, lasso, & vitae melioris anhelo,
Municipem servat novum, votoque potitum
Frondosae Cives optate in florea Regna.
Me quoque, vos Musae, & te conscie testor Apollo,
Non Armenta juvant hominum, Circique boatus,
Mugitusve Fori; sed me Penetralia veris,
Horroresque trahunt muti, & Consortia sola.

(11.10-19)

Lines 13-16 of 'The Garden' appear rather thin and abstract in comparison with the richness of specification in Sed vos...Umbra, and the detachment of

Society is all but rude
To this delicious Solitude

is less compelling than the expressively personal O! mihi... Erranti, lasso & vitae melioris anhelo. This confession of weariness is followed by a joyful submission to the innocent rule of gardens; both recall strongly other passages in Marvell. In 'Little T.C.', for example, the poet expresses humorous fear of the little girl's potential deadliness, and wishes to be given sanctuary in the garden's safe bowers:

O then let me in time compound,
And parly with those conquering Eyes;
Ere they have try'd their force to wound;
Ere, with their glancing wheels, they drive
In triumph over Hearts that strive,
And them that yield but more despise.
Led me be laid,
Where I may see thy Glories from some shade.
Mean time, whilst every verdant thing
It self does at thy Beauty charm,
Reform the errours of the Spring...
(11.17-27)

In a note on this passage Pierre Legouis remarks on the 'suggestion of the grave' in 'laid' and 'Shade' here. Certainly Marvell seems able to give the word 'shade' a remarkable depth of resonance wherever he uses it, and its significance for him is clearly related to the imaginative experience of the suspension of a present consciousness which is anxious, weary, or otherwise painful.25 There is, however, a still closer parallel in Upon Appleton House for Hortus' description of delight and peace in the Penetralia veris. Stanza LXI begins the long retreat of the poet from the floods in the river meadows:

But I, retiring from the Flood,
Take Sanctuary in the Wood;
And, while it lasts, myself imbark
In this yet green, yet growing Ark;
(11.481-4)

And he is there charmed with the vision of the kingfisher, in a rather bizarre phrase:

The modest Halcyon comes in sight,
Flying betwixt Day and Night;
And such an horror calm and dumb,
Admiring Nature does benum.
(11.669-672)

This 'horror...dumb' is echoed in Hortus, 1.20:

...sed me Penetralia veris,
Horroresque trahunt muti, & Consortia sola.

'Horror' is used in both cases to mean a quasi-

25. See Chapters 3 & 4 below for more discussion of this point.
religious awe (O.E.D., sense 4. 'A feeling of awe or reverent fear (without any suggestion of repugnance); a thrill of awe, or of imaginative fear'). The notion of a religious experience, it is important to note, is thus already present in the Latin version of the garden-poem, being suggested not just by horror, but also by the 'shrines' of spring, the Penetralia.

Further, the subtle seductiveness of the plants in Hortus matches that of nature in Upon Appleton House rather more closely than it does the Bacchanalian orgy among the fruit in 'The Garden'; and both Hortus and the longer poem make exuberant play with the image of hair as foliage and foliage as hair, both apparently sexually engaging. In Hortus

\[
\text{Nec foliis certare Comae, nec Brachia ramis,}
\]
\[
\text{Nec possint tremulos voces aequare susurros. (11.23-4)}
\]

and in Upon Appleton House:

And Ivy, with familiar trails,
Me licks, and clasps, and curls, and hales...

Bind me ye Woodbines in your 'twines,
Curle me about ye gadding Vines,
And Oh so close your Circles lace,
That I may never leave this Place;
And lest your fetters prove too weak,
Ere I your Silken Bondage break,
Do you, O Brambles, chain me too,
And courteous Briars nail me through.

(11.589-90, 609-616)


27. Cf. also 'The Fair Singer'.
(The poet in this ecstasy appears actually to find his own hair dispensable (11.597-600)).

It is clear, then, from these parallels, that the ecstasy which takes place in 'The Garden' in stanzas V to VIII does find a counterpart in Hortus, but earlier, at 11.10-24. Certainly it is treated in a more challenging and complex way in the English poem; the economy of allusion and mythological reference makes possible the greater depth of stanzas V to VIII, and it is those stanzas which most obviously raise it above the level of conventional retreat-poetry. Both poems nevertheless contain what is recognizably the same idea: that gardens offer a sensuously adequate substitute for sexual and other material activity. In 'The Garden' to this idea is added another, which is made to follow from it: a garden can be the scene of a release into mystical/spiritual enlightenment. As we have seen there is a suggestion of this in Hortus, but it is no more than that. Hence it is absolutely fitting that the philandering Jupiter, Vulcan and Mars, and the amorous Venus should disappear. In 'The Garden', Apollo and Pan are a witty metaphor, whereas in Hortus the gods are all characters in the poem. It thus acquires the air of a pastiche of ancient mythological poetry, rather than a contemporary lyric with a strong Platonic atmosphere, using allusion as a metaphoric technique. The same is true of Cupid, who is a sub-Ovidian or epigram character in Hortus, but in 'The Garden' the barest of perfunctory personifications. The presence of the gods in 'The Garden' would disturb the coolly

28. See Williamson, G., loc cit., comparing Cowley's 'The Wish' and his epistle to Evelyn with Marvell's poems.
intellectual flavour of stanzas VII and VIII.

The change from Hortus to 'The Garden' also brings the mind and feelings of the lyric speaker into far greater prominence; the solitary experience described in stanzas VI to VIII of 'The Garden' is alien to Latin poetry, stemming as it does from that intense awareness of individual psychological experience which is characteristic of the seventeenth century. The conventions of Latin poetry defied the expression of the solitary self-generated spiritual enlightenment which is the real subject of 'The Garden'. So Hortus is, though charming, a different poem; but my argument is that this is not because any of it is missing, but because its subject is different. Marvell's sensitive understanding of tradition and convention led him to alter his treatment of the subject in the ways I have been noticing. He saw that while the most suitable climax of a Latin poem might be the justification of human delights and purposes by the example of the pagan gods (so Cupid and the greater gods follow the poet's own finding of green happiness), in English the individual spiritual quest seemed naturally to take priority. So he transferred the personal report of garden ecstasy from the beginning to the climax of the poem (thus, as we have seen, rendering the second stanza much more general and detached than the corresponding lines 10 ff. of Hortus). Then to the description of bodily release from material cares and concerns and the hint of sexual delight already present in Hortus - ll.10-19 and 23-4 - he added the far more radical ecstasy of a spiritual freedom, in an inner, metaphorical garden:

Casting the Bodies Vest aside,
My Soul into the boughs does glide:
There like a Bird it sits, and sings,
And whets, and combs its silver Wings...
(11.51-54)

The open reference to the Hebraeo-Christian myth of Genesis ('What other help could yet be meet') would, of course, also flout the conventions of Latin poetry, and so it is absent from Hortus; its presence in 'The Garden' casts a curiously different light on the last stanza of that poem, where the implication that 'the skilful Gardener' is God is very strong. In Hortus no such interpretation is called for, since the opifex Horti appears immediately after the procession of gods headed by Jupiter; the seriousness of a single God or idea of God is inappropriate to the poem. Hortus remains largely Ovidian, while 'The Garden' is Platonic or neo-Platonic.

Two further points may be made in support of my contention that nothing is missing from Hortus. First, stanza VI of 'The Garden' may owe something to 1.13 of Hortus (Erranti, lasso, & vitae melioris anhelo). The poet in Hortus pants for a better life; in 'The Garden' the mind does actually succeed in discovering - or imagining - some kind of more perfect state. Further, the unusual word anhelo may conceivably have suggested the extraordinary use of the similar-sounding 'Annihilating' in 1.48 of the English poem. Second, when the Hortus poet is rejecting the activities of Circus and Forum in 11.16-19, he finds in the 'sanctuaries of spring' not just the horrores muti we have already discussed, but also the paradoxical Consortia sola, 'solitary fellowship'. This may have been the germ of the paradox in 11.15-16 of 'The Garden' ('Society is all but rude/To this delicious Solitude') but it may also have helped to
suggest the idea in stanza VIII of the felicity of being alone in a garden.

The relationship of Ros to 'On a Drop of Dew' is also interesting. In this case the Latin and the English versions do not differ significantly in length (Ros has four extra lines). In general the English version is more contracted and abstract than the Latin, which has very much more sensuous detail in its handling of the subject, and personifies the drop of dew and the flower on to which it falls.

So, the opening passage of Ros gives a character to the roses, and Marvell is also perhaps exploiting the assonance between ros, roris and rosae to suggest the eager welcome of the flowers and their apparent kinship with the new arrival:

Cernis ut Eoi descendat Gemmula Roris,  
Inque Rosas roseo transfluat orta sinu...  
Sollicita Flores stant ambitione supini,  
Et certant foliis pellicuisse suis.  
(ll.1-4)

The subject of the poem, of course, is the real absence of such a kinship between the dewdrop-spirit and the rose-world. Everywhere in the first half of the Latin poem, the flowers are made richly alive; in 1.3 of the English version, the roses are merely 'blowing'. Likewise, the 'Mansion new' becomes limina picta hospitii novi; the 'clear Region' and the 'little Globes extent' each acquire more particularity and the dewdrop's shrinking away from earthly contact is rendered in strikingly anthropomorphic terms:

En ut odoratum spernat generosior Ostrum,  
Vixque premat casto mollia strata pede.  
(ll.9-10)
Just as the dewdrop is given a foot, so too the flower turns into a rosy cheek. The English version of the passage is

Scarce touching where it lies,
But gazing back upon the Skies,
Shines with a mournful Light;
Like its own Tear,
Because so long divided from the Sphear,
(11.10-14)

and the Latin

Inde et languenti lumine pendet amans,
Tristis, & in liquidum mutatae dolore dolorem,
Marcet, uti roseis Lachryma fusa Genis.
(11.12-14)

All these details of specification culminate in the vivid and explicitly sexual simile of Ros 11.17-20, the most striking of the divergences from the English poem:

Qualis inexpertam subeat formido Puellam,
Sicubi nocte redit incomitata domum,
Sic & in horridulas agitatur Gutta procellas,
Dum prae virgineo cuncta pudore timet.

All we have in English of this is the bare

Trembling lest it grow impure.
(1.16)

The counterpart of 'the warm Sun' in Ros is the startling sol genitale; the dewdrop is feminine (gemmula), the sun masculine. All such direct sexual reference is banished from the English poem. Once again, the Latin version partakes of a quasi-mythical perspective: the idea of the sun engendering the atmosphere, and of the wooing
roses.

In the second half of the poem, the soul is presented in Ros as a personality, with a nostalgic memory of social as well as of contemplative felicity. The 'sweat leaves and blossoms green' of the flower-host become, by a very striking alteration, wine goblets and banqueting couches. The featureless pure white heaven of the English poem contains, in the Latin, the memory of feasts - a rather pagan presentation of the ideal state. A little later, what in 'On a Drop of Dew' is rejected merely as 'the World' becomes the very expressive nostalgic

...Tyria veste, vapore Sabae.

(1.28)

Correspondingly, the 'greater Heaven' and 'above' of the English version are convexa magnorumque deorum and superi in Ros. Finally, the 'Almighty Sun' at the end is made plural:

Stilla gelata solo, sed Solibus hausta benignis.

(1.45)

All these divergences of language and treatment combine to make Ros a poem whose atmosphere is quite different from that of 'Upon a Drop of Dew'. Encountered alone in an anthology, Ros might not even strike the reader as a religious poem, whereas its English version is very definitely concerned with the relationship of the human and the divine. One should, I think, note that at the point of transition in Ros from the first to the second term of the comparison

(Talis, in humano si possit flore videri, Exul ubi longas Mens agit usque moras;)

(11.23-4)
the equivalent Marvell finds for the drop of dew is the word *mens* and not *animus* (a perfectly acceptable Latin word). Whichever was the order of composition of the two poems, Marvell obviously considered that the 'Soul' was primarily concerned with the reason - the defining activity of the mind.\(^{28}\) The dewdrop may thus be said to have an Idea of heaven as a state of perfection.

The quatrain on Magdalen corresponds to stanza VIII of 'Eyes and Tears' and, like it, recalls Crashaw and the Jesuit epigrammatists who had earlier attempted to use the highly fashionable epigram form for sacred subjects.\(^{29}\) But, very much as in the two other cases I have been discussing, the subject is treated more concretely and with greater sensuous detail in the Latin version. Where the English quatrain has

\[
\text{So Magdalen, in Tears more wise} \\
\text{Dissolv'd those captivating Eyes,} \\
(11.29-30)
\]

the Latin expands the phrase 'captivating Eyes' into a little scene in which she dismisses her ardent sensual lovers, and her eyes, burning with passion, are said to melt in pure tears instead:

\[
\text{Magdala, lascivos sic quum dimisit Amantes,} \\
\text{Fervidaque in castas lumina solvit aquas...} \\
(11.1-2)
\]

The adjectives *lascivos*, *fervida*, and *castas* are all additions to the English version of the idea.

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\(^{28}\) See Chapter 6 below for a discussion of Marvell and neo-Platonism.

Epigramma in Duos Montes, which though not a version, belongs to the group of poems about Fairfax and his surroundings, is interesting when read with 'Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow', with which it has obvious connections of subject-matter. The device of describing a landscape so that it illustrates human qualities is basic to both poems, and each is a compliment to Fairfax. But the English poem is much fuller, and is also a more subtle example of *paysage moralisé*. The mythological allusions have once again disappeared, or moved far into the background, in the English poem. Atlas, Hercules, Pelion on Ossa, nymphs dancing on the summit of Pindus, all appear in *Epigramma in Duos Montes*, but in 'Bill-borow' the classical allusions are far more subtle, consistent with the very different effect of the poem as a whole. They have shrunk into the abstract and become merely suggestions, a certain use of words and phrases. So 11.35-6:

No hostile hand durst ere invade
With impious steel the sacred Shade,

and 11.73-4:-

'Tis true, ye Trees nor ever spoke
more certain Oracles in Oak.

Here the resonance of familiar classical language and episode is barely present, but lends its force to the poem.

The Latin poem consists of a series of parallel, or antithetical, statements which lasts for the first fourteen lines. Almscliff is

Erectus, praeceps, salebrosus, & arduus

(1.13)
and Bilbrough

Acclivis, placidus, mollis, amoenus,
     (l.14)

Just as both are joined under Fairfax's domain,
so within the man clemency and strength are united,
so that he is

asper in adversos, facilis cedentibus idem.
     (l.19)

The poem ends with an elegant little compliment
to Fairfax's daughter, which turns the twin
mountains from the pillars of Hercules into
Parnassus in her honour. It is graceful enough,
but remains a neat, more or less predictable and
typical complimentary epigram. 'Upon the Hill
and Grove at Bill-borow' is also a complimentary
poem, but it is a much deeper and more satisfactory
exploration of a theme which is made less abstract
by its direct application to the facts of
Fairfax's retirement. The second stanza uses
some of the material of the Latin poem:

Here learn ye mountains more unjust,
Which to abrupter greatness thrust,
That do with your hook-shoulder'd height
The Earth deform and Heaven fright,
For whose excrescence ill design'd,
Nature must a new Center find,
Learn here those humble steps to tread,
Which to securer Glory lead.
     (I.11-16)

But the simple antithesis (between the two hills,
in the Latin poem, and here between the possible
kinds of hills), is only a part of the argument.
Instead of the relatively brief, almost entirely
metaphorical reference to Fairfax's character in
the Latin epigram (ll.17-20), in 'Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow' the act of retirement, with its motives and its real nature, is present throughout the poem, each feature adding to the total picture. The resolution of the poem in the last stanza deals with more than a merely abstract balance of good qualities. As a meditation on position and power and their effect on the individual character it reaches towards the 'Horatian Ode'. Beside it, the Latin poem is merely schematic, a decorous flourish on a conventional theme.

The principal function now of Marvell's Latin poems must be to throw light, directly and indirectly, on his main poetic achievement. Sometimes they handle or touch on ideas which are used more fully, and form an important part of the scheme, in the English poems. *Inscribenda Luparae*, for example, echoes the opening section of *Upon Appleton House*, in that it is concerned with a man's relationship to what he builds; and both passages make their point, about Fairfax and Louis respectively, by description of the house in question. Louis' grandeur and that of the palace Fairfax's generosity and humility, are imaged in their dwellings. The fourth and fifth distichs of *Inscribenda Luparae* are especially reminiscent of *Upon Appleton House*:

\[
\text{Altria miraris, summ\textsubscript{o}tumque Aethera tecto:} \\
\text{Nec tamen in toto est arctior Orbe Casa.}
\]

and:

\[
\text{Instituente domum Ludovico, prodiit Orbis;} \\
\text{Sic tamen angustos incolit ille Lares.}
\]
The same kind of symbolic thought informs the two passages, and also lies behind Epigramma in Duos Montes. The buildings and the landscape are not presented merely as themselves, but reflect and signify human qualities, and have more in common with a moral exemplum - the character of the good man, justly great - than with any sense of pathetic affinity between man and nature. In this Marvell is still nearer to Spenser, the emblem-books and Bunyan than to any later view of nature, either Augustan or Romantic. Nature is 'the book of God', and within that framework man can dominate and order it. He makes plants and flowers follow his patterns in Upon Appleton House, and the hills and groves of Almscliff and Bilbrough are decidedly under his domain: Louis pushes up the sky with the roof of his palace (Inscribenda Luparae, 1.7). Man exists more in the divine mode of being, and less in the animal. The ideal is not only possible, but more readily apprehended, if anything, than the actual. The accidental of life on earth merely reflect that ideal. The garden-ecstasy, or communion with nature in its various forms, seems to me to be squarely spiritual and contemplative; I cannot see any ecological sentiments, and to compare Marvell's accuracy of observation with, for example, Keats', is, I think, an equal distraction from the essential meaning of his poems. The wooing of the poet by the fruits in the fifth stanza of 'The Garden' is so that he may rise from the earth and prepare for 'longer flight'; it is not an end in itself, but merely preparatory to the real, the principal joys: the soul's communion

30. As, for example, Douglas Friedman does in his analysis of 'Little T.C.' and the other garden poems in his Marvell's Pastoral Art, 1970. See especially pp.178-9.
with its maker, whose 'various light' it reflects, joyfully, as the garden does man's power. The business of the artefact is to reflect the opifex (Hortus, 1.49), and his magnificence.

Another idea which is touched on in a Latin poem and reappears elsewhere in many forms is that of the 'speaking picture', a Renaissance elaboration of the straightforward Horatian ut pictura poesis. The snatch of de Brebeuf's translation of Lucan's Pharsalia, (Book III 11.220-1), retranslated by Marvell, is an indication of his interest in the theory of pictorial art. As McQueen and Rockwell point out,\(^{31}\) both Brebeuf's and Marvell's lines give far more attention to the matter than Lucan's simple

Phoenices primi, famae si creditur ausi
mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

Marvell also wrote in the genre of advice-to-a-painter, whose point of departure is the contemporary fascination with such matters; and such poems as 'The Gallery' and 'The Unfortunate Lover' have obvious connections with visual traditions. The latter poem seems to demand consideration in the light of the emblem tradition, if we are to understand its mode adequately.\(^{32}\) And the concern with visual patterning is one of the elements which give Upon Appleton House its characteristic flavour.

Marvell's handling of the themes, metaphors and conventions of classical literature is not always ironic, or conspicuously witty (though it can be so, as for example in 'Upon an Eunuch: A

\(^{31}\) Op. cit., Introduction, p.44.
\(^{32}\) See the discussion in R. Colie, op. cit.
Poet'). We have seen how in 'The Garden' the Ovidian wit and the mythological procession are compressed so as to function as part of the poem's final synthesis of means; so also in the 'Horatian Ode' the echoes, near-allusions and language borrowed from Lucan and Horace are taken into Marvell's own structure. Marvell uses the vocabulary (ideas, images and techniques) of classical literature as a kind of shorthand in his English works. 'Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow' partakes of the method of *Epigramma in Duos Montes* - the traditional epigrammatic device of antithesis - and uses certain of the expressive resources of classical language to make a new, separate poem about Cromwell's general. The Latin poetry affords invaluable evidence about Marvell's poetic method, revealing his mind at work on the process of assimilating that body of literature which most heavily influenced it. The clarity and peculiar resonance of his English poems is, it emerges, in large part a distillation of the essence of a topic, convention or traditional metaphor. In his Latin poems we can often see an intermediate stage in that process of distillation, begun no doubt as a scholastic habit in early youth.
Chapter Three

To His Coy Mistress

'To His Coy Mistress' is a carpe diem poem; in this chapter I shall attempt to describe the peculiar features of the poetic tradition to which it belongs. I shall argue that carpe diem poetry is not love poetry, and must be carefully distinguished from it, both in terms of the thematic content of the carpe diem tradition, and of the history of its uses in European poetry. I am unconvinced by recent allegorical and radically ironic interpretations of Marvell's poem, and I believe that a less extravagantly speculative and more painstakingly historical approach to the placing of the poem within its tradition can reveal the unsatisfactoriness of these readings. Marvell's poem is certainly an outstandingly fresh and intense example of the use of the motif; I propose to argue that it is carpe diem and not something else in disguise. I do not see why we should stop calling Hamlet a revenge tragedy, or Ulysses a novel, because these works are especially fine in their genres; neither does the universally agreed force of 'To His Coy Mistress' alter its convention. Critics who try to turn it into a great love poem (the most sensible of current misleading interpretations) or a religious allegory (the most bizarre) are, I feel, giving an

airing to their unconscious prejudices against the carpe diem idea, rather than attending carefully to the poem. Does this desire to see 'symbols where none intended', in Beckett's phrase, here mask something so astonishingly crude and irrelevant, critically speaking, as moral disapproval?

My argument is a complex one and it may be useful to begin with a summary of its main points. In European poetry the carpe diem topic is unofficial, a rejected alternative. Its argument is presented in Tasso and Spenser as intrinsically evil, and love poetry in all periods excludes it, Propertius as completely as Donne. But the carpe diem idea does find expression in a minority tradition, that of the Greek epigram, which is indeed an influence on Marvell. It needs to be distinguished both from the carpe florem, which is present in Herrick and some medieval lyric, and is current especially in the sixteenth-century sonnet, and from Anacreontic poetry - the praise of drinking and conviviality which is the characteristic tone of Horace's 'persuasions to enjoy'. More broadly, the carpe diem should be treated quite separately from the memento mori, and indeed it may be antithetical to it. Carpe diem expresses an essentially sceptical turn of mind, while the Christian memento mori depends upon an intensely felt disgust with the flesh, and the fear which is characteristic of it is hysterical in tone, quite different from the cool reminder of mortality which is the first step in the carpe diem argument. Further, the image of Time in Marvell's poem has, I shall argue, a greater resemblance to that found in a large number of classical texts than to the retributive skeleton representing Time-and-Death which we find in the emblem books and in later medieval depictions. The idea of personified
Time in ancient, especially Greek, literature expresses a whole cast of mind, a certain sober pessimism with which carpe diem is perfectly compatible and for which it is a congenial expression of sensuous and emotional needs. A formal version of this outlook is to be found in Epicureanism, and though Marvell's poem is not formally Epicurean, nevertheless it does appear to have been influenced in two ways by the Lucretian formulation of Epicurean ideas: the metaphors in the last paragraph bear strong traces of Lucretius' account of the physical universe, and also of his attitude to sexual morality.

In the classic case of Renaissance carpe diem, with which I shall begin, moral rejection is clearly evident: this song from Spenser's Faerie Queene (II, xii, 74 and 75):²

Ah see, who so faire thing doest faine to see,
In springing flowre the image of thy day;
Ah see the Virgin Rose, how sweetly shee
Doth first peeppe forth with bashfull modestee,
That fairer seeme, the lesse ye see her may;
Lo see soone after, how more bold and free
Her bared bosome she doth broad display;
Loo see soone after, how she fades, and falles away.

So passeth, in the passing of a day,
Of mortall life the leafe, the bud, the flowre,
Ne more doth flourish after first decay,
That earst was sought to decke both bed and bowre,
Of many a Ladie, and many a Paramoure:
Gather therefore the Rose, whilst yet is prime,
For soone comes age, that will her pride deflowre:
Gather the Rose of love, whilst yet is time,
Whilst loving thou mayst loved be with equall crime.

The context of this passage deserves some notice. The song is sung by an attendant of Acrasia, the enchantress at the centre of the 'boure of blis'. The episode is part of the Legend of Temperance, whose hero, Guyon, accompanied by his guide the Palmer, comes on a beautiful garden embellished with all kinds of art, full of flowers and fruit, streams and music, and with seductive nymphs playing naked in a fountain. At the centre of this sensuous paradise lies Acrasia, dressed

All in a vele of silke and silver thin,
That hid no whit her alablaster skin
(II.xii.77)

In the scheme of the poem Acrasia symbolizes sensual love, which is a destructive force. Those who succumb to her charms are turned into beasts:-

Then Guyon askt, what meant those beastes, which there did ly.

Said he, these seeming beastes are men indeed,
Whom this Enchauntresse hath transformed thus,
Whylome her lovers, which her lusts did feed,
Now turned into figures hideous,
According to their mindes like monstrous.
Sad end (quoth he) of life intemperate,
And mournfull meed of joyes delicious:

...See the mind of beastly man,
That hath so soon forgot the excellence
Of his creation, when he life began,
That now he chooseth, with vile difference,
To be a beast, and lacke intelligence...

3. Faerie Queene, II.xi.84, 1.9; 85, 11.1-7, 87 complete. This is, of course, a moralized adaptation of the Circe episode in the Odyssey.
The rose-passage in Spenser derives from Tasso and is really close enough to be a translation:

'Deh mira' egli canto 'spuntar la rosa
dal verde suo modesta e verginella,
che mezzo aperta ancora e mezzo ascossa,
quanto si mostra men, tanto e più bella.
Ecco poi nudo il sen gia baldanzosa
dispega; ecco poi langue e non par quella,
quella non par che desiata inanti
fu da mille donzelle e mille amanti.

Così trapassa al trapassar d'un giorno
de la vita mortale il fiore e 'l verde;
ne perche faccia indietro april ritorno,
si rinfiora ella mai, ne si rinverde.
Cogliam la rosa in su 'l mattino adorno
di questo di, che tosto il seren perde;
cogliam d'amor la rosa: amiamo or quando '4
esser si puote riamato amando'.

It is significant that when Tasso and Spenser wished to represent most powerfully the temptations of the sensual life, they should have placed a carpe diem argument at the climax of their description.

There are three points I want to make in considering their use of the motif. First, the exhortation to gather the rose is highly generalized. Rhetorically it is not so much a persuasion as a manifesto. In neither poet is it addressed by lover to lady, or lady to lover. In Spenser the speaker is an ancillary character ('some one') to Acrasia, and in Tasso it is 'a wondrous bird' who is soloist of a choir of others. Second, each of these speakers is an 'unreliable narrator', and speaks out of a milieu disparaged by the poet. In Spenser the pleasance is subsequently torn down by the hero as part of his mission (II. xii. 73):

But all those pleasant bowres and Pallace brave, 
Guyon broke downe, with rigour pittilesse; 
Ne ought their goodly workmanship might save 
Them from the tempest of his wrathfulness, 
But that their blisse I turn'd to balefulnesse; 
Their groves he feld, their gardins did deface, 
Their arbers spoyle, their Cabinets suppresse, 
Their banket houses burne, their buildings race, 
And of the f rest late, now made the fowlest place.

There has never been any real danger that the true Christian knight might succumb to temptation.

This leads me to my third point about the rose-song in the garden of pleasure. Within the Christian (and freshly Platonized) moral idealism of the sixteenth-century romantic epic, there is simply no room for an advocacy of physical passion by a trustworthy character.5 The carpe diem exhortation has always been anti-idealist and consequently rejected by both Christian and Platonic ethics. Indeed the image of the plucked rose invoked by Tasso and Spenser stands for the virgin spoiled by seduction, deflowered in both senses - as also in this passage6 from the Orlando Furioso:—

La verginella e simile alla rosa, 
ch'in bel giardin su la nativa spina 
mentre sola e sicura si riposa, 
ne gregge ne pastor se le avicina; 
l'aura soave e l'alba rugiadosa, 
l'acqua, la terra al suo favor s'inchina: 
gioveni vaghi e donne inamorate 
amano averse e seni e tempie ornate.

5. Except in the context of marriage, as in Faerie Queene III, where, however, Britomart loves chastely.
Ma non si tosto dal materno stelo
rimossa viene e dal ceppo verde,
che quanto avea dagli uomini e dal cielo
favor, grazia e bellezza, tutto perde.
La vergine che 'l fior, di che piu zelo
che de' begli occhi e de la vita aver de'
lascia altrui corre, il pregio ch'avea inanti
perde nel cor di tutti gli altri amanti.

Tasso's handling of the garden and its enchantress
is considerably less stern than Spenser's, and
also less schematic: his Armida assumes the
character of a loving and forsaken woman, and there
is a poignant and tender character to their final
meeting, though Armida is treated sympathetically
only after being converted from the practice of
her spells and charms. But even though Tasso's
treatment of sexual love in the Rinaldo-Armida
story is more sympathetic in attitude, and more
fully imagined, than Spenser's equivalent,
nevertheless he can only locate a natural paradise

7. The original rose from which these and other
Renaissance examples of this precise topic sprang
was Ausonius' fourth-century (A.D.) garden-poem
De rosis nascentibus, in which the image is deployed
to a very positive purpose, and the poem is free
of any warning or moralizing undertow. I shall
later be making a distinction between carpe florem
and carpe diem, and so I shall keep some further
comments on this rose-image till then.

8. This greater harshness in Spenser is attributed
by C.M. Bowra to Spenser's Puritanism, perhaps
rather hastily: 'Spenser of course wrote for
an England touched by a Puritanism which felt
that sexual irregularity was a grave sin and
almost past forgiveness...The Catholic, especially
under the Counter-Reformation, felt that sins of
the flesh were less grave than those of the
spirit...The Protestant, with his horror of the
flesh, felt that its sins were worse than those
of the spirit, which can be corrected by
instruction...' From Virgil to Milton, 1945, p.88.
in a mythical framework, west of the pillars of Hercules, in the traditional territory of dream and mystical journeys. The flourishing of pleasure and the freedom of the instincts may only be imagined at the safe distance of a romance-narrative within the romance-narrative.

Seventeenth-century versions of the carpe diem topic, by contrast, have an individual speaker in a lyric mode, and the plea is not, as here, framed by the insistence on its rejection. In the sixteenth century, Marlowe's famous lyric in the related genre of the pastoral invitation, 'Come live with me and be my love' was very quickly countered by Ralegh's reply in heavily moralistic terms, employing the rhetoric of the Christian mutability topic:

Time driues the flocks from field to fold,  
When Riuers rage, and rocks grow cold,  
And Philomell becommeth dombe,  
The rest complaine of cares to come

The flowers doe fade, and wanton fieldes,  
To wayward winter reckoning yeeldes,  
A honny tongue, a hart of gall,  
Is fancies spring, but sorrowes fall...  

But in Carew's A Rapture, for example, 'Loves Elizium' constitutes a metaphor rather than a myth, and is invoked as a component part of the rhetoric of persuasion which is the motive force of the poem. The rapid series of metaphorical transformations undergone by the lover-speaker undermines the solidity of the paradise landscape just described, as do the changes of scale and the mythological comparison; the lover envisages himself as a bee, sucking honey from the fruits and

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flowers which just here represent Celia (11.55 ff.); earlier (11.21-22) both have been winged creatures; later he seems a mountain-climber (11.71 ff.), and then the ocean. (1.82). This continually dissolving setting gives the speaker an extreme importance as the one individual constant, dominating the 'world' of the poem.

Yet though by Carew's period the carpe diem has become capable of such self-confident articulation by the speaker of the poem himself, the ideas in Carew's poem are still, in mid-seventeenth-century, a conscious challenge to the moral orthodoxy of literary texts.11 The carpe diem argument is by definition unofficial, an anti-topic in the repertory of poetic wooing. The Petrarchan ideal of chastity still prevails officially. What then is the relation of our motif to love poetry proper, 'serious' love poetry?

The finest love poets are also thorough analysts of the pressure of time upon the object of their desire and upon their own pursuit of it, a time-bound quest. Donne, for example, is constantly asserting lovers' freedom from time:

Love, all alike, no season knowes, nor clyme,
Nor houres, dayes, months, which are the rags
of time.

('The Sunne Rising') 12

There is an example of half of the carpe diem topic being used by Donne, when in 'The Will' we find

11. It should, all the same, be carefully noticed that the tone and language of A Rapture are without the robust, breezy character of the deliberately 'anti-Platonick' poems popular in the period. See n.26 below for further discussion of these.
Then all your beauties will be no more worth
Than gold in Mines, where none doth draw it forth;
And all your graces no more use shall have
Then a Sun dally in a grave...
   (ll. 48-51)

Here the prophecy of the rotting away of female beauty functions as the culminating indictment of a world where in turn all the human physical faculties and moral and intellectual qualities are 'given away' by the embittered speaker. This is surely a poem in an English medieval moralizing tradition (some examples of which I shall discuss below) and it is the other side of the coin of Donne's habitual celebration and glorification of romantic love. The tenor of this reminder of morality is moral-satiric, not at all a persuasion to enjoy. In 'The Anniversarie', on the other hand, when the speaker asserts

   All other things to their destruction draw,
   Only our love hath no decay;
   This, no tomorrow hath, nor yesterday,
   Running, it never runs from us away,
   But truly keepes his first, last, everlasting day.

Donne is, as in his love poems generally, substituting another personal idealism for the official version: to the certainty of aging and decay he is opposing, not the idea of the Christian immortality of the good man, but a sort of private certainty analogous to the religious one and based upon the mutual faith of the lovers. This is the 'gentle knight' in another guise, not at all, as we shall see, akin to the isolated, sceptical voice of the carpe diem poet. When Donne makes his speaker say 'Running, it never runs from us away,/ But truly keepes his first, last, everlasting day'
he is making an expansive gesture of confident control over the circumstances of life, a control made possible by steadfast belief. The similar, perhaps even more absolute, reliance on the individual's values and powers to defeat time which we find in Shakespeare's sonnets needs no discussion here.\textsuperscript{13}

The case for the clear distinction between love poetry proper and poetry using the \textit{carpe diem} motif\textsuperscript{14} may be best made of all, I feel, by reference to Propertius. This is of course, partly because - unlike the Renaissance poets I have been discussing - he was writing without the benefit of the whole network of Christianized Neo-Platonic theories of love, human and divine - \textit{eros} and \textit{agape} - and also in innocence of the systematic sublimation of sexual desire which European poetry was to inherit from the middle ages. Propertius was partaking of the literary tradition of the Greek epigram (as Marvell was), but though his poetry very often considers death in relation to love, its treatment of that theme shows a striking difference in tone and atmosphere from that typical of the epigram.\textsuperscript{15} In his II.15, for example, the

\textsuperscript{13} The subject is dealt with in J.B.Leishman's \textit{Themes and Variations in Shakespeare's Sonnets}, 1961, Ch.II, pp.95-119.

\textsuperscript{14} Even sensitive critics like S.L.Goldberg (in John Carey's \textit{Penguin Critical Anthology on Marvell}, 1969) assert that"To His Coy Mistress" is a great love-poem even though at first sight it may seem to use love as little more than an occasion' (p.169).

\textsuperscript{15} See A.K.Michels, 'Death and Two Poets', in \textit{Transactions of the American Philological Association}, Vol.LXXXVI, 1955, pp.160-179; 'the thought of death is...especially related to his thoughts of love... He accepts it as a simple physical fact, the end of all the sensuous beauty that meant so much to him, but not of his own personality, which he could not imagine ceasing to exist...' (p.178-9).
poet looks back upon a night spent in loving,
then the poem continues like this:

dum nos fata sinunt, oculos satiemus amore:
nox tibi longa venit, nec reeditur dies.
atque utinam haerentes sic nos vincire catena
velles, ut numquam solveret ulla dies!
exemplo vincit tibi sint in amore columbae,
masculus et totum femina coniugium.
errat, qui finem vesani quaerit amoris:
verum amor nullum novit habere modum.

Terra prius falso partu deludet arantes,
et citius nigros Sol agitabit equos,
fluminaque ad caput incipient revocare liquores,
arisus et sicco gurgite piscis erit,
quam possim nostros alio transferre dolores:
huius ero vivus, mortuus huius ero.
quod mihi si tecum tales concedere noctes
illa velit, vitae longus et annus erit.
si debit haec multas, fiam immortalis in illis:
octe una quivis vel deus esse potest...
tu modo, dum licet, fructum ne desere vitae!
omnia si dederis oscula, paucar dabis.
ac veluti folia areentes liquere corollas,
que passim calathis strata natare vides,
sic nobis, qui nunc magnus speramus amantes,
forsitan includet crastina fata dies.

Poem 19 in Book I is a reflection on death:—

Non ego nunc tristes vereor; mea Cynthia, Manes,
nec moror extrema debita fata rogo;
se ne forte tuo careat mihi funus amore,
hic timor est ipsi durior exsequi.
non adeo leviter noster puer haesit ocellis
ut meus oblitus pulvis amore vacet...

(11.23-40, 49-54)

The first of these passages offers a particularly
useful comparison with Marvell's poem, since each
poet is describing the act of love. The differences
are significant. Both use the image of a pair of
birds for the lovers, but Propertius' are doves,
Marvell's 'birds of prey'. More generally,
Propertius projects the defeat of time and death
by personal fidelity; there is no such promise in
Marvell. Even though for Propertius there is of
course no question of physical immortality, yet
the lover in the poems makes assertions of
permanence and personal allegiance which are akin
to the intense expression of individual loyalty
and mutual inspiration in Donne. There is a
strong emphasis on the uniqueness of Cynthia,16
and it is her individuality which is elevated to
the status of an absolute with which to oppose
those other absolutes, time and death.

'Not with such light touch has Love cleaved to
mine eyes' says the lover 'that my dust should
forget thee and lie loveless'; and he makes a list
of adynata, impossible events which would have to
come about before he will be able 'to transfer to
another' his love. Thus, some kind of informal
spirit of love is metaphorically said to overcome
even death, and all possibility of change. With
that balance of intensely felt opposites which
is one of the characteristics of great poetry,
Propertius in these elegies holds together the
despair of the death sentence (ll.15, 11 51-54) and
the certainty of some kind of moral permanence.17

16. Margaret Hubbard in her Proertius, 1974,
comments on the 'intense expression of the awareness
of another person's identity' and the 'otherness
of lover and beloved' which distinguish Propertius'
work, and Roman elegy in general, from Greek epigram
and Greek lyric alike, in which 'nowhere is the
personality and character of the beloved of
importance'. (pp.20-22)

17. This achievement may be compared with Spenser's,
in a very different mode, in the Garden of Adonis
episode, Faerie Queene Bk.III, Canto vi. There Time
is not excluded from the true paradise of the poem,
but grieved over by Venus, who stands for the true,
as Acrasia for the false, love; the principle of
perpetual fertility and re-creation balances the
depredations of Time, but does not arrest them.
Contrast the 'boure of blis' inhabitants, who deceive
themselves and their victims by attempting the defeat
of Time. The carpe diem lyric is typically a refusal
of the synthetic impulse, an insistence on the
analytic one.
The emphasis on achieved, not merely projected, joys; the reaching towards metaphorical immortalization, and the startlingly fresh insistence on the personality of the beloved and the lover alike, are all alien to the spirit of carpe diem poetry. This is love poetry: its subjective focus and the scope and subtlety of its exploration of affective experience were new elements in Western literature.

With his predecessor Catullus and his successor Tibullus, Propertius was engaged in so altering the traditions he inherited as to invent a new one, that of love poetry more or less as we understand it. Now the distinction I have been making between love poetry and carpe diem poetry is also, at least in part, the difference between the poetic range of the Alexandrian epigram, and the far greater one of Roman elegy.18

There has been a strong tendency on the part of Marvell critics since T.S. Eliot to give a nod in the direction of Catullus as the chief Latin influence on 'To His Coy Mistress'. As regards the arithmetical courtship of the first paragraph, J.B. Leishman shows quite adequately (The Art of Marvell's Poetry, 1968, pp. 73-4) that the topic

18. There is a large literature on this subject. These are the contributions to it which I have found most useful: Quinn, K., The Catullan Revolution, Melbourne, 1959 (pp. 24-5, 40-41, 50); Wheeler, A., Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Love-Poetry, 1964 (pp. 179-80); Luck, G., The Latin Love Elegy, 1969 (pp. 21 ff.); Couat, A., Alexandrian Poetry, tr. J. Loeb, 1921; Bayet, J., ed. L'Epigramme grecque: sept exposés, Foundation Hardt, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, tome IV, 1967; and Georg Luck's essay on the woman's role in Latin love poetry, in Karl Galinsky's Perspectives of Roman Poetry, 1974, University of Texas Press at Austin.
was so widespread as to be nearly universal in occurrence in the Renaissance, and did not even originate with Catullus. And when one sets about it, it is very difficult to discover any demonstrable specific debt to the famous passage usually cited:

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus, rumoresque sem um severiorum omnes unius aestimemus assis; soles occidere et redire possunt; nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux, nox est perpetua una dormienda. (V.1-6)

I cannot see any precise credible influence of this on Marvell's

Thus, though we cannot make our Sun Stand still, yet we will make him run.

Altogether, I am inclined to agree with J.B. Emperor (author of The Catullian Influence in English Lyric Poetry) when he says that 'though Marvell may have on occasion some of the spirit of Catullus, the traces of any direct Catullian influence in his poems are slight, and, frankly, uncertain.'

The Greek erotic epigrams which are preserved in the Greek Anthology formed the material on which a different language and sensibility worked, in the first century B.C., to produce Roman elegy, a more introspective, idealizing and personal poetry. In its turn the new form almost certainly had a strong influence on the emergence of Renaissance love poetry at the hands of Petrarch and his successors. But the carpe diem tradition remains more a product of the influence of epigram than of elegy. It seems deliberately to avoid both the

triumphantly individualistic and sustained exploration of passion achieved in Propertius and Tibullus, and the gentler tenderness of feeling of Catullus' work.

The influence of the Greek Anthology on Western literature has not been sufficiently attended to, though there are two very useful studies by James Hutton of this aspect of Italian and French literature. Hutton remarks that 'the Greek epigram is Greek poetry throughout a long period', and the epigram tradition continued to flourish long after some of its elements had been subsumed into the work of, and transformed by, the Neoterics. (The latest of the layers which make up the Anthology was assembled in the sixth century A.D., and from the point of view of influence on other kinds of literature this is a terminus a quo, not ad quem.)

I shall later discuss the possible general influence on Marvell's mind, of the sceptical tone which informs large groups of the poems in the Anthology, especially the sepulchral epigrams, and which is also a strong element in Greek lyric. But there is also a specific source in one of the amatory epigrams for part of Marvell's poem:

Thou grudgest thy maidenhead? What avails it? When thou goest to Hades thou shalt find none to love thee there. The joys of love are in the land of the living, but in Acheron, dear virgin, we shall lie dust and ashes.

(V.85)

This small but perfect poem was imitated by other poets in the Renaissance, but never more fruitfully borrowed and reworked than by Marvell. There are two versions by Ronsard - an eight-line translation in the Sixiesme Livre of his 1569 Poems, and a sonnet in the Septiesme livre - both conspicuously lacking in the poise and force of the original. In the case of the sonnet, at least, this is because Ronsard tries to make romantic Petrarchan idealism and courtly compliment mix with the cool, wry scepticism of the original:

Douce beauté, meurdrière de ma vie,
En lieu de coeur tu portes un rocher;
Tu me fais vif languir et desecher,
Passionné d'une amoureuse envie.
Le jeune sang qui d'aimer te convie,
N'a peu de toy la froideur arracher,
Farouche fière, et qui n'a rien plus cher,
que languir froide, et n'estre point servie...

The lover's extreme sufferings, the self-abasing names with which he addresses the lady ('douce beauté', 'farouche fière') are sonnet-language, and therefore the sentiment they carry with them into the poem changes it. In 'To His Coy Mistress', the lover's conventional gestures of humble adoration are considered and dismissed in the first paragraph of the poem. Hutton's comment about the Ronsard, that 'if the sonnet is carefully examined, it will be seen to contain nothing that is not an amplification of the original' (The Greek Anthology, p.362) is, I think, a failure of insight into the involuntary effects of translation. The Neo-Latin poet Johannes Secundus' imitation (Elegia 1.v24)

also significantly, though differently, alters the tone of the epigram. In his version Secundus makes it partake of the assured tenderness and certainty of requited love which are the keynotes of his whole collection.

The epigram was written by the third-century (B.C.) poet Asclepiades, a number of whose epigrams are collected in the Anthology. The context suggested by this poem is not a profound individual commitment, or an offer of shared experience over a foreseeable future. Its attitude is far from conforming to the ethos of love poetry; the speaker makes no promises (whether of protection, security, or transcendent bliss) and offers no praise. He only points out the fact of mortality, which is seen to await both himself and his interlocutor, the girl. In Leishman's own version of the poem (in The Art of Marvell's Poetry, p.75), this important point is blurred by the translation of the last line:

Hoarding your maidenhood - and why? For not when to Hades You've gone down shall you find, maiden, the lover you lack. Only among the alive are the joys of Cypris, and only Maiden, as bones and dust shall he in Acheron lie.

The alteration of Asclepiades' 'we' to 'he' obscures the assertion that death awaits both girl and poet; the poet is specifically including himself in the offered prospect of extinction. It is illuminating to compare this with the vindictive versions of the love-complaint and plea offered by many Elizabethan sonneteers, and in this example by Wyatt:

Perchaunce thee lye wethered and old, The wynter nyghtes that are so cold, Playnyng in vain unto the mone;
Thy wishes then dare not be told;
Care then who lyst, for I have done.

And then may chaunce the to repent
Thy tyme that thou hast lost and spent
To cause thy lovers sigh and swoone;
Then shalt thou knowe beaultie but lent,
And wisse and want as I have done...

The bitterness in this and many other Wyatt poems is that of his rejection of false idealization; the carpe diem poet also refuses to idealize his desire of the object of it, but his method of doing so is far less harsh and crude. The failure of promised exaltation turns the Petrarchan poet's wooing into a matter of threat when it is not one of abject pleading. Drayton's sonnet 'There's nothing grieves me but that age should haste' (Idea, 8) is another fine example of this.

Asclepiades, on the other hand, displays a directness, honesty and wry wit which is rare enough in the monstrous regiment of writers about this matter. He even refrains from making any plea at all, tactfully leaving the implications all to be drawn. There is a complete absence of idealization; but neither is sex presented as a casual pastime, as it characteristically is in libertine poets like Martial or Rochester, and in the strain of the 'anti-Platonick' poem which had a certain popularity during the second half of the seventeenth century. The distinction may perhaps be likened to the difference between

scepticism and cynicism. 26

Asclepiades' poem is not alone among the erotic epigrams in possessing a particular kind of detached poise, balancing the twin instincts of sexual desire and fear of death, and managing to stop short of the coarseness that sometimes disfigures the genre. Here are some other examples (all from Book V of the Anthology):

I throw the apple at thee, and thou, if thou lovest me from thy heart, take it and give me of thy maidenhead; but if thy thoughts be what I pray they are not, take it still and reflect how short-lived is beauty.

(No.79)

and the following poem:

I am an apple; one who loves thee throws me at thee.
But consent, Xanthippe; both thou and I decay.

(No.80)

These two are verging on the Anacreontic:

26. See Martial, Epigrams I.lvii, for example, or Rochester's 'Love and Life, a Song': 'If I by Miracle can be/This live-long Minute true to thee/'Tis all that heaven allows' (Poems, ed, V. de Sola Pinto, 1953), or Cleveland's 'Antiplatonick':

For Shame, thou everlasting Wooer,
Still saying Grace, and ne'er fall to her!
Love that's in Contemplation plac't,
Is Venus drawn but to the Wast...

Let us bathe, Prodike, and crown our heads, and quaff untempered wine, lifting up greater cups. Short is the season of rejoicing, and then old age come to forbid it any longer, and at the last death.  

(No. 12)

This is life, and nothing else is; life is delight; away, dull care! Brief are the years of man. Today wine is ours, and the dance, and flowery wreaths and women. Today let me live well; none knows what may be tomorrow. 

(No. 72)

The following beautiful epigram by Rufinus sounds like the kind of poem called *carpe florem*:-

I send thee this garland, Rhodoclea, that with my own hands I wove out of beautiful flowers. There are lilies and roses and dewy anemones, and tender narcissus and purple-gleaming violets. Wear it and cease to be vain. Both thou and the garland flower and fade. 

(No. 74)

But it differs significantly from the most familiar, Renaissance, version. *Carpe florem* and *carpe diem* are related, but not identical topics; the use of the flower's withering to symbolize the passage of time is not always present in *carpe diem*, and there are, I suggest, two fairly sharply differing topics going under the name of *carpe florem* itself. One of these says: 'You're like the rose; the rose has only a brief life; therefore love me while you still bloom'. The other is generalized, and is the one we have seen in Tasso and Spenser:- 'The rose has a brief life like the life of man; therefore grasp at the joys of youth'. What differentiates the second of these lines of argument is the absence of flattery of the person addressed, indeed the lack of attempt to make specific wooing gestures. Now in the Rufinus poem there is no praise of Rhodoclea either; she is being wooed
but in a reversal of the usual Renaissance argument, the poet presents the flowers to her quite openly as reminders of mortality. Translation cannot reproduce idiomatically the reinforcing parallelism of the Greek syntax:-

\[ \text{Ανθέσι καὶ λήψεις καὶ ἐὰν καὶ ὁ στέφανος} \]

Flower and fade and you and the wreath'. It is, I think, true that a careless reading may leave the impression of a compliment-poem; but extravagant cataloguing of the lady's charms and humble adulation are quite foreign to the spirit of these epigrams, and this is not a carpe florem poem in the first, though possibly it is in the second, sense. There is, by contrast, a certain covertness about this:—

Looke Delia how wee steeme the half-blowne Rose,  
The image of thy blush and Sumners honor:  
Whilst in her tender greene she doth inclose  
That pure sweet beautie Time bestowes uppon her.  
No sooner spreads her glorie in the ayre,  
But straight her ful-blowne pride is in declyning;  
She then is scornt' that late adorn'd the fayre:  
So clowds thy beautie, after fayrest shining.  
No Aprill can reuie thy withred flowers,  
Whose blooming grace adornes thy beautie now:  
Swift speedy Time, feathred with flying howers,  
Dissolues the beautie of the fairest brow.  
O let not then such riches waste in vaine;  
But loue whilst that thou maist be loued againe.

27. Samuel Daniel, Poems and a Defence of Ryme, ed. A.C. Sprague, 1930, sonnet XXXIII. See Janet G. Scott's Les sonnets elisabethains, Paris 1929, for a useful comparative account of French and English flower-sonnets. The flower-comparison is sometimes also used in the immortalization-by-verse topic, which suits it much better, being concerned with idealization and not with bringing down (sometimes literally) to earth, like the carpe diem.
The explicit equation of lady and rose is at the beginning a matter of fulsome praise - 'pure sweet beauty', 'tender green' - but no sooner is the poor girl presumed to be basking in this glory, than the trap is sprung, and the amplification of honour being offered to her turns out to have been merely bait. There is a basic dishonesty here which is, I believe, a function of the prevailing literary ethos of compliment, courtly exaggeration and abject wooing. This inescapable atmosphere turns the straightforward reminder of mortality in the Greek poem into a sinister, half-concealed undertow in the flow of adoration: The argument should really go: 'If I don't get you, time will'; such a sonnet is less gift than threat.

Marvell's older contemporary Robert Herrick succeeds, however, in avoiding this unfortunate result. Herrick's intention is more often to lament the passing of youth and beauty than to use this fleetingness as an argument for present sexual enjoyment. The wooing gestures in his poems are usually ceremonial and, generally speaking, vague. His flower-poems are pretty and sad rather than forceful, like 'A Meditation for his Mistresse':

You are a Tulip seen to day,
But (Dearest) of so short a stay;
That where you grew, scarce man can say.

You are a lovely July-flower,
Yet one rude wind, or ruffling shower,
Will force you hence, (and in an hour.)

You are a sparkling Rose i' th' bud,
Yet lost, ere that chast flesh and blood
Can shew where you or grew, or stood...

You are the Queen all flowers among,
But die you must (faire Maid) ere long,
As he, the maker of this Song.
(11.1-9 and 19-21)

With one exception he is a more effective poet of
mutability when, as in the following poem, he
returns the topic to a general level (like Spenser
and Tasso) and separates the reflection upon time
from gallant wooing:--

Faire pledges of a fruitful Tree,
   Why do yee fall so fast?
   Your date is not so past;
But you may stay yet here a while,
   To blush and gently smile;
   And so at last.

What, were yee borne to bee
   An hour's or half'd delight;
   And so to bid goodnight?
'Twas pitie Nature brought yee forth
   Merely to show your worth,
   And lose you quite.

But you are lovely Leaves, where we
May read how soon things have
Their end, though ne'er so brave;
And after they have shown their pride,
Like you a while: They glide
Into the Grave.
('To Blossoms')

The great exception is, of course, 'Corinna's
going a Maying,' which strikes the true carpe diem
note of the recognition of animal mortality and
the answering pressure to live fully now before
the extinction of desire:--

...
Come, let us goe, while we are in our prime,
And take the harmless follie of the time.
We shall grow old apace, and die
Before we know our liberty.
Our life is short; and our dayes run
As fast away as does the Sunne:
And as a vapour, or a drop of raine
Once lost, can ne'er be found againe:
So when or you or I are made
A fable, song, or fleeting shade;
All love, all liking, all delight
Lies drownd with us in endless night.
Then while time serves, and we are but decaying;
Come, my Corinna, come, let's goe a Maying.

(11.57-70)

But we should notice here that in this plea there is a seasonal reference, and the rest of the poem is full of spring foliage and green-gowns. It is a celebration of present joys, pleasures, and 'harmless follie' just as much as it is a desperate urging to grasp them while possible. This coupling together of ceremonies of enjoyment with seasonal reference expresses, in the whole body of Herrick's work, a confidence in the rhythm of things, and especially in temporal renewal, which works against the most basic assumptions of the carpe diem idea. Thus in 'The Hock-Cart' everything is gathered in and then refreshed and sent forth again. It is the ceaseless pattern which satisfies and which is the subject of the poem:—

And know, besides, ye must revoke
The patient Oxe unto the Yoke
And all goes back unto the Plough
And Harrow, (though they're hang'd up now.)
And, you must know, your Lords word's true,
Feed him ye must, whose food fills you.

29. See Deneef, L. 'This Poetick Liturgie':
Robert Herrick's Ceremonial Mode, 1974, and
Deming, R.H., Ceremony and Art, 1974.
And that this pleasure is like raine,  
Not sent ye for to drowne your paine,    
But for to make it spring againe.  

(11.47-55)

'Ceremonies for Candlemasse Eve' has an explicit statement of the satisfactoriness of a changing world:—

Green Rushes then, and sweetest Bents,  
With cooler Oaken boughs;  
Come in for comely ornaments  
To re-adorn the house.  
Thus times do shift; each thing his turne does hold;  
New things succeed, as former things grow old.  
(11.17-22)

There is an implicit sense here of resting in the hand of a divine Providence, as in most of Herrick's work, which makes the classical allusions merely decorative borrowed flourishes, on a fundamentally Christian groundwork. 'Corinna's going a Maying' has more kinship with Spenser's spring-and-love sonnet in the Amoretti, and the like-spirited Epithalamion, than with the traditional form of carpe diem:—

Fresh spring the herald of loues mighty king,  
in whose cote armour richly are displayed all sorts of flowers the which on earth do spring in goodly colours gloriously arrayd.  
Goe to my loue, where she is careless layd, yet in her winter bowre not well awake:  
tell her the ioyous time wil not be staid vnlesse she do him by the forelock take.  
Bid her therefore her selfe soon ready make, to wait on love amongst his louely crew: where every one that misseth then her make, shall be by him amearst with penance dew.  
Make hast therefore sweet loue, whilst it is prime, for none can call again the passed time.  

The 'joyous time' and the universal mating are absent from the Marvellian call to desire, just as their symbols, 'all sorts of flowers'.

The untroubled sense of oneness with season and weather which Herrick has in common with folk poetry distinguishes his work from the prevailing attitudes of seventeenth-century poetry. This same spirit is also evident in some medieval Latin secular songs, especially those known as the Carmina Burana. The love lyrics in this manuscript celebrate youth, spring or summer, and love, all together, and usually display no very sharp sense of the nip of time's teeth closing on individual lives. Presumably the prevailing understanding of time as a cyclical, half-magical process, with the visible self-renewal of the earth season by season, has to do with the absence of the apprehension of time as a threat which is felt in conspicuously rationalistic ages and places. Paradoxically, the comforting certainties of the Christian world-view in the early thirteenth century seem to sustain even such profane and startlingly secular lyrics as these:


32. An important matter, which I discuss at greater length below.
Here time's moving on seems to be claimed by the speaker as a bonus, not as a warning. Awakened desire seems, in his mind and in the structure of the poem, just such a seasonal growth as spring. So too in the following poem, where the refrain softens the temporal reminders and, aided by the pressure of the rose and the nightingale, softens down any acerbity they might have possessed:-

Tempus est iocundum
o virgines,
modo congaudete
vos iuvenes
O.o. totus floreo,
iam amore virginali
totus ardeo,
novus novus amor
est, quo pereo...

Flos est puellarum,
quam diligo,
et rosa rosarum,
quam sepe video;
O.o. totus floreo...
Tua me confortat
promissio,
tua me deportat
negatio.
  O.o. totus floreo...

Tua mecum ludit
virginitas,
tua me detrudit
simplicitas.
  O.o. totus floreo...

Sile, philomena,
pro tempore,
surge cantilena
de pectore.
  O.o. totus floreo...

Tempore brumali
vir patiens,
animo vernali
lasciviens.
  O.o. totus floreo...

We may contrast the tone of delighted anticipation here with the forced, strenuous language of the last paragraph of 'To His Coy Mistress'. The atmosphere of these poems contains a certain calm, the security of the human consciousness aware of being placed in the cosmos, protected. This is strikingly absent from Marvell's poem, where vast distances are suggested in the first two paragraphs, and the lovers seem dwarfed in a dim and chill immensity.

Two more kinds of poem remains to be considered in this attempt to clarify the outline of our motif. The first of these is Anacreontic poetry, with which it is sometimes confused or merged.³³ Anacreontic poetry generally replaces the

³³. Janet Levarie's 'Renaissance Anacreontics', Comparative Literature, XXV, 1973, pp.221-239, is a rather disappointing account of the imitations and translations of the Anacreontea in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by French and English poets which followed the first publication in 1554 of the sixty poems, by Henri Estienne (Stephanus). Ms. Levarie deliberately does not concern herself with any investigation of theme (p.222: 'rather than lose myself in these thematic oceans, I shall try to stay with a few specific tests') which is, I feel, a missed opportunity.
invitation to sexual enjoyment with invitations to drink or declarations of the speaker's own intention to spend a lifetime or a night in conviviality; sexual pleasure becomes merely one among the other satisfactions of the sensual life, and usually such poetry has considerably less intensity than carpe diem pleas.

The second kind presents a more interesting subject for investigation, since it gave the tradition its name: the so-called carpe diem poems of Horace. In fact, in Horatian versions of the topic elegance and grace replace urgency and, rather as in Anacreontic verse, convivial drinking and companionship replace or diminish the importance of sex. In Horace the occasional exhortation to the enjoyment of present pleasure is always modified by a permanently entertained ideal of moderation and Stoic wisdom. The end in view is equanimity, and it is far more fervently desired by the speaker in a Horatian lyric than any fleeting joys. Reminders of mortality are uttered in order to instil the wisdom of an equal detachment from sorrow and from joy alike:

Aequam memento rebus in arduis
servare mentem, non secus in bonis
ab insolenti temperatam
laetitia, moriture Delli,

seu maestus omni tempore vixeris,
seu te in remoto gramine per dies
festos reclinatum bearis
interiore nota Falerni...

(I.iii, 11.1-8)

Even the poem which has given a name to the tradition is completely lacking in that exact sensuous pressure which is the usual distinguishing mark of the motif:
Tu ne quaesieris - scire nefas - quem mihi, quem tibi
finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios
temptaris numeros. ut melius, quicquid erit, pati!
seu plures hiemies, seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimum,
quae nunc oppositis debilitatum pumicibus mare
Tyrhenenum, sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
spem longam reseces. dum loquimur, fugerit invida
aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.
(I.xi)

This is beautifully phrased and balanced, but so is
what it advocates. Extinction is being envisaged
quite without expressed suffering: it is really an
exercise in the attainment of spiritual calm.34
Horace's other exhortations to pleasure bear a
certain surprising resemblance to the medieval
poetry we have been looking at, and to Herrick.
This passage, for example, appears in the lovely
Vides, ut alta stet nive candidum/Soracte:--

dissolve frigus ligna super foco
large reponens atque benignius
deprome quadrimum Sabina,
o Thaliarche, merum diota.

permitte divis cetera, qui simul
stravere ventos aequore fervido
. deproeliantis, nec cupressi
 nec veteres agitantur orni.

quid sit fururum cras, fuge quaerere et
quem Fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro
appone nec dulcis amores
S puer neque tu choreas,
donec virenti canities abest
morosa. nunc et campus et areae
lenesque sub noctem susurri
composita repetantur hora,
(I.ix, 11.5-20)

34. The persona being addressed is also projected
quite differently from the Rhodocleia of Rufinus, or
the nameless Kopp addressed by Asclepiades. There
are strong overtones of a gentle if slightly patron-
izing companionship in the superb dum loquimur....
and in the mildly mocking reference to her
astrological investigations. Above all, however,
there is the absence of a wooing gesture.
This resting in the will of the gods (permitte
divis cetera) and the turning aside from the future
(quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere) amount to
an acquiescence in the way of the world. And the
remaining Odes which may be said to contain
approximations to the topic are all poems about
the arrival of spring (again, the fullness of time
and the sense of the fresh blessing brought by
the seasonal cycle):— they are the familiar
Solvitur acris hiems... (I.), Diffugere
nives... (IV.vii) and the poem (IV.xii) which ends
like this:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{verum pone moras et studium lucri} \\
\text{nigrumque memori, dum licet, ignium} \\
\text{miscet stultitiam consiliis brevem;} \\
\text{dulce est desipere in loco.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(11.25-28)

The phrases to notice here are **brevem** and **in
loco**. Holiday is short, and is to be made only
at the suitable moment.

Up to now I have been urging the generic
affinity of 'To His Coy Mistress' with Alexandrian
erotic epigram. I shall now consider some of the
matters that make Marvell's poem so different from
that of Asclepiades.

The medieval 'persuasions to enjoy' which I
have already discussed flourished on a strictly
unofficial basis. They were a kind of underground
rejoinder to the 'sombre chorus of the 'eternal
admonition to remember death' constantly being
sung, especially after the foundation of the
medicant orders in the thirteenth century.\(^{35}\)

\(^{35}\) Huizinga, Johan, The Waning of the Middle Ages,
tr. F. Hopman, 1924, Chapter II, 'The Vision of Death',
p.134.
dualist view of the soul-body relationship which
was usually held by Greek thinkers did not lead
in ancient thought to the kind of near-hysterical
disgust of the flesh and its appetites which is so
striking in medieval writing and art. As Johann
Huizinga puts it 'the medieval soul demands a more
concrete embodiment of the perishable [than wistful
remembrance and the thought of human frailty]:
that of the putrefying corpse'. These examples
of mortality-reminders, from English thirteenth-
and fifteenth-century lyrics, illustrate well the
tone of such reflections:

Wen þe turuf is þi tuur,
And þi put is þi bour,
þi wel and þi wite þrote
Suilen wormes to note.
Wat helpit þe þenne
All þe worilde wenne?37

Quhen þow art ded and laid in layme,
    and þi ribbis ar þi ruf tre,
þow art þan brocht to þi lang hayme -
    adew all war dis dignite!
þen is to lait forswhcht, think me,
quhen wormys gnawys þe to and fra,
now mynd þi mys in al degre...38

Whi schuld ye be prowde and presume so hy?
    Sent Bernard doth þer-off nobly trete,
Seyng a man ys butt a sake of stercory
    And schall Retorne to wormys mette.
What cam off Alysaunder the greet?
    And off strong samson who can tell?
Were nott wormys ordeyned þer fleshe for to frett?

36. Plato 'in practice insists on the proper
cultivation of the body for the sake of the soul
(Republic III.410)'. Hastings, J. ed., Encyclopedia
of Religion and Ethics, Edinburgh 1909, article on
"Body".
37. Dickins, B., and Wilson, R.M., Early Middle
English Texts, 1951, No.XXIV.
33. Carleton Brown, Religious Lyrics of the
And Salomon, that off wytt was the well,
And absolon, proferyd his here for to sell -
ffor all his beautes wormys hym ette also.
And I, latte Edward, that dyd excelle,
Ecce nunc in puluere dormio...

The almost gloating tone of these accounts of physical dissolution is strongly characteristic of the later middle ages, though of course it survives quite robustly into the Renaissance, providing, for instance, a rhetoric of disgust for the expression of Hamlet's alienation.

Marvell's treatment of the art-versus-nature debate in 'The Mower against Gardens' is his nearest approach to these traditional expressions of the disgust of the carnal, and it is entirely cool and measured in tone. His 'Dialogue between the Soul and Body' confines itself to composing variations, more cerebral than tactile, on the theme of the mutual torment of the two speakers; the tenor of the argument follows St. Paul's relatively temperate view of the flesh.

In his study Aspects of Death...In Art, Epigram and Poetry (1918) Frederick Weber found that while it

39. Ibid., No.159, 11.73-84. ('Stercory' in 1.3 means "excrement").


Huizinga (p.136) illustrates the point vividly:--'Until far into the sixteenth century, tombs are adorned with hideous images of a naked corpse with clenched hands and rigid feet, gaping mouth and bowels crawling with worms...' There are two particularly dreadful examples of such effigies in Winchester Cathedral:--the tomb of Richard Fox, bishop, who died in 1528, and that of Stephen Gardiner, d.1555. Huizinga's description is, if anything, a toning down of the shocking effect of the reality.

41. In e.g. Romans 2, 1 Corinthians 6, 15, and 2 Corinthians 5.
is characteristic of medieval art to portray skeletons realistically, 'during the best period of Greek art the realistic representation of skeletons and corpses was avoided.' (p.40).

Discussing the function of the rose-garlanded skeletons carved on some Graeco-Roman wine-cups, who are shown urging the enjoyment of pleasure while life lasts, Weber says that 'the significance of such figures was a memento mori one, though the Roman memento mori meant something very different from the medieval Christian one; it usually meant a so-called 'Epicurean' suggestion to enjoy life.' (p.92) Philippa Tristram's recent *Figures of Life and Death In Medieval Literature* (1976) makes the same point:- 'It is in this area, more than any other, that one feels the strength of the Renaissance claim to be an enlightened age. The grave reveals medieval man at his lowest point...and the craven fear of death clearly distinguishes the period from the detachment of earlier civilizations, or their later imitators. Sects so dissimilar as Stoics and Epicureans treated mortality with evident contempt...and resist an obsession with mortality; so too do the typical tombs of the Renaissance, where the deeds of a man, not his corpse, remain his memorial'.(p.156).

Both Philippa Tristram and Johan Huizinga refer to a powerful medieval belief which throws some light, by contrast, on Marvell. The one phrase in the poem which one is bound to admit shows an acquaintance with the medieval view of the flesh is:- 'then Worms shall try / That long preserv'd
Virginity'. Otherwise, the projection of the speaker's imagination into the tomb shows the view of death familiar in classical literature: the bodies of both lover and mistress will be dust (1.30) and ashes (1.29). Now there was a strong and pervasive pious fancy - which a modern sensibility may find the reverse of edifying since it emphasizes the material, though ostensibly elevating spiritual values - that 'if the evil stink in their decay, the good remain incorrupt and sweet-smelling'. This belief in the physical incorruptibility of the saints was particularly strong in the case of holy virgins, and it was asserted by certain authorities, and eagerly accepted by popular superstition, that it was their virginity which preserved their bodies from

42. Pace Stanley Stewart, with whose argument in 'Marvell and the Ars Moriendi' (in E.Minor, ed., Seventeenth-Century Imagery, 1975, pp.133-150) I strongly disagree. I am convinced neither by his finding that the language of the passage under discussion is 'full of the trappings of the ars moriendi tradition, down to the feast of worms', nor by his assertion that 'a good part of (Marvell's) rhetoric derives from an inversion of the Christian otherworldly argument' (pp.137 and 145). In the first place, he offers no further textual evidence for the presence of these 'trappings', and in the second, what is inverted by the poem is the 'echoing Song' of the traditional Petrarchan (and courtly love) poet: the idealization of the mistress and its concomitant topic of immortalization by poetic praise. Further, I think Mr. Stewart comes close to contradicting himself, when he says both that 'Marvell's speaker makes out a very good case for the primacy of the body' and that the poem is a satire on the carpe diem tradition (p.149, text and n.26 respectively.

43. Huizinga, op.cit., pp.138-'9; see Tristram, op. cit., p.153, also.
the worms.\textsuperscript{44} The extreme distance of Marvell's poetic idea from this conception is obvious. It is illuminating to look at the version of this passage of the poem which has been discovered in a corrupt manuscript text dating from 1672, and which, it is possible, represents an early draft.\textsuperscript{45} The passage runs as follows, stopping at 'Virginity' and thus losing four lines of the Folio equivalent (11.29-32, Folio):

\begin{quote}
Your beauty will stand neede of Salt, 
For in the hollow Marble Vault 
Will my Songs Eccho, Worms must try 
Your longe preserv'd Virginity.

* * * *

Now then whil'st y youthfull Glue, 
Stickes on your Cheeke, like Morning Dew...
\end{quote}

The arresting image in the first quoted line gives a more physical cast to the passage about the tomb. Presumably it is drawn from the practice of salting fish or meat to keep it fresh; but it still cannot be compared with the lip-smacking, lingering depictions of decomposition in the traditional Christian writings. There is a certain briskness about the line which, indeed, is characteristically Marvellian. Our uncertainty about the status of the text makes it dangerous to base much speculation on its readings, however.

\textsuperscript{44} I am indebted to Dr Bella Millett for pointing out the relevance of this idea to my discussion. See her unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis, \textit{An Edition of 'Hali Meithhad' and a Study of its Tradition}, 1977.

\textsuperscript{45} See W.Hilton Keliher, 'A New Text of Marvell's 'To His Coy Mistress'', \textit{Notes and Queries}, XVII, 1970, pp.254-56. The manuscript is Bodleian Ms Don b.8, and is a miscellany which also contains some of Marvell's post-Restoration satires.
Two of the lines which are missing from this text, the Folio's lines 29 and 30 ('And your quaint Honour turn to dust; / And into ashes all my Lust.') have been the occasion for the discovery of puns, the one on 'Honour' which has long been accepted, and a possible second one on 'quaint'. I am uneasy about one critic's assertion that the second of these puns 'strongly reinforce the physical effect of the worm's shape'. Syntactically, the verb 'turn' may either be governed by 'worms', from two lines earlier, as subject, and take 'Honour' and 'Lust' as objects; or it may be used intransitively, with 'Honour' and 'Lust' as subjects. I am inclined to the latter opinion, since worms can hardly be thought to turn out carefully distinguished heaps of (female) dust and (male) ashes as a waste product of their ecological activities. But even if one were to accept the first of the syntactical alternatives, the presence of a pun on 'quaint' would mean the word is functioning as adjective and noun at once, and this is a distortion of grammatical usage which I find highly uncharacteristic of Marvell. Besides, there are at least five of the O.E.D.'s eleven given senses for the adjective

46. 'Quaint' was a noun which also meant *mulieris pudenda* (the second sense of 'Honour'). See p.253 of the Commentary in E.E.Duncan-Jones' revision (1971) of Margoliouth's Oxford edition of Marvell. See also E.Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English: *'The female pudend: C.14-20th: in C.14-16th, a vulg.; in C.17-20th, dial., now obsolete.'* The last instance of the word recorded in the O.E.D. is, as E.E.Duncan-Jones points out, in 1598.

'quaint' which would fit the meaning here: I.3, 4 and 7; II.9 and 10. The O.E.D. cites Marvell himself, as it happens, in illustration of the sense 'carefully or ingeniously elaborated, highly elegant or refined' as applied to speech or language. The quotation is 'A good life is a Clergy man's best Syllogism, and the quaintest Oratory'. Whether or not the word-play extends as far as has been claimed, there is certainly a peculiarly seventeenth-century flavour of wit and pointedness about these lines. The same is true of the next two ('The Grave's a fine and private place, / But none I think do there embrace.') But this wry tone is not different in kind from As Lepiades'; it is an amplification of his lines, but in a way which is fundamentally in sympathy with the unspoken premises of his poem. This makes a sharp contrast with the versions of it by Ronsard which I discussed earlier. The judgement of the tomb and of the joys of love is the same in Larpand Asclepiades; Marvell envisages the absence of the girl's beauty and of the poet's song - those two subjects most prominent in gallant Renaissance love-poems - almost as if he were deliberately banishing the whole world of courteous wooing and praise, returning his listener to the essential facts unobsurred by ornament or flattery. There are no flowers in his poem, and no seasons, and no landscape which is natural. 'To His Coy Mistress' is larger in scope than the little epigram, but there is nothing in this passage which is foreign to the spirit of it. Let us put them side by side again:- 48. J.T. Smirke, Or the Divine in Lode, p.75, 1676.
Thy beauty shall no more be found;  
Nor, in thy marble Vault, shall sound  
My echoing Song: then Worms shall try  
That long preserv'd Virginity:  
And your quaint Honour turn to dust;  
And into ashes all my Lust.  
The Grave's a fine and private place,  
But none I think do there embrace...  
'11.25-32)

Why are you saving your virginity? You'll  
find no lover in Hades, girl; the joys of  
loving are for the living. in Acheron we'll  
both be dust and ashes, my little virgin.

The worms in Marvell are, surely, an exact  
equivalent of Asclepiades' casual references to  
Hades and Acheron - a conventional way of referring  
to death. The mere mention of that does not  
justify the invocation by critics of the whole  
apparatus of religious preaching on the subject  
of mortality.

The arguments of such preaching were reinforced  
at the end of the medieval period by the savage  
skeletal figure of Time-cum-Death which developed  
in Northern European iconography. 49 Is this the

49. This figure 'indicates that while Death was  
connected with Time in men's minds, the emphasis  
was clearly upon Death and all that it signified  
in terms of medieval eschatology.' (S.G.P.  
Brandon's Plates VII and VIII are both fine examples  
of this figure:- Plate VII has two examples of  
Holbein's 'Dance of Death' series of engravings,  
and VIII is Durer's terrifying 'Knight, Death and  
the Devil', where Death is a skeleton figure holding  
up an hourglass (this belonging iconographically to  
Time) and with his head entwined with vipers, riding  
along beside the knight, and turning as if to accost  
him. Bergman's film The Seventh Seal is in the  
spirit of such embodiments as this of metaphysical  
fear:- the opening scene where the knight returned  
from the Crusades plays chess on the beach with the  
devil, is strongly reminiscent of this particular  
engraving.
same image which is being invoked by Marvell in

But at my back I alwaies hear
Times winged Charriot hurrying near:
(11.21-22)

the lines which introduce the second paragraph, what Eliot calls the 'surprise' of the poem? There is no doubt that this couplet is extremely important to the effect, and very powerful; and it is also without parallel in the Asclepiades or other erotic epigrams, being outside the scope of such miniatures.

Marvell could certainly have seen dozens of visual representations of a figure of Time. There was, for example, often a chariot of Time, drawn by people dressed as the four seasons, as part of the lavish pageants attending royal progresses in the seventeenth century, and of the Lord Mayor's shows which enjoyed an extreme popularity during the Commonwealth, being the sole available spectacle at that period.50 But such vague depictions as these of the movement of time could not alone have given rise to the menace of the fully-developed metaphoric conception in the poem. Many Renaissance painters and engravers had depicted such scenes as Time in a chariot triumphing over

Fame, or trampling down all living things, or devouring them. The triumphs of Time were given their impetus as a collection of topics by the opportunity to illustrate Petrarch's *Trionfi*, published in 1470. This provided artists with a welcome opportunity to escape from 'the narrow limits of orthodox medieval Church subjects, such as "The Tale of the Three Dead and the Three Living", and the *Ars Moriendi*.' These images of Time begin to manifest a new power, alien to the terrible physical immediacy and humiliating absoluteness of the earlier Death figures. With the merging of earlier distinct symbolic attributes, for example those of Time, Death, Prudence, Fortune, Luxury and Vanity, came a more powerful and less cramped kind of metaphorical personification. This process begins also to reflect the new emphasis on the dignity and individuality of man which is evident in the thought of the Italian Renaissance. The gradual shift, taking place from the fifteenth century onwards, from a theocentric to an anthropocentric understanding of existence, eventually reduces the horrifying grinning skeleton who personified Death—

53. This is the case in Shakespeare's Sonnets, for example. I shall be looking later at the formation of the Time-personification in the Sonnets, under the influence of Latin Literature, above all, of course, of Ovid.
Time to a grotesque. Time retains its central importance as a powerful force in human life, but comes to be seen as more like the opponent in a duel in which though in the natural world the individual loses, he may have an heroic battle. In the medieval version, there was no contest. Eventually time ceases to all intents and purposes to be a personification at all, and becomes (in literature) a condition of the characters' lives, something in the background of the individual's life within which and along with which he acts. This is the perspective on time characteristic of the novel, which is the first literary form to depict duration - what might be called secular time - convincingly. In Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, for example, though in Moll's own eyes time is still (at least ostensibly) a span to save one's soul in, the reader's perspective is on a process of ageing within a solidly apprehended social, economic and moral continuity. Marvell's time-figure comes at the very end of a tradition. It is less character than personification, and less personification than metaphor.

The habit of personifying Time fully, complete with attributes, persisted through the sixteenth century. Scenes containing him retained allegorical significance; that is, the figures and objects in them were symbols meant to drive home a moral point.\(^54\) The purpose of such depictions was strikingly different from that of Marvell's lines, whatever the iconographic resemblance. Whether these figures

\(^{54}\) There is a large number of such descriptions of personified Time reproduced in Samuel Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life*, 1962; see also Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, revised ed., 1972, and S.K. Heniger, *Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics*, Huntington Library, California, 1974, pl. 44.
appeared as emblems (i.e. with explanatory text) or without verbal reinforcement, they were designed with an essentially didactic purpose. They partook of the same nature as, for instance, Spenser's processional figures in his Masque of Cupid in *The Faerie Queene* (Book III Canto xii). Here such figures as Fancy, Doubt and Danger are presented in terms often sensuously vivid, but the bright colours and luminous tectures are emblematic, not realistic, highlighting the attributes of the characters, who are types, not individuals; everything has an allegorical raison d'être. We might make an analogy between these costumed characters and Marvell's moralized landscape in 'Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow', where he is concerned, not to give an accurate account of an actual landscape in the real world, but to present symbolically significant features. Another way of emphasizing this might be to notice the apparently paradoxical nature of this Time-figure. He appears frequently, not just as destroyer and devourer of all things, but also often as the father and revealer of truth, the vindicator of innocence, and so on. Indeed, the expression 'veritas filia temporis' was proverbial. Hence Time is not merely destructive; he is also creative, a begetter. We can only make sense of this apparent contradiction by being aware of the moralizing function of the image. The point is that Time destroys the wicked; that is his function. To the good he brings rescue and redress, revealing

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55. See the discussion in Chapter 2.
their probity, casting down their enemies, comforting their age, causing truth to be brought to light.57

Now by contrast Marvell's Time is bearing down on the speaker and his mistress, not just on the wicked. The process of destruction is only suggested faintly at this point: there is none of the clutter of sickles, scythes, mirrors and hourglasses which litters the emblems. Marvell's version of the image is stark, simple and very powerful. There is a grandeur about it which is felt by the least experienced and the most recalcitrant reader of poetry. The simplification of the image lends it greater power, and so does the fact that it is being invoked by a participant, who is himself actually under threat; the didactic tone of the allegories has gone.58

The simplification of the image and its subjugation to new aesthetic concerns has a parallel in the development of the visual representation of the Time-figure. This development is traced with great insight and learning by Erwin Panofsky in 'Father Time', in his Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (Oxford 1939, revised edition 1962). The gradual but definite alterations of style observable in the chronological series of plates provided by Panofsky are well worth noting. The early illustrations for Petrarch's Triumph of Time, though they sometimes have a monumental quality which conveys majesty, fail to give the sense of power in motion so important to the theme.59 Bernini's drawings of Time, dating

58. I disagree entirely with Bruce King's Interpretation of 'To His Coy Mistress' as a religious allegory (in Marvell's Allegorical Poetry, Cambridge 1977). I do not know how he can mistake the clear, authoritative and ironic voice of Marvell's poem for the stiff and cramped allegorical writing of the period, e.g. Quarles.
59. Plates XXVIII and XXIX, which date from the late 15th century.
from the seventeenth century - over a hundred years later - are much stronger, more spare and full of energy, retaining of Time's many attributes only the scythe and the wings. In the mysterious 'Allegory' of the mannerist painter Bronzino, Time, revealing sensuality in the form of a voluptuous Cupid embracing Venus, seems neither more nor less allegorical than the other figures in the composition, and the style of this picture suggests an analogy with Marvell's handling of language and image; both manifest a cool aesthetic control of highly sensuous subjects. Panofsky's last illustration of the iconography of Time presents the strongest visual parallel with Marvell's poem, in the form of Poussin's Il Ballo della Vita Humana. This shows the chariot of the Sun driving out of the clouds, over the heads of four figures representing mankind, who are dancing to music played by Time (a winged old man playing a lyre, in the corner). The landscape behind the dancers is flat, cool, bright and melancholy, as often in Poussin's Arcadian scenes. The sky, out of which the cosmic apparition is plunging, seems profound and immensely wide. The forlornness of the human

60. Plates XXXII and XXXIII.
62. Plate XL. See Anthony Blunt's Nicolas Poussin, 1967; Blunt places much emphasis on the coolness and static control of Poussin's paintings from the late 1630's on. He dates this picture to 1639, and refers to its 'elements of classicism and almost philosophical intention' (pp.151-14 and 129, Text volume). Poussin's use of allegory was strongly modified by his readings in the Stoic writers, and is very much more detached than that in the medieval tradition. (See Blunt pp.160 ff.)
figures, who are threatened by the very music of their dance, is emphasized by the spaciousness and calm tone of the picture. Poussin has still a certain allegorical intention (the four figures symbolize Poverty, Labour, Wealth and Luxury), but it is freed from the direct and explicit moralizing of the emblems, and though the interpretation of human fate is pessimistic, there is as in Marvell, an unmistakable and conscious power in the aesthetic embodiment of that interpretation; under the compulsion of that imaginative power the inherited figure is reshaped and placed in a different relation to the whole,

I am not proposing that Marvell was influenced by Poussin, or Bronzino. Apparent similarities between the objects of two different art-forms should be treated 'as analogues, not sources', especially when the nexus of images is as ubiquitous as this one. 'In general such relationships are difficult to determine; a poem or other piece of imaginative literature and a painting engraving or sculpture are more likely to be under a common obligation to a source which has been used independently'.63

In this case, it is extremely difficult fully to discern the source of the Time-personification, but two main facts seem clear enough for our purpose.64 The first is that the visual art of antiquity did not, apparently, produce any figure of Time as a menacing destructive traveller bearing down on man. It pictured time in two guises:

64. This condensed account of a very complex matter is heavily dependent on the works of Panofsky and Brandon which are mentioned above, and on Jacqueline de Romilly's Time in Greek Tragedy, Ithaca, New York, 1968. C.B. Onians' book, The Origins of European Thought about the Body...Time and Fate, Cambridge 1954, is also illuminating on this and many other subjects.
as Aion, the principle of eternal fertility and infinite productiveness (a figure heavily influenced by Persian and Egyptian conceptions, and appearing in the hellenistic period) and as fleeting opportunity (Greek καιρός, Latin occasion) which must have been eagerly grasped by the man seeking success, fame or fortune. There was no god of time in the classical pantheon; the attributes of the god Saturn were, however, later to contribute to the figure of Time, but only through the coincidence of the similarity of his other name, Kronos, with ἡμέρας, the Greek word for the passage of time. (Saturn, the oldest of the gods, was said to have devoured his children; the suitability of such a cruel father to represent Time was obvious to the medieval artists who helped to develop the personification of Time-Death.)

The second and more significant fact is that classical literature - as distinct from the visual arts - did develop a personification of Time. Though this is less particularized and hung about with paraphernalia than the normal Renaissance version, it is nevertheless a very powerful and a fully realized vision of the destructiveness and malignity of time.

There is a progress in Greek tragedy from the apprehension of time as an abstract presence, sent from the gods, to its presentation as a personified power, and, in Euripides, as a being. In earlier

65. This is the ancestor of the medieval personification of Fortune, the blind goddess with a wheel and a streaming forelock as attributes. The lock streams only in front of the lady, and stands for the unrepeatable moment of opportunity. See Patch, Howard R., The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature, 1927, reprinted 1967.

Sophoclean, tragedy, time is barely personified, and functions almost exclusively as an ultimate revealer of the truth, or in a closely related way as a teacher of it to erring humans. Time, for Sophocles, is the instrument of the terrible but ultimately just order which holds the world in being. When he invokes the idea of time as a force or, dimly, as a being, it is in order to project the defeat of the wicked or the education through long suffering of the foolish. In the following speech from *Oedipus at Colonus*, for example, Oedipus promises future misfortunes to Theseus, but stresses the transcendent and providential will of the gods over all:

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Dear son of Aegeus, to the gods alone
Is given immunity from eld and death;
But nothing else escapes all-ruinous time.
Earth's might decays, the might of men decays,
Honour grows cold, dishonour flourishes,
There is no constancy 'twixt friend and friend,
Or city and city; be it soon or late,
Sweet turns to bitter, hate once more to love.
If now 'tis sunshine betwixt Thebes and thee
And not a cloud, Time in his endless course
Gives birth to endless days and nights, wherein
The merest nothing shall suffice to cut
With serried spears your bond of amity...
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(11.607-610)

In Euripides, on the other hand, time becomes a much more vivid figure, with a 'long walk', and 'steps advancing'. The Chorus in the *Madness of Heracles* is given a curious and metaphorically dense strophe in which the happiness of man seems

67. See *Oedipus the King*, 613-615; *Oedipus at Colonus*, 22, 580, 804.
68. *Bacchae*, 889; *Alexander*, 42N.
to be imagined as a chariot, which is 'tumbled to pieces' or "shattered" by time's passage:

Excess of happiness—it drives
men's minds awry; in its train
comes on corrupted power.
No man foresees the final stretch of time.
Evil lures him, justice races by,
until he wrecks at last the sombre car
that holds his happiness.

(11.774-780)

In that particular passage, doom awaits the wicked man; but in general in Euripides the menace of time is seen to loom over good and evil alike; and at the same time the presence of any meaning or pattern is strongly questioned. Thus Amphitryon, father of Heracles, while he awaits his death:

69. Sophocles' handling of the image of time suggests a moral outlook somewhat similar to that revealed in the sixteenth-century emblems' treatment of the figure (see p.34 above). T.B.L.Webster explains his view of the world: 'Sophocles' world is ruled by the gods and the changes are normally ascribed to them; Fortune is only called in by the uneducated and the sceptical. But in the later plays of Euripides the force in the background is Chance, and Fortune governs the world.' (Op. cit., p.25). The alteration, in Euripides, towards a less numinous, more disordered view of the world is accompanied by an increase in the vigour and concreteness of his metaphoric personifications (such as the Time-figure). This may be paralleled by the coincidence of increased religious and philosophical scepticism in the seventeenth century with the freer, more open treatment by contemporary artists (and poets) of such material as the allegorically moralized personifications inherited from the late medieval and early Renaissance period.
Our lives, old friends, are but a little while,
So let them run as sweetly as you can,
and give no thought to grief from day to day.
For time is not concerned to keep our hopes,
but hurries on its business, and is gone.
You see in me a man who once had fame,
who did great deeds; but fortune in a day
has snatched it from me as though a feather...
(11.503-510)

The notion of ruin being effected in a single day,
which occurs repeatedly in Euripides, is also,
of course, present in Marvell's lyric, where the
speaker's reflection on menacing time is framed
by the unit of a day, the time given for love(1.4).
The image of time is invoked in Euripidean tragedy
at moments when the speaker is encircled or finds
himself trapped by his fate in the form of his
enemies, or his wickedness, or remorse; the effect
of these references to time at such moments is
thus to heighten the listeners' sense of the
loneliness of man in his world, and of the immense
pressures on his fallible and fragile existence.

Whether or not there is any echo of such feeling
in Marvell's

But at my back I alwaies hear
Times winged Charriot hurrying near;
And yonder all before us lye
Desarts of vast Eternity.
Thy Beauty shall no more be found;
Nor, in thy marble Vault, shall sound
My ecchoing Song...

it is almost certainly true that he was exposed
to the vivid psychology of Euripides' personification,
and the doubting cast of his mind, in his early
schooldays. Euripides was, of course, recommended
as part of the grammar-school programme as early as
Erasmus, and even when the first humanist enthusiasm had declined somewhat, in the Elizabethan period, the normal curriculum included a tragedy of Euripides as a minimal requirement. The considerable expansion of Greek studies in the seventeenth century finds him firmly established, as is shown by surviving curricula for the sixteenth-twenties at St. Paul's and Westminster Schools. Sophocles is less frequently mentioned in programmes of study, though he is included with Euripides in Roger Ascham's fulsome and probably rather rose-tinted praise of the state of Greek studies at Cambridge in 1542:

Aristotle and Plato are being read even by boys i.e. undergraduates. Sophocles and Euripides are more familiar authors than Plautus was in your time; Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon are more conned and discussed than Livy was then. Demosthenes is as familiar an author as Cicero used to be; and there are more copies of Isocrates in use than there used to be of Terence.

To the swiftness and all-revealing character of time presented in tragedy, Greek lyric poetry added more attributes. Even before the tragedians, the fifth-century lyric poet Pindar had effected a personification of him:

For treacherous Time hangs over men
And twists awry the path of life...

72. Quoted in Donald Clark, John Milton at St. Paul's School, 1948, p.121, and Foster Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660, 1908, p.496, respectively
73. Quoted, from a letter, in Foster Watson's The English Grammar Schools to 1660, Cambridge, 1908, p.490.
And his older contemporary Simonides wrote that

...sharp-toothed Time grindeth all things up, aye, even the mightiest.

Another fragment by Simonides suggests an ethical interest in the workings of time, rather as in Sophocles:

The greatest touchstone of any work is Time, who showeth even the heart of a man beneath his breast.

But the pure fear and resentment of time the destroyer persists in the basic image, which recurs much later in the tradition, in this anonymous epitaph from the Greek Anthology:

Time wears stone away and spares not iron, but with one sickle destroys all things that are. So this grave-mound of Laertes, that is near the shore is being melted away by the cold rain. But the hero's name is ever young, for Time cannot, even if he will, make poesy dim.

(Book VII, No.225)

The topic of immortalization by art which is here perfunctorily produced at the end is of course inverted by Marvell in 'Nor in thy marble Vault...'

Latin literature takes over and more fully furnishes this outline of a personified figure, though the basic attributes of the Renaissance Time are already present in Greek literary tradition - the winged speed, the scythe, the teeth, the inexorable malevolence. We find in Seneca's

75. Ibid., p.403.
tragedies these examples of the idea:

...Dum fata sinunt
vivite laeti; properat cursu
vita citato volucrīque die
rota praecipites vertitur anni...

(Hercules Furens, 177-180)

Volat ambiguis mobilis alis
Hora...

(Hippolytus, 1141)

res est forma fugax; quis sapiens bono
confidat fragili? dum licet, utere.
tempus te tacitum subruit, horaque
semper praeterita deterior subit.

(Hippolytus, 773-776)

Ovid's great passage on mutability, in Pythagoras's speech at the end of the Metamorphoses, expands considerably the range of the imagery used to express the power of time and change. But though this cosmic account of mutability also contains the inherited central visualization of time the destroyer -

tempus edax rerum, tuque, invidiosa vetustas,
omnia destructis vitiataque dentibus aevi
paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte!

(Book XV, 11.234-6)

- nevertheless its emphasis is on a cyclical, and therefore a renewing, pattern of existence. The relentlessness of the principle of metamorphosis is tempered by the fact that it is seen to produce new forms, not to reduce things to nothingness. The seasons come round again, land and sea perform

76. By the use of the ideas of the ages of man (11.214ff.) and the changing seasons (11.199ff.) and especially by the two arresting images of time as a series of waves (11.180ff.) and of the erosion of land by sea and the reclaiming of sea by land (11.262ff).
A reciprocal giving and taking, and an essential creativity in nature is asserted:

Nec species sua cuique manet, rerumque novatrix ex aliis alias reperat natura figuras: nec perit in toto quicquam, mihi credite, mundo, sed variat faciemque novat, nascique vocatur incipere esse aliud, quam quod fuit ante, morisque desinere illud idem. cum sint huc forsitan illa, haec translat a illuc, summa tamen omnia constant. 77
(Book XV, 11.252-8)

Only in the life of man is there a falling away and a final death, and significantly it is at the end of the passage (11.214-233) describing the ages of man that the image of time as destroyer, which I have quoted above, appears. Thus the patently obvious finality of human ageing and death is robbed of its force by the invocation of processes wider and deeper than the human: the transmigration of souls and the fertility of natural forms. The grandeur of the philosophical focus drowns out the lyric pathos of the theme of human transience, which depends on sensuous precision and emotional reference.

77. Cf. Spenser, Faerie Queene, Book III, Canto vi, stanzas 36-38, where a perpetual renewal—described in terms strikingly reminiscent of Ovid's Pythagorean doctrine—takes place in the true Garden, of Adonis, as opposed to the false garden of Acrasia and "blis". Time causes sorrow in this garden (sts. 39, 41) but is not ruler of all, only an ever-present enemy to the dominant good represented by Venus. It is no accident that Spenser's imagination, which was of such a strongly Platonic cast, should have seized on this, as also on Lucretius' (De Rerum Natura I 216ff., 255ff.) philosophically expressed account of the defeat of mutability. Shakespeare also, of course, draws in his sonnets on Ovid's time-metaphors, but leaves out the description of cosmic immortality, relying instead on the more characteristically lyric topics of immortalization by art and the power of self-abasement and fidelity in love.
In contrast to this, the victory of time over man is more normally seen in the classical literature as part of an inescapable fate, to which the proper response is a clear and calm recognition of defeat rather than any recourse to faith in some otherworldly dispensation or order. This is certainly the case in the lyric and epigrammatic tradition, and also, as we have seen, in Euripidean tragedy. This doomed struggle confers dignity on those engaging in it, and dignity is characteristic of the tone of Greek lyric, elegy, and epitaph. There is in this tradition a special note of sober pessimism, the refusal alike of illusion and craven fear. Seen against such a background as this, the direct plea for the mutual satisfaction of desire appears neither as a mere surrender to base temptation, a debasement of a faculty given by some superior power and intended to be directed towards heaven - as in the Christian tradition - nor as a merely Cavalier ironic reversal of the morally idealistic stance conventional in Renaissance love-poetry, but instead as the most telling possible protest against certain dissolution, a statement of passionate honesty and seriousness. Desire is the more effective weapon with which to oppose death, a quintessential assertion of human vitality. In the Greek Anthology the juxtaposition of erotic and sepulchral epigram and epitaph produces the effect of a single poetic form, not in the narrow metrical sense of the word, but in the coherence of poetic attitude and of thematic concern. Many of the amatory epigrams have quite enough sadness in the tone, and some of the epitaphs sufficient liveliness and challenge, to blur the sharpness of the distinction between; and above all there is
a homogeneity of moral outlook in the collection. The earlier Greek elegiac and lyric poets are the first exponents of this attitude, though they are generally more sober and darker in tone than the Hellenistic epigrams which make up the core of the Anthology. But, moving outside the direct use of the image of time as destroyer, they provide abundant expression of the themes of the brevity of life, its evident lack of meaning, and the wisdom of seeking present joy. The elegies of Mimnermus make clear the relation between the first two themes and the third, in this and the following poem:

We flourish a little while in youth, like the leaves in spring, in full sunlight; the gods lead us neither to good nor evil. But the black fates stand over us, preparing the burden of old age for us, or of death. We enjoy our youth, therefore, for a very short time, as long as the sun’s rays are scattered over the earth. And as soon as the limit of time has been reached, then the claim of death over us is prior to that of life...

But what life would there be, what joy, without golden Aphrodite? May I die when I be no more concerned with secret love and suasive gifts and the bed, such things as are the very flower of youth, pleasant alike to man and woman. And when dolorous

79. One should perhaps except the Byzantine epigrams in the later layers of the collection; these are in any case usually less interesting and less successful as poetry. 80. Studied widely in the seventeenth century in such anthologies as Ralph Winterton’s Poetae Minores Graeci, 1637. 81. Loeb Classical Library, Elegy and Iambus, Vol I, 1931, ed. J.M. Edmonds. The translation is mine, from the Latin version to be found in Stobaeus’ anthology: see below, pp. 151 ff.
Age cometh, that maketh a man both foul without and evil within, ill cares do wear his heart, he hath no more the joy of looking on the sunlight, to children he is hateful, women contemptible, so grievous God made Age.

The restrained pessimism and scepticism of this is paralleled in Simonides:

But there's one saying of the man of Chios which passes all, 'The life of man is even as the life of a green leaf': yet few that receive it with the ear lay it away in the breast; for there's a hope which springeth in every heart that is young, and so long as man possesseth the flowery bloom of youth there is much that his light heart deems to have no end, counting neither on age nor death, and taking no thought for sickness in time of health. Poor fools they to think so, and not to know that the time of youth and life is but short for such as be mortal! Wherefore be thou wise in time, and fail not when the end is near to give thy soul freely of the best.

The exhortation to seize the day admittedly sounds more like an encouragement to bravery in battle here; but the kinship of this type of elegy with the following Anthology epigram is obvious:

82. Edmonds, op. cit., p.89-90 (Elegies Book I, 1-3).
83. Edmonds, J.M., ed. and trans., Lyra Graeca, Vol.II, 1931, p.339, No.97. Cf. Nos. 26, 28, and 29 for further versions of the theme. The fragmentary works of Anacreon which survive show a strong interest in the same themes: see pp.173, No.69, and 177, No.75, in the same volume. There is also a large number of Greek and Roman epitaphs, apart from those collected in the Anthology, which employ the themes of the finality of death, the importance of pleasure and the urgency of partaking of it while alive. See Richmond Lattimore's useful Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs, Urbana, Illinois, 1962, pp.75-81 and 260-263.
...From nothing was I born, and again I shall be nothing as at first. Nothing, nothing is the race of mortals. Therefore make the cup bright my friend, and give me wine the consoler of sorrow.

This area of reflections upon mortality finds very full representation in Stobaeus' anthology of commonplaces from Greek literature, a favourite educational handbook in the Renaissance and seventeenth century. The same is true of Octavianus Mirandula's *Flores Poetarum*, a less exhaustive, but very popular, collection of commonplaces from the Latin writers. The vast majority of the Greek quotations I have used, not excluding those from the tragedies, are to be found in Stobaeus. Both handbooks organize their material under various headings, Mirandula by an index of abstract nouns, Stobaeus like this:

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De vita quod brevis at vilis sit, as plena curis
De morte, et quod inevitabilis sit
Vitae laus
Comparatio vitae et mortis
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and so on. The passion for the complete

84. Book VII, No.339, 11.4–7 (Anon.) The concluding resort to wine here may not, it seems to me, properly be called Anacreontic, since it is clearly not the main subject of the poem; the focus is on the sheer grief of the meaninglessness of life, not on the pleasures of drink.

85. Stobaeus is to be found in the list of books in the Hull grammar school library in 1630; Lawson, *op.cit.*, p.116. I have used a 1549 edition by Conrad Gesner, published at Antwerp.

86. First published Cologne, 1490, and many times reprinted. London editions, 1598 and 1611. Mirandula is highly moralistic in tone, excluding all exhortations to love – unlike Stobaeus.
classification of a mass of material, which the Renaissance inherited from medieval rhetorical habits of thought, and which so thoroughly pervaded its educational system, is evident here. The ranging together in this way of snippets from all the genres and periods of Greek literature tends very strongly to give an importance to theme which overrides all other literary considerations; a reader of Stobaeus experiences all the passages on one level, as if they were a single text. This impression, left on a schoolboy's mind, can never have been entirely erased even by comprehensive subsequent readings of the integral texts of the various authors. Furthermore, the selection of passages by theme alone must temporarily abolish the distinctions between genres, and with them the formal pressure on the material which is exercised by each genre in its characteristic way. One should also bear in mind that the Renaissance Stobaeus is a Latin translation of Greek texts, a fact which gives a further uniformity of status to all the extracts. The result of this must have been to subordinate the uniqueness of the individual poet's utterance to the significance of its being one in a long line of such utterances on a common topic. Looked at through the filter of a Stobaeus or a Mirandula, lines in a particular poem cannot but be seen as part also of another structure, consisting of the handling and shaping by many hands in succession to one another of a poetic idea (the figure of a personified time, for example). Thus attention to the tradition of the various themes and topics has a special importance in the study of Renaissance and seventeenth-century poetry, because of the way the minds of future poets were shaped by the reading
of such compilations, and the incessant exercises in theme- and verse-writing to which they were intended as aids. I am suggesting that the lists of quotations such as we find in Stobaeus encouraged the diffusion both of thematic material and of metaphors characteristic of individual genres outside their boundaries in the original texts. So the solemn and profound feeling of tragedy or epic, and the pathos and seriousness peculiar to archaic Greek lyric, were carried over into different vernacular forms. There were, of course, frequently reiterated theoretical principles of literary decorum which in theory ought to have counteracted the spreading of topics outside their proper province; but in practice the chief concentration in teaching was on the inculcation of the ability to produce examples of a very limited number of genres, which lent themselves to classroom imitation.87

We have seen that Marvell reverses the direction of the usual moralizing which the personified figure of time had served to illuminate since the early Renaissance. I have been arguing that this reversal was really in part a return to the original and most usual function of the figure in classical literature and that Marvell was influenced in the way he used it by his acquaintance with that literature. I have also suggested that the wider classical tradition of reflections on mortality is an important part of the background of the poem, especially as it is represented in Greek lyric, in whose history there is a certain continuity of

87. Primarily the epistle and various oratorical forms (in prose) and Ovidian elegy, Virgilian eclogue, and epigram (in verse). See Donald Clark, John Milton at St. Paul's School, 1948, pp. 185-6.
theme and outlook from the early poets to the
hellenistic epigrammatists.

What is the chief difference between the vision
of life given in that pessimistic poetry, and that
found in the many Christian laments of mutability?
The most obvious and fundamental difference is the
presence or absence of a belief in immortality.
'Life is short', all agree, therefore, 'direct
your energies and resources to the next life',
say those who believe in it; or 'make the best you
can of it, since it is the only existence you will
have'. The traditional Christian view of felt
time, the individual's experience of duration,
placed it in a longer perspective than that of
his single life; time was seen as a succession
of moments leading certainly, and designed to lead,
to eternity. As Boethius puts it:— Nunc fluens
facit tempus; nunc stans facit aeternitatem. 88
All the business of change and motion would be
over once God's time, eternity, was reached.
St. Augustine's exposition of this view 89 is clear
and beautiful. A fairly similar teleological
view of existence, emphasizing ultimate purpose
and pattern, though often less confidently and far
less completely articulated, characterizes the
many Old Testament reflections on time and change;
these fed the medieval and Renaissance tradition
of mutability-laments, on which Marvell, as we shall
see, was probably drawing in 'The Mower's Song'. 90

88. De Consolatione Philosophiae, V.vi. C.A.
Patrides' work on the subject is extremely useful,
especially his bibliographical note, 'The
Renaissance View of Time', Notes & Queries, CCVIII
(1963), pp.408-9, and Aspects of Time, Manchester
89. City of God, XI.5-6; Confessions, XI. John
F.Callahan's Four Views of Time in Ancient Philosophy
1968, is also helpful.
90. See below Chapter 6.
But even the bare and melancholy account of human life in Ecclesiastes stops considerably short of the philosophical scepticism which is the characteristic note of the Greek poetry which I have been discussing. The tone of the complaints is often argumentative and questioning, seeking the providential hand over all things; a possibility which seems simply not to be worth considering, or not to occur, to the personae of the Greek lyrics.\textsuperscript{91} Even the terrible vision of waste and futility at the end of Ecclesiastes is introduced by the injunction to 'Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth'. So too in the book of Job, though the fact of mortality is extremely strongly emphasized -

As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away: so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more...

(7.9)

Are not my days few? cease then, and let me alone, that I may take comfort a little. Before I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death; A land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness...

(10.20-22)

\textsuperscript{91}. There is, of course, a vision of a transcendent order in the main philosophical systems of antiquity, which is reflected in the speech of Pythagoras in Ovid; and Aeschylus and Sophocles preserve a religious sense of real, though unfathomable meaning in the world. But Albin Lesky points out (History of Greek Literature, 1966, p.188) that even in the epitaphs of Simonides on the fallen at Thermopylae, which ought to trumpet the permanence of noble fame, 'the complaint of the fleetingness of life is suppressed with some inconsistency' (my emphasis); so strong is the feeling of the poet about the domination of time over everything.
yet God is present and is being addressed constantly:

Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him: but I will maintain mine own ways before him...

I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth...

The first-century B.C. Book of the Wisdom of Solomon contains an explicit rejection of the doctrines of popular Epicureanism. This meeting of the values of Judaism with Greek hedonistic attitudes in the mind of the Alexandrian Jewish author is interesting: 92

For the ungodly said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright, Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man there is no remedy: neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave.

For we are born at all adventure: and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been: for the breath in our nostrils is as smoke, and a little spark in the moving of our heart: Which being extinguished, our body shall be turned into ashes and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air... For our time is a very shadow that passeth away: and after our end there is no returning: for it is fast sealed, so that no man come again.

Come on therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present, and let us speedily use the creatures like as in youth.

Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments: and

Let no flower of the spring pass by us:

Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds, before they be withered:

Let none of us go without his part of the voluptuousness:

Let us leave tokens of our joyfulness in every place: for this is our portion, and our lot is this.

(1.16-2,24)

92. See Jerome Biblical Commentaries, ed. R.Brown (1968), Introduction to Chapter 34, by Addison G.Wright.
Let us oppress the poor righteous man, let us not spare the widow, nor reverence the ancient gray hairs of the aged...
Such things did they imagine, and were deceived: for their own wickedness hath blinded them...
As for the mysteries of God, they knew them not: neither hoped they for the wages of righteousness, nor discerned a reward for blameless souls.
But God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity.
Nevertheless through envy of the devil came death into the world: and they that do hold of his side do find it.

I have quoted at such length from this because it has a great deal in common with later full-own, Christian, condemnations of carpe diem. It seeks to smear proponents of such advice as evil and wicked in all sorts of other ways too, everything else flowing from their alleged central licentiousness. But the orthodox hostile account of carpe diem, which represents it as merely a grotesque and conscious aberration from right thinking, and later as a deliberate reversal by the profane of moral exhortations to self-restraint in view of the afterlife, is, as I have been trying to show, a distortion of the truth. In fact, there is evidence to show that what may be called the carpe diem decision about time and man is made by a minority of the articulate and thinking, as well as by an unknown and unmeasurable number of the illiterate and silent, participants in a great many civilizations, whatever the 'official' philosophy at a given time or place. In the case of cultures other than the Graeco-Roman, S.G.F.Brandon's History, Time and Deity93 quotes Egyptian examples of cynicism about the existence of a life after death;

official beliefs about the cyclic renewal of all things did not always find acceptance, and the joys of this life gained importance in consequence:

Follow thy desire, as long as thou shalt live.
Put myrrh upon thy head and clothing of fine linen upon thee,
Being anointed with genuine marvels of the gods' property.
Set an increase to thy good things;
Let not thy heart flag.
Follow thy desire and thy good.
Fulfil thy needs upon earth, after the command of thy heart,
Until there comes upon thee that day of mourning.

The Mesopotamian Epic of Gilgamesh expresses similar feelings about the problem of mortality:

Gilgamesh, where are you hurrying to? You will never find that life for which you are looking. When the gods created man they allotted to him death, but life they retained in their own keeping. As for you, Gilgamesh, fill your belly with good things; day and night, night and day, dance and be merry, feast and rejoice. Let your clothes be fresh, bathe yourself in water, cherish the little child that holds you hand, and make your wife happy in your embrace; for this too is the lot of man.

I am not, of course, suggesting an influence from these remote literatures on an English seventeenth-century poem; but it seems to me worthwhile to

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94. The Epic of Gilgamesh, English version by N.K. Sandars, 1972, p.102; the speech of Utnapishtim on p.106 also expresses disbelief in immortality for man: 'There is no permanence. Do we build a house to stand for ever, do we seal a contract to hold for all time?'

95. Though the Egyptian adherence to the carpe diem idea was familiar enough to the Renaissance, and is mentioned twice, with approval, by Montaigne, Essais, I,xix; pp.71 and 75 in the 1926 edition of Cotton's 1686 translation. Marvell could have read of it there; he mentions having read Montaigne and makes several references to stories told by him, in The Rehearsal Transpros'd (pp. 118, 72, 84, 107 in D.I.B.Smith's edition, 1971.)
consider as analogies these examples, palpably serious in tone, of a permanent poetic theme. The ascetic disgust and denial of the body typical of certain strong strands of Christian tradition is not, after all, the only possible response to the fact of death which is compatible with human dignity and rationality. I do not wish to deny the play of wry and witty irony which is an important part of Marvell's pattern in the poem, but the irony, I believe, is deployed against the conventional forms of poetic idealization - the interminable adoration and celebration which is mockingly savoured in the first paragraph - and I think it is quite clearly absent from the poem's final paragraph. 'To His Coy Mistress' is, in other words, a genuine carpe diem poem, and not a parody of the topic, still less, as it has been called, 'a devastating satire on the carpe diem tradition'.

This question of the function of Marvellian irony is a vexed one, and the treatment of it by many contemporary critics appears to me implausible. I have already outlined my reasons for differing from two of these, Stanley Stewart and Bruce King. I want to consider here the opinion of a third interpreter, Patrick G.Hogan, from whose article Mr Stewart quotes with approval the above phrase. Mr Hogan's argument is for a Plotinian allegorical interpretation; he thinks that 'To His Coy Mistress' is (rather like 'The Garden') a poem about the soul's striving towards ecstasy in contemplation and mystical union with the One:

97. See above, p.27, n.41 and p.35, n.57 respectively.
as he puts it, 'a testament of faith in which Marvell at once rejects the materialism and determinism of Hobbes, spiritualizes the Deism of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and cements the union of faith and reason which the Cambridge Platonists thought they had found implied in Descartes'.\footnote{Hogan, loc. cit., p. 1.} He expounds this idea with ingenuity, but I feel it twists the whole poem out of shape, in a way common to far too many recent readings. After reviewing some previous accounts of the poem, Mr Hogan begins his own by saying that 'it has been adequately demonstrated... that Marvell's proper intellectual milieu was Neoplatonism and that Plotinus was his implicit, if not his deliberately chosen, spiritual father.'\footnote{Ibid., p. 5.}

I think this is generally right, but the word 'proper' is too restrictive. It is an oversimplification to seize upon this as the only background to his poetry, to the exclusion of all the other intellectual and cultural influences which must have a bearing on it. And in this case, when Mr Hogan goes on to rehearse Plotinus's account of the soul's achievement of the vision of the One, the true Intellectual Realm, he is indeed stretching lover and mistress on a Procrustean bed. He himself allows this to become obvious when he speaks of 'Marvell's impatience to obey, conquer perhaps, "Times winged Charriot", and to accept the "invitation" to enter "Desarts of vast Eternity", deserts only in terms of the vastness of expanse or dimension, a limitless and uncharted area lying before him, the "There" of Plotinus'.\footnote{Ibid., p. 9.} The lines will not
bear this interpretation. The clear sense of the passage is, on the contrary, that the lovers are to make love in order (in some way) to defeat the 'Desarts' — before — and 'Times winged Charriot' behind. Whatever else the speaker is doing, he is certainly not inviting the lady to enter the 'Desarts' with him. The lover is against the 'Desarts' and the 'Charriot' (since they are gathering on either side to annihilate him); but he cannot abolish time. This is, after all, the function of the poem's if-but—therefore structure: the therefore of the argument is as inescapable as the 'Charriot'. The conclusion of the syllogism follows the two premises in an aesthetic order perfectly and beautifully expressive of the poem's theme. There is no stillness allowed; the lover struggles with time, and cannot banish it from his world. The resolution of 'To His Coy Mistress' is thus the very opposite of the stasis achieved by the Plotinian meditator in 'The Garden'. The love-making being planned by the speaker is full of images of effort, activity and motion; the tone is vigorous, the syntax muscular, there is an insistence upon the carnal:

Now therefore, while the youthful hew
Sits on thy skin like morning dew,
And while thy willing Soul transpires
At every pore with instant Fires,
Now let us sport us while we may;
And now, like am'rous birds of prey,
Rather at once our Time devour,
Than languish in his slow-chapt pow'r.
Let us roll all our Strength, and all
Our sweetness up into one ball:
And tear our Pleasures with rough strife,
Thorough the iron gates of Life...

(11.33-44)

This strenuousness — so different from the carefully
nurtured repose, passivity and receptivity of 'The Garden' s last stanzas - is entirely consistent with the structure of Marvell's chosen topic, the urgent, hastening carpe diem, as it is indicated first by the title of the poem, and subsequently by the tone: scoffing at idealization in the first paragraph, but affronting the rapaciousness of time with considerable gravity in the second. The note of mockery returns at the end of that paragraph, in the violent juxtaposition of 'Grave' and 'embrace', 'ashes' and 'Lust', 'Worms' and 'Virginity'; thus all exalted notions of an integrity beyond the physical (the nobility of chaste romantic love, or spiritual immortality) are being persistently undermined. It is hard to see how this robust and sardonic atmosphere may be sustaining any kind of allegory.

However, we need not assume either that the poet Andrew Marvell is pleading for sexual favours with a flesh-and-blood woman. The speaker of 'To His Coy Mistress' is a persona just as much as Damon the Mower is, or as the panegyric-writer in the 'Horatian Ode.' One may, I think, satisfy the perfectly legitimate wish of Marvell's readers for unity among his works - perhaps the source of many odd interpretations - without so seriously distorting individual poems, or drastically reducing the really rather wide scope of his intellectual and literary background.

An abiding theme is discernible in Marvell's non-satiric work. It may be called the attempt to find a way of accommodating, or ordering, present consciousness. That consciousness is

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101. The solemn citing of contemporary allegations of homosexuality or impotence (e.g. by John Wheatcroft, "Andrew Marvell and the Winged charriot", Bucknell Review, Vol. VI, 1956, pp. 22-53) would, I feel, have given their subject cause for ironic amusement.
usually, in Marvell, a condition of suffering, because of shattered peace, or pressure between strong opposing forces, or the approach of some kind of disintegration or degeneration from a former state of order. His mastery of genres and rich literary allusiveness should, I think, be seen as the formal expression of this attempt to organize and thus control the instability of experience. He resorts, as we have seen, to a striking variety of forms and topics: the traditional dialectic of action and contemplation, the love-complaint of pastoral eclogue, the art-nature and body-soul debates, the point of steadiness represented by a great ruler in a world of flux, the mystic quest for knowledge of reality through a local withdrawal from it.

In this general way, then, there is an analogy between the act of sexual consummation envisaged at the end of 'To His Coy Mistress,' and the dying into light of 'The Garden.' Sexual desire is, I suppose, partly a longing for the submerging of the individual consciousness in a relieving mutuality, an effort by the prisoners of time to overcome their isolation. A transcendence of self is experienced both by lovers in the sexual act, and by the solitary seeker after the Beautiful and Good. That is the point of resemblance between these two poems; there is also a sharp difference.

102. This is true of major and minor poems alike, and of poems so different in subject as 'On a Drop of Dew,' 'The Nymph Complaining,' 'The Definition of Love' and 'Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-Burrow.'

103. The work of almost any contemporary poet except Milton has a greater homogeneity of form and subject.

104. The subsuming of the drop of dew into the sky has a similar function, in the poem of that name.
The desired order is expressed as action in 'To His Coy Mistress', and as stillness in 'The Garden'. There is a further point: no sexual ecstasy is presented as actually taking place in 'To His Coy Mistress' whereas 'The Garden' does indicate the achievement of mystical bliss before it ends. Everything in the last paragraph of 'To His Coy Mistress' is in the future tense, until and except the admission that '...we cannot make our Sun / Stand still...', which is an admission of defeat. Time wins here, where in 'The Garden' it loses, being mastered and ordered by the 'skilful Gardner':

How well the skilful Gardner drew  
Of flow'rs and herbs this Dial new;  
Where from above the milder Sun  
Does through a fragrant Zodiac run;  
And, as it works, th'industrious Bee  
Computes its time as well as we.  
How could such sweet and wholesome Hours  
Be reckon'd but with herbs and flow'rs!

If the 'Mistress' is Marvell's 'bour of Blys', 'The Garden' is his Garden of Adonis; but the intervening generations have reversed Spenser's order of creativity and sterility. Marvell's garden is a 'retreat' (1.26), and 'To His Coy Mistress' is an advance on the enemy, time. The confidently created characters of Spenser's Garden of Adonis have disappeared, leaving only a solitary lyric persona, observing the creative order brought about by others: the 'gardner' and the 'Bees', and also the honourable virtue of a Fairfax and a Cromwell. But the proponent of the *carpe diem*

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105. Cf. 'The Picture of Little T.C.', ll.23-4, where the passivity of the speaker seems a required part of the pattern.
argument, whose authority is carefully undermined by Spenser, becomes in Marvell the only voice of the poem, and though he does not succeed in conquering the contingencies. ("...we cannot make our Sun / Stand still") a certain equilibrium is achieved, a fine nervous balance of the opposing elements of confidence and fear.

The final paragraph deserves a closer look. It is rather stiff and grave, entirely without such qualities as warmth and tenderness, the characteristics normally found in love-poems. One may readily demonstrate the comparative thinness of its texture by comparing it with a passage chosen almost at random from Roman elegy:

quid queror heu misero carmen nocuisse, quid herbas? forma nihil magicis utitur auxiliiis:
   sed corpus tetigisse nocet, sed longa dedisse oscula, sed femori conseruisse femur...

The excitement in Marvell's speaker's summons to love is different from this specifically amorous feverishness. It is the energy of a passion at once intellectual and physical, the passion of the mind apprehending the fact of mortality. The poet possesses time and death, in this passage, as by an act of will. The false fawning ecstasy rejected in the first paragraph is counter-balanced by the cool strength of this symbolic act of love. The function of the statements in 11.33-36

106: See pp.3-5 above.
107: If there really is a pun on 'Sun' ('son'), then of course the carpe diem has even more completely usurped the creative power of the garden of Adonis. But I do not think it would suit the tone here.
(Now therefore, while the youthful hew
Sits on thy skin like morning dew,
And while thy willing Soul transpires
At every pore with instant Fires,)

is not to praise the lady; the idea of praise has already been considered and rejected in the first paragraph. The 'morning dew' and the 'instant Fires' are intended rather to relate the girl to the most basic outward signs of vitality and youth. The Greeks and Egyptians believed that there was a liquid of life 'in the flesh, filling or forming it'; disease, age and death were frequently expressed as 'drying up'; the young were said to 'abound in liquid'.

This liquid, or liquefiable element, in the body appeared in fact to be the stock of life, vitality, strength. So Homer describes Athene making Odysseus into an old man:- 'She dried up the fair flesh on his pliant limbs...set the skin of an old man on his limbs'. In Aristotle 'the living creature is by nature moist and warm, and to live is to be such, but old age is cold and dry and so is what has died... it is inevitable that what has grown old should dry up.' The girl's skin-colour

109. See R.B. Onians, The Origins of European Thought About The Body, The Mind, The Soul, The World, Time and Fate (Cambridge, 1951); Chapter VI, 200, 212, 213. Onians gives a great many references to a huge variety of classical authors, revealing the ubiquity of this idea.
110. Ibid., p.213. If one accepts the Folio's 'glew' instead of 'hew', a reading reinforced by W. Hilton Keliher's new text (see above, p.28, n.44), the idea of a natural moisture is strengthened.
111. Onians, p.214; Odyssey XIII, 430 ff.
112. Onians, p.215; Joan Hartwig makes a similar point, also based on Aristotle, in 'The Principle of Measure in "To His Coy Mistress"', College English, 25, 1964, pp.572-575
is fresh like dew, a natural moisture, not the perfection of art, like the cheeks of most courtly ladies (the white and red rejected in 'The Garden').

The other quality mentioned is fire, also elemental, not artificial. Fire is of course a very familiar image for inspiration of all kinds, and the Celts, early Italians and Romans associated it with the procreative principle, as well as with fits of heroic anger and poetic trances.\footnote{Onians, Chapter II, pp.156-160.}

Thus the speaker reduced the qualities of the girl to two rudimentary and universal ones; these are the only qualities with which he does credit her. Together they add up to the possession merely of youth and sexual desire – the latter quite undifferentiated from potency, and not at all individualized, as it always is in love-poetry.

So far I have been concerned to examine the carpe diem injunction only as a literary topic. But one may, of course, find a philosophical basis for it in Epicurean ethics. As the author of a study of Epicurus says: 'the brevity and uncertainty of life were naturally a commonplace of Greek thought. The originality of Epicurus consisted in lifting this commonplace from the rank of sentiment to that of a motive of action.'\footnote{N.DeWitt, Epicurus and his Philosophy, N.Y., 1967.}

A recent Herrick critic remarks that in the light of Epicurean moral teaching, the carpe diem injunction may be seen 'not simply as a call to seduction, but as a philosophical motive for all human endeavours'.\footnote{L.Deneef, 'This Poetick Liturgie': Robert Herrick's Ceremonial Mode, 1974, p.20.}

But I am not really proposing that 'To His Coy Mistress' is a sort of underground Epicurean manifesto. The thought of Epicurus had a fairly wide currency in the
Renaissance, though a superficial one; like the ideas of the early heretics, it was most often transmitted by means of its detractors' condemnations of it. These condemnations were familiar reading in the seventeenth century, though it seems also to have been clearly understood that they distorted Epicurus' true ideas. Thus Richard Burton:

A quiet mind is that voluptas or summum bonum of Epicurus, non dolere, curis vacare, animo tranquillo esse, not to grieve, but to want cares and have a quiet soul, is the only pleasure of the world, as Seneca truly recites his opinion, not that of eating and drinking, which injurious Aristotle maliciously puts upon him, and for which he is still mistaken, male audit et vapulat, slandered without a cause, and lashed by all posterity...

In fact, the late Renaissance acquired and passed on a syncretistic understanding of Greek philosophy, as one body of knowledge. The method of Montaigne, assimilating ideas and formulations from many sources, and forging them into a single and quite coherent approach to morality, is only a more articulate and personally illuminating version of a typical habit of mind. It would therefore be anachronistic to suggest formal adherence by a seventeenth-century man, however learned, to a system of ancient philosophy, except possibly where Platonism is concerned. But even in that case, as we have seen in considering 'The Garden' (and as Frances Yates shows in Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, 1964), Renaissance Neoplatonism was itself heavily diluted - or fortified - by

Hermeticism, Cabalism, and various other kinds of quasi-philosophical, quasi-religious magic.

There is also a second and more interesting reason why the moral atmosphere of 'To His Coy Mistress' is alien to that of formal Epicureanism. Epicurus minimized the importance of death and the fear of it, holding it to be 'a primary condition of mental tranquility that man should be freed from these fears'. The proponent of the carpe diem attitude seeks, on the other hand, to remind both self and hearer of the certainty and unpleasantness of personal extinction. There is a very strong contrast between that and Epicurus' own words, as they are quoted by Diogenes Laertius:

'Accustom thyself to believe that death is nothing to us, for good and evil imply sentience, and death is the privation of all sentience; therefore a right understanding that death is nothing to us makes the mortality of life enjoyable, not by adding to life an illimitable time, but by taking away the yearning after immortality. For life has no terrors for him who has thoroughly apprehended that there are no terrors for him in ceasing to live. Foolish, therefore, is the man who says that he fears death, not because it will pain when it comes, but because it pains in the prospect. Whatever causes no annoyance when it is present, causes only a groundless pain in the expectation. Death, therefore, the most awful of evils, is nothing to us, seeing that, when we are, death is not come, and, when death is come, we are not...'

On the subject of the seeking of pleasure, the most familiar of Epicureanism's tenets, there is a distinction of the utmost importance to be made between it and carpe diem. Burton sketches this distinction when he insists that Epicurus did not propose sensualism as the ultimate good; the philosopher himself was already aware of the danger of misinterpretation of his hedonism:

"When we say, then, that pleasure is the end and aim, we do not mean the pleasures of the prodigal or the pleasures of sensuality, as we are understood to do by some through ignorance, prejudice, or wilful misrepresentation. By pleasure we mean the absence of pain in the body and of trouble in the soul. It is not an unbroken succession of drinking-bouts and of revelry, not sexual love, not the enjoyment of the fish and other delicacies of a luxurious table, which produce a pleasant life; it is sober reasoning, searching out the grounds of every choice and avoidance, and banishing those beliefs through which the greatest tumults take possession of the soul..."

This is a detached and serene approach to the problems of morality, quite sharply different from the despairing scepticism of the carpe diem; the absence of a belief in immortality does not produce the same results in both. In fact, carpe diem seems to be much more akin to the thought of Aristippus and the school called the Cyrenaics, who preceded the Epicureans and who confined pleasure to bodily pleasure in their thought, and linked it with motion, where the Epicureans disparaged 'kinetic' pleasures and

119. Ibid., 131-132.
elevated those of repose, and the absence of pain.\textsuperscript{120} But 'To His Coy Mistress' does not really have a philosophical position as such, and to discuss it as if it were propounding any doctrine seems to me a mistake. Almost by definition the carpe diem is anti-doctrinal, a rejection of systematic interpretations of reality;\textsuperscript{121} and in any case lyric poetry never simply contains or expresses philosophical or religious ideas. Where such ideas are present in it, they are playing a part in its own autonomous structure, in a way more complex than, and different in kind from, their role in their own discourse.

There is nevertheless a sense in which this poem may owe an indirect debt to Epicurus: a specifically literary one. Certain of the metaphors in the second and third paragraphs seem to me to have been influenced by Epicurean cosmology as it is described in Lucretius's account, \textit{De Rerum Natura}, and perhaps also by the specifically Lucretian formulation of the Epicurean position on sexual ethics.

Although the first full English translation of Lucretius (by Thomas Creech) was not published till 1685 and his ethical statements were, of course, strongly criticized,\textsuperscript{122} \textit{De Rerum Natura} was widely read in the Renaissance and its imposing scale and


\textsuperscript{121} See above, pp. 157-158.

\textsuperscript{122} The severely Puritan Mrs Lucy Hutchinson made a translation before 1675, but so strongly disapproved of Lucretius' moral and religious views that she refused to publish it. See G.D.Hadszits' very helpful \textit{Lucretius and his Influence}, 1935, Ch.XII, pp.293 ff. John Evelyn published a poor translation, in clumsy rhyming couplets, of Book I in 1656.
grandeur were held in high esteem. Together with Horace, Lucretius heads the list of the poets from whom Montaigne most frequently quotes,\(^\text{123}\) and Spenser drew heavily on Lucretian cosmological descriptions.\(^\text{124}\) In *The Faerie Queene* and the *Mutabilitie* Cantos, however, such descriptions are merged with Platonic and Ovidian ones in a larger, peculiarly Spenserian structure intended as a sort of defence against flux and the dissolution of the world. Marvell's use of Lucretius is quite a different matter.\(^\text{125}\)

*De Rerum Natura* contains a very striking account of the limitlessness of both time and space, and of what Lucretius calls 'the void' (inane) in which all things exist. In the many passages which deal with these ideas, time and space are merged by Lucretius's vivid description images, so that each is seen in terms of the other:

\[
\text{semper in assiduo motu res quaeque geruntur partibus e cunctis infernaque suppeditantur ex infinito cita corpora materia.... Est igitur natura loci spatiumque profundi, quod neque clar\text{"}a suo percurrere fulmina cursu perpetuo possint aevi labentia tractu nec prorsuin facere ut restet minus ire meando; usque adeo passim patet ingens copia rebus finibus exemptis in cunctas undique partis.}  
\]

(Book I, ll.995-'7, 1002-'7)

\(^{123}\) The list compiled by P. Villey in his *Sources et Evolution des Essais de Montaigne* i reproduced by Gilbert Highet in *The Classical Tradition*, 1949, p.188.  
\(^{125}\) Alan J. Peacock notices a reminiscence of *De Rerum Natura*, I,71 ff. in Marvell's final six lines ('Marvell: "To His Coy Mistress" 41-6', *Hermathena* Vol.CXIV, 1972, pp.29-30). The passage describes Epicurus' breaking through the narrow gates of nature into the immensity of the universe. Mr Peacock might well have made claims for a much larger Lucretian influence than this single passage.  
\(^{126}\) I have used Cyril Bailey's edition of *De Rerum Natura*, (3 vols.), 1947.
The physical world is presented as being in a state of constant and violent alteration, governed by chance:

"nam certe neque consilio primordia rerum ordine se suo quaque sagaci mente locarunt nec quos quaeque darent motus pepigere profecto, sed quia multa modis multis mutata per omne ex infinito vexantur percita plagis, omne genus motus et coetus experiundo tandem deveniunt in talis disposituras, qualibus haec rerum consistit summa creatura..."

(Book I, ll.1021-'8)

Time is a force which breaks up things; there is in nature a ceaseless process of change and motion, particles of matter perpetually colliding with and shattering one another. A decisive ultimate destruction is also envisaged for the universe as it is at present formed:

"...ne volucris ritu flammorum moenia mundi diffugiant subito magnum per inane soluta et ne cetera consimili ratione sequantur neve ruant caeli tonitralia tempora terraque se pedibus raptim subducat et omnis inter permixtas rerum caelique ruinas corpora solventis abeat per inane profundum, temporis ut puncto nil existet reliquiarum desertum prater spatium et primordia caeca. nam quacumque prius de parti corpora desse constitues, haec rebus erit pars ianua leti..."

(Book I, ll.1102-1113)

The dissolution of the structures of all material bodies, the 'deserted space', the 'gates of death for all things', are all strikingly reminiscent of the general atmosphere and of specific details in the second and third paragraphs of Marvell's poem. Lucretius's editor points out that 'the process of his mind was visual rather than logical'.

The imagery in his poem is certainly more striking than the scientific and philosophical exposition. Passages such as the above, describing cosmic processes, often combine great vigour with a certain haunting quality. The sense of the lovers' isolation and the mood of desperation created by Marvell may draw its strength from this Lucretian imagery; and there are still further suggestive parallels to be noted.

The violence in nature which is so pervasive in the cosmology of the poem also characterizes the account of human sexuality in Book IV. Thus the frustration of lovers is described:

quod petiere, premunt arte faciuntque dolorem
corpos et dentis inlidunt saepe labellis
osculaque adfigunt, quia non est pura voluptas
et stimuli subsunt qui instigant laedere id ipsum
quodcumque est, rabies unde illaer germina surgunt.
(Book IV, ll.1079-1083)

Then the mockery of satisfaction perpetually promised, but which is beyond the possibility of achievement:

ut· bibere in somnis sitiens cum quaerit at umor
non datur, ardorem qui membris stinguere possit,
se· laticum simulacra petit frustraque laborat
in medioque sitit torrenti flumine potans,
sic in amore Venus simulacris ludit amantis
nec satiare queunt spectando corpora coram
nec manibus quicquam teneris abradere membris
possunt errantes incerti corpore toto...
(Book IV, ll.1097-1104)

Even at the moment of consummation

adfigunt avide corpus iuguntque salivas
oris et inspirant pressantes dentibus ora,
nequiquam, quoniam nil inde a'radere possunt
nec penetrare et abire in corpus porpore toto;
The despairing urgency of these protagonists and their frantic mutual violence - 'tearing' off pleasure from each other's limbs, 'struggling' to achieve a complete merging in the other - is very closely echoed in Marvell; could Lucretius' confident denial of the possibility of attaining authentic satisfaction in the passion of love (see e.g. IV 1062-1072) lie also behind the harshness and haste of the final passage of 'To His Coy Mistress'? The idea of the lovers' languishing in Time's jaws finds a foreshadowing also in Lucretius; embedded in his critique of the atomic theories of Anaxagoras (the earlier Greek thinker) is the following:

nam quid in oppressu valido durabit eorum, ut mortem effugiat, leti sub dentibus ipsis? ignis an umor an aura? quid horum? sanguen an ossa? nil, ut opinor...

(Book I, 11.851-854)

Further, the language of the sexual exhortation in Marvell recalls a passage where Lucretius describes the behaviour of various kinds of atoms:

...ut facile agnoscas e levibus atque rutundis esse ea quae sensus iucunde tangere posunt, et contra quae amara atque aspera cumque videntur, haec magis hamatis inter se nesa teneri propterem solere vias rescindere nostris sensibus introitque suo perrumpere corpus.

128. Bailey, op. cit., Vol.II, p.748, quotes a suggestion that the 'leti sub dentibus' image 'may have been suggested by wall-paintings in Etruscan tombs and therefore represent popular fear of death'.
Omnia postremo bona sensibus et mala tactu
dissimili inter se pugnant perfecta figura...
(Book II, 11.402-409)

This theory of the atoms may indeed contain the explanation of the "one Ball", so much puzzled over by Marvell readers:—

illa quidem debent e levibus atque rutundis esse magis, fluvido quae corpore liquida constant; namque papaveris haustus itemst facil quod aquarum; nec retinentur enim inter se glomeramina quaeque et perculsus item proclive volubilis exstat...
(Book II, 11.451-453)

And again:—

sed quod amara vides eadem quae fluvida constant, sudor uti maris est, minime mirabile debet

nam quod fluvidus est, e levibus atque rutundis est, et (squalida sunt illis) admixta doloris corpora; nec tamen haec retineri hama tecessumst; scilicet esse globosa tamen, cum squalida constant, provolvi simul ut possint et laedere sensus...
(Book II, 11.464-470)

These passages illustrate the combination of 'strength' and 'sweetness', or fluidity, with decisive motion, which is suggested by the lover in Marvell:—

Let us roll all our strength and all
Our sweetness, up into one Ball:
And tear our Pleasures with rough strife...
(11.41-3)

There remains the general question of Lucretian cosmology. It is true that Lucretius proposes a certain permanence in the physical world; he says there is an eternal substance which is indestructible, and he renders the resulting
capacity for perpetual renewal in the world in a passage of great poetic power:

haud igitur redit ad nilum res ulla, sed omnes discidio redeunt in corpora material. postremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater aether in grenum matris terrai praeceptavit; at nitidae surgunt fruges ramique virescunt arboribus, crescunt ipsae fetuque gravantur; hinc aliter porro nostrum genus atque ferarum, hinc laetas urbis pueris floreis videmus frondferasque novis avibus ca ere undique silvas; hinc fessae pecudes pingui per papula laeta corpora deponunt et candens lacteus umor uberibus manat distentis; hinc nova proles artubus infirmis teneras lasciva per herbs ludit lacte mero mentis perculsa novellas. haud igitur penitus pereunt quaecumque videntur, quando allo ex allo reficit natura nec ullam rem gigni patitur nisi morte adiuta aliena...

(Book I, 11.248-264)

Infinite time destroys the forms and structures of all things, but matter itself persists. This idea of eternal renewal is Platonized and Christianized in the Ovidian and Spenserian uses of Lucretius; but in Lucretius himself, it means no more than that matter is eternal. He rejects absolutely the notion of a spiritual immortality, insisting on the material:

tangere enim et tangi, nisi corpus, nulla potest res.

But even the sense of a merely physical fertility and thus a renewal - which allows for the warmly domestic and pastoral imagery in the passage quoted above - is absent from Marvell's poem, whose settings are so large and unsettling, from the extravagant burlesque geography of the first

129. Book I, 1.304. See also I 417-'21 and 430-'6.
part, to the echoing and sinister prospects of the last. At the climax of his poem, Marvell presents the lovers as if they were Lucretian atoms rather than living beings; material particles abrading each other by the harshness of their contact, elementally composed.130

I have been trying to show in this chapter how Marvell, by making the amorous exhortation into a symbol of the essential struggle of man against inexorable mortality, expands and deepens the carpe diem topic. The metaphors of 'To His Coy Mistress' contribute greatly to this expansion. As in Carew's poem which I quoted early in the discussion,131 these metaphors are shifting and unfixed in their reference: the 'one Ball' may be the globe of the world, or the single being temporarily created by the joined lovers, or the conjunction of atoms in a material object; the 'Desarts' create what almost amounts to an hallucination of spatial description, from which one cannot separate their applicability to time, and at the same time the line suggests a metaphysical concept, infinity; the 'gates of Life' combine macrocosmic and microcosmic reference.

So the sexual plea which is the ostensible subject of the poem thus comes itself to represent another level of reference, and not merely to be present as itself at the surface of the text. What it represents may not be simply named. Perhaps it might be called human wholeness: the expression of the essential will to preserve the individual person and consciousness from attrition

130. See above, p.175
131. See p.105 and footnote 11 above.
by the forces of disorder and disintegration in the world. The 'mistress' of the title, the silent interlocutor of the poem, is not the real protagonist; the quarrel is not with her, but with these forces which unmake man. They are represented in turn by the passivity imposed by conventional wooing forms; by time's 'winged Charriot' and his monstrous jaws; by the silence in the tomb and the worms in the body, and finally at the climax by the movement of the sun itself. The world of the poem is a universe of startling hostility and indifference, and no escape from this world is envisaged in any way.

I have been proposing a reading of 'To His Coy Mistress' which sees Epicurean materialism carried into the poem by language of Lucretian imagery, and there allying itself with something of the attitude of despairing dignity found in the protagonists of Euripidean tragedy, and with the wry clarity of vision characteristic of the epigrammatists. Certainly the historical moment is also, however, of great importance as a condition of the poem: its peculiar combination of desolation with the pressure to an action both vigorous and desperate suggests a background in actual life in which habit and security were more than normally threatened by extreme events and situations. Nevertheless, as in 'An Horatian Ode' Marvell's imagination found its articulation

in literary tradition - in the forms of Horace and the characterization of Lucan - so in 'To His Coy Mistress' it is his forging together of such various influences as I have been describing which turns his essay in a minor poetic topic into such a consummate account of human mortality.
Chapter Four

The Nymph Complaining for the Death of her Faun

Rather like 'To His Coy Mistress', the 'Nymph' falls into three parts structurally. The first (11.1-24) and the last (11.93 to the end) are set in the present time, and the middle section is set in the past. At the structural centre of the poem is an account of a period of undisturbed peace experienced by the speaker in a special place. Sylvio and the 'Troopers' are alike in being enemies of this peace, and they may be seen as parallel to Juliana in 'Damon the Mower' and 'The Mower's Song', to the effects of grafting and mixing of species in 'The Mower against Gardens', and to all the guises except the last of the lady in 'The Gallery'. In that poem the speaker makes a tour of the various pictures of the lady - as Murderess, Aurora, an Enchantress, and Venus - and rejects them all in favour of the most innocent and unadorned:

But, of these Pictures and the rest,
That at the Entrance likes me best:
Where the same Posture, and the Look
Remains, with which I first was took.
A tender Shepherdess, whose Hair
Hangs loosely playing in the Air,
Transplanting Flow'rs from the green Hill,
To crown her Head, and Bosome fill.
(11.49-56)

So too in the 'Nymph complaining' romantic sexual love represents whatever is false and destructive. The Faun is said to be whiter than ladies' hands (11.61-2), and the reality of its affection for the Nymph robs Sylvio's chilly amorous rhetoric
of its force. This is signalled by the small controlled hesitation introduced into the Nymph's speech when she reverses the cliche of the softness and whiteness of Ladies' hands:

...And oft
I blusht to see its foot more soft,
And white, (shall I say then my hand?)
NAY any Ladies of the Land.
(11.60-62)

and also by the distancing, as the quoted speech of Silvio, of the hunting metaphor:

Said He, look how your Huntsman here
Hath taught a Faun to hunt his Dear.
(11.

Marvell is not, as has been suggested, merely seizing an occasion for the tired deer-dear and the hart-heart puns (1.36). The passage is a dismissal of the whole world of manners and feelings which they represent. The subject of this poem is not sexual love, nor sexuality in general; rather, the status of references to these things is metaphorical, or illustrative. The language of amorous compliment is there in the poem to define negatively the real area of concern. It is important to notice that the

1. Lovelace gives the conventional version in 'Amarantha: A Pastorall', in which spotless white cows are said to suffer from the comparison with Amarantha, who is admired by all the flowers in the garden.
2. By D.C.Allen in his essay on the poem, Chapter 10 in his Image and Meaning, Baltimore, Maryland, 1968, p.178: 'The metaphor came into English poetry through Wyatt and Shakespeare, and certainly explains the punning passage that supplies a kind of comic relief at the end of the initial hymn.'
Nymph fears that the innocence even of such a peaceful relationship as hers with the Faun may be a precarious state:

Had it liv'd long, I do not know
Whether it too might have done so
As Sylvio did: his Gifts might be
Perhaps as false or more than he.

(11.47-50)

Thus death and sexuality are made equally devastating in the Nymph's terms; only the brevity of the Faun's life has prevented its possible betrayal of the Nymph's love. Sylvio's treachery is the characteristic result of his status as lover and has the same effect as the death of the Faun: the abandonment of the Nymph to solitude.

There is also present in this first part of the poem another kind of language, which has suggested theological allegories to some critics: the language of sacrifice and atonement, with the description of the Faun as blameless victim:

Ungentle men! they cannot thrive
To kill thee. Thou ne'er didst alive
Them any harm: alas nor cou'd
Thy death yet do them any good.
I'me sure I never wisht them ill;
Nor do I for all this; nor will;
But, if my simple Pray'rs may yet
Prevail with Heaven to forget
Thy murder, I will Joyn my Tears
Rather than fail. But, o my fears!
It cannot dye so. Heavens King
Keeps register of every thing;
And nothing may we use in vain.
Ev'n Beasts must be with justice slain;
Else Men are made their Deodands.

Though they should wash their guilty hands
In this warm life-blood, which doth part
From thine, and wound me to the Heart,
Yet could they not be clean: their Stain
Is dy'd in such a Purple Grain.
There is not such another in
The World, to offer for their Sin.

(11.3-24)

We should, however, be as careful as possible
to refer the language to its speaker: it is the
Nymph who speaks of forgiveness, 'simple Pray'rs',
and the unique value of the Faun. If indeed the
language is functioning to suggest Christian
parallels, these are vehicle, not tenor, to the
subject of the poem. What is happening is that
the 'Nymph complaining' is drawing Christian
images into its own structure, and not the reverse.
In the case, too, of the echoes of the Song of
Songs in the central passage of the poem (11.71-92)
it seems quite clear that Marvell is manipulating
the connotations of such language not at all in
an allegorical, but in an allusive, parodic, and
perhaps even in an ironic, way. The life and
death of the Faun and the Nymph's sense of its
blamelessness are being illustrated by such
suggested analogies, rather than illustrating
them, as in allegory they would be doing. This
is made clear by the structure of the poem, and
still more by the tone. There is no promise of
redemption or healing love at the end, only a
common departure into oblivion, palely
characterized as 'Elizium'; and the statues can
hardly be fitted with any congruity into an
allegorical scheme. This final freezing into
graceful attitudes is a function of the poem's
decorative or ludic qualities. There is nothing
here of desperate seriousness, but rather an
elegant and static, highly controlled grief.
Furthermore, the ideas of sacrifice, atonement, and virginal innocence may carry a different kind of allusion. E.S. LeComte first suggested, though he did not pursue the idea, a dormant reminiscence by the poet of the story of the sacrifice of Iphigenia to Artemis by Agamemnon:

"In connection with the opening suggestion of recompense for a slain fawn, one is probably supposed to remember, if anything, not Christ, but the sacred stag which Agamemnon and his party slew (they were troopers, on the way to the Trojan War) while hunting in the grove of Artemis at Aulis, and on account of which the goddess exacted the sacrifice of Iphigenia."

The story is treated by Euripides in Iphigenia in Aulis, in a manner which does bring Marvell's poem to mind, but in this version the initial offence to Artemis does not involve the slaying of a stag, and at the climax of the events, Artemis substitutes a deer for Iphigenia, whom she spirits off to be her handmaid. In the play, when the slaying of Iphigenia seems unavoidable, the Chorus sings of the happy day of the marriage of Peleus to Thetis, then of the sad contrast which will be presented by the climax of Iphigenia's young life:

Your wedding-day, Iphigenia, will be different.  
On your lovely flowing hair  
Argive soldiers will place a wreath of flowers  
Like the wreath men place on an unblemished victim,  
A mountain heifer gleaming red and white,  
Coming down from the rocky caves;  
But the blood they draw from the throat — who will give it?

Not an animal grazing to the farm-boy's pipe  
Or the herdsman's whistle;  
But a girl reared at her mother's side  
To be bride to an Argive prince.  
Where now can the clear face of goodness,  
Where can virtue itself live by its own strength? —  
When ruthless disregard holds power,  
When men, forgetting they are mortal,  
Tread down goodness and ignore it,  
When lawlessness overrules law,  
When the terror of God no longer draws men together,  
Trembling at the reward of wickedness?  

(ll.1079-1097)

The explicit, general political reflections at the end of the passage, and the reference to Iphigenia's royal blood, are of course, quite alien to such a poem as the 'Nymph complaining', but in both Euripides and Marvell the same poignancy attaches to the idea of the sacrifice of innocence, youth and purity. In both it is focused on the lack of blemish of the creature who is to be or has been killed, and in both there are present, and related to each other, a young girl and an animal, white and 'gleaming red and white'. The idea of sacrifice in the pagan context of classical literature certainly can act as a focus of feeling, just as allusion to the Christian sacrifice does in Christian literature.

There is a further point raised by this part of the poem. When the Nymph says 'Ev'n Beasts must be with justice slain', it seems unnecessary and irrelevant to suggest that the crime of the troopers was in killing a fawn instead of a grown deer, and without due ceremony: a failure to observe the rules of hunting. There is nothing else in the poem to indicate that the troopers are engaged in a hunt, and hunting figures only

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in Sylvio's elegantly fanciful speech. This is not a reliable source; the troopers should surely be taken to be riding to or from war, their defining activity. But this one word does not seem to me to be sufficient to sustain an interpretation of the whole poem as a Civil War allegory, as has been suggested by Earl Miner and others.\textsuperscript{6}

A coherent interpretation may start from a consideration of the poem's genre. The 'Nymph' is commonly classified as pastoral. This is unsatisfactory: there are no trappings, no textual parallels with Virgilian, Theocritean or later classical pastoral, such as so strongly mark the Mower poems; there is no use of the Golden Age topic, only the most barely sketched of pleasances (garden, roses, lilies). Sylvio is a mock huntsman, not a shepherd, which is also uncharacteristic of pastoral,\textsuperscript{7} and nymphs do not normally figure as main speakers in pastoral eclogues, whether classical or Renaissance. In Theocritus and Virgil, as in their imitators - and indeed in Marvell's own Mower pastorals - the speaker is male, and he is active, herding and doing various kinds of work. The Nymph is inactive and solitary. The intense concentration on the Faun, its substitution for Sylvio as the object of love, and the detailed and lengthy description of its qualities, actions and death, are all highly unusual. In pastoral, the animals are true animals; though they are sometimes used in pathetic fallacy (which

the Faun is not), yet 'the bucolic style as the whole Frowns on animal comparisons...A comparison is felt to have the same effect as the making of animals into pets'. Pastoral shepherds win and lose sheep in singing matches and thickets; the animals are objects rather than kindred creatures. As for the Nymph herself, she is rather mythological than pastoral, living alone and evidently not as part of a community of similar figures. Finally, the pastoral classification of the poem by critics has assisted in the allegorical interpretation of it, and I think both these approaches are inappropriate. Pastoral allegory in the Renaissance is always very clearly signalled as such, by the inclusion of obvious topical reference, and by the simplicity and forcefulness of its moralizing tone, both features completely absent from the 'Nymph'.

There is a passage in the late Latin pastoralist, Calpurnius Siculus, which reveals the difference of purpose clearly. In his Sixth Eclogue, one of the two speakers, Lycidas, promises a stag to the other, Astylus, if he wins their singing contest. This stag is the pet of Lycidas's girl friend. He is tame, a delicate eater, adorned with snow-white decorations, a golden collar and roses:

...en adspicis illum, 
candida qui medius cubat inter lilia, cervum?
quamvis hunc Petale mea diligar, accipe victor.
scit frenos et ferre iugum sequiturque vocantem
credulus et mensae non improba porrigit ora,

But Astylus wagers in return a young colt, and the functional qualities of the horse - speed, spirit - are emphasized along with its beauty. Thus, though the stag is described as a playmate and an aesthetically desirable creature - both qualities unusual in the normal pastoral heifers and kids - nevertheless both animals are made part of a peculiarly pastoral motif. The stag, for instance, is 'trained to bear reins and yoke and follows a call with trustfulness'; he is far nearer to a thing than the Faun.

I believe the poem may more appropriately be considered a lament for a dead pet. But it seems necessary to point out that in classical literature this is a kind of poem which exhibits far more than the one specific example usually mentioned - Catullus' poem on Lesbia's sorrow (III) - with its family of imitations in European literature. In fact the Greek Anthology offers numerous variations on the

10. See McPeek, J.A.S., 'Catullus in "Strange and Distant Britain"', Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, Vol.XV, Harvard U.P., 1939. These include sparrow lyrics by George Gascoigne and the seventeenth-century poet Richard Brome, and pet-bird-laments by Thomas Randolph, William Drummond, and Lovelace. A closer parallel to Marvell's poem may be found in the two poems in Johannes Secundus' Odae et Epigrammata in which the lady's pet sparrow first flies away, then dies. The poet compares himself favourably with the bird, since he will not desert the lady.
topic, themselves probably Catullus' source, and some of these generated many imitations and versions by neo-Latin and vernacular poets. These may be found in Book VII of the Anthology, forming part of the larger category of sepulchral epigrams. Poem 190 is a representative example:

For her locust, the nightingale of the fields, and her cicada that reseth on the trees one tomb hath little Myro made, shedding girlish tears; for inexorable Hades hath carried off her two pets.

This poem itself gave rise to half a dozen imitations or versions in Latin or French by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French poets. It is part of a sequence of locust and cicada laments, all showing the same balance of playful miniaturization and restrained grief which is characteristic of the tone of the 'Nymph complaining'. Poems 189 and 192 are examples:

No longer, shrill-voiced locust, shall the sun look on thee, as thou singest in the wealthy house of Alkis, for now thou hast flown to the meadows of Hades and the dewy flowers of golden Persephone.

11. It is not necessarily true, as D.C. Allen suggests, that 'Marvell's readers would be more likely to remember' the Catullus poem than these epigrams. The influence of the Anthology was, as we have seen, strong and widespread in the seventeenth century. D.C. Allen, loc. cit., p. 166.
No longer, locust, sitting in the fruitful furrows shalt thou sing with thy shrill-toned wings, nor shalt thou delight me as I lie under the shade of the leaves, striking sweet music from thy tawny wings.

Many, like 198, refer to the tombs built by the grieving owners:

Wayfarer, though the tombstone that surrounds my grave seems small and almost on the ground, blame not Philaenis. Me, her singing locust, that used to walk on thistles, a thing that looked like straw, she loved and cherished for two years, because I made a melodious noise. And even when I was dead she cast me not away, but built this little monument of my varied talent.

Further, two poems occur in the middle of the sequence which are not epitaphs, but are rather concerned with praising the pet as healer of the pains of love, the function also of the Faun in relation to the Nymph's feelings after her desertion by Sylvio:

Locust, beguiler of my loves, persuader of sleep, locust, shrill-winged Muse of the corn fields, Nature's mimic lyre, play for me some tune I love, beating with thy dear feet, thy talking wings, that so, locust, thou mayest deliver me from the pains of sleepless care, weaving a song that enticeth Love away. And in the morning I will give thee a fresh green leek, and drops of dew sprayed from my mouth.

(195)

Another group of laments are for birds of various kinds:

Bird, nursling of the Graces, who didst modulate thy voice till it was like unto a halcyon's, thou art gone, dear elaeus, and the silent ways of night possess thy gentleness and thy sweet breath.

(199)
Poems 200 to 206 are concerned with the killing, by cats, foxes, and predators of various kinds, of a cock, a magpie, or a partridge. These are of particular interest, considering the cause of the Faun's death. The 'foolish boys' who in poems 200 and 201 destroy the small creatures, are structurally equivalent to the 'wanton Troopers', a parallel reinforced by the unnecessary and random quality of their actions:

No longer perched on the green leaves dost thou shed abroad thy sweet call, for as thou wast singing, noisy cicada, a foolish boy with outstretched hand slew thee.

(201)

A swallow, an ant, a white dog, and some favourite horses are also made the subjects of epitaphs, transferred from the human, and mingled with them, indeed, in the sometimes quite haphazard sequence of the Anthology. Poem 207 concerns a young hare, and though it contains no deliberate killing it is strikingly similar to the 'Nymph' in other features:

I was a swift-footed long-eared leveret, torn from my mother's breast while yet a baby, and sweet Phanion cherished and reared me in her bosom, feeding me on flowers of spring. No longer did I pine for my mother, but I died of surfeiting, fattened by too many banquets. Close to her couch she buried me so that even in her dreams she might see my grave beside her bed.

The animal's swiftness, the cherishing, the flower food, and the perpetual remembrance by the girl for the young hare all vividly recall the relationship of Nymph and Faun.

There are other kinds of epigram in the Anthology which partake of the same aesthetic as
the 'Nymph': the ecphrastic, and sometimes also
the dedicatory, poems in Book II and VI respectively.
All of these have in common the freezing of speech
and character into a pose, the creation of a small
and perfect object; each successful poem of this
kind is clearly a metaphor for experience rather than
a representative of it or an account of feelings,
thoughts, events. It is more of a magical object,
less of an expression or an explanation of anything.
Thus to propose direct religious or political reference
in the 'Nymph' is, it seems to me, a categorical
misreading of the poem. The meaning of the 'Nymph'
is to be sought within the poem itself; the shooting
dead, the memories, the grief, the statues signify
only themselves and are without individual detachable
reference outside the poem to 'real-world' persons,
events or places. The contradictory and
unsatisfactory character of the various lock- and-
key interpretations proposed is evidence for this.
Such poems as this are, I think, reflexive in
meaning: they are metaphors for man and his art,
in which the tombs, the statues, the epitaph itself
are intended to be signs for the containing force
of the aesthetic object. Just as the statues in
the 'Nymph complaining' are signs for the nymph and
Faun, and their disposition ('There at my feet shalt
thou be laid,/Of purest Alabaster made') signifies
the relationship between the two, so the poem is a
sign for the human creative capacity. Like the
statues, it will be 'White as I can, though not
as thee' - that is, as effective as it can be
within the limitations of the poet's life, gifts
and circumstances, but never so effective a
metaphor for life as to fool an onlooker into
-taking it for life. The form of the poem, as I
have already indicated in discussing the structure
(p. 1. above) is its meaning: first the present desolation, then, centrally placed, the past fulfilment, and last the determination to enact in the future in permanent and tangible form the process of love and loss, achievement and failure, desire and deprivation, undergone by the Nymph. (The pair of statues unites the attitudes of death and of loving companionship). Certainly the Nymph abdicates, in this final section, the intolerable responsibility of life without the object of desire. She is to follow the Faun into silence — as speaker, companion, nurse, lover and beloved — but as the poem closes she is entering upon her metamorphosis, into the safety of art. Both joy and suffering are to be thus caught and saved by art, like the tears of the Faun which become crystal and precious amber (11.100-102). Niobe and the sisters of Phaethon achieve the same paradoxical triumph, which is why they are mentioned in this passage. Niobe appears in three epigrams in the Anthology, (VII. 386, 530 and 549) one of which is particularly interesting for our purpose:

Here am I, Niobe, as many times a stone as I was a mother; so unhappy was I that the milk in my breast grew hard. Great wealth for Hades was the number of my children — to Hades for whom I brought them forth. Oh relics of that great pyre!
(VII No. 386)

The idea of metamorphosis is an important one in this poem, as elsewhere in Marvell, and I shall return to the explicit Ovidian version of it; but first I want to look at the mediation through a Renaissance Latin poet of the epigrammatic pet i a m n t which I think may have helped to make the 'Nymph' what it is: somehow a more considerable
poem than any of the epitaphs, though, as I have been arguing, it is the same kind of poem as they are. (No doubt Marvell's use of the Nymph herself as speaker, where often in the Anthology a third person comments on the relationship of mistress and pet, is also an important factor in the difference).

The Latin *lusus pastorales* - brief pastoral poems - of Marcantonio Flaminio, the sixteenth-century Italian poet, offer an important analogue, and possibly a source, for the 'Nymph'. Volumes III and IV of Flaminio's collected works, published at Padua in 1552, consist of a series of these short lyrics in the pastoral mode. It should be remarked here than Flaminio's pastoral, especially in the *lusus*, is not the moralizing or allegorical kind, but strongly aesthetic, Virgilian, or resembling the pastoral of Calpurnius Siculus and Nemesianus rather than that of Mantuan.13 Volume IV recounts the story of a tragic star-crossed love affair between a young goat-girl, Hyella, and her lover Iolas. Flaminio chooses to concentrate much of the elegant, stylized expression of grief, which is his main concern in the collection, in the goat which is Hyella's charge and pet, and on the mountains and valleys in which it and she have lived happily together. In his story the goat also dies, of its grief at the loss of its mistress. These pieces are highly rhetorical, perfectly balanced and controlled. The second poem, for example, is a description of the happy,

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13. There is an excellent study of Flaminio by Carol Maddison: *Marcantonio Flaminio, Poet, Humanist, Reformer*, 1965. W.L. Grant's *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 1965, also has an account of this tradition.
harmonious past, in which goat and mistress played and worked and travelled, from valley to high pasture and back, together:

Caper capella coelitum beatior,  
Quem tam uenusta, tam puella candida  
Stipante maximo capellarum grege  
Agit per alta montium cacumina,  
Cum Sol recludit splendido coelum die,  
Albentque laeta rore cano gramina...  
(ll.1-6)

The third poem follows an almost precisely similar course, but its subject is the calamitous alteration brought about by the loss of Hyella; the repetition of the framework serves by a formally elegant device to emphasize the difference of what is within it:

Caper capellis ire dux ad pascua  
Suetus, quid agros ultimus trahis pedes?  
Tu primus alta montium cacumina,  
Cum Sol quadrigis aureis portat diem,  
Primus reposta vallium cubilia,  
Quo fons locuace limpidus lympha uocat,  
Primus petabas nocte cum prima domum  
Magnis capella antecedens passibus,  
Nunc moestus aeger, ultimus prodis domo.  
Caper miselle nunc requiris candidam  
Hyellam? et illa absente nec thyma dulcia,  
Nec umbra dulcis, nec tibi est dulcis liquor?  
Caper miselle Hyella bella est mortua,  
Luge miselle, bella Hyella est mortua,  
Allumque ualle pascit Elysia gregem,  
Videtque pura lacte fontes currere...  
(ll.1-16)

Though the situation of bereaved and departed characters is reversed, there are certainly suggestive similarities between this story and the 'Lymph':

Now my sweet Faun is vanish'd to  
Whether the Swans and Turtles go:
In fair Elizium to endure  
With milk-white Lambs, and Ermins pure.  
O do not run too fast...  
(11.105-109)

But it is in the manner of the sequence that I wish to suggest the real affinity lies. These poems about the girl and the goat are without allegorical intention; they are classically precise and graceful, without in any way appearing to be metaphorical expressions of some more serious or larger grief. This quality of being all surface, perfectly contained within their technique, seems to me to be one that they share with Marvell's 'Nymph'. In her book on Flaminio,14 Ruth Maddison makes a perceptive comment on the effect of this quality: Referring especially to the fifth poem of Volume IV, she says:

"Cur subito, fons turbidule, tuus humor abundat" is a piece of beautiful writing which exists solely for the sake of the beauty which it embodies. It pleases the reader because of the extravagance of its emotions, which assume cosmic proportions. We enjoy, in a never-never land of the imagination, an idealization of emotions that we all, at one time or another, experience...

This is strongly reminiscent of T.S. Eliot's statement about the 'Nymph complaining':

Marvell takes a slight affair, the feeling of a girl for her pet, and gives it a connexion with that inexhaustible and terrible nebula of emotion which surrounds all our exact and practical passions and mingles with them.

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Both are, it seems to me, seeking to define an effect characteristic of a certain kind of seventeenth-century poetry: a reserved detachment, combined with great poetic power, especially formal skill, producing a poetry which is neither directly expressive of feeling attributable to the poet as first-person speaker in the poem, nor yet allegorical, that is, resonant with meanings outside and beyond the work. It is this quality which, it seems to me, defines much of the early and middle poetry of Milton, up to and including Lycidas, as well as the poetry of Jonson, and most of Marvell's lyrics. In the poem to which Ruth Maddison refers, for example, Flaminio turns to a mythological allusion when seeking to describe the sympathetic sorrow of Hyella's local fountain at her death. He relates the suffering of Galatea grieving for Acis after the Cyclops has destroyed him. In this passage (11.43-67) the effect Flaminio intends to produce is really a rhetorical one; he presents a parallel pattern of loss and picturesque sorrow:

Hic miserum querulis compellat uccibus Acin,
Antra sonant Acin, caerulae Acin aquae.
Tu quoque fons miserandae tuae post dura puellae
Pata, tuis numquam pone modum lacrimis...
(11.65-68)

The purpose is simply to fix the subject in the foreground of the reader's mind, exactly as he has described it, and not to throw more light on it, or to deepen its significance. So in Lycidas

There are, of course, passages in Lycidas which have a direct religio-political application; but the general tone and primary intention of the poem quite clearly are not concerned with the carrying of such significance outside the structure of the work. The Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity is a still purer example of this kind of poetry, as is Jonson's 'Hymn to Diana'.
the introduction of the story of the death of Orpheus also functions: to make a rhetorical variation on the theme, to demonstrate the poet's copia, the richness of his inventive and recalling powers. The Niobe and Diana and Heliades allusions in the 'Nymph complaining' serve the same purpose of parallel ing. Marvell and Flaminio are engaged also, of course, in miniaturizing exercises; D.C. Allen rightly stresses the gemlike quality of this poem; it fulfilled a particular contemporary taste for the miniaturizing and parodic.

If then we consider the 'Nymph complaining' as generically a pet lament, this still leaves it a complex tissue of influences. In this tissue it seems to me that one strand — the Ovidian — is more important than has been noticed. So far critics have confined themselves to pointing out Ovidian parallels and possible sources for specific passages: the 'brotherless Heliades' have been located in Metamorphoses II. 364-365 \(^{17}\) and the fawn likened to the pet stag of Cyparissus in Metamorphoses X.106 sqq. The first of these is not a very remarkable point: the sisters of Phaethon are referred to in two other places in Ovid's poem as Heliades, and indeed one of these other references, as yet unnoticed so far as I can find, offers a more suggestive parallel to the 'Nymph' than that in Book II. It is Metamorphoses X.259 sqq., in which Pygmalion lavishes attention on his ivory statue of Galatea:

\[
\text{et modo blanditias adhibet, modo grata puellis munera fert illi conchas teretesque lapillos}
\]

\(^{17}\) Leishman, op. cit., pp. 159-160.
et parvas volucres et flores mille colorum
liliaque pictasque pilas et ab arbore lapsas
Heliadum lacrimas...

(11.259-263)

Here the amber is tears; in Marvell the tears are amber. Earlier in the story of Pygmalion and Galatea, the idea of the textures and colours of flesh and ivory as suggestively related is explored:

saepe manus operi temptantes admovet, an sit
corpus an illud ebur, nec adhuc ebur esse fatetur.
(11.254-255)

So in Marvell there is a playing with the alabaster statues and the whiteness of Nymph and Faun.

But there is a more pervasive influence from Ovid, both in further details, and in the general conception of the poem. The Nymph's world is not so much a golden age - not so much a sanctified spot in time - as a hallowed sanctuary of space. The troopers are 'riding by' her dwelling place, and she seems to be fixed in that spot, where she has been left by Sylvio. In this fixedness, she has many analogues among the nymphs we meet in Ovid, who as tutelary spirits inhabit their various rivers, pools, groves and mountains. Nymphs are part of the class of sub-divine beings; Jupiter speaks about them like this in Metamorphoses I.192:

...sunt rustica numina, nymphae/faunique satyrique.18

And the dignity of nymphs is made clear also in Ovid Ibis, 11.8ff:-

18. One of the primary functions of nymphs seems to be as tutelary spirits: see Book VI of The Anthology, Nos.154, 158, 170, 189, 203, 224; and in No.324 there is an insistence that any sacrifice made to a local nymph must be bloodless, which may throw some light on the opening references to sacrifices and victims in Marvell's poem.
The individual nymphs who appear as characters in the Metamorphoses are either ravished by Jupiter or some other god, or left lovelorn by mortals; they are punished by the jealous Juno, or since they are attendants of Diana, and therefore expected to be pure, they are destroyed. Their characteristic function is a peculiar kind of vulnerable seductiveness and forlornness; they are always pawns in someone else's game. Our Nymph undoubtedly has these characteristics: she is solitary, has been betrayed, and dwells in fertile surroundings. Like Echo and Salmacis in Ovid, she has been spurned by a mortal lover (though his name in Marvell sounds as if it owes something to Italian Renaissance poetry). In the Ovidian stories, each nymph is given her own setting, remote and peaceful; just so the Nymph has

...a Garden of my own,
But so with Roses over grown,
and Lillies, that you would it guess
To be a little Wilderness.
(11.70-74).

Many of the metamorphoses of the female characters in general in the poem take place in some such secluded natural spot. This is the opening of the story of Dryope, changed into a lotus tree:

19. In Book IV, for example, Salmacis has her pool (297 sqg.) by which she lies among the soft grass and flowers, until Hermaphrodite arrives to disturb her peace.
Est lacus, adclivis de vox margine formam
litoris efficiens, summum myrteta coronant.
venerat huc Dryope fatorum nescia...
(IX.334-336)

The language of the central passage of the 'Nymph complaining' insists on the contrast between, and the pairing of, red and white: the Faun's skin and its flesh, the roses and the lilies. This opposition of red and white is, of course, a favourite device in Renaissance poetry and in that of Marvell's contemporaries. It is nearly ubiquitous in Herrick,20 for example, and very common in Lovelace,21 and also in Spenser. It normally refers to amorous matters (cf. 'The Garden', 11.17-18: 'No white nor red was ever seen/So am'rous as this lovely green'), but that is evidently not the connotation intended here; we have already seen that such allusion is expressly banished, with the departure of Sylvio and his values. It has often been remarked that the passage is suggestive in other ways: there are strong echoes of the Song of Songs (comprehensively discussed by Ruth Wallerstein in her Seventeenth-Century Poetic22) and there may possibly also be a suggestion of the Christian eucharistic elements—body and bread, blood and wine—in the white-and-red pattern. I think that such reminiscences may well be present, but that they are subordinate to

20. See Poems, ed. Martin, O.U.P., 1968, pp.25, 34, 44 ('Upon one Lillie, who married with a maid call'd Rose'), 81, 103, 158, 183, 404, 440, etc.
21. See pp.85, 89, 96 in Wilkinson's O.U.P. edition. The last of these 'La Bella Bona Roba', is especially sensuous and vivid: 'Such whose white-Sattin upper coat of skin,/Cast upon Velvet rich Incarnadin,/Has yet a Body (and of Flesh) within...'
the foreground meaning of the poem. It seems to me that what the red and white do is to indicate the combination of the vitality associated with youth, and typified by the Faun's speed, energy, playfulness and affection, with the stillness and silence of death; the simultaneous contrast and inextricable mixture of red and white are emblematic of the situation - love and loss, the achievement and subsequent inevitable destruction of happiness - which is the subject of the poem. The red is blood-colour, but also the colour of life; the white is the blankness of the tomb statues, but also the living purity of the Faun's innocence (and the Nymph's). There are countless passages in Ovid, as well as in the other classical poets, which propose this contract, in terms far more nearly related to those here obtaining than are the gallant complimentary verses of Marvell's contemporaries in their amorous lyrics. In Tibullus (III.iv) there is a beautiful youth with a face of snow and roses; the late pastoral poets Calpurnius and Nemesianus use the lily-rose pairing decoratively and sadly (Calpurnius III.51-54, Nemesianus II.24 and 44-48), but above all Ovid employs the contrast to typify the doomed vitality and beauty of his characters about to be swallowed up by their new forms. So Narcissus:-

spem sine corpore amat, corpus putat esse, quod umbra est.
adstupet ipse sibi vultuque immotus eodem haeret, ut e Pario foratum marmore signum; spectat humi positus geminum, sua lumina, sidus et dignos Baccho, dignos et Apolline crines inpubesque genas et eburnea colla decusque oris et in niveo mixtum candore ruborem...

(III.417-423)
And again:

pectora traxerunt roseum percussa ruborem.
non aliter quam poma solent, quae candida parte,
parte rubent, aut ut variis solet uva racemis
ducere purpureum nondum matura colorem...
et neque iam color est mixto candore rubori,
 nec vigor et vires et quae modo visa placebant,
 nec corpus remanet, quondam quod amaverat Echo...
(III.482-485, 491-493)

The most essentially Ovidian quality of the poem, however, lies, I think, in the idea of metamorphosis itself. I have remarked above on the tendency of the poem to freeze movement (see pp. 4 and 11). At the end of the central passage (from 1.71, 'I have a Garden of my own', to 1.92, 'Lillies without, Roses within') there is a reduction of action and motion to the static:

Had it lived long, it would have been
Lillies without, Roses within.

A little farther on, the Faun's tears become precious objects, and finally both Nymph and Faun are to be petrified into statues. Discussing these passages, Leo Spitzer says that Marvell's metaphysical wit here 'suggests the possibility of a miracle...a miracle of the poet's making, but one that goes back historically to medieval religious beliefs... Metaphysical wit has here simply laicized, and preserved in poetry, the substantiation of the supernatural current in hagiographic legend...The comic spirit in hagiography is probably at the bottom of metaphysical wit...Here the poetic miracle has inherited from the truly religious miracle its paradoxical logic, its psycho-physical analogy,
and the mechanization of the spiritual. He does mention the Ovidian idea of metamorphosis, but insists that 'when the Christian spirit moves the medieval and the Renaissance poets, their metamorphosis will emphasize the superhuman that is present in the physical: we will remember the medieval tradition (not lost in the Renaissance) of Ovide moralisé which will give to the pagan metamorphosis Christian religious or moral overtones.'

Spitzer's interpretation is the only account of the poem which pays much attention to Ovidian influence, but it seems to me that he underestimates the importance of it. Many characteristics are present in Ovid's vision and style which when found in the work of Marvell or his contemporaries are usually labelled 'metaphysical' or 'baroque' (see my discussion of 'The Garden' for an account of these features in the two poets). The 'metaphysical wit' spoken of by Spitzer need not be sought as far afield as in medieval hagiography, as he suggests. Indeed, in this last passage of the 'Nymph complaining', the very objects which we see undergoing a change of nature are themselves strongly Ovidian. Thus the 'wounded Balsome' and 'Frankincense' in these lines

See how it weeps. The Tears do come
Sad, slowly dropping like a Gumme.
So weeps the wounded Balsome: so
The holy Frankincense doth flow. (11.95-98)

recall strongly the metamorphosis of Byblis (who impiously loved her brother) into a fountain in Ovid's Book IX:

naidas his venam, quae numquam aresecere posset, supposuisse ferunt. quid enim dare m.aius habebant? protinus, ut secto piceae de cortice guttae, utve tenax gravida manat tellure bitumen; utve sub adventu spirantis lene favoni sole remollescit quae frigore constitit unda: sic lacrimis consumpta suis Phoebeia Byblis vertitur in fontem...

(11.657-664)

and also that of Myrrha into a myrrh-tree in Book X:

...sit dives amomo

cinnamaque costumque suum sudataque ligno
tura ferat floresque alios Panchaia tellus,
dum ferat et murram...

(11.307-310)

The Nymph goes on to imagine a naive heaven for the Faun:

Now my sweet Faun is vanish'd to
Whether the Swans and Turtles go:
In fair Elizium to endure,
With milk-white Lambs, and Ermins pure...

(11.105-107)

Ovid's solemnly comic lament for Corinna's parrot in Amores II.vi contains just such a passage, and Marvell's is reminiscent of it even in the details of whiteness and the presence of swans and doves:

Colle sub Elysio nigra memus ilice frondet,
udaque perpetuo gramine terra viret.
siqua fides dubiis, volucrum locus ille piarum
dicitur, obscenae quo prohibentur aves.
illic innocui late pascuntur olores
et vivax phoenix, unica semper avis;
explicat ipsa suas ales Tunonia pinnas,
oscula dat cupido blanda columba mari.

(11.49-56)
The parrot is also given a monument, like the Faun:

Ossa tegit tumulus - tumulus pro corpore magnus -
quo lapis exiguus par sibi carmen habet:

COLLIGOR EX IPSO DOMINAE PLACUISSE SEPULCRO.
ORA FUERE MIHI PLUS AVE DOCTA LOQUI.
(11.59-62)

The mock-seriousness which is the principal ingredient of the wit in this poem of Ovid's is, I think, also functioning in the tone of the 'Nymph complaining'. The poet grieves extravagantly for the bird, not omitting even mythical and heroic parallels, and hand-wringings upon the cruelty of fate. There is, it seems to me, a similar sense of fun in Marvell's mock-elegy; it does not disturb the graceful surface of the poem, but does admit the parodic undertone of the theological allusions; and also there is faint comedy in the idea of the Nymph's absolute innocence in substituting the asexual love play, feeding, lying down and kissing, with the Faun, for adult passion. Something very akin to this last strand of comic playfulness may also be seen in Ovid; in the delightfully tame and cuddly Jupiter-as-bull who tempts Europa, for example. He is pure white, peaceful and friendly, and takes flowers from her hand with his candida ora:

et nunc adludit viridique exsultat in herba,
nunc lates in fulvis niveum deponit harenis;
pauellatimque metu dempto modo pectora praebet
virginea plaudenda manu, modo cornua sertis
inpedienda novis; ausa est quod regia virgo
nescia, quem premeret, tergo considere tauri...
(Metamorphoses 11.864-869)

25. Marvell had already adapted 11.846-7, just before this passage, for his 'Letter to Doctor Ingelo.' See Chapter 2 above.
A more haunted, but still contained and rather amused version of a relationship of girl to beast is offered by Virgil in his Sixth Eclogue, where the story is recounted of Pasiphaë and the bull (et fortunatam, si numquam armenta fuissent):

ah virgo infelix, tu nunc in montibus erras: ille, latus niveum molli fultus hyacintho, ilice sub nigra pallentes ruminat herbas...
(11.45, 52-54)

Pasiphaë functions here, of course, as a type of delusion and foolishness, and while we are clearly not meant to judge the Nymph in anything like this strongly condemnatory way, there may perhaps be some irony at her expense - evident in the naivety of her judgements and the simplicity of her syntax.

These possible parallels or sources, though they have not, so far as I am aware, been cited elsewhere, seem to me quite as suggestive as the story of Silvia's stag in Aeneid VII, though leading the interpretation of Marvell's poem in quite a different direction. Furthermore, the last-quoted passage in Virgil, the Pasiphaë story, is followed immediately by a reference to the sisters of Phaethon - the Heliades:

tum Phaethontiadas musco circumdat amarae corticis atque solo proceras erigit alnos...
(ecloga VI.62-63)

In conclusion, then, it seems to me that the 'Nymph' is generically a pet lament, rather than a 'brief allegory' (Geoffrey Hartman's phrase,

which fits many of the other current interpretations equally well). Its theme is the precariousness of the state of happiness and the alleviation of grief by what Nabokov called 'the melancholy and very local palliative of articulate art'. Like the golden bird in Yeats' 'Byzantium'—which sings like the poet but does not suffer as he does—the pair of statues at the end of Marvell's poem acts as a preserver of the essential facts of the Nymph's and Faun's existence: it commemorates their love and their death. The poem itself is in turn a reflexive object, as I have suggested; the repeated, and ultimately total, metamorphoses of the Faun's body, of its tears, and finally of the Nymph herself, are intended to stand for the power of the aesthetic object. The comic playfulness of Marvell's rhetorical imagination, so evident in the tone and allusive texture of the poem, and drawing as I have shown on Ovidian models and devices, is not at all out of place, but rather serves fittingly to articulate the theme.

27. In Lolita, 1959, at the end of Chapter 32.
Chapter Five

The Garden

'The Garden' begins as a simple retirement poem. The first stanza is set firmly in the Roman world, where *otium* is opposed to involvement in *res publicae*, affairs of state.

How vainly men themselves amaze
To win the Palm, the Oke, or Bayes;
And their uncessant Labours see
Crown'd from some single Herb or Tree.
Whose short and narrow verged Shade
Does prudently their Toyles upbraid;
While all Flow'rs and all Trees do close
To weave the Garlands of repose.

(11.1-8)

It is a Stoic stanza; two out of three odes by Horace might acknowledge it as a graceful descendant. We may think, perhaps, of a rueful Cicero:

Nihil enim perditius his hominibus, his tempribus. Itaque, ex republica quoniam nihil iam voluptatis capi potest, cur stomacher, nescio. Litterae me et studia nostra et otium villaeque delectant.

Seneca's moderate, urbane recommendations of philosophical detachment may also be in the background. His quirky defence of Epicurus, to whom his garden was classroom and habitation, helps to suggest the context:

Cum adieris eius hortulos et inscriptum hortulis legeris: Hospes, hic bene

1. *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem*, III.ix.
manebis, hic summum bonum voluptas est, paratus erit istius domicilii custos hospitalis, humanus, et te polenta excipiet et aquam quoque large ministrabit et dicet: 'Ecquid bene acceptus es? 'Non invitant', inquit, 'hi hortuli famen, sed extinguunt. Nec maiorem ipsis potionibus sitim faciunt, sed naturali et gratuito remedio sedant. 'In hac voluptate consenui.'

Tacitus, comparing the merits of oratory and poetry as careers, has high praise of the woodland solitudes and the mental state they may induce:

Adice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint, relinquenda conversatio amicorum et lucundital urbis, deserenda cetera officia, utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudine secedendum est.

And Tacitus himself finds such inspiration:

Nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum, quod Aper increpabat, tantum mihi adferunt voluptatem ut inter praeclpuos carminum fructus numerem quod non in strepitu nec sedente ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordes as lacrimas reorum componuntur, sed secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia fruiturque sedibus sacris.

The opposition between action and retirement is a familiar theme to readers of Marvell's work. The 'forward Youth' of the 'Horatian Ode' must come out of his bookish seclusion when great public events demand participation. The tension, never really resolved, between these two courses of action, is the unifying theme which binds

together all the Fairfax poems; and the events of Fairfax's life give a sustained poignancy to Marvell's deployment of a favourite seventeenth-century subject. The place of 'The Garden' within this tradition of retirement poetry has been set out very fully elsewhere, and I do not intend to discuss it, except insofar as it throws some light on the poem's meaning and relationship to its ultimate, classical, sources. But this seventeenth-century tradition of rural lyricism is in essence a development from a set of themes treated in Latin and Greek literature.

Formally, the retirement poem is an ode, generally in imitation of Horace, (with elements of Martial, especially X.47, and hints of Virgil's Eclogues), though this is sometimes at several removes. In the work of Casimire Sarbiewski, the highly influential Neo-Latin poet whose Odes were first published in 1621, 1625 and 1628, Horace is Christianised and joined with a fervent response to the Bible. The Odes are a mélange of the religious (and highly sensuous) imagery of the Song of Solomon and the morality of the Sabine farm. Within England, too, the interest in Horace was growing from the beginning of the century. John Ashmore's Certaine Selected Odes of Horace, English'd, published in 1621, is the first publication completely devoted to translations from Horace. Thomas Hawkins published, in 1625, translations of thirty-six of the odes and five of the epodes. This work was enlarged for the second and subsequent editions, in 1631, 1635, and 1638. John Smith and Richard Fanshawe published translations, in 1649 and 1652 respectively, and Barton Holyday

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a pirated edition of Hawkins' work, in 1653. The first complete edition of Horace's works in English translation was published in 1666 by Alexander Brome. By the Restoration, Horatian translation had become an extremely popular exercise; many Restoration miscellanies published generous selections of Horatian translations. This is especially true of Dryden's miscellanies.5

Ms Røstvig has provided an exhaustive examination of the growth of a fully-fledged English version of the rural ode. The sure touch of Marvell's essay in the genre is characteristic of the mid-century; earlier versions are less fluent rhythmically and more naive in their treatment of the subject. From this general judgement one must except Jonson. In 'To Sir Robert Wroth' and 'To Penshurst', (which though formally they are epistles, have the same subject matter and tone as the rural ode) he exhibits a fine control of the resources of his language, joining quiet rhythmic competence with an accurate feeling for the idiom of Latin lyric poetry. Jonson had already achieved, decades before the smooth verse of Waller which was so praised in his day, an unostentatious mastery of the style of those ancients in whose 'snow', as Dryden remarked, 'we track him everywhere'. We should not allow our proper admiration for Donne and his imitators to distract our attention from this progress towards the idea of a classical poetry in English. The aim may have been impossible, and it was, perhaps rightly, not single-mindedly pursued in the seventeenth century; but Jonson's achievement in creating a sustained classical tone greatly strengthened the formal sense of later poets.

5. Ibid., pp.71-72.
His 'sons' may have rarely succeeded in equaling his skill and grace, but one can surely see his influence in Marvell's mastery of tone and line-length. Lesser contemporaries, of course, also tried their hands at the ode style. There is a host of garden lyricists before Marvell and contemporary with him. But we may first examine briefly those things in Horace which they found congenial, and therefore imitated. This will in turn reveal the departures which the Renaissance version of the retreat poem was to make from the normal compass of Roman poetry.

Horace's relationship with nature is idyllic, but uncomplicated by ecstasy. The physical delights of country life are celebrated sweetly and gently; the moral framework of the poems is Stoic, with tinges of Epicurean. Pleasures are there to be enjoyed, but they are simple pleasures, associated with friendship and good husbandry. Extravagant feasts are shunned, as is participation in public life by the singer of country joys. The values extolled throughout are those of friendship, loyalty and moderation; these bring the greatest happiness.

```
quodsi dolentem nec Phrygius lapis
nec purpurarum sidere clarior
delenit usus nec Falerna
vitis Achaemeniumque costum,

cur invidendis postibus et novo
sublime ritu miliar atrium?
cur valle permutem Sabina
divitias operosiores?
(Odes, III.1.)
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The ode to the Bandusian fountain expresses the concerns of all the country odes. The fountain is beautiful, and therefore deserves to be honoured:
O fons Bandusiae, splendidior vitro, 
dulci digne mero non sine floribus, 
cras donaberis haedo, 
cui frons turgida cornibus 
primus et venerem et proelia destinat. 
(Ibid, III.xiii)

Its principal quality is its frigus amabile, 
its pleasant coolness; this is a recurring item 
in Horace's description of the country. Again 
and again the shade beneath a tree is made the 
location of amorous or friendly meetings, or simply 
of a quiet drink. Thus Odes I i:

Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici 
nec partem solido demere de die 
spermit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto 
stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae.

And I, xxxii, the poet addressing his lyre:

Poscimur, siquid vacui sub umbra 
lusimus tecum...

The shade comes to signify the retired state; out 
of the heat equally of sun, battle and forum, the 
happy man lives peacefully. This peace is firmly 
earth-bound. No mystical conjunction takes place 
between man and his fountain, trees, or vines; the 
Sabine farm is the scene of moderate eating, drinking, 
and friendly celebrations, not of solitary philosophical, 
still less religious speculation. There is never 
more than a bow to the gods, a libation during the 
meal:

di me tuentur, dis pietas mea 
et Iusa cordi est. hic tibi copia 
manabit ad plenum benigno 
ruris honorum opulenta cornu.
hic in reducta valle Caniculae
vitabis aestus...
(Odes, I.xvii)

There is a strong emphasis on the material qualities of such a civilized life:

ridet argento domus; ara castis
vincta verbenis avet immolato
spargier agno;
(Ibid, IV. )

This may be only moderate wealth, but it is sufficient. Only in one way does Horace go beyond the description of tangible country pleasures, to set up a moral imperative by means of the rural retreat. This is in his Epode II, the most influential of all his poems in the Renaissance. The retired man here is not a gentleman-poet but a farmer, an exponent of the ancient virtues, now lost in the decadent present.

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,
ut prisca gens mortalium,
patera rura bobus exercet suis
solutus omni faenore...

He does recline under a tree, by a brook; but his life is domestic, blessed with wife and children, blamelessly social. He is retired only by virtue of his occupation; his lot may be envied, but cannot really be shared, except metaphorically, by the gentleman of the Odes. Indeed, this irony is fully exploited by Horace, who turns the tables on this blissful picture at the end by revealing that the exponent of such a philosophy is himself an usurer, iam iam futurus rusticus, always on the point of leaving the city and becoming a farmer, but never actually doing it. The seventeenth
century poets used the formulae of this epode to celebrate the joys of the country house; they turned the humble husbandman into lord of an English manor, living an impeccable life, dispensing largesse to tenants and guests alike, surrounded by plenty. They added the motif of the description of the building itself as a sort of extension of its owner, reflecting in its due proportions his moral qualities. 'To Penshurst' is the typical example of the genre; and Marvell too wrote in it, in *Upon Appleton House*. Fanshawe puts it to explicitly political use, combining royalist politics with Horatian good advice:

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Plant Trees you may, and see them shoot
Up with your children to be serv'd
To your clean Boards, and the fair'st Fruit
To be preserv'd;

And learn to use their several Gums;
'Tis innocence in the sweet blood
Of cherry, Apricocks and Plums
To be imbru'd.
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A useful anthology of the classical commonplaces on these rural pleasures is provided by one of the most popular handbooks for theme composition in the seventeenth century, Pontanus' *Attica Bellaria* (Augsburg, 1615; see Chapter 1 above). This is taken from the sixteenth-century French neo-Stoic Justus Lipsius, and concludes with a poem by Marcantonio Flaminio on the same theme. Lipsius' account begins by condemning the poverty of the city's delights, in contrast with those of the

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6. 'An Ode upon His Majesties Proclamaation in the Yeare 1630. Commanding the Gentry to reside upon their Estates in the Countrey'. In his *Pastor Fido*, 1648.
country:


This might conceivably explain the otherwise puzzling 'milder Sun' of 'The Garden' 1.67 (in Hortus it is Sol ibi candidior); the sun is milder because it is not the fierce glare of the city. Then he praises the variousness of the sights - plains, hills, mountains; then lists the joys which meet the senses of the country dweller:

Mane surrexisti? ad musicam quidem; ac circumsonant se, & velut salutant chori illi alitum...ad quos non aequiparent se tibiae, citharae, aut ex arteulli cantus. In hortum propexisti? oculorum aciem tibi praestringet illa ipsa nocte exortum agmen flororum et herbarum...

To the birdsong, far surpassing any manmade music, and the army of flowers sprung up overnight, are added the delights of fruit trees whose purple colour is achieved simply by the apples they produce, sine cera distinctae - a natural embellishment. This emphasis on the natural as opposed to the artificial, quite Horatian and Stoic, is one of the main features of the first three stanzas of 'The Garden', in which metropolitan, social and amorous rewards and pleasures are rejected. The wonders of grafting are also mentioned by Lipsius:

Propius easdem aspice, insitiones mirabere, & matrimonia: adulteria etiam, & suppositos foetus, inscia matre, nec invita.
Anyone who would not marvel at this would himself be made of wood. 7

The climax of the piece is the quotation of Flaminio's poem, *Ad agellum suum*. A translation of the same poem was appended by John Ashmore to his version of Horace, published in 1621:

Cool Shades, Air-fanning Groves,
With your Soft Whisperings,
Where Pleasure smiling roves
Through dewy Caves and Springs,
And bathes her purple Wings:

With Flowers inameled Ground
(Nature's fair Tapestry)
Where chattering Birds abound,
Flickring from Tree to Tree,
With change of Melody:

Sweet Liberty and Leasures,
Where still the Muses keep,
O! if to those true Treasures,
That from your Bosoms peep,
I might securely creep:

If I might spend my Days
(Remote from publike Brawls)
Now tuning lovely Lais,
Now light-foot Madrigals,
Nor checkt with sudden Calls:

Now follow Sleep that goes
Rustling with green-wood Shade;
Now milk my Goat, that knows
(With her young fearfull Cade)
The pail with cooly Glade,

And with Bawls filled to the Brims
Of milky Moisture new,
To water my dry'd Limbs,
And t' all the wrangling Crew
Of Cares to bid, Adew:

7. Marvell has the Mower treat these wonders with horror and condemnation, in 'The Mower against Gardens', 11.21ff.; may it be a witty reversal of Lipsius' praise, of the type of which Marvell was evidently fond?
What Life then should I lead!
How like then would it bee
Unto the Gods, that tread
Ith' starry Gallery
Of true Felicity!

But you, o Virgins sweet,
In Helicon that dwell,
That oft the Fountains greet,
Ith' Country that excell:

If I my Life, though dear,
For your far dearer sake,
To yeeld would nothing fear;
From Citie's Tumults take-mee, And free i th' Country make-mee.

The country joys here have a pastoral admixture, perhaps from Virgil's contented farmer in Eclogue I. Metrically the poem is dull and monotonous, end-stopped almost throughout; merely the familiar subject-matter handled conventionally, without inspiration.

But this social version of the rural poem, containing the retired man's family as well as himself, and depicting his involvement, directly or figuratively, with the tilling of the land, was not the only strain. There was also an individual retreat, characterised by complete or partial solitude, which gives rise in the later, and finest, examples to a philosophical and quasi-religious experience. This may indeed stem from those odes where Horace is alone, either with his lyre, or with trees and fountain; but it begins from where Horace leaves off, going deeper into this solitude, turning the poetic convention into a vehicle for deeply felt and vividly presented individual experience. Written earlier in the century, Sir Henry Wotton's 'A Description of the

8. Chapter 4 above.
Country's Recreations' is not concerned with setting up an alternative country-based society, but with fleeing society altogether:

Fly from our Country pastimes! fly,
Sad troop of humane misery;
Come serene lookes,
Cleare as the christal brookes,
Or the pure azur'd heaven, that smiles to see
The rich attendance of our poverty,
Peace and a secure mind,
(Which all men seeke) we only find...

Here are no false entrapping baite,
To hasten too too hasty fates;
Unless it be
The fond Credulity
Of silly Fish, which worldling-like, still look
Upon the bait, but never on the hook;
Nor envy, unless among
The Birds for prize of their sweet song.

Go! let the diving Negro seek
For Gemmes hid in some forlorne creek:
We all pearles scorne
Save what the dewy morne
Congeals upon each little spire of grass;
Which careless shepheards beat down as they pass;
And gold ne'erere here appears,
Save what the yellow Ceres beares.

Blest silent Groves! o may ye be
For ever Mirths best Nursery!
May pure contents
For ever pitch their tents
Upon these downs, these Meads, these Rocks, these
Mountains,
And Peace still slumber, by these purling
Fountains!

Which we may every yeare
Find when we come fishing here.

9. Reliquiae Wottonianae, 1650. Marvell seems to have liked the 'diving Negro' enough to adapt him for 'Mourning', ll.29-32:
How wide they dream! The Indian Slaves
That sink for Pearl through Seas profound,
Would find her Tears yet deeper Waves
And not of one the bottom sound.
Wotton's poem was certainly written many decades before 1650; he died in 1639, having suffered personally from many of the court ills and misfortunes which he describes.
Here the dew on the grass is the only detail in the poem which relates directly to a rural scene; everything else is really a moral observation, apart from the list at the end of the features of a 'landskip'. In other words, Wotton is really thinking all the time about life in court and city. The fish are credited with human foolishness, the brooks recall the (rare) glance of an honest eye. Wotton desires little that is either tangible or very positive from his country recreations, and the speaker does not analyse at all closely the 'peace and a secure mind' provided by the country. This is still a moral, rather than a metaphysical, solitude poetry. But a more concentrated contemplative interest appears in the work of a later rural lyricist, Mildmay Fane, Earl of Westmoreland. Fane was a Presbyterian in religion, but politically a royalist. There is an obvious affinity between Marvell's work and Fane's. After a short spell of imprisonment in the Tower in 1642, he was one of the first to take the Covenant, and retired to his country home in Northamptonshire for the duration of wars and Interregnum. He is of special interest in connection with Marvell, since his second wife, Mary Vere, was a sister of Thomas Fairfax's wife Anne. Fane was a dramatist, who had his plays produced at his house, and a poet, lyric and satiric. For our purposes his collection of religious and rural lyrics, *Otia Sacra*, privately printed in 1648, is worth examining. Miss Røstvig suggests that Marvell may have seen the book, and indeed it is unlikely that Fane's brother-in-law Fairfax would not have received a copy, especially since he was himself a poet and a religious man. There is, however, some evidence to show that Fane looked far from kindly on Fairfax, at least during the Interregnum; so we may not be certain that any
close communication existed between the two households at the time when Marvell lived at Nunappleton. 10

Pane provides examples of both kinds of rural ode; his 'To Sir John Wentworth, upon His Curiosities and Courteous Entertainment at Summerly in Lovingland' is strongly reminiscent of 'To Penshurst', but also contains Cleveland-ish conceits; like Appleton House, it has gardens marshalled in military formation:

The useful Ash, and sturdy Oak are set
At distance, and obey
and
The nobler Plants...
Like the Life-guard upon the Hall attend.

'My Happy Life, to a Friend', is especially interesting, since it seems to contain the characteristics both of the Second Epode, and of more nearly contemplative verse. It begins with a description of the poet's pastimes in his solitude:

But full contented with my owne,
I let all other things alone;
Which better to enjoy 'thout strife,
I settle to a Country life;
And in a sweet retirement there,
Cherish all Hopes, but banish Fear,
Offending none; so for defence
Armed Capapee with Innocence;
O doe dispose of my time thus,
To make it more propitious.

10. See Withington, E., 'The "fugitive poetry" of Mildmay Pane', and 'Lildmay Pane's political satire', Harvard Library Bulletin, Vols. IX, 1955, and X, 1957. Since we are still so uncertain about the dating of most of Marvell's lyrics, it is difficult to be sure about the question of any inter-influence between the two.

11. Cf. Upon Appleton House, stanza LXXVI:
How safe, methinks, and strong, behind
These trees have I incamp'd my Mind;
Where Beauty, aiming at the Heart,
Bends in some Tree its useless Dart;
And where the World no certain Shot
Can make, or me it toucheth not.
But I on it securely play,
And gaul its Horsemen all the Day.
So far, it is simply neo-Stoic, only vaguely rural. Then a greater precision is brought to the account:

First, my God serv'd; I doe commend
The rest to some choice Book or Friend,
Wherein I may such treasure finde
T'inrich my nobler part, the Minde.
And that my Body Health comprise,
Use too some moderate Exercise;
Whether invited to the Field...
...or t'bee
More taken with a well-grown Tree;
Under whose shades I may reherse.
The holy Layes of Sacred Verse;
Whilst in the Branches perched higher,
The winged Crew sit as in a quier...

'T'bee more taken with a well-grown Tree' is not really, taken by itself, very far from Horace sitting under his oak. But later in the poem, the trees and stream are praised in more enthusiastic terms:

These cool delights helped with the air
Fann'd from the Branches of the fair
Old Beech or Oak, enchantments tie
To every senses facultie;
And master all those powrs should give
The will any prerogative:

This is quite strongly reminiscent of the power of the fruit in 'The Garden' to 'insnare' the poet. Pane returns, however, just after this passage, to less solitary joys; the rest of the poem is taken up with the description of a country milk-maid, then of the poet's wife and family, who are blood-relations of those in Epode II. But Pane does give us a more sustained exposition of the theme of solitary retirement, in a poem which metrically and otherwise is suggestive of 'The Garden'. It is addressed 'To Retirednesse', and is the last poem in Otia Sacra, a fact which perhaps
indicates its importance to Fane. The first two stanzas are devoted to the description of an 'equal mind', free of ambition and the 'Cluster of affaires'. These are the physical surroundings of such calm:

Here I can sit, and sitting under Some portions of His works of wonder, Whose all are such, observe by reason, Why every Plant obeys its season; How the Sap rises, and the Fall, Wherein they shake off leaves and all; Then how again they bud and spring, Are laden for an offering: Which whilst my contemplation sees, I am taught Thankfulness from trees.

Then turning over Natures leaf, I mark the glory of the Sheaf, For every Field's a severall page, Disciphering the Golden Age...

There follows a picture of the happy reapers of these sheaves, subject to no great disputes, only to the little ones of local importance. In the final stanza, the poet's relationship with nature is seen as the means of a closer knowledge of God:

Whether on Natures Book I muse, Or else some other writes on't, use To spend the time in, evry line Is not excentrick but Divine: And though all others downward tend, These look to heaven, and ascend From whence they came; where pointed hie, They ravish into Mysterie, To see the footsteps here are trod, Of mercy by a Gracious God.

Fane is concerned throughout the collection to end 'the Fallacy of the Outward Man', as he calls it. We pay too little attention, in his view, to the soul and 'inner intelligence', being preoccupied with those treasures we behold only 'with th'
Outward Sense', and not with 'th'minde'; God is the only true treasure.  

'The Garden' belongs, then, to this tradition of retreat poetry; though basing his structure on the Horatian rural ode, the seventeenth century poet adds a contemplative and even a metaphysical note. 'The Garden' is in some ways a Horatian poem, especially in its first two stanzas, but the Horatian mould does not contain it. In subject-matter, much of it is foreign to the Horatian ideal, in whichever form. First, it is not at all concerned with the rest of humanity, but only with the individual in the garden. (One hesitates to say 'his garden'; that Horace's Sabine farm is his property is its characterising feature.) Society is firmly rejected by this individual. He does not even bother to rail against its abuses, except in the most perfunctory way, as if shaking his head sadly but without anger or distress at men and their folly.

How vainly men themselves amaze
To win the Palm, or Oke, or Bayes;
And their uncessant labours see
Crown'd from some single Herb or Tree.
Whose short and narrow verged Shade
Does prudently their Toyles upbraid;
While all Flow'rs and all Trees do close
To weave the Garlands of repose.
(ll.1-8)

We may contrast this with Wotton's inability even to see the countryside for the foulness of the city. With the second stanza, already the solitary nature of the retreat is becoming evident. Without a trace of hesitation, previous efforts to engage in social existence are dismissed as a mistake;

indeed such a life begins paradoxically to appear uncivilized, beside the garden, organized and formal, but free of contamination by foolish humanity, with its misplaced passions.

Fair Quiet, have I found thee here,
And Innocence, thy Sister dear!
Mistaken long, I sought you then
In busie Companies of Men.
Your sacred Plants, if here below,
Only among the Plants will grow.
Society is all but rude,
To this delicious Solitude.

That this is intentionally a paradox is quite clear; the high value placed on the contemplative life in ancient and Renaissance thought was not intended to lessen the importance of its opposite; as Aristotle said, the man who cannot live in society is a beast.13 There is a glance here at the Art-Nature opposition which Marvell uses in 'The Mower against Gardens'.

The third stanza begins that development of the subject which is to carry the poem away for good from the realm of the Horatian ode, in the hands either of Horace or his imitators.

No white nor red was ever seen
So am'rous as this lovely green.

Fond Lovers, cruel as their Flame
Cut in these Trees their Mistress name.
Little, Alas, they know, or heed,
How far these Beauties Hers exceed!
Fair Trees! where s'eer your barkes I wound,
No Name shall but your own be found.

This emblematic use of colours is familiar in Renaissance literature, and there are two earlier

uses of it which are particularly close to Marvell's. The first is a discussion from *Love's Labour's Lost*, I, ii. The subject is love, and the speakers are the fantastical Spanish gallant, Don Armado, and his page Moth. Delilah is said by Moth to have had a complexion 'of the sea-water green'. 'Green indeed is the colour of lovers', says Armado; 'but to have a love of that colour, methinks, Samson had small reason for it. He surely affected her for her wit.' The dialogue continues:

Moth. It was so, sir, for she had a green wit.
Armado. My love is most immaculate white and red.
Moth. Most maculate thoughts, sir, are masked under such colours.

The second quotation is from Abraham Fraunce's translation of Tasso's *Aminta*, published in 1591:14

Phillis sate her down by the brooke that runs by the greene field...
And now takes up a Rose, and straight way takes up a Lylly;
And compares her cheekes to the Rose, and her neck to the Lilly:
And then smyles for joy, deeming her louly triumphant
Cheekes more red than a Rose and neck more white than a Lilly,
And disdains poore flowers, and thus seems them to be scornyng,
Foolish paltery hearbs, your pyde coat's naught to my countenance;
Your flowr's naught to my face, your bravery nought to my beauty.

To Society and Solitude, and to the hint of Art and Nature, is now added the opposition between vegetable and feminine beauty. It will be extended in the next stanza by an explicit rejection of sexual relations, which remains present in the poem as a recurrent theme until the end. A seventeenth-century theorist of the pastoral commented on the natural connection between the pastoral and the poetry of love. The easy pace of the shepherd’s life gave plenty of leisure; and

Marvell stands this convention on its head, restoring the pre-Renaissance emphasis on the purely natural, not the human, delights of the Golden Age. But the formal innovation is the introduction, into a rural ode, of pastoral elements. Carving names and love-declarations on trees is a favourite pastime of pastoral lovers from the beginnings of the genre. It occurs in the late Latin pastoralist, Calpurnius Siculus:

dic age; nam cerasi tua cortice verba notabo et decisa feram rutilanti carmina libro.  
(Eclogue III, 11.43-4)

The motif remained familiar in Renaissance pastoral:

My songes they be of Cinthia's praise,
I wear her ring on holy days,
On every tree I write her name,
And every day I read the same.
Where honor, Cupids rival is,
There miracles are seen of his. 16

The final mournful speech of Aminta weaves an elaborate mannered pattern round the two names, Phillis, Amyntas, based on the same conceit:

Farewell knife at last, whose point engrau'd in a thousand
Barcks of trees that name, sweete name of my bony Phillis
And hard by that name, this name of Louer Amyntas,
See that in every ash, these names stood, Phillis, Amyntas,
And each Beech-Tree barck, bore these names, Phillis Amyntas...

Marvell's innocent disclaimers act upon such fevered rhetoric like a cooler, saner air. The pastoral, one may argue, has been introduced only to be excluded immediately from the garden. Its conventional apparatus, swains, mistresses and their antics, is seen as a desecration of the trees which are its normal setting. There has been no hint yet that the solitude being praised will lead to any religious or deeply philosophical reflections of the type with which Fane occupied his 'retiredness'. Instead the speaker concentrates on the trees themselves:

When we have run our Passions heat,
Love hither makes his best retreat,
The Gods, that mortal Beauty chase,
Still in a Tree did end their race.

Apollo hunted Daphne so,  
Only that she might Laurel grow.  
And Pan did after Syrinx speed,  
Not for a Nymph, but for a Reed.  
(11.25-32)  

Mythological figures are almost ubiquitous in seventeenth-century poetry; but they are rarely marshalled with such deftness and grace. Carew calls on them in describing the splendour of his host's house and gardens:

...Amalthea's Horne  
Of plentie is not in Effigie worne  
Without the gate, but she within the doore  
Empties her free and unexhausted store.  
Nor, crown'd with wheaten wreathes, doth Ceres stand  
In stone, with a crooked sickle in her hand:  
Nor, on a Marble Tunne, his face besmear'd  
With grapes, is curl'd uncizard Bacchus rear'd.  
We offer not in Emblems to the eyes,  
But to the taste those usefull Deities.  
We presse the juycie God, and quaffe his blood,  
And grinde the Yellow Goddess into food...  
On this side young Vertumnus sits, and courts  
His ruddie-cheek'd Pomona, Zephyre sports  
On th'other, with lov'd Flora...  

These deities are static, emblematic, for all Carew's avowals of their purpose.  

Dudley North frames the beauty of his Coelestia by a conceit based on the judgement of Paris:

...Had shee but then in competition been,  
Joves golden Apple of contention,  
Which caused the Goddesses dissention,  
Had never glorifi'd the froth-born Queen.  

For she (poore Dame!) had nothing to procure...  
But beauties bare and casuall fading lure:  

Which, with those gifts the other couple vaunted,  
Hearts idol, joyful wealth, by Juno proffer'd,
And graceful wisdom by Minerva offer'd,
Coelestia all united could have granted:
She like Pandora doth all grace possesse, 18
Wherewith the Gods humanity doe blesse.

This is elegant, but slight. The compactness of
Marvell's stanza is matched by an epigram of
Jonson's, 'To His Lady, then Mrs Cary':

Retyr'd, with purpose your faire worth to praise,
'Mongst Hampton shades, and Phoebus grove of bayes,
I plucked a branch; the jealous god did frowne,
And bad me lay th'usurped laurell downe;
Said I wrong'd him, and (which was more) his love.
I answered, Daphne now no pain can prove.
Phoebus reply'd. Bold head, it is not shee: 19
Cary my love is, Daphne but my tree.

Though the meaning is running in exactly the
opposite direction, there is an affinity in style
between the two uses of the image. By these
comparisons, we may see to what good effect Pan
and Apollo renew their chase in 'The Garden'. Far
from being a merely decorative presence, they are
brought into court to provide a respectable precedent
for the poet's desire to be transmuted into some
part of the greenery. That this 'proof' is
presented by means of a sleight of hand does not
detract from the poetic effect, but rather enhances
it with its epigrammatic wit. Yet, in the light
of what follows, we should not dismiss the stanza
too lightly as a piece of facetiousness.

The source of the Apollo-Daphne and Pan-Syrinx
stories is, of course, Ovid's Metamorphoses. Ovid,
as we have seen, was very often the first poet, in
any language, to be encountered by a Renaissance

19. Epigram CXXVI in The Forrest, published in
the 1616 Folio.
schoolboy. In the 1680 Hull curriculum, the *Metamorphoses* occupies this place; Marvell would have been introduced to Ovid, in painstaking and probably painful detail, at the age of eight or nine. There were also many books of reference whose purpose was to remind the reader of the stories and events of ancient mythology, such as Natalis Comes' *Mythologiae, sive Explicationum Fabulorum libri decem*, which went into many editions all over Europe in the century after its publication in 1568. Comes' work contains much detail concerning Renaissance ways of digesting and recreating the inherited insights of ancient literature. It relies heavily on Ovid as a source of its information about the gods and goddesses, but there is also much citation and quotation of Greek poets, and of historians and other prose-writers. In their study of these dictionaries, and their relationship to Renaissance literature D.T.Starnes and E.W.Talbert suggest, plausibly, that the articles might have served as a kind of shorthand reminder of the context, associations and possible meanings of a particular story or character.20

I believe the Ovidian influence on 'The Garden', whether directly or through some secondary source or sources, to be much more important than is generally recognized. It provides a bridge from the earlier part of the poem (stanzas I-III) to the later, which I shall try to show is quite consistently neo-Platonic.

The Apollo and Daphne episode in Ovid takes place in *Metamorphoses* I. Malicious Cupid causes

Apollo to fall in love with Daphne, daughter of the river-god, and he pursues her till she is exhausted; she prays to her father, the river Peneus, to save her:

It is clear that here it was the witty 'since you cannot be my bride, then you will definitely be my tree' - Apollo's making the best of things - which caught Marvell's imagination. The other tale, that of Pan and Syrinx, also in Book I, is a story within a story, told by Mercury in an attempt to get watching Argus to sleep.

(I, 543-59)
In this passage the moment of frustration of the pursuing god is

Panaque cum prensam sibi iam Syringa putaret,
corpore pro nymphae calamos tenuisse palustres,

which clearly generated Marvell's more compressed

And Pan did after Syrinx speed,  
Not for a Nymph, but for a Reed.

The success of Marvell's witty paradox depends on
the reader's acquaintance with Ovid's version of the
stories. The metamorphosis of Daphne is presented
by Ovid as an account of the invention of the laurel-
tree (I, 448-451); and Pan exclaims, on finding
his arms full of marsh reeds: hoc mihi colloquium
tecum...manebit ('this converse, at least, shall I
have with thee'). To impute to the gods a purpose
in the matter other than sexual desire, is to
borrow Ovid's own tactics. The Metamorphoses is
full of such neat, verbally sparing touches of wit.

Foolish Midas, wandering with his new endowment,
soon to prove so disastrous, touches an ear of corn;
et aurea messis erat, 'it was a golden harvest'.

(XI.112) The idea of Pan sighing in the reeds,
and thus producing musical sounds entirely by accident,
is a sophisticated kind of faux-naïf: Ovid has a
very delicate control of his wit. This is often
in the service of a serious matter. Thus Myrrha,
who has fallen in love with her father, contrives
to be taken in darkness to his chamber, where he
does not recognize her. In the morning, inlato
lumine vidit et scelus et natam, he 'brought in
light and beheld his crime and his daughter'.

But to whatever purpose, this witty economy of style
is one of his main delights, as it is one of
Marvell's.

There is a more important way in which 'The Garden' is Ovidian. Analysis of Ovid has tended often to dismiss him as a mere rhetorician. Certainly the Metamorphoses lacks the solid structure of Virgil's Aeneid and the emotional scope of a large subject. But the cleverness and command of language and rhythm are nevertheless brought to a unifying topic, though it may not have the stature of formal epic. The cumulative effect on the reader of all the transformations in the Metamorphoses is a persistent insight into human helplessness before the momentum of events and the forlornness and foolishness of human reactions. The pathos of the trapped spirit of man is expressed with marvellous variety. Each small touch adds, episode by episode, to the sense of a general predicament. The body of drowned Ceyx is borne in by the waves; Alcyone, running from the shore to meet him, is turned into a bird. She tries to kiss and embrace the body:

senserit hoc Ceyx, an vultum motibus undae
tollere sit visus, populus dubitabat, at ille
senserat: et, tandem superis miserantibus, ambo alite mutantur.
(XI.739-42)

The essentially light-footed wit, already described, gives point to this feeling rather than destroys its fabric. Aesacus, victim of a tragic amorous adventure, jumps off a cliff in a suicide attempt. Changed half-way down into a long thin diver-bird,

...furit Aesacus inque profundum
pronus abit letique viam sine fine retemptat.
fecit amor macien...
(XI.791-3)
Indeed, but for such masterly touches of irony, the long succession of transformation scenes might become wearisome. Marvell may have learnt some of his urbanity of style from Ovid; in 'The Garden' the light, almost mocking tone does not disrupt the tenor of the serious argument. His seriousness is never solemnity; even those of his poems which engage the weightiest of issues remain perfectly restrained in expression. And the intellectual sophistication of 'The Garden', its considerable complexity, is suitably matched by the flicker of wit in the tone. But Ovid joins with his wit a peculiar quality which he may also have transmitted to Marvell.

The power of the Metamorphoses repeatedly to create pathos comes, it may readily be seen, from the poet's ability to anthropomorphize the vegetable world. Again and again the description of drooping branches, trembling water, whispering grass, wet foliage, is powerfully aligned with some case of human grief, misery or frustration. The transformation becomes far more than a mere rhetorical device; the moral causes of each change - incest, self-love, pride, despair, or simply helplessness - diminish into ancillary facts before the central business.

Apollo hunted Daphne so
Only that she might Laurel grow.

There is a seductive softness about the process of Ovidian metamorphosis which is sexually disturbing. One can readily comprehend why the authors of the allegorizing Ovide moralisé should have felt the need to restore sternly ethical considerations to the centre of the reader's attention. But while there are overtly sexual scenes in the Metamorphoses
(which lent inspiration to a rich tradition of Elizabethan romance and narrative poetry) the final consummations in the poem are predominantly vegetable. The gods and nymphs of wood and water play a subsidiary part, haunting the groves and water-meadows where man comes in his distress. The whole poem is a long flight from the social universe, into a flourishing green world, where plants and water look back at man and listen to his tales of woe. The fate of Byblis is representative:

...cum tu lassata sequendo
concidis, et dura positis tellure capillis,
Byblis, iaces, frondesque tuo premis ore caducas...
Muta iacet, viridesque suis tenet unguibus herbas
Byblis, et umectat lacrimarum gramina rivos.
naidas his venam, quae numquam arescere posset,
subposuisse ferunt. quid enim dare maius habed
protinus, ut secto piceae de cortice guttae,
utve tenax gravida manat tellure bitumen;
utve sub adventu spirantis lene favoni
sole remollescit quae frigore constitit unda;
sic lacrimes consumpta suis Phoebela Byblis
vertitur in fontem, qui nunc quoque vallibus illis
nimen habet dominae, nigraque sub ilice manat.

(IX.649-665)

The flowers and trees speak and weep; they have loved and give birth.21 We have seen that

No white nor red was ever seen
So am'rous as this lovely green

(11.17-18)

may be simply interpreted as a paradoxical play on the conventions of pastoral and love poetry; but in the light of stanza V of the poem, it is also capable of a more interesting meaning: not only are the plants passively preferable to red-and-white

mistresses, but they may offer an alternative positive relationship.

What wond'rous Life in this I lead!
Ripe Apples drop about my head;
The Luscious Clusters of the Vine
Upon my Mouth do crush their Wine;
The Nectarine, and curious Peach,
Into my hands themselves do reach;
Stumbling on Melons, as I pass,
Insnar'd with Flow'rs, I fall on Grass.

(11.33-40)

The poet of 'The Garden' here goes among the plants, and half-drowns in their green embrace. The sexual connotations of the imagery are, I think, unavoidable, though Ms. Røstvig makes gallant attempts to explain them away. The trees and flowers woo, with their abundance, poor misguided man, offering him peace and the satisfaction of desire (which they have given, in the previous stanza, to the gods). The first line of stanza V is given in Margoliouth's edition as

What wondrous Life in this I lead!

The 'in' has sometimes been emended to 'is'. Leishman, who agrees with such an emendation, has a note on the subject:— "Is this": to this Thompson (1776, III 413) with or without MS authority, silently emended the "in this" of 1681, an emendation accepted (silently again) by Grosart and several other modern editors. I cannot but think that "is" must be the authentic reading, and I cannot imagine any really convincing defence of the appropriateness of "in this". One might, however, suggest that the

line is not merely an introduction to its own stanza, but that the 'this' refers to what has been said in the previous one. Thus the meaning would be something like this: Apollo and Pan found the fulfilment of their desire in trees and plants; I too have good fortune in this matter, being in a garden. This would reinforce the sexual role of the eager fruit; as the gods are satisfied in their trees, so the poet in his fruit-garden.

Ovid and Marvell are perhaps both drawing on a common feeling for the sensuousness of green, growing things. In his study of Ovid Hermann Fraenkel says 'The theme (metamorphosis) gave ample scope for displaying the phenomenon of insecure and fleeting reality, of a self divided in itself or spilling over into another reality...perhaps there is also a sensual element in the metamorphosis theme.'24 We may find confirmation of this opinion in Lucian's True History, his outrageous parody of travellers' tales. The generally unspoken connection between tree-metamorphosis and sexual joining together is brought into the open here:

Wee proceeded on our journey: and farre wee had not gone, but we cameto a river, the streame whereof seemed to run with as rich wine, as any that is made in Chios, and of a great breadth, in some places able to beare a ship...We then resolved to travel up the streame, to finde where the river had his originall: and when we came to the head, no spring at all appeared, but mightie great vine trees of infinite number, which from their roots distilled pure white wine which made the river run so abundantly; the stream was also well stored with fish...We then crossed the stream where we found it passable, and came among a world of vines of incredible number, which towards the earth had firme stocks and of a good growth but the tops of them were women, from the hips upwards,

having all their proportion perfect and complete: as painters picture out Daphne, who was turned into a tree when she was overtaken by Apollo: at their fingers ends sprung out branches full of grapes, and the hair of their heads was nothing else but winding wires and leaves, and clusters of grapes...they could not bear to have any fruit pulled from them, but would roar out and cry pittifully, if any man offered it: some of them desired to have carnall mixture with us, and two of our company were so bold as to entertain their offer, and could never afterwards be loosed from them, but were knit fast together at their nether parts, from whence they grew together, and tooke roote together, and their fingers began to spring out with branches and crooked wiers, as if they were ready to bring out fruit: whereof we forsooke them and fled to our shippes...and told the company at our coming what had betide unto us, how our fellows were entangled, and of their copulation with the vines.

Lucian, the Greek satirist of the second century A.D., was a favourite Renaissance example of cynicism and irreverence. His works were, however, studied in most grammar-schools, including Eton, and as we have seen he is recommended as part of the curricula drawn up by the educational theorists of the early seventeenth century, Brinsley and Hoole. In the passage quoted, we should note that the three ideas, metamorphosis, 'carnall mixture', and fruit-plucking, are all brought together in the one episode. So Marvell is not, after all, making such a strange conjunction; and his meaning may be quite fully suggested in terms of classical authors, without having recourse to the esoteric, at least at this point in the poem.

25. True History, I.7-8, translated by Francis Hickes (Certaine Selected Dialogues of Lucian: Together with his 'True Historie'. Translated from the Greek into English, Oxford, 1634).
It is possible to see Marvell's sensuous vividness as being in the tradition of the Canticles, all delights springing from the joyful service of God. Miss Røstvig interprets it like this, citing Sarbiewski and Benlowes as examples of a similar style.\textsuperscript{26} I do not find this a convincing view: the effusiveness of Benlowes has little in common with Marvell's sober style (which holds its form consistently even when the content is as lush as in stanza V). And the catalogue of fruits is not Biblical, as Sarbiewski's very different flowery meadows and welling fountains are, but classical, and specifically pastoral. Its descent however is from a more fundamental ingredient of pastoral than the frivolous appendages rejected in an earlier passage.

J.B. Leishman remarks that the stanza is 'strikingly reminiscent of some lines (by which it may well have been suggested) in one of the notable descriptions of a locus amoenus in ancient poetry', Theocritus' \textit{Idyll VII}, 11.143-146:

\begin{quote}
All nature smelt of the opulent summer-time, smelt of the season of fruit. Pears lay at our feet, apples on either side rolling abundantly, and the young branches lay splayed upon the ground because of the weight of their damsons.
\end{quote}

He discusses the relationship of 'The Garden' as 'a celebration of the State of Innocence' to the ancient conception of a Golden Age. Theocritus' and Virgil's shepherds and Horace's husbandmen are 'vestigial remains' of that age, which is mentioned, and usually described, in almost every ancient poet.\textsuperscript{27}

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{26} Op. cit., p.224.
\end{footnotes}
The tradition is burlesqued, again by Lucian, as follows:

They know but one season of the yeare which is the spring, and feele no other wind but the Zephirus: the region flourisheth with all sorts of flowers, and with all pleasing plants fit for shade: their vines beare fruit twelve times a yeare, everie month once, their pomegranate trees, their apple trees, and their other fruit, they say, beare thirteene times in the yeare... Instead of wheat, their eares beare them loaves of bread ready baked, like mushr ummes...
They keep their feast without the citie, in a field called Elysium, which is a most pleasant meadow invironed with woods of all sorts, so thicke that they serve for a shade to all that are invited, and who sit upon beds of flowres, and are waited upon, and have every thing brought unto them by the windes, unless it be to have the wine filled: and that there is no need of: for about the banqueting place are mightie great trees growing of cleare and pure glasse: and the fruit of those trees are drinking cups and other kinde of vessels of what fashion or greatness you will: and every man that comes to the feast gathers one or two cups, and sets them before him, which will be full of wine presently, and then they drinke...

Strictly speaking, this is not of course a description of the Golden Age - a perfectly happy state in the past - but of such a state in the future, in the Isles of the Blest. But the same ideas, of plenty and natural perfection, apply. The passage gave rise in the Renaissance to this, from Erasmus' Colloquia:

The Wine is of my own growth; the Pompions, the Melons, the Figs, the Pears, the Apples, the Nuts, are offered to you by the trees themselves; you need but gape, and they'll

fall into your Mouth, as it is in the Fortunate Islands, if we may give credit to Lucian.

The subject of the dialogue, called *Convivium Religiosum*, is 'What ought to be the Table-Talk of Christians; the Nature of things is not dumb, but very loquacious, affording Matter of Contemplation'. The host of the gathering says, showing his garden to his guests:

*All this place was designed for a Pleasure Garden, but for honest Pleasure; for the Entertainment of the Sight, the recreating the Nostrils, and refreshing the Mind; nothing grows here but sweet Herbs, nor every Sort of them, but only choice ones, and every Kind has its Bed by itself...I would have everything Green here.*

The *Colloquia*, as we have seen, were the 'commonest sort of handbook used by students at both school and college levels', and were part of the recommended course of study in the second year at Christ's College, Cambridge, in Milton's time.

Though it is clear that stanza V does draw on ancient Golden-Age descriptions, the suggestions which this evokes should not be interpreted too simply. In the Golden Age of Ovid, Homer, Horace (there is a memorable description of such an enchanted landscape in *Epode XVI*), there is always a social emphasis. All men enjoyed the perfect abundance of the time; indeed it was associated with blameless social and communal occupations like agriculture. Its ending was due to man's failures in the social virtues, especially justice,

and to his building ships and mining the earth.

The individual Fall, seen in the story of Adam, is absent from the classical picture. But Marvell's abundance of fruit in 'The Garden' is enjoyed by a specifically solitary figure. Even Theocritus' delights were to be enjoyed by a group of harvesters, all together. This individual emphasis is everywhere characteristic of Marvell's use of rural and pastoral motifs; it is seen most clearly in the Mower poems. In 'The Garden' it makes possible the Platonic flight in the second half of the poem.

'The Nature of things', says Erasmus, is not dumb, but very loquacious, affording matter for contemplation'.

Lean while the Mind, from pleasure less,
Withdraws into its happiness:
The Mind, that Ocean where each kind
Does straight its own resemblance find;
Yet it creates, transcending these,
Far other Worlds, and other Seas;
Annihilating all that's made
To a green Thought in a green Shade.

(11.41-8)

This stanza makes clear, at last, the purpose of the exercise of withdrawal: to free the mind for its own characteristic activity. The possibilities of the Horatian, Ovidian and pastoral styles have in turn been explored, and the poem moves now into a Platonic style, with the spare and lucid language of stanzas VI and VII.

Marvell's biographer Pierre Legouls says 'we should incline to date Marvell's Latitudinarian and Platonist tendencies from his time at Cambridge and ascribe them to Whichcote's and Sherman's
That Marvell was by temperament not an enthusiast for any faction is clear already from the relatively meagre biographical facts we have, even if it were not evident in his work. His remark in The Rehearsal Transposed about the civil war - that 'the Cause was too good to have been fought for' conveys his detachment vividly. But the 'Platonist tendencies' mentioned by Legouls, which in fact were the distinctive religio-philosophical ingredients of the movement called Latitudinarianism, or Cambridge Platonism, will serve to throw light on more important aspects of Marvell than his attitude to the sectarian conflicts of his time. Gilbert Burnet, who came into contact with the movement in the years immediately after the Restoration, will serve as a witness to the impression it made on contemporaries:

These were generally of Cambridge, formed under some divines, the chief of whom were Drs Whitchcot, Cudworth, Wilkins, More and Worthington. Whitchcot was a man of rare temper, very mild and obliging. He had a

30. Legouls, op. cit., p.4. I cannot agree with Robert Ellrodt's view that 'the theory that Marvell was under the tutelage of the Cambridge Platonists' has been 'exploded by Muriel Bradbrook' (see Ellrodt's essay in Approaches to Marvell, ed., C.A. Patrides, 1978, p.223.) Muriel Bradbrook contends (Renaissance Quarterly, XXIV, 1971, pp.584-5) that Marvell cannot have been influenced by neo-Platonic ideas because 'only Whichcote was actually preaching while Marvell was up - the rest were undergraduates or very young graduates of his own generation'. This overlooks the fact that Sherman began preaching in Trinity College chapel in 1635, when Marvell was a fourteen-year-old undergraduate, and understates the difference in age between Marvell and other members of the Cambridge Platonist movement. Henry More, who became a pensioner at Christ's in 1631, was seven years older than Marvell and Ralph Cudworth, who came to Emmanuel (Marvell's father's college) in 1632, four years older. Besides, why should Marvell not have been strongly attracted, like any other clever student, to the new and intellectually exciting speculations of his own generation?
great credit with some that had been eminent in the late times; but made all the use he could of it to protect good men of all persuasions. He was much for liberty of conscience. And being disgusted with the dry systematical way of those times, he studied to raise those who conversed with him to a nobler set of thoughts, and to consider religion as a seed of deiform nature (to use one of his own phrases.) In order to this, he set young students much on reading the ancient Philosophers, chiefly Plato, Tully, and Plotin, and on considering the Christian religion as a doctrine sent from God, both to elevate and sweeten human nature, in which he was a great example, as well as a kind and wise instructor. All these, and those who were formed under them, studied to examine farther into the nature of things than had been done formerly. They declared against superstition on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. They loved the constitution of the Church, and the Liturgy, and could well live under them; but they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wished that things might have been carried with more moderation. And making out of the reasons of things being a main part of their studies, men called them Socinians. This sect of men contributed more than can be well imagined to reform the way of preaching. The style their discourses generally ran in...was clear, plain and short.

The Cambridge men's insistence on reason, which makes their attitudes so attractive to later generations, and which led them into much theological argument in their own time, is itself deeply Platonic. 'For God', said Henry More, 'doth not ride me as a horse, and guide me I know not whither myself; but converseth with me as a friend; and speaks to me in such a Dialect as I can understand fully, and can make others understand; that have not made

That man, by the use of his reason, can raise himself up out of his confusion and uncertainty to a consciousness of the real - the world of Ideas - is the central tenet of Plato's thought. His method of proceeding in his speculation is intended to demonstrate this; even the slave-boy in *Meno* can be led, by his reason, to 'recollect' truth. 'Most spiritual', said Whichcote, 'is most rational'. In the debate on the relationship between faith and reason, Whichcote would not grant faith the supremacy, as was the orthodox view. This was a cause of alarm to stricter contemporaries, and it led to some celebrated disputes. This Platonism, based on a very broad philosophical foundation, served to fortify the Cambridge school against other opponents also. To Cartesian and Hobbesian empiricism they opposed Platonic metaphysics and doctrines of transcendence.

Benjamin Whichcote, Fellow of Emmanuel College, was in 1636 appointed Sunday afternoon lecturer in Trinity Church, Cambridge. Here he lectured every week for twenty years. He combined considerable social influence with an amount of personal popularity and a reputation for sound judgement unrivalled anywhere in the university. Seniors and juniors alike thronged to the lectures in Trinity Church, with a regularity equal to that which had marked the attendance in the

days when Preston's equal reputation was at its heights.

The peculiarity of Whichcote's teaching was that he refused to accept, as was general, the scholastic dualism (accepted by Bacon and Hobbes) between philosophy and religion, attempting instead a synthesis on the lines of Plato and Picino.

His published Discourses reveal his eager imaginative response to Neoplatonic ideas, and his ability to reconcile these with a devout Christianity. They also demonstrate that Platonism in the late Renaissance still included strong elements of the Hermetic and other writings.

It was an admirable observation of Trismegistus: God, when he made man, placed him in the middle, between divine and immortal nature, and mortal and changeable. Now by motion upwards, we contemplate God, and are transformed into the image of God, and so we act to our perfection; but by motion downwards, we lose ourselves, and (as Plotinus saith) we grovel in the mire. And here is the exercise, the proof of men, this is the account of this probation-state: we have faculties which cause us to decline downward; if we will gratify sense, and if we will close with these earthly and terrene things, here's our probation and trial, here is our determination and choice. We are all of us either acted by a divine virtue and power, or acted by a devilish degenerate power... We are to be discharged of a great deal of that which we call body, and then we shall be much more ourselves.

Everywhere the insights of the pagan philosophers are elevated almost to the same level as the teaching of the Christian revelation:

Those eagle eyed Philosophers the Platonists, they were very sensible, tho' not acquainted with revelation by scripture, as we are concerning Adam's apostacy, and how evil brake in, yet these men were sensible of a decay, that human nature was lapsed, that the soul of man could not mount up aloft, that 'twas deplumed, had lost its feathers, so that it could not soar aloft; thus the soul of man grovels below, and doth not soar aloft by meditation and contemplation as they imagined it should.

(Ibid., p.172)

The other man who may, as Legouis suggests, have introduced Marvell to Platonism, was John Sherman. Sherman was a learned divine, a fellow of Trinity, (Marvell's own college), who delivered, between 1631 and 1645, a series of discourses in Trinity College chapel. He published, in 1647, A Greek in the Temple. Some Common-Places delivered in Trinity College Chapel, Cambridge. The title, as Legouis remarked, is significant. So is the text of the discourse, which is St.Paul's remark to the Gentiles in Acts xvii: 'As certain also of your own poets have said, we are also his offspring'. Sherman's own learning, and his relatively open-minded attitude to the question of the validity of the 'Philosopher's insights, are best revealed by quotation.

Scholarship we see is not out of date, neither in the times of the Law; for Moses had it; nor in the times of the Gospel; for St.Paul expresseth it here. Though in respect of the glorious and sunlike light of the holy Scriptures it be but as straminea candela, as one faith, a rush-candle, a
mean light, a small light, and soon put out; yet some light it giveth.

He attributes to St. Paul a knowledge of the sayings concerning God of Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, and Callimachus, and reveals by frequent quotation from a wide variety of the Dialogues, a close acquaintance with Plato. 'Certainly', he says, 'there is some good to be got then in the study of Greek authors, or else Julian the Apostate would never have interdicted to the Christian youth the use of them. He goes on to describe

how learned the Fathers were, and that St. Paul, after conversion, did not burn his books or parchments...From hence also the Teacher of the Gentiles instructeth us Christians not to disembrace goodness in any, truth in any. Plato's rule is good...Let us not consider so much who saith, as what is said: who doeth, as what is done.

(Ibid., p.21)

Though he is cautious about the eternal salvation of these philosophers ('I am not here engaged to speak definitively about their eternal condition'), he gives a lengthy series of examples of correspondence between things in Holy Scripture and in the pagan writers. He quotes Diogenes Laertius on the sayings of Solon, and Plutarch's Life of Numa, together with Hesiod, Terence, Aristotle's Rhetoric, and Aesop. Plato's writings about the supreme God obviously struck Sherman as right in their feeling, and he does not hesitate to say so:

So Plato calleth God...that which is; and...that which is indeed; as if nothing had any

existence but God. Plato in his dialogue
of Death calleth mans body...a tabernacle,
do doth St.Paul...Plato in the eight of
his Laws: 'The communion of the soul with
the body is not better than the dissolution,
as I should say were I to speak in earnest'.
(Ibid., p.27)

In the end, of course, Sherman perceives the same
difference between Greek philosophy and Christian
Revelation which was expressed in St.Augustine's
famous remark: 'In Cicero and Plato I meet with
many things, but I do not find venite ad me.'
Thus Sherman:

If we should take a note of what they have
said, we should rather pity their blindness
than admire their knowledge. God Creatour
they might know per species Creaturarum
(as they speak) either in way of negation,
or Causalities, or Eminence: but God Redeemer
is not perceivable by light of Nature. For
nature is not able to see the need of a saviour, it
being ignorant of the lapse of mankind, of which
there appeareth not a word, not a syllable, in
direct expression, in any of their massie
volumes. And where find we any mention of
faith in a Christian nation?
(Ibid., p.31)

The last major topic considered by Sherman is
the nature of the soul, its creation, and its
relationship with the body. He discusses the
theories of all the principal pagan philosophers
on these matters, and also those of 'Epictetus, Tris-
megist, Simplicius, and Zoroaster.' His conclusion,
perhaps the only passage in the discourse which
takes wing, is concerned with the soul-body
relationship. In its vibrant concern for the value
of the soul, we can surely see the influence of
Plato's passionate conviction of man's immortality
and capacity for higher knowledge, phrased though
the passage is in Christian terms:
Now out of the conjunction of soul with body we might have the resulstance of deductions and inferences many and important ones. We might have raised an exhortation peculiar unto the soul, That it is the bravest substance under heaven, and therefore that we fit it with the purest accident: We should adorn it with the best habit, of Faith, of Love, of Hope: That when we think, we should think of ourselves: when we think upon ourselves, we should think upon our soul; that when we think upon our soul, we should think that it is from God absolutely, and that it is immortall, and that we should provide for it accordingly. Get this soul beautified with white and red, Christ's blood, his Righteousnesse...Let both (body and soul) grow together (as we may speak) untill the harvest, untill thou beest fairly cut down by that common sickle of Death, and laid in the granary of the grave...Our soul is in an earthly tabernacle, easily resolved into its principles, undone with a flie, destroyed with a grape-vine, cracked with a shell. All our learning is soon refuted with one black 0, which understanding us not, snapeth us unrespectively without any distinction, and putteth at once a period to our reading and to our being.

(Ibid., pp.79-80)

I have devoted a certain amount of attention to Sherman, because his writing is such valuable evidence, of a kind scarce in Marvell's case, of the ideas with which, at a most formative age, he came into contact. If it is probable that Marvell went with the crowds to hear Whichcote in Trinity Church

38. The metaphors are rather strikingly reminiscent of Marvell's in two places in the passage: the beautifying of the soul with 'white and red' and the conception of death as being cut down by the 'common sickle' (cf. 'The Garden', l.17, and 'Damon the Mower', ll.79-80). In the first of these, Sherman is making use of the double emblematic significance of white-and-red, which suggests both physical beauty and love, with its adornments, and body and blood. The same cluster of connotations is employed by Marvell in the 'Nymph Complaining'.

it is almost certain that he went to hear the preacher in his own college chapel. Sherman's grasp of classical learning was considerable both in philosophy and poetry; and we have also seen that his attitude to the pagan authors was a very liberal one for his time. Not only did he include many of their insights in his system of thought, but he accorded a new, positive importance and merit to them. In fact, as the historian of Cambridge University pointed out, he may well have been the first formative influence, even the instigator, of the Platonist movement at Cambridge. He was senior in academic standing both to Whichcote and Henry More, the principal exponents of the philosophy of that school.

More, a slightly older Cambridge contemporary of Marvell's, was admitted to Christ's in 1631, elected fellow in 1639, and remained there for the rest of his life, through wars, Interregnum and Restoration. In the Preface to his Philosophicall Poems, published in 1647, he states his creed:

...what's consonant to Plato's school
(Which well agreed with learned Pythagore, Egyptian Trismegist, and th'antique roll
Of Chaldee wisdome, all which time hath tore
(But Plato and deep Plotin do restore)
Which is my scope, I sing out lustily...

In other words, More's approach, as his editor says, was what we would call 'quite unhistorical. He saw none of the differences between Platonism, Neoplatonism, Alexandrian mysticism, theurgy, Cabbalism, and modern Italian commentary. Consequently Pythagoras, Plato, Philo, Hermes

Trismegistus, Plotinus, Clement, Origen, Dionysius the Areopagite, and Marsilio Picino, appeared to him equally Platonic and authoritative. More's poem 'Cupids Conflict' was published in 1646 in the same volume as his Democritus Platonissans, a philosophical tract on the infinity of the universe. The poem is briefer and more attractive than his long, monotonous accounts of the progress of the soul in Psychozoia and Psychathanasia. It opens with a description of the poet's stroll in the countryside. He sits down to rest a while:

In secret shade farre moved from Mortals sight  
In lowly dale my wandering limbs I laid  
On the cool grass where Nature's pregnant wit  
A goodly bower of thickest trees had made,  
Amongst the leaves the cheerful birds did fare,  
And sweetly carrol'd to the echoing air...

The place a while did feed my foolish eye  
As being new, and eke mine idle eare  
Did listen often to that harmonie  
And oft my curious phansie would compare  
How well agreed the Brooks low muttering Base,  
With the Birds trebbles pearch'd on higher place.

But senses objects soon do glut the soul,  
Or rather weary with their emptinesse;  
So I, all heedless how the waters roll,  
And mindlesse of the mirth the birds expresse,  
Into my self 'gan softly to retire  
After hid heavenly pleasures to enquire.

Then Cupid appears, and tries in vain to shoot his arrows at the poet from across the stream. All are miraculously sent off course. Cupid angrily addresses the poet, deriding his withdrawn life and his failure to participate in the general seeking after either love or fame. The poet answers him firmly and at

...Who seeks for pleasure in this mortall life,
By diving deep into the body base
Shall loose true pleasure: But who gainly strive
Their sinking soul above this bulk to place
Enlarg'd delight they certainly shall find
Unbounded joys to fill their boundlesse mind.

...When I my self from mine own self do quit
And each thing else; then an all-spreaden love
To the vast Universe my soul doth fit
Makes me half-equall to all-seeing Jove.
My mighty wings high stretched then clapping
light
I brush the stars and make them shine more
bright...

Thus lose I not by leaving small delight
But gain more joy, while I my self suspend
From this and that; for then with all unite
I all enjoy, and love that love commends.
That all is more than loves the partiall soul
Whose petty loves th'impartiall fates control...

The affinity between this and Marvell's lines is obvious. But in addition to offering directly a version of the retreat-poem which is consonant with 'The Garden', More helps us to place the poem in a useful context of associations.

We have seen that Marvell lived, both in his youth (he went up to Cambridge at the age of about twelve) and for precisely that period of his maturity (the 1650s) when he is generally supposed to have written his poems of rural retreat, in an atmosphere where Neoplatonic ideas were common currency. Furthermore, he is likely to have thoroughly studied the works of Plato in his undergraduate years. Indeed, in all learned circles of English society, Platonism in its various forms was familiar. There was a fashion from about

41. As laid down in the college Statutes (See Chapter 1 above).
the mid-1630's for 'Platonic' love-poems, and earlier still, at the back of Donne's attitude to love, there was 'an imperfect fusion of Platonic ethics with Plotinian aesthetics'.

There is a familiar passage in the Symposium where Socrates recounts the true doctrine of love as it has been transmitted to him by Diotima. By his love of beauty, which is natural and good, and besides is properly a desire for immortality, man will be led up from loving one body, to loving all, to the beauty of 'the beautiful as appearing in our observations and our laws'. From this he should be led on to the branches of knowledge, that there also he may behold a province of beauty, and by looking thus on beauty in the mass may escape from the mean, meticulous slavery of a single instance...; and turning rather towards the main ocean of the beautiful may by contemplation of this bring forth in all their splendour many fair fruits of discourse and meditation in a plenteous crop of philosophy; until with the strength and increase there acquired he describes a certain single knowledge connected with a beauty which has yet to be told... When a man has been thus far tutored in the lore of love, passing from view to view of beautiful things, in the right and regular ascent, suddenly he will have revealed to him, as he draws to the close of his dealings in love, a wondrous vision, beautiful in its nature; and this, Socrates, is the final object of all those previous toils. First of all, it is ever-existent and neither comes to be nor perishes, neither waxes nor wanes...Nor again will our initiate find the beautiful presented to him in the guise of a face or hands, or any other portion of the body, nor as a particular description or piece of knowledge, nor as existing somewhere in

42. Harrison, J.S., Platonism in English Poetry of the 16th and 17th Centuries, Columbia University Press, 1903, pp.155-6, 141.
another substance, such as an animal or the earth or sky or any other thing; but existing ever in singularity of form independent by itself, while all the multitude of beautiful things partake of it in such wise that, though all of them are coming to be and perishing, it grows neither greater nor less, and is affected by nothing.

(210C-D, 211-211C)

Mean while the Mind, from pleasure less, Withdraws into its happiness; The Mind, that Ocean where each kind Does streight its own resemblance find...

(11.40-44)

In the first two lines, the process described is easily comprehensible in the light of Plato's account. The lesser pleasures of the garden, with its fruits and flowers, are left behind when the mind begins to contemplate a higher beauty ('turning rather towards the main ocean of the beautiful'). But the ocean in Marvell is more precisely used than in Plato's vague metaphor. The usual practice of editors and commentators has been to gloss lines 3-4 of the stanza with a quotation from Thomas Browne's Pseudodoxia Epidemica: 'That all Animals of the Land, are in their Kind in the Sea.' Leishman refers us to this passage, and adds two more instances of the belief from seventeenth-century poetry, from Cleveland and du Bartas.

This conceit may well have been in Marvell's mind, but there is another, more interesting possible source for the lines - more interesting because it contributes positively to our understanding of the

43. Book III, xxiv.
lines, instead of merely providing a parallel use of the image.

In the course of his discussion of 'the Multiplicity of the Ideal Forms' (Enneads VI.7), Plotinus has the following passage:

Since in our view this universe stands to that as copy to original the living total must exist There beforehand; that is the realm of complete Being and everything must exist There...Earth too will be There, and not void but even more intensely living and containing all that lives and moves upon our earth and the plants obviously rooted in life; sea will be There and all waters with the movement of their unending life and all the living things of the water...and all that lives must of necessity be There...

To ask how those forms of life come to be There is simply asking how that heaven came to be; it is asking whence comes the living form, and so, whence comes life, whence the All-Life, whence the All-Soul, whence collective Intellect: and the answer is that There not indigence or impotence can exist but all must be teeming, seething, with life. All flows, so to speak, from one fount.

The 'There' referred to is the Intellectual-Principle, the Idea, the intelligible as opposed to the sensible world. The Plotinian system is a development, in a more mystical, religious direction, of Platonism; the changeless, immortal intelligible world from which the soul has come and to which it aspires is central to Plato's account of reality. Thus Phaedo, 79D:

But when the soul inquires alone by itself, it departs into the realm of the pure, the

everlasting, the immortal and the changeless, and being akin to these it dwells always with them whenever it is by itself and is not hindered, and it has rest from its wanderings and remains always the same and unchanging with the changeless, since it is in communion therewith. And this state of the soul is called wisdom. Is it not so?

But in examining the precise image used by Marvell, we may be helped by a well-known passage of Thomas Browne's, not a 'Vulgar error', but part of his credo, *Religio Medici*. Having described the five kinds of existence, from the senseless, through the life of Plants, Animals, Men and Spirits, he says:

Thus is Man that great and true Amphibium, whose nature is disposed to live, not onely like other creatures in divers elements, but in divided and distinguished worlds: for though there be but one world to sense, there are two to reason, the one visible, the other invisible.

A little earlier, describing the nature of Spirits, 'the Magisterial and master-pieces of the Creator', he compares our case, as men, with theirs: 'We are onely that amphibious piece between a corporal and a spiritual Essence'. There is, says Browne, 'an intelligible beauty above this world of sense, and an absolute beauty of which all beauty on earth is but a shadow.' We find in William Drummond of Hawthornden another description of the beauty of this intelligible world:

There is a World, a world of perfect blisse, Pure, immateriall, bright...

A World, where all is found, that here is found,
But further discrepant than Heaven or Ground;
It hath an Earth, as hath this World of yours,
With Creatures peopl'd, stor'd with Trees and Flow'rs;
It hath a Sea, like Saphire Girdle cast,
It hath pure Fire, it hath delicious Aire... 47

The Intellectual-Principle, Mind in Marvell's terms, contains the Ideas, or Ideal Forms, of all created things. Yet it is also capable of higher activities. By its nature it is a part of that Mind, or Soul, which informed the creation, and continues to inform the being, of the whole universe; in Christian terms, it partakes of the nature of God.

...Yet it creates, transcending these,
Far other Worlds, and other Seas;
Annihilating all that's made
To a green Thought in a green Shade.

It is clear then that this is a neo-Platonic stanza: it uses the vocabulary of ideas common to Christian and pre-Christian Platonists. In More (and perhaps in Fane) Marvell had the example, if he required it, of the deepening and rendering metaphysical of the already existing poetic motif of the rural retreat. In Plato and even more fully perhaps in Plotinus he could find an exposition of the idea of the permanence and transcendent beauty of the intelligible world, and the metaphor of the ocean of being containing the forms of all natural things. In the writers of his own century he would have encountered the eager adoption of these philosophical speculations for the project of the inner search of the religious thinker: the

47. Song II, 'It autumn was', 11.111-34, Poetical Works, ed., Kastner, L.E., Edinburgh, 1913.
private quest for a truth above and beyond contingencies. It has also been suggested that 'The Garden' owes something to the Hermetic writings. Marvell's employer in the early 1650s, Fairfax, had a special interest in these writings. He translated a long commentary on the first Hermetic libellus, known as the Pimander, from the French of Francois de Foix, a sixteenth-century bishop. The manuscript of Fairfax's translation is in the British Museum.\(^48\) It seems unlikely indeed that Marvell, engaged to transmit some learning to Fairfax's small daughter, would not have been aware of the intellectual occupations of his patron's retirement. The general currency of the Hermetic writings in the Renaissance, and the high value still placed on them even after Casaubon's proof of their relatively late date, taken together with this close connection, make the suggestion of a Hermetic background for some of the puzzling passages in Marvell appear not at all far-fetched.

In the second libellus, Hermes defines Mind as that which is free from the body, 'entirely and wholly self-encompassing, free from the erratic movement of things corporal' and as 'the light whereby soul is illuminated'; further, 'Mind and Truth are...rays emitted by the Light' which is Good (Hermetica, pp.141-3). In Fairfax's translation of the first libellus, the Pimander, 'Mind' seems to be seen simply as another name for God:

\begin{quote}
But Mind, the Father of all, he who is Life and Light, gave birth to Man, a Being like to himself.
\end{quote}

\(^{48}\) B.M. MS. No.25447. De Foix' work, entitled Le Pimandre de Mercure Trismegiste de la Philosophie Chrestienne, was published in Bordeaux in 1579.

We should perhaps recall Marvell's use of the word *mens*, not *animus*, as the equivalent of the 'Soul' in the Latin version of 'On a Drop of Dew'. But though there is obviously a general affinity between ideas of transcendence in *Hermetica* and in neo-Platonism, I think it is a mistake to propose a strictly Hermetic interpretation for Marvell's poem. Ms Røstvig's reading of the poem, for example, tries to force it into a strait jacket of meaning by insisting that the Hermetic ideas provide a key to the poem as if it were a conundrum to be deciphered. Indeed, she considers it likely that it is deliberate mystification:

Perhaps Marvell intended his lines to convey two kinds of meaning to two kinds of people: to the world they would appear as nothing but a witty version of the traditional retirement ode; but to the initiated the esoteric meaning would stand clearly revealed.

Today, however, with the disappearance of the Hermetic initiates, I suppose, only one class of readers. Besides, to claim a complete explanation of such infinitely suggestive lines is to do the poem a disservice; it is the wrong kind of interpretation. 'The Garden' does not operate at the level of doctrine; its purpose is not to give a coherent discursive exposition of the teaching of any school. This is precisely where it differs from the long and elaborate verse works of More and Benlowes which offer accounts of the

progress of the soul. We have no need to excuse Marvell a poetic failure on grounds of philosophical complication or profundity. The danger is rather that of wanting to make the poem stay still by pinning it down under a heavy load of exegesis. To read More and Benlowes does throw some light on the intellectual background of 'The Garden'; but to return to it from their excesses is to have reinforced one's impression of the simple verbal excellence of its account of the 'flight of the alone to the alone'.

Here at the Fountains sliding foot,  
Or at some Fruit-trees mossy root,  
Casting the Bodies Vest aside,  
My Soul into the boughs does glide.  
There like a Bird it sits, and sings,  
Then whets, and combs its silver Wings;  
And, till prepar'd for longer flight,  
Waves in its Flumes the various Light.  
(11.49-56)

For the idea of the ascent of the soul, it is possible to assemble a whole literature of references. Leishman believes that the winged-soul image 'had almost certainly come to Marvell, through Spenser, from Castiglione'; but it is widespread in Renaissance poetry, and is of course repeatedly used by the Cambridge Platonists. It is one of Plato's great suggestive images, elaborated in a long section of the Phaedrus and an essential part of the characteristically Platonic view of man's condition. The power of the image resides in its simplicity and universal appeal. The soul flying away upwards is a universal metaphor for joy; and man, imprisoned on a mutable earth, full of discord, worry and weariness, feels that he has lost his wings.
Now when it (the soul) is perfect and fully winged, it mounts upward and governs the whole world; but the soul which has lost its wings is borne along until it gets hold of something solid, when it settles down, taking upon itself an earthly body, which seems to be self-moving, because of the power of the soul within it...More than any other thing that pertains to the body it (the wing) partakes of the nature of the divine. But the divine is beauty, wisdom, goodness, and all such qualities; by these then the wings of the soul are nourished and grow...For the colourless, formless, and intangible truly existing essence, with which all true knowledge is concerned, holds this region (above the heaven) and is visible only to the mind, the pilot of the soul. Now the divine intelligence, since it is nurtured on mind and pure intelligence, rejoices in seeing reality for a space of time...

(Phaedrus 246D)

To Plato, the ability and inspiration to rise on this flight is granted above all to the lover of wisdom, or true beauty

who, when he sees the beauty on earth, remembering the true beauty, feels his wings growing and longs to stretch them for an upward flight, but cannot do so, and like a bird, gazes upward and neglects the things below.

(Ibid., 250D)

Thomas Browne, who was fond of the image, using it repeatedly in his Religio Medici, remarked in Hydriotaphia, or Urne Buriall: "Before Plato could speak, the soul had wings in Homer, which fell not, but flew out of the body into the mansions of the dead." 51

51. The winged soul appears twice in Religio Medici, pp. 15 and 36, in short poems occurring in the prose text.
About the higher consciousness to which the speaker attains in this flight, we are given no precise information. Here Marvell again demonstrates his good taste; the attempts of Platonizing poets to describe the soul's ecstasy have, as a rule, not been successful. One has only to think of More, and indeed of William Drummond. Vast swathes of abstraction have a way of deadening poetry; only a Spenser or a Milton could convey transcendence in verse, and even they did not always succeed. One of the most pleasing aspects of the stanza is its very humility, its insistence on the little patch of ground which is to be perfectly sufficient. Not on other planets, in other universes, in the ether, but 'Here', by the stream, under the tree, is the small single apotheosis of the soul. In

There like a Bird it sits, and sings,

we seem to hear echoes of all the twittering background birds in the country poems; but the real birds in real gardens are only dull shadows beside the silver, singing winged soul in the mind's garden.

And now, for the first time, Paradise is mentioned. The reference is not, however, to more and fuller delights; it is instead a rueful, ironic glance at the earlier theme of female society and its exclusion from gardens.

Such was that happy Garden-state,
While Man there walked without a Mate:
After a Place so pure, and sweet,
What other Help could yet be meet!
But 'twas beyond a Mortal's share
To wander solitary there:
Two Paradises 'twere in one
To live in Paradise alone.

(11.57-64)
The tone is wry, wistful, not altogether serious; the sentiment is to be found here and there in other writers:

Marriage repleniseth the earth, but virginity Paradise. Elias, Eliseus, Iohn Baptist were bacchelours, virginity is a pretious Jewell, a faire garland, a never fading flowre, for why was Daphne turned to a green Bay tree, but to shew that virginity is immortall?

There may just possibly be a joking glance at the Timaeus, where in the Maker's plan for the creation of the world, only that which is whole and single is acceptable:

Are we right, then, in describing the Heaven as one, or would it be more correct to speak of heavens as many or infinite in number? One it must be termed, it it is to be framed after its Pattern. For that which embraces all intelligible Living Creatures could never be second, with another beside it; Wherefore, in order that this Creature might resemble the all-perfect Living Creature in respect of its uniqueness, for this reason the Maker made neither two Universes nor an infinite number, but there is and will continue to be this one generated Heaven, unique of its kind...And as a Circle revolving in a circle He established one sole and solitary Heaven, able in itself because of its excellence to company with itself and needing none other beside, sufficing unto itself as acquaintance and friend.

(31B, 34B)

There is quite a widespread misogyny among the philosophies of the world. Democritus, firmly against marriage, had 'a horror of sexual enjoyment

because consciousness is therein overcome by desire, and the man gives himself over to the debasing charm of the senses.\footnote{\text{53}} Manicheanism shared this attitude, derived from its basic dualism. It is not foreign either to Christian or to Greek thought. Hesiod's Pandora brings nothing but trouble, to hitherto contented man: 'Of her is the deadly race and tribe of women who live amongst mortal men to their great trouble...Even so Zeus who thunders on high made women to be an evil to mortal men, with a nature to do evil.'\footnote{\text{54}} The general force of the stanza is of course to bear out the Platonic rejection of the life of the senses. This implies a refusal to marry (stated also by Epicurus, in Diogenes Laertius' account of his thought). There is no animus against women, but the purity of the soul is insisted upon.

The soul of the philosopher would not reason as others do, and would not think it right that philosophy should set it free, and that when set free it should give itself again into bondage to pleasure and pain and engage in futile toil, like Penelope unweaving the web she wove. No, his soul believes that it must gain peace from these emotions, must follow reason and abide always in it, beholding that which is true and divine, and not a matter of opinion, and making that its only food; and in that way it believes it must live, while life endures, and be free from human ills.\footnote{\text{Plato, Phaedo 84A}}

\footnote{\text{54} Theogony, 11.580 ff. For the Fathers of the Church and some medieval writers the story of Pandora provided a useful parallel to that of Eve and the apple: another instance of evil brought upon man by woman. See Panofsky, Dora and Erwin Pandora's Box, Princeton University Press, 1978.}
Plotinus shares, and even enlarges upon, this anxiety to free the mind and soul from the bonds of sense, both painful and pleasurable, and from all material ties. The asceticism is softened in Marvell's version of the idea by the witty play on the language of Genesis; the poem is shifting back in tone to the quiet contentedness of the second stanza.

How well the skilful Gardner drew
Of flow'rs and herbes this Dial new;
Where from above the milder Sun
Does through a fragrant Zodiac run;
And, as it works, th'industrious Bee
Computes its time as well as we.
How could such sweet and wholsome Hours
Be reckoned but with herbs and flow'rs!
(11.65-72)

The image of God as maker of the garden (or opifex horti) could arise quite naturally out of Genesis. In a diary of his religious development, Dudley North in his gentleman's retirement from court saw God as the gardener who must cultivate the soul of man. The connotations of creative orderliness are clear:

We see also, that a disordered, and ill habituated Commonwealth and State, but upon extrem necessity and violence, seldom grows to reformation. A vicious and depraved minde corresponds to these premises, as well in disposition as cure, till extremity, distemper, and affliction work upon us, till God the good Gardener of our soules cultivate, weed, alter, and subdue us, we insist in our corrupt naturals, we remain obstinate in our errors...; happy that Soyle, Body, State and Soule which finde him their Gardener, Physician, Reformer, and gracious Redeemer. Paradise was our first plentifull Garden; Health, Originall Justice and integrity, our condition; till he renew, heale, reforme, sanctifie...us, we are barren to goodnesse, unsound, corrupted,
The last stanza of the poem draws us down to this everyday world, of order, after the earlier high flights. O otia sana says the Latin version, in which the opifex - the workman, or architect, or creator, of the garden - must not go unsung:

Nec tu, Opifex horti, grato sine carmine abibis.

The stanza may also bear interpretation on another, figurative level. Ralph Cudworth's discussion of 'The Plastick Life of Nature, or an Orderly, Artificial and Methodical Nature' suggests the lines of such a possible meaning:

And as Hippocrates followed Heraclitus in this (as was before declared) so did Zeno and the Stoicks also, they supposing besides an Intellectual Nature, as the supreme Architect and Master-builder of the World, another Plastick Nature as the Immediate Workman and Operatour. Which Plastick Nature hath been already described in the worlds of Balbus, as a thing which acts not Fortuitously but Regularly, Orderly and Artificially...

Plastick Nature is not itself a part of Intellectual Nature, the higher Architect; but it is the craftsman of a lower order, the 'skilful gardener' of the sensible world. The speaker in the poem is at last a real man in a real garden: troubled by society, bounded by time, he will after all accept that for the moment, till he can take his 'longer flight', he must live with his 'Mortal's share'.

55. Dudley North, A Forest of Varieties, 1645, p.162.
There is one peculiarity which must be remarked about 'The Garden'. Nowhere does it actually conflict with Christian teaching; it does not even in any explicit way infringe Christian attitudes. But there is a great absence in the poem — the very absence which Sherman observed in the ancient philosophers. God the Creator they might know through His works, the world; but God the Redeemer was outside their compass. Henry More at least struggled to reconcile his Christianity with his philosophical speculations, and with his desperate need of intellectual activity; and he found the way, in modifying his inherited Calvinism to a much more tolerant and gentle faith. In the thought of the other Cambridge Platonists, there is never a hint of disenchantment with, or difficulty in sustaining the basics of, Christian belief. Indeed, Anglicans in succeeding centuries were to derive much comfort from the 'rational theology' developed by Whichcote, Cudworth and their followers. Yet the light of reason in Marvell's garden shines as one with the sun of the Platonic Deity; it is no mere candle, as the seventeenth century would have it, to be dimmed by the light of Christ. There may be a Fall in 'The Garden' (I am not at all sure that there is) but there is no Redemption. The soul's ascent has no ethical dimension, only an intellectual, philosophical, spiritual one. We miss entirely in Marvell the ethical imperative behind Spenser's Platonism. In the Foure Hymnes, the finest sustained expression in English (before Milton) of Renaissance Platonism, the life of Christ is an integral part of the soul's growing knowledge. Humility before the Christian cross permeates Spenser's thought. Likewise the sense of a personal relationship with Christ Saviour informs all the work of Henry Vaughan,
who also used Platonic and Hermetic language and ideas. Vaughan's landscapes are infused with his religious enthusiasm:

For thy eternal, living wells
None stained or mortal shall come near:
A fresh, immortal green there dwells,
And spotless white is all the wear.

Dear, secret Greenness! nurst below
Tempests, and windes, and winter-nights,
Vex not, that but one sees thee grow,
That One made all these lesser lights...

Marvell's garden-Paradise on the other hand, is the still, central Platonic-Plotinian ecstasy, curiously unlocated in personality, almost out of the region of feeling, not the Judaeo-Christian tale of material bliss followed by jealousy, disobedience, fear, sorrow. His poem has none of the transports of the heart which we associate with the Christian mystics: the goal of its meaning is not love. Its vision is quintessentially classical, or, specifically, Greek. It voices the subversion which orthodox Antony Tuckney (Whichcote's opponent) and his fellow-churchmen, perhaps after all correctly, sensed at the heart of Cambridge Platonism — not in its tolerance, or even in its open-hearted eclecticism, but above all in its stress on reason. In 'The Garden' there is no Incarnation, no Saviour, no Christ. The hero of the poem is the human spirit, guided by lower nature.

Withdrawn from its preoccupations in the practical world, it is free to soar away, to create ad infinitum, even to accept its own state.

rejection of politics, sex, marriage (the main channels of outward human energy) is made in order the better to express what greatness is contained within. If we would only stop acting and learn to think, if we would but take the trouble to separate ourselves from our petty everyday business, we should see what is within our inner grasp. The garden is a paysage, not moralisé, since morality, with the cessation of action, has become irrelevant; but a scene, quite literally, alive with significance. It is 'pure and sweet' because it is the territory of intellect, seat of order, harmony and therefore beauty. The plants, come to a kind of animal life for the purpose, woo the poet and draw him towards surrender to the Intellectual-Principle, in a kind of inverse imitation of the seduction by woman of the sensual man. They are the attendants at the doors of the Intelligible. In their embrace the spirit is freed from his body, and the action of the mind (again a paradox grown to the stature of an inversion of external reality) begins its creation of inner worlds, inner seas. 'The Garden' is not a poem of escape, but of the inner journey to a far wider universe; in the mind we find everything which is outside it, but we are in a new relation of power and control over these worlds and seas. Only the life of the mind is real; within it is all that we call reality, but it is here truly recognized as merely an assemblage of created things, 'all that's made', and reduced to nothing beside thought. At last man has found his true and right activity: 'a green Thought in a green Shade'.

This perfect happiness is now marvellously extended outward. In the most beautiful stanza of the poem, the soul repossesses its surroundings;
'Fountain' and 'Fruit-tree' are irradiated with the clarity and calm of the mind. Intellection has given wings to the soul. At the end the expulsion is not from a guarded, closed, materially perfect place, but from the higher regions, the lasting harmonies of the Intelligible, where the spirit has wandered alone and untroubled. The very herbs and flowers which have witnessed the ecstasy are very fittingly made the custodians of earthly, sensible time, for the moment, till we may all permanently cast 'the Bodies vest' aside.

Reading Donne, Herbert or Vaughan, we are listening to a speaker who offers strongly dramatized enactments of emotional experience: 'virtual feeling'.60 The shape especially of Herbert's lyrics is itself expressive, working mimetically to represent the events of the poem.61 By contrast with these examples of the 'metaphysical lyric', as it has usually - and, I think, rather confusingly - been called, Marvell's poems are strictly rhetorical. Their form is not mimetic; their speakers are not projected as rounded characters with realistically convincing feelings. Instead, they are often static, flat, relatively uncommunicative;62 and the tone of the lyrics is very cool. There is hardly ever to be found in Marvell the headlong excitement which is so striking a characteristic of Donne. Ideas certainly are the subject of 'The Garden'; but it does not conduct

60. See Susanne Langer's excellent Feeling and Form, 1959, Chapter 13, 'Poesis'.
61. See the handling of verse form in 'Deniall', or 'Life', of 'The Collar'.
62. Damon the Mower, for instance, is a ritualistic figure, still and rooted. Marvell is using him to explore the isolated individual consciousness, but he is doing so symbolically, not realistically. See below, Chapter 6.
its business by argument. The one key to the poem, over and above glosses and explications de texte, is its control of its style (or rather styles): its voice. All its modulations are made with exquisite accuracy, subtly within its tetrameter range. Its early sobriety becomes a gentle sadness at the follies of lovers. The witticism on the gods is turned compactly without ostentation. The stanzas flow on quietly and clearly, rather as Socrates' good questions do in Plato's dialogues. Meaning is managed in both cases by rhetorical means: in Plato, skilful rhetoric masks the interlocutors' defeats in argument by the elegant maintenance of the figure of Socrates as benign teacher; in 'The Garden', the argument is conducted delicately by allusion, by means of the adoption and rejection successively of the different literary modes. The quiet ending is like Milton's calm point at the end of the Nativity ode: surprising and exactly right. 'The Garden' is more like a kind of organized dream than a crisis of feeling resolved. Its clear and untroubled atmosphere is part of its meaning. We may perhaps recall Burnet's remark about the Cambridge Platonists: 'the style their discourses ran in was clear, plain and short'. The poem, and the mind of the reasoning man, is free of upheaval, like the spot where Phaedrus and Socrates sit down to discuss the nature of love:

By Hera, it is a charming resting place. For this plane tree is very spreading and lofty, and the tall and shady willow is very beautiful, and it is in full bloom, so as to make the place more fragrant; then, too, the spring is very pretty as it flows under the plane tree, and the water is very cool...

(Phaedrus 230B)
Chapter Six

The Mower Poems

'Damon the Mower' and 'The Mower's Song' are each a reworking in English of the love complaint which is a favourite form in classical pastoral. I propose to examine them, then, as contributions to a tradition which begins with Theocritus and is continued by Virgil and the later classical pastoralists such as Calpurnius Siculus and Nemesianus (first and third century A.D.) and in the great volume of Renaissance pastoral, both neo-Latin and vernacular. The Mower corresponds to the traditional pastoral shepherd; and specifically he is a version of the more or less grotesque and solitary figure which Theocritus' Cyclops Idyll first introduced to European literature.  

Theocritus' Polyphemus is a rude, bumbling figure who lives alone and is mocked by the rest of the pastoral community. He woos Galatea, a beautiful and delicate sea-nymph who half flirts with him and half mocks him. The poem is among the most charming in Theocritus, with its combination, beautifully realized, of pathos, vivid presentation of natural beauty, and affectionate mockery. The famous seventeenth-century editor and scholar Daniel Heinsius expressed his age's warm appreciation of the poem when he spoke of the Theocritean lepus et venustas displayed in it.

1. There is an historical and comparative examination of the Polyphemus figure by H.M. Richmond in Comparative Literature, XII, 1960, pp. 229-242, but its scope is too large to give much useful information about this particular instance.

The history of Polyphemus changed direction decisively when Virgil composed his Eclogues; his second Eclogue is a version of the Cyclops Idyll, but it has been much altered. Polyphemus becomes Corydon, a gentle shepherd, and Galatea Alexis, a fair and noble youth. Everything is refined, idealized, fixed. Corydon loves more hopelessly, but with perfect grace. Even the madness of love is stylized, in cadences already exhibiting the haunting sadness which characterizes Virgil's later poetry:

aspice, aratra iugo referunt suspensa iuvenci,
et sol crescentes decedens duplicat umbras:
me tamen urit amor; quis enim modus adsit amori?
ah, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit?
(11.66-69)

To observe the subtle adjustments by which Virgil lowers the sharp contours of the story, and forms the strict and skilful mould which was to hold so many subsequent imitations, would itself be a detailed investigation. But the history of the form is complicated by the presence of yet another celebrated treatment of it that of Ovid in Metamorphoses XIII. This adaptation works towards heightening, rather than diminishing, the contrasts inherent in the story. Polyphemus is a giant, ugly and grotesque, who lives in a cave. He is recognizably the Cyclops who wreaks such havoc among Odysseus' friends in Homer (a fact we may

4. Odyssey, IX.
forget entirely in Theocritus' version). And, perhaps most important of all, the true and fit lover of Galatea, Acis, plays an active part in the story. It ends with the Cyclops flinging down a mountain on the fleeing couple, and Acis turns into a river, which flows, neatly, into the sea, abode of Galatea.

The story was also a favourite in the Renaissance. The Spanish poet Gongora (1561-1627) wrote a long, elaborate Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea, which outdoes all Ovid's mannered extravagance in its imagery and diction. Ronsard produced Le Cyclope Amoureux, restrained by comparison but still Ovidian rather than Virgilian. The satirist Lucian's Dialogue between Doris and Galatea, also recounting the Polyphemus story, was translated in 1593 by Giles Fletcher as part of his sonnet-sequence, Licia. Virgil's Second Eclogue also seems to have had more attention than most of its companion poems; it was selected alone for translation and commentary by Abraham Fraunce in about 1580 (the translation was published in 1591), and, with the First Eclogue, by William Webbe for his Discourse of English Poetrie in 1586.

More important and far more numerous than rehearsals of the story as a whole, are those passages in Renaissance pastoral which owe a colouring of tone, a particular motif, or some turns of phrase, to the first treatments of it. Theocritus and Virgil are the main models for all these busy imitators. Virgil's Eclogue II especially was the source of a now half-submerged continent of pastoral love-complaints. The neo-Latin share, largest by far, in this territory of echoes, is described most usefully and fully by
Leonard Grant in his Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral. The Polyphemus-Corydon type of poem is not, of course, the only kind within pastoral; but it tended to influence other kinds, or perhaps to share some common features with them. The delineation of pastoral love uses a fairly limited and recurring number of means; and the idea, for instance, of the loved one's making a landscape bloom like spring or summer is suitable to either a Polyphemus-type complaint, or to a more robust singing-match like Virgil's Eclogue VII, where it is voiced in turn (11.55-60) by Thyrsis and Corydon. But the Polyphemus kind does, nevertheless, contain certain features which set it apart. Chief among these is the solitariness of the central figure. No shepherd-community appears in the poem; or if it does, the Cyclops figure is set outside it and mocked at. He is also grotesque, rude and to a greater or lesser extend uncouth. This type of poem is characteristically more unified, and hence appears more subjective, less artificial in tone, than other kinds of pastoral. The relationship of the poet to his persona seems slightly different from that elsewhere seen: more attention is granted to the character, as an individual, of the Cyclops-Corydon, than to that of the other, less differentiated, and frequently paired, rustics. It is also very characteristic of the form that it raises with particular urgency the issues of rusticity versus urbanity, grotesqueness versus grace, nature versus

6. Such as the type which centres on a singing-match or, later, the 'poets'picnic' type, beloved of Drayton and Wither.
art, which are latent in the very existence of the pastoral genre. A.S.F. Gow suggests in his edition of Theocritus that the notion of the Cyclops' serenading Galatea appealed, in its half-mocking contrast of gaucherie with delicate beauty, to the Alexandrian contempt for things uncouth and rural. But the Cyclops is only half to be pitied, in any of his manifestations; the germ of pastoral is now very generally thought to be nostalgia for the green peace not to be found in Alexandria.

The Cyclops' desperate evocations of the beauty and bounties of nature - fruit, cheese, milk, newborn lambs - are invested with a fragile pathos in which lies his dignity as a complaining figure. This dignity is secured for good in the expressiveness of Virgil's Corydon, and after that the balance of sympathy shifts gradually to the side of the forlorn, solitary wooer. Giggling Galatea is no longer the character held up, even ostensibly, as the ideal; rather the mourning complainer holds our attention. The Ovidian version of the story, together with its family of imitations, may be slightly different in this respect, because of its heavy emphasis on the physical ugliness of Polyphemus; but even here, a commentator on Gongora sees Polyphemus as representing the bounty of nature - and therefore as the centre, in some sense, of fertility and love - but also, in his subjection to the effects of love, as

8. 'It was not until the days of the great Hellenistic cities that men first felt that romantic affection for the world of nature which finds expression in Theocritus'. Albin Lesky, A History of Greek Literature, tr., Willis, J., and dc Heer, C., 1966, p.92.
'an uncouth cousin of Acis.'

The setting of ancient pastoral was always similar; its characters were always shepherds or goatherds, while Marvell's Damon is a mower. Grant's study of the neo-Latin pastoral distinguishes between 'new forms' and 'new uses' of the pastoral, both superimposed on the inherited material of ancient pastoral. 'New uses' involve allegorical and 'public' pastoral, and among these come Mantuanesque, Christianized, pastoral poems. With these the Mower poems are not concerned. In his discussion of 'new forms', Grant mentions hunting, gardening, and fishing pastorals. The fishing pastoral was a favourite exercise among Anglo-Latin and Scots-Latin poets; Sannazaro wrote a graceful collection of sea-eclogues and Fletcher's Piscatorie Egloges are some of the better-known examples of such modifications of pastoral ideas and style. But why mowing? Marvell was attempting more than a mere feat of literary transference, of the type so dear to the Renaissance. He makes full use of his relocation of complaining Corydon in the meadows; the transfer from shepherd to mower gave him scope to introduce a different kind of nature imagery, and drew in a fresh set of associations, which give much of their force to the poems. The familiar phrases from the pastoral complaint are given a haunting newness in this altered context. This strangeness is, in both poems, to do with the idea of death; the hay harvest is invested with a strong symbolic significance, coming to be analogous to the destruction both of man's happiness, and of his life. Mowing has here the meaning elsewhere

10. There is a good modern translation by Ralph Nash, Arcadia and Piscatorial Eclogues, Detroit, 1966.
given to reaping, and this equivalence is used to suggest the pervasive Biblical image for mutability, 'all flesh is grass.'\textsuperscript{11} We shall return to this important matter in the discussion of 'The Mower's Song.'

It is possible to argue, as Legouët does,\textsuperscript{12} for the distinction to be maintained rigidly between the hay and corn harvests; certainly Marvell must have known the difference. But it is equally reasonable to suppose that he deliberately took over the symbolic connotations of reaping, to apply them to the Mower and his act of mowing. We shall examine in their place the parallels with Virgil's Second Eclogue, where the tired reapers are mentioned. But a glance at contemporary Latin-English dictionaries serves to show that the word \textit{messor} which, strictly speaking, means a reaper, could also be used loosely to mean 'mower'. Thomas Cooper's vastly popular \textit{Thesaurus Latinae Linguae}\textsuperscript{13} has '\textit{meto}: to reap: to mow. \textit{Arva metere}: to reap or mow fields.' The participle, \textit{messus}, is said to mean 'reaped, or mowed', and '\textit{messor}: a reaper: a mower: a harvest man.' Calepinus' famous \textit{Dictionarium} agrees exactly, and in the English-Latin section added in the 1661

\textsuperscript{12} In the Commentary to the 1971 revision of Margoliouth's edition of Marvell, pp.263-4.
\textsuperscript{13} First published in 1565, and much reprinted in the sixteenth century. Its status then and during the first half of the seventeenth century was canonical, as is repeatedly attested by the evidence assembled in Starnes and Talbot's \textit{Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries}, Chapel Hill, 1955.
edition, by Christopher Wase, 'A mower' is translated *messor*. This is not an attempt to prove that any confusion existed in Marvell's mind between the two kinds of harvest, but simply to illuminate the tact with which he could assimilate and extend the uses of his genre.

The use of the name Damon is probably derived ultimately from Virgil's Eclogue VIII, though there are also not a few complaining shepherds named Damon to be found in Renaissance pastoral. In Virgil VIII, Damon's fine complaining song occupies most of the first half of the poem. This is a love-complaint of more intensity and less restraint than Corydon's. It draws on phrases both from Theocritus' Cyclops Idyll, XI, and from his Idyll II:

\[
\text{Ut vidi, ut peri! ut me malus abstulit error!...}
\text{Nunc scio, quid sit Amor...}
\text{(11.41,43)}
\]

The section ends with Damon's wish for an apocalyptic destruction of his universe:-

\[
\text{omnia vel medium fiat mare. vivite silvae;}
\text{praeceps aerii specula de mentis in undas deferar...}
\text{(11.58-60)}
\]

The subject of the poem is the invasion of Damon's childlike innocence by the cruel force of sexual love. The delicate nostalgia of 11.37-40 is justly celebrated:-

\[
\text{saepibus in nostris parvam te roscida mala}
\text{(dux ego vester eram) vidi cum matre legentem.}
\text{alter ad undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus,}
\text{iam fragiles poteram ab terra contingere ramos.}
\]

There is no palliation of Damon's grief or
bewilderment; nothing in this poem corresponds to the distancing and conventionally framing

Invenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexim.

which concludes Eclogue II. Here we may grasp the greater seriousness of Virgilian, as against Theocritean, pastoral. The modern Virgilian scholar, Brooks Otis, speaks of Eclogues I-V as 'peaceful' and 'conciliatory', while Eclogues VI-X, he finds, are 'emotively dominated by amor indignus, love which is essentially destructive and irrational'. In the scheme of the Eclogues as a whole, however, II matches and balances VIII. Marvell seems to have taken the form and many of the main ideas of II, and infused the rawer pain of VIII into them, rearranging and compressing the tradition to serve his own ends.

The little, graceful 'Mower to the Glowworms' is a useful key to its more extensive partners. The pastoral world is momentarily seen hugely magnified, in its second stanza:

Ye Country Comets, that porten d
No War, not Princes funeral,
Shining unto higher end
Than to presage the Grasses fall;

The grass's fall takes place unostentatiously in the neat procession of images which define the glow-worms; but it already has a suggestion of its great significance elsewhere, in the playful parallel with the downfall of princes and destructive wars. The function of natural detail - as a series of symbols for human events and qualities - is more strongly apparent in the third stanza:

Ye Glo-worms, whose officious Flame
To wandering Mowers shows the way.
That in the night have lost their aim,
And after foolish Fires do stray;

These foolish fires are not merely the will o'
the wisp seen in the fields, but the fires of love
unrequited, desires impossible of satisfaction.
And the last stanza has a phrase which sums up the
whole burden of the two larger Mower laments:

Your courteous Lights in vain ye wast,
Since Juliana here is come,
For she my Mind hath so displaced,
That I shall never find my home.

It is a pointer we should follow. The scene of
the poems is indeed the Mower's 'Mind'. We may
recall the importance of the mind, mens, in Ros,
and also in 'The Garden', where it is the primary
scene of significant action. The precious harmony
of his thoughts has been shattered by Juliana, who
arrives as a vague but irresistible disruption,
uninvited, in the Mower's consciousness, or his
'meadows'.

All the furniture of Damon the Mower looks
impeccably traditional. It is, as Legous puts it,
a 'much heightened' version of Virgil II.
Innumerable reminiscences, in phrase, idea and
meaning, of the whole European pastoral tradition,
are contained in these innocently flowing lines.
But as well as his appreciation of the familiarity
of the material, the reader is also aware of a
series of subtle adaptations which change the
function and meaning of the motifs.

Stanza I begins as simple scene-setting:

Heark how the Mower Damon Sung,
With love of Juliana stung!
While ev'ry thing did seen to paint
The Scene more fit for his complaint.
Like her fair Eyes the day was fair;
But scorching like his am'rous Care.
(11.1-6)

This is perfectly—and merely—conventional.
Then in the last two lines, the idea is extended,
apparently in the same vein:

Sharp like his Scythe his Sorrow was,
And wither'd like his Hopes the Grass.
(11.7-8)

But already the shift has begun here, away from
the world of Theocritus or Virgil, and even from
the most able and graceful of Neo-Latin pastoral.\textsuperscript{14}
We are being led into an entanglement of meaning,
the relation between 'Sorrow' and 'Scythe', and
then, more extravagantly, between 'Hopes' and
'Grass', which is a foretaste of an unprecedented
exploration of the speaker's psychological state.
The effect of the zeugmas is to tie up the outer
world and the mind, the landscape and the soul.
The rhythmic handling of the idea is part of the
effect. Hopes and sorrow, scythe and grass are
not simply paired off, but criss-crossed within
the lines, so that while we read on we are still
mentally chiming the four nouns together, and
the pastoral (mowing) scene is already thoroughly

\textsuperscript{14} Such as Eobanus Hessus' Eclogue X, which has
all the characteristic virtues of this most
conventional sub-genre—perfectly turned, slightly
adjusted Virgilian phrases, and an immaculate
reproduction of the eclogue form. There are
dozens more to be found in Oporinus' huge pastoral
anthology, \textit{Farrago Eclogarum...}, Basle, 1546.
infused, not merely passively overlaid, with the shepherd's (mower's) grief.

The second stanza also starts from a known point; that locus classicus in Virgil Eclogue II which shows us Corydon alone wandering abroad in search of Alexis in the noonday heat (11.8-12). But Marvell adapts the passage; the heat, in Virgil that of the sun, comes in Marvell from the presence of Juliana. Before we are aware of this, however, we see the effects of this great heat, in a symmetrical pair of couplets.

Oh what unusual Heats are here,  
Which thus our Sun-burn'd Meadows sear! 
The Grass-hopper its pipe gives ore;  
And hamstring'd Frogs can dance no more.  
But in the brook the green Frog wades; 
And Grass-hoppers seek out the shades. 
(11.9-14)

In Virgil, and his imitators, there was a relatively simple contrast — suggested or stated — between Corydon, mad with love, and the wise creatures who prudently keep out of the sun:

nunc etiam pecudes umbras et frigora captant,  
nunc viridis etiam occultant spineta lacertos...  
at mecum raucis, tua dum vestigia lustro,  
sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis. 
(11.8-9, 12-13)

In Marvell, these creatures are deprived of their natural functions, piping and dancing respectively, by these 'unnatural Heats', though they can still escape to the brook and the shadows. In the final couplet of the stanza,

Only the Snake, that kept within,  
Now glitters in its second skin 
(11.15-16)
the snake is borrowed, as Legouis points out, from
the *Aeneid*, II, 471 ff. Pyrrhus in the battle of
Troy is

\[\text{qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala graminia pastus,}
frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebát,}
nunc positis novus exuvils nitidusque iuventa
lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga,
arduus ad solem...\]

But he may also have a touch of the serpent in the
*Georgics*, III, 432-439:

\[\text{postquam exusta palus, terraeque ardore dehiscent,}
exsilit in siccum, et flammantia lumina torquens}
saevit agris asperque siti atque exterritus est...
cum positis novus exuvils nitidusque iuventa
volvitur...}\]

The appearance of this snake in the Mower's world
can surely only be sinister; the force of the
*Georgics* passage is to warn against the danger of
treading on it, in the new long grass of summer.
Now the heat in 'Damon the Mower' is not that of
summer, but rather of Juliana's destructive presence,
as we are to find out in the next stanza. The
appearance of a 'harmless' snake later in the poem
is perhaps related to this apparently innocent detail.
At any rate, the couplet is a further example of the
psychological concentration by Marvell of the stock
elements of a landscape, to heighten his particular
effect. It may or may not be fanciful to see this
snake as a symbol of the destructive fury of love,
in the hitherto peaceful meadows.

Meanwhile, the main topic, the antithesis
between man and the animals, is to be completed
in the fourth stanza; but first the source of the
heat is explicitly identified:
This heat the Sun could never raise,  
Nor Dog-star so inflame the dayes.  
It from an higher beauty grow'th,  
Which burns the Fields and Mower both: 
Which made the Dog, and makes the Sun  
Hotter than his own Phaeton.  
Not July causeth these Extremes,  
But Juliana's scorching beams.  

(11.17-24)

The pastoral landscape no longer merely contains lover and beloved, as a setting; it has been taken over by them. Juliana equals the sun, or indeed replaces it; her 'higher Beauty' burns up the landscape, Mower and all. This is an open breach of the decorum of pastoral complaint. It is both a reversal of a familiar topic, and an extravagant extension of its scope. In Virgil (VII, 55-60) and Theocritus (VIII, 40-48) the presence of the beloved turns arid landscapes into fertile ones, winters into springs, buds into flowers. The absence of the desired person has withered the grass. The Mower, then, is complaining, not of absence, but of too much presence:

Tell me where I may pass the Fires  
Or the hot day, or hot desires,  
To what cool Cave shall I descend,  
Or to what gelid Fountain bend?  
Alas! I look for Ease in vain,  
when Remedies themselves complain.  
No moisture but my Tears do rest,  
Nor Cold but in her Icy Breast.  

(11.25-32)

This is the completion of the antithesis between the Mower and the meadow creatures. (The frogs and grasshoppers can find shade, and cool streams, but I can find no such relief...) There is an interesting analysis of the development of this idea in Bruno Snell's _The Discovery of the Mind_. Snell points out (p.289) that the lizards in
Theocritus (VII, 22) are simply 'sensibly' asleep in the ditch while Simichidas is trudging his way to the harvest festival. In Virgil (II, 8) they are happy, and lucky, to be asleep, because free from Corydon's burden of desire for Alexis. The effect of the change is to raise nature from simple realistic-naturalistic background and to give it a strong symbolic significance.

Stanza IV, then, combines the two topics, the effect of Juliana on the pastoral landscape, and the Mower's sense of being trapped by his feelings inside meadows which have come by the very effect of those feelings to resemble a desert. The bringing together of the two ideas, in these three stanzas – II, III, and IV – itself mimes the static or circling nature of the situation being put before us.

The remedies sought by the Mower are traditionally prescribed, like the effects of the disease. Ronsard's Cyclope Amoureux addresses the fountain of Arethusa: 'Et que votre froideur ma chaleur ne consume!' But he cannot find means to extinguish the flame in his heart, which, like the fires of Aetna, is nourished from within. The cool cave and gelid fountain are both phrases from the traditional vocabulary of pastoral, and indeed of any landscape description. They reappear in conjunction throughout the students' manuals and dictionaries of epithets which grew up like luxuriant undergrowth about the classical authors. Such phrases for describing landscape and season add up, of course, to the locus amoenus, whose configuration was determined rigidly by the laws

of discourse from immediately post-classical times. This perfectly constituted landscape crystallized by the rhetoricians is a composite picture drawn from the various classical and pastoral poets. So the idea of merging two, or three, or several passages from a classical poet or poets (as Marvell does in Stanza II of this poem, for example) is already present in, and indeed is one of the basic principles of, an education dominated by Renaissance rhetorical habits of thinking and literary methods.

The point may be illustrated. The Epitome of Joannes Ravisius Textor, a sort of dictionary of adjectives to be used with a given list of nouns, is a good example of the approach to composition which was thoroughly inculcated in the schools. Its function differs considerably from that of a mere passive thesaurus. Under every entry it includes epithets which may be thought suitable for the given noun only in very specific literary or metaphorical situations. The entry on amor, for example, is full of contradictory epithets, as is almost any entry one chooses to examine. By characterizing amor as caecus yet vigilans, miser and acer yet also mollis, gratis, blandis, suavis, it was already suggesting to the mind and reminding it of the multitude of familiar situations in classical mythology and literature in 16. See the discussion of the subject in E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr., Trask, E., London, 1953, p.195, and in ...G. Rosenmeyer's useful study of the pastoral, The Green Cabinet, 1969, Chapter 9, 'The Pleasance'.

17. Epithetorum Joannis Ravisii Textoris Epitome... with his Synonyma Poetica, was an extremely popular handbook many times reprinted from 1548 on. The British Museum Library alone has several editions. There is an account of the book in Fletcher's The Intellectual Development of John Milton, Vol.II, p.571, under 'Buchlers Poetica'.
which it would require a fitting epithet. The Textor epitome is a dictionary not so much of all the qualities a word may possess, inherent in it, as of the contexts in which it may have to be used. It is a dictionary of associations, an aide-mémoire in shorthand to the literary (i.e. classical) canon, and it tends to define, therefore, the whole orbit of subject-matter and treatment within which poetical and rhetorical discourse may take place.

The effect of this view of the process of word-choice is further to reveal Larvell's skill in handling the given methods. The expectedness of cool caves, gelid fountains, and 'hot day, or hot desires' is only a subtle, but sure adjustment's length away from

And wither'd like his Hopes the Grass.  
(1.1)

or

Sighing, I whet my Scythe and Woes.  
(1.72)

The word 'gelid' (1.28) deserves a closer look. It recalls Virgil's *gelidi fontes*, in *Eclogue X*. The context is Gallus' invitation to Lycoris to share the pleasures of love in *Arcadia* - a description, here too, of the unattainable.

hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori, 
his nemus; his ipso tecum consumerer aevo.

18. Marvell used it again in *Upon Appleton House*, St.LXVII: 'Then as I careless on the Bed/Of gelid Strawberries do tread...'
nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis
...detinet.

(11.42-45)

In a much reprinted Renaissance commentary on Virgil,\textsuperscript{19} Jodocus Willichius says:

dinde invitat ad se Lycoris, nunc ad amoenitate loci, quia hic fontes sunt, iique gelidi; quia hic sunt prata, eaque mollia...

Here we may see the process of classification at work, lining up this description along with so many others as an example of a locus amoenus. The few recorded instances of the use of the word in an English text in the seventeenth century (or before) serve to strengthen one's feeling that the word enters Marvell's mind directly from Latin, and specifically from Virgil. It is a small point; but still constitutes a further argument for the attempt to see the poem primarily as Virgilian, and to understand the excellence of Marvell without having to conjure strange and new terminology out of the air.

What, then, is the merit of this particular stanza? The Mower can find no natural hiding-place, nowhere to 'bend' or 'descend' into; the whole landscape is internalized, taken up into his own body. The sun is his desire; only his tears are moist, and the only cool spot (ironically) is Juliana's icy breast. Thus the gravely lovely contours of Virgil's pastoral landscape are subsumed into the feverish flesh of the Mower. The last two lines of the stanza

\begin{quote}
No moisture but my Tears do rest,  
Nor Cold but in her icy Breast.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{19} Jodochi Willichii Scholia Posteriora in Publii Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Basle, 1548.
heighten the effect by a condensation of the syntax. The only verb, 'do rest', has to serve all the nouns, 'moisture', 'Tears', 'Cold, and 'Breast'. The grammar, strictly speaking, does not bear examination: the verb seems to have been seduced into the plural by the proximity of 'Tears', when in fact 'no moisture' is its proper subject. The effect of this is to telescope the sentence in our minds, reinforcing the meaning. Marvell's use of zeugma well serves, here as elsewhere, his tendency to alter perspectives, and distort the sizes of natural objects.

Stanza V is fleetingly concerned, for the only time in the poem, with the attitude of Juliana herself. Even here, she can hardly be said to be described. She is addressed only as 'fair Shepherdess', and 'thou, ungrateful'. It is a function of the Mower's isolation that he never, so far as the poems go, has a relationship with Juliana. She is as distant as a goddess, coming into the meadows and the Mower's heart, causing him to lose his rapport with the landscape, but hardly otherwise defined than as a vague disruptive force. She is never described as Galatea is, as even Alexis is (II 16, 18-19); that she is a fair shepherdess is a generic, rather than a specific fact. It places her above the Mower, just as Galatea is above Polyphemus, and townbred Alexis above Corydon. Each of these disparaged lovers, then, seeks to express his sense of his own worth by offering gifts to the beloved, and then by describing his status (others care for me, even if you do not). Part of this idea also are the lover's account of his material well-being within his own habitat, and his own estimate of his comeliness. Marvell follows this pastoral pattern
closely; but his catalogue of gifts is a little unusual. Theocritus' Polyhemus offers fawns, bear-cubs, snowdrops and poppies, and Virgil's Corydon quinces, chestnuts, plums, and laurel and myrtle leaves. The hopeless lover in Calpurnius Siculus' Third Eclogue has given turtle-doves and young hares, and the earliest lilies and roses. The Mower's is a curious collection:

To Thee the harmless Snake I bring,
Disarmed of its teeth and sting.
To thee Chameleons changing-hue,
And Oak leaves tipt with hony due,
Yet Thou ungrateful hast not sought
Nor what they are, nor who them brought.

A recent critic finds a sexual suggestion in the 'harmless Snake'; this might, I suppose, be extended to explain also the chameleon. The lines do seem to need some explaining; if we suspend acceptance of this suggestion, we are left only with a snake - ancient and continuing symbol of duplicity and deceit, albeit tamed - and a chameleon, which also suggests fickleness. There is, however, a possible Latin source for the snake; in Calpurnius Siculus' Eclogue V. This poem is really georgic in subject-matter, rather than pastoral; it corresponds closely, in fact, to Virgil's Fourth Georgic, from which came the first snake in this poem, the rampant one. The speaker in Calpurnius' poem is advising his foster-son

20. Cullen, Patrick, Spenser, Marvell and Renaissance Pastoral, Harvard University Press, 1972, p.192. 'The "harmless Snake" may have phallic significance.'
21. There are illuminating notes on the connotations of duplicity in H.E.Rollins' edition of A Paradise of Dainty Devices, 1927, p.196. Rollins provides a whole list of instances from English Renaissance literature.
to burn certain herbs in the fields in summer:

obfuit ille malis odor anguibus: ipse videbis
serpentum cecidisse minas: non stringere dentes
ulla potest uncos, sed inani debilis ore
marcit et obtuso iacet exarmata veneno.
(V 91-94)

There is a particularly close correspondence in the wording of this passage, and Marvell's; inani corresponds to 'harmless', and exarmata, of course, to 'Disarmed'. Are we, as I have suggested earlier, to see the two snakes as symbolically related, particularly in view of the fact that they are probably both borrowed from similar georgic passages? The first snake is young, fresh, raging through the fields; the second debilitated, sapped of its function, defeated. Whether or not we see an explicit sexual symbol, it is reasonable to say at the least that the power of hopeless love, or Juliana's scorn, or the Mower's helplessness before them both, is the active force of the poem, and his attempt to bring Juliana into harmony with his meadow world is a failure; instead she destroys it. To the Mower the translation of desire into action is unimaginable; the effect of sexual love is to alienate him from his native and true surroundings:

For She my Mind hath so displaced
That I shall never find my home.
('The Mower's Song' 11.15-16)

But the surface tone of the pastoral retains its elegant lightness; perhaps instead we should see a sophisticated double irony in the strangeness of the gifts; a sort of false innocence in the Mower, who thinks a harmless snake an acceptable gift?
The catalogue of gifts in pastoral is after all always a faintly ironical matter, part of the puppet rusticity created to amuse Alexandrian sophisticates. Virgil's exquisite, offhand Rusticus es, Corydon: nec munera curat Alexis catches the tone perfectly. It is a mixture of mockery (by poet, of persona) and pathos. All those first-born lambs and kids, milk-white, are double symbols — genuine symbols of innocence and beauty, but employed by poets well aware of their insufficiency when it comes to coping with the circumstances of the actual (i.e. urban, disillusioned) world.

The whole poem is concerned, then, with two states of man; before and after the catastrophe (whether it be knowledge, or the discovery of sex, or 'civilization'). The sixth stanza circles back, with a simple, singing voice, to the state before the coming of Juliana (which in stanza IX ripples outwards in turn to become the advent of 'Love' insel.)

I am the Mower Damon, known,
Through all the Meadows I have mown.
On me the Morn her dew distills
Before her darling Daffadills.
And, if at noon my toil me heat,
The Sun himself licks off my Sweat.
While, going home, the Ev'ning sweet
In cowslip-water bathes my feet.  
(11.41-8)

Marvell's genius for the creative use of his traditions shows itself here in the first couplet. Virgil's Eclogue V contains, as part of a singing-match, an account of the shepherd-god Daphnis:

...et tumulum facite et tumulo superaddite carmen:
'Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus, formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse.'
(V 42-44)

Here the usque ad sidera is smoothly modified to 'through all the Meadows I have mo i': the wide world which was the province of Daphinis has shrunk to the small, precious, uncontaminated happiness of the Mower in his meadows. In Calpurnius Siculus' Eclogue III the complaint of Lycidas deserted by his Phyllis, with whom he once enjoyed happiness, we find the lines:

ILLE ego sum Lycidas, quo te cantante solebas
dicere felicem, cui dulcia saepe dedisti
oscula nec medios dubitasti rumpere cantus
atque inter calamos errantia labra petisti.
(11.55-8)

It is significant that the memories of caresses are transferred, in the Mower's case, to the 'Morn', the sun, and the ministrations of the 'Evening sweet'. The tenderness of reciprocal sexual love is hardly present in Marvell.

In his delicate, fragile past happiness, the Mower was rich in his own way:

What though the piping Shepherd stock
The plains with an unnum'red Flock,
This Sithe of mine discovers wide
More ground than all his Sheep do hide.
With this the golden fleece I shear
Of all these Closes ev'ry Year.
And though in Wooll more poor than they,
Yet am I richer far in Hay.
(11.49-56)

The unnumbered flock is totally conventional; to Virgil's mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnae might be added dozens of repetitions, verbally exact, from neo-Latin and indeed vernacular pastoral.22

in fact, one of the chief pleasures of reading neo-Latin poetry is that it is always finding minute variations on Virgilian phrases, thus exploring the amenability of Latin syntax to rearrangements of words - a quality much exploited in Renaissance rhetoric. 23 The discreet pun to be uncovered in the present stanza appeals to the same minor delight:–

This Sithe of mine discovers wide...

And the 'golden fleece' in 1.52 seems similarly dextrous but incidental. This serves one of the wider purposes of the poem, though; it carries out the consistent adaptation of detail from shepherd to mower. The final couplet is almost overtly comic, since to be 'rich in hay' is surely a blatantly insufficient and inappropriate qualification for the hand of even a rustic girl: and Juliana is a fair shepherdess, a burning sun. Again we see that insofar as the poem is a wooing song, it is a failure (and deliberately so, just in the way that Polyphemus' is.) But as an evocation of the fall from contentment to anguish, it is a haunting success. The poet's, and reader's, lively awareness of the ridiculousness of great galumphing Polyphemus chasing Galatea along the sea-shore does not spoil the poignancy of his offers of protection and care. What is suggested in Theocritus (and thrown away in Ovid, who moves the figure in the direction of action, not of passion) is established firmly in Marvell's Mower, by means of the concentration of his own person and his 'Mind'. By

23. Peacham's rhetorical handbook recommends such manipulations, as a useful and aesthetic exercise (The Garden of Eloquence, 1593, the section on 'Schemats Syntactical').
internalizing the setting in the early stanzas of the poem (I-IV), as we have seen, Marvell gives greater presence, more ground, to his Mower-Cyclops. The mockery plays only lightly on the surface of the poem; what is impressed on us is the simple integrity of Damon. The pastoral form serves as a fable within which to realise the suffering consciousness of man. But Marvell never throws off the tradition, never rebels overtly against it; rather he subverts it, translating its power to his own purposes.

Stanza VIII begins with yet another stock phrase, to be found in all the main and a dozen minor pastoralists.

Nor am I so deform'd to sight,
If in my Sithe I looked right;
In which I see my Picture done,
As in a crescent Moon the Sun.
The deathless Fairyes take me oft,
To lead them in their Danses soft;
And, when I tune myself to sing,
About me they contract their ring.
(11.57-64).

As part of his adaptation, Marvell has here changed mirror into scythe, as J.B.Leishman pointed out.24 We should note that this passage in Virgil (II.25-6) was habitually made the occasion for much moral-philosophical reflection in the Renaissance commentaries. First, the aptness of having a rustic use the sea for his mirror was approvingly pointed out; decorum maintained. And, since the opportunity to moralize must not be missed, there was also, it was suggested, a reference to the disparity which might exist between one's idea of oneself (morally speaking, of course) and the reality

of one's nature or conduct. The point that we should not miss is the ability of the Renaissance mind to cope with a multiplicity of meaning, carried by a kind of indirect speech: the pastoral style, itself with its traditional language and recurring motifs. Thus there is a possible ambiguity, or second meaning below the surface, in Marvell's 1.58, 'If in my Sithe I looked right;'. Does it mean 'if I looked properly, with my eyes open, i.e. honestly'? Or 'since I looked well enough, mirrored there'? It suits pastoral humility - a matter of decorum - that the Mower should even pause to hope he has been honest. It also extends the adaptation from sea to scythe, getting a double value from it, and once again matches, pairs, the Mower with his tools.

The fairies in 1.61 recall the fairy-light dancers in the mowing scene of Upon Appleton House:-

Their Females fragrant as the Mead
Which they in Fairy Circles tread:
When at their Dances end they kiss,
The new-made Hay not sweeter is.

LIV 429-32)

But their source may be the nymphs who in Virgil frolic and play with Corydon, and whom he enlists to care for Alexis and bring him gifts. In Richard Brinsley's school edition of Virgil's Eclogues, the

25. There is a long digression on the subject, giving the views of Socrates and Seneca on mirrors and their uses, in Jacobus Pontanus' Symbolarum libri XVII Geneva, 1604, in the course of his commentary on this passage. See also the discussion of the Virgilian commentary of Ramus in Chapter 1 above.
26. Thus the line corresponds to si numquam fallit imago in Virgil; and also probably to Theocritus, VI, 1.37, translated by Hessus ut a me iudicabatur, (and by Gow, loc. cit., 'as my judgement goes').
lines (II 45-6) are annotated:— 'Nympha is properly a new married wife, a Nymph; here by the Nymphes are meant goddesses of the Meadowes or woods. Amongst the heathens they were taken for goddesses haunting rivers, trees, mountains, meadows, or the like...’ Published in 1620, the book may very well have been used by Marvell in Hull Grammar School. That 'fairies' may correspond to oreads and dryads without any straining of meaning is evident from 'The Mower Against Gardens':—

And Fauns and Faryes do the Meadows till,  
More by their presence then their skill.  
(11.35-6)

Fairies also appear together with a mower in an eclogue by Edward Fairfax, the translator of Tasso; though the poem remained unpublished in the seventeenth century, his nephew Thomas Fairfax, Marvell's employer, copied it out, heading it 'An Eclogue made by my uncle, Mr Ed. Fairfax, in a dialoge betwixt tow sheapards'. 27 The two speakers, Hermes and Lycaon, represent the false and true Churches. Though this and Fairfax's other surviving eclogue are religious allegorical pastorals in the manner of Mantuan, Fairfax brings more grace and freshness to the genre than it usually exhibits. This is the opening of the Hermes and Lycaon eclogue:

The sweaty sithe-man with his razor keen  
Shore the perfumed beard from meadows green,  
And on each bush and every mossy stone  
Jarred Maie's little daughter Tetrigone,  
When to the shadows of a mountain steep  
Lycaon drove his goats, Hermes his sheep...

27. See Daemonologia: A Discourse on Witchcraft... and Two Eclogues of Edward Fairfax, ed., Grainge, W., Harrogate, 1882. The eclogues were written in 1604.
Oft came the nymphs, the fairy sisters oft
Forsook their mossy beds and liards soft,
And oft the half-gods at their music's sound
Came, and their brows with ivy garlands crowned...
They sung by course, and praised their loves by turns,
Each cricket loves the flame wherein she burns;
And whilst their flocks browse on the shrubs
and briars,
They tune their pipes and thus they sing
their fires.

(11.1-6, 11-14, 23-26)

Here also are the singing insects - grasshoppers in Marvell, here crickets both real (11.3-4) and metaphorical (1.24) - and the idea of love as a consuming flame; and like Damon and the Appleton House mowers (stanza LIV) the 'sithe-man' is 'sweaty'. It is conceivable that Marvell was influenced in his conception of Damon by the eclogue, and even that he may have been imitating it as a half-hidden compliment to the poet's descendant.

With Stanza IX we come to the real subject of the poem, directly faced - the failure of innocence to make sense of the world, and the refusal of the world to leave innocence alone in its happy passivity.

How happy might I still have mow'd,
Had not Love here his thistles sow'd!
But now I all the day complain,
Joyning my Labour to my Pain;
And with my Scythe cut down the Grass,
Yet still my Grief is where it was:
But, when the Iron blunter grows,
Sighing I whet my Scythe and Woes.

(11.65-72)

The state of the Mower's psyche is well expressed in the zeugmas which form the second half of the Stanza. The intimate relationship between mower, scythe, and grass, has been too fragile to survive the advent of Juliana. The inability of 'Labour' to assimilate 'Pain' is expressed in the syntax;
grass and grief, scythe and woes are set off against each other, as are the nouns in the final couplet of Stanza I. The rhetorical device gives an eloquent compression to the idea, as in the stylized grief of Virgil's Corydon.

Stanza X contains the only action in the poem—an accident which is a sign of the Mower's distraction from his habitual way of life.

While thus he threw his Elbow round,
Depopulating all the ground,
And, with his whistling Scythe, does cut,
Each stroke between the Earth and Root,
The edged Stele by careless chance
Did into his own Ankle glance;
And there among the Grass fell down,
By his own Scythe, the Mower mown.
(11.73-80)

Such mishaps are not without precedent in classical pastoral. One of a pair of Theocritus' more comic rustics undergoes such a minor calamity, also while bemoaning his unattainable love. The context is fairly realistic, not the more ethereal or stylized kind of pastoral, and the tone is low-life. In Idyll IV, Battus and Corydon discuss various rustic matters, among them the death of Amaryllis, Battus' beloved. While Battus is mooning about Amaryllis, one of his heifers strays, and he is wounded by a thorn:

Look at me, Corydon, for heaven's sake.
A thorn has just got me here under the ankle...
What a little wound to master a man as big as me.

There are critics who emphasize the ridiculousness of the Mower over and above his pathos and dignity, and it is indeed possible to see his self-mowing as an accident more associated with these comic-naturalistic rustics (or those, of the same type,
in Idyll X) than with the ethereal complainers like Corydon. But the tendency of the accident to appear as retribution, or at least as predestined rather than a simple surprise, works against this view. The mowing action in Marvell is more symbolic than agricultural.

There is also a similarity of phrasing between the description of the Mower's accident here, and Upon Appleton House (stanza I):

With whistling Sithe, and Elbow strong,
These massacre the Grass along;
While one, unknowing, carves the Rail,
Whose yet unfether'd Quils her fail.
The Edge all bloody from its Breast
He draws, and does his Stroke detest;
Fearing the Flesh untimely mow'd
To him a Fate as black forebode.

The whistling scythe and the elbow-movement appear in both scenes; so does the idea of massacre and depopulation. It is made explicit in the death of the bird, in Appleton House, and turns into the laying low of the Mower himself, in 'Damon'. The superstitious fears of the nameless mower in the one come true in the other. The succeeding stanza (LI) in the long poem should also be taken into account:-

But bloody Thestylis, that waites
To bring the mowing Camp their Cates,
Greedy as Kites has trust it up,
And forthwith means on it to sup:
When on another quick she lights,
And cryes, he called us Israelites;
But now, to make his saying true,
Rails rain for Quails, for Manna Dew.

In Virgil's Eclogue II Thestylis is the bringer of refreshing herbs to the reapers weary with toil. Here she is 'bloody' and 'greedy as Kites'. In
Virgil, she is simply part of the outside, normal, happier world going about its business as usual while Corydon wanders lovelorn. Here the mowers are seen as an army, ravaging the peaceful land, and Thestylis as their 'camp'-servant. The picture presented in 'Damon the Mower' is somewhere between the two. The stage-military metaphor of Appleton House has disappeared; the destruction has turned inwards, and the wound is self-inflicted. It is as if the solitary poet who is to retire from the flood later in Appleton House has here entered the person of Damon. The solitary contentment, and its accompanying defensive attitude to women, is voiced directly by the poet:-

How safe, methinks, and strong behind
These Trees have I incamp'd my Mind;
Where Beauty, aiming at the Heart,
Bends in some Tree its useless Dart;
And where the World no certain shot
Can make, or me it toucheth not...

(LXXVI)

In pastoral form, the sentiment is voiced instead by the shepherd-mower. We may remember the shifting, half-autobiographical nature of Sannazaro's Arcadia, where the poet sometimes drops the pastoral personae to sing Petrarchan complaints in his own voice.²⁸

The suggestion of self-destruction - 'by his own Scythe' - and indeed of some kind of retribution, gives a haunting quality to the poem, which does seem to take it beyond the conventional pastoral formulation. The meaning extracted from this apparently casual mishap is of a different order from the knockabout, robust air of the Theocritean passage quoted. Damon wreaks on himself the same

²⁸ E.g. Eclogue VII.
destruction wrought on the rail in the other poem; and yet the wound is only an analogy to that made in his mind by Juliana.

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Alas! Said He, these hurts are slight
To those that dye by Loves despight,
With Shepherds-purse, and Clowns-all-heal,
The Blood I stanch, and Wound I seal.
Only for him no Cure is found,
Whom Julianas Eyes do wound.
'Tis death alone that this must do,
For Death thou are a Mower too.
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(11.81-88)

The shepherd's traditional skill in herbal cures does not avail, as it traditionally has not, to cure the wounds of love. So much is conventional; but the assertion in the final couplet is a little outside the usual scope of pastoral love-gifts. The pastoral suicide, pure and simple, is familiar; but the equation of the speaker with death is alien in flavour to the classical pastoral.

The meaning seems to be as follows: the Mower wounds himself ('mows' himself); this wound he can heal. The mower is also (has been) wounded by Julianas eyes; only death can heal this. Yet death will only 'heal' by mowing; so death's final obliteration is a healing act. It is a profoundly pessimistic conclusion. It is also much harsher and more serious than the conventional pastoral suicide-for-love, since it associates the speaker's death more nakedly with killing, and also, through the translation from shepherd to mower, brings in connotations of harvesting, of time and ripeness.

There is a possible elucidation of this passage to be made, not directly from classical pastoral, but from the accretion of annotations which it had acquired by the seventeenth century. The Phrygian legend of Lityerses pictures Death as
a reaper, or, more accurately, a famous reaper as Death. Lityerses was a king, the son of Midas. He habitually invited passing strangers in to come and reap with him for a day, on the promise of bed and board. At the end of the day's work, however, Lityerses would 'reap' the visitor - kill him with his sickle - wrap the body in a sheaf, and carry it off home. Hercules is said to have put a stop to the practice, by reaping Lityerses himself with his own sickle ('by his own Sythe...')29 The source of this story is the scholia of Theocritus, *Idyll* X, 1.42. It also appears in the Servius commentary on Virgil. The Lityerses story enters the Theocritus commentary as a scholarly aside. *Idyll* X is set in a harvest field. Bucaeus is falling behind his companion Milon in the reaping. Rebuked for this, he sings quasi-comically of his love for Bombyca. Milon mocks him and sings exhortations to brisker work in reply. The exhortations are semi-formulaic, like the vestiges of rhythmical worksong; Milon calls them 'these verses of the hero Lityerses', which gives rise to the anecdote. Casaubon's *Lectiones* in the 1604 volume also give an expanded version of the story of Lityerses, treating it seriously as legend. Its appearance in the Servius commentary is in the notes on *Eclogue VIII*, 1.68. The connection is extremely tenuous; Lityerses appears dimly in the early life of the shepherd-god-hero Daphnis, and Servius retells the story of Lityerses' murderous practice, and Hercules' defeat of him.

The Lityerses story is not merely a literary-mythological matter. It has significant parallels

in harvest-customs all over Europe. These customs are described and explained in Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, which devotes a chapter to Lityerses, (Vol.VIII, 7). Frazer gives many examples, not a few of them from Britain, of a practice identical in its basic elements:—a passing stranger, or else the last reaper (or mower, or grape-picker) was seized on, sometimes bound with corn ropes, and playfully knocked about, but always so as to bring him into contact with the ground. This victim represents the spirit of the harvest. Frazer says 'both the Lityerses story and European harvest-customs agree in indicating that the victim was put to death as a representative of the corn-spirit.' The identity of the victim varies; sometimes he would be the loser in a reaping-contest. Frazer gives examples in detail which are of special interest. In Scotland, the custom was 'to lay hold of the stranger by his ankles and armpits, lift him up and bring the lower part of his person into violent contact with the ground' (p.227). And in Central Europe, the victim was surrounded by reapers who 'sharpened their scythes, while the leader says: "The men are ready, the scythes are bent, the corn is great and small, the stranger must be mowed."' We look again at the mowing scene in Upon Appleton House:

...The Mower now commands the Field;
In whose new Traverse seemeth wrought
A camp of Battail newly fought:
Where, as the meads with Hay, the Plain
Lyes quilted ore with Bodies slain:
The Women that with forks it fling,
Do represent the Pillaging.

(LIII)

The Lityerses story, says Frazer, is 'ultimately another trace of the yearly slaying of priest-kings';
it is to be connected with the stories of Adonis, Attis and Linus. The remote basis of all such tales is apparently the custom of human sacrifice to preserve the fertility of the earth.

We can hardly doubt Marvell's familiarity with Theocritean and Virgilian pastoral, and the editions where he made his acquaintance contained, not in one but in two or three places, the story of the reaper as death. The stanza just quoted from the Appleton House poem presents its suggestion of massacres and laying-low by means of a highly conventionalized metaphor of the seventeenth-century period. But it is not impossible that some form of harvest-game really played in the meadows below Fairfax's house contained a mock-killing which merged in Marvell's mind with the scholarly anecdote; the two suggestions then combined with the conventional pastoral suicide, to make the Mower's odd and arresting final insight.

How, then, are we to take these lines? The abruptness of the ending is a very different matter from the familiar pastoral turning away from complaint (or discussion) and back to the sheepfold at sunset. Here through the urbane style we perceive a more complex meaning being hammered out under the surface of the poem.

It begins with a framing device, by which, in stanza I, the poet points to the Mower as if to a figure striking an attitude in a landscape painting. Stanzas II to V contain Damon's complaint in the present moment; stanzas VI to VIII return to his state before the coming of Juliana. Stanza IX is once again set in the present, now a vantage point from which the past - the Mower at home in his setting, with a due happiness and self-respect - is seen as a condition of perfection which cannot be recaptured. The structure of the poem is
similar to that of the 'Nymph Complaining', in which also there is a devastating event which is irreversible and which alters the life of the speaker. The Nymph also summons death as an untimate relief for suffering, and both she and the Mower find a certain rightness, even a satisfaction, in death: the Nymph preserves her grief by becoming a statue like the Faun, and the Mower is subsumed into the activity of his avatar, Death. The fact that the whole extent of the pastoral landscape is the small world of the meadows turns this Marvellian pastoral into an intense, enclosed and subjectively expressive medium. The Virgilian usque ad sidera has shrunk to 'all the Meadows I have mown', and the complaining voice has been amplified so that it is almost coextensive with the poem: narrative (the circumstances of meeting Juliana, any tale of the wooing) is almost absent; and the one action in the poem is stark, single and, as we have seen, highly symbolic.

This formal alteration is made clearer still in 'The Mower's Song', which lacks even the rudimentary scene-setting of the other poem. It begins with the complaint, unmediated by any introduction, and it has a refrain, the only one in Marvell. The final line of the stanza recurs five times unaltered; the penultimate line remains identical for the first three stanzas, then is slightly modified in the last two, to express both cause and time. ('When Juliana comes' becomes 'For Juliana comes'). This refrain is a key to the meaning of the poem. It keeps bringing round again, enacting its double movement, the problem which is the main matter of the poem. The Mower cuts down the grass; Juliana cuts down the Mower.

Stanza I recalls a time in the past when Mower
and meadows were in loving, delighted harmony - 'once'. Then (stanza II) the meadows grew more and more splendid, while the Mower pined with sorrow. He therefore (III - the present -) accuses them of ingratitude, false friendship, and callousness. Because of this failure to have sympathy with him, he will take revenge (IV) by laying them low, just as Juliana has laid him low. He will make them participate in his ruin. They will finish (V) in harmony again; he will be dead and buried, and they, withered, will become the dried wreaths on his tomb.

The logic is circular. Juliana does to me what I do to you; therefore I will do it to you. What is left unstated below the surface of this wearily cyclical process is the fact that the grass renews itself, while the Mower does not. One may see the central process as an attempt to wrench the order of nature into the sphere of human acts, to transform the common necessary recurrence of the harvest into an act of revenge. The Mower, in agony, seems to have pulled down the whole creation on his head, to be trying to run the world from inside his mind. He seems to own the meadows, instead of occupying the traditional position of the pastoral speaker, that of the servant and the decoration of his landscape, the harmonious participant in the natural process. The landscape is entirely symbolic: it reflects the Mower's mind like a mirror (see ll.3-4). Paradoxically the effect achieved is one of the isolation of this central figure (compare the vague immensities of the landscape surrounding the lovers in 'To His Coy Mistress'). In Virgilian and Theocritean pastoral the landscapes and their contents - goats, hills, thickets, cicadas, apples - are reassuringly solid and definitely present. Marvell makes these meadows
rather shadowy, not specifying their features ('...not one Blade of Grass you spy'd,/But had a Flower on either side'): what is presented with great clarity and emphasis is the emotional experience of the Mower. On human freedom and hope falls bondage and disappointment, just as the scythe in time falls on the harvest. (The relentless strokes of the refrain mime both the mowing and the inevitability of such disillusionment).

But the meadows are illustrative, not representational. This is a method quite different from, and more subtle than, the relatively crude allegorizing of Luuanesque, or even Spenserian, pastoral. There is no suggestion of another order of meaning in which the mistakes and destruction of this order will be corrected and rendered harmless. The artificiality of the nature-imagery, and the very fact that it is used in such a witty manner (that is, entirely to make a point, to signify some mental, human state), shows us that the important thing in the poem is not God's created world, but the mind of man. The fellowship with the meadows must not, on the other hand, be taken as Wordsworthian, as between equals. The Marvellian attitude to external nature needs to be very carefully understood, and not given anachronistic interpretation.

The chaste, forlorn beauty described in the first stanza corresponds to the gentle, singing imagery in the other poem of Damon walking in the meadows, beloved by morning and evening. The green grass is everywhere in Marvell an image of happiness; and happiness consists, characteristically, of innocence and solitude. The perfect reflection of man in nature is shattered by the advent of the female. It is not really a question, however, of being 'alone with nature', with all that that phrase
implies to our ears - the mind receiving the impression of Nature, as some force, almost a personality, great and wiser than the individual. The reverse is true; the Mower (as, elsewhere in Marvell, the poet-speaker) seeks perfectly passive surroundings, in which he may be himself, examine his soul, '(his) self imbark/In this yet green, yet growing Ark'. If we assume this kind of purpose as a general concern in Marvell, it is still possible to define differently, according to genre, his attempts to express it. 'The Garden', for example, used the framework of the seventeenth-century retreat poem; in the Mower poems the man-nature relationship takes its origin from that delineated in Greek and Roman pastoral. The Polyphemus-antecedents of the Mower had specific work to do, a definite business with their rural surroundings, namely milking goats and making cheeses. The work done by the Mower, however, is emblematic rather than agricultural. It is not as concrete as in georgic poetry, or as in most pastoral, especially Theocritean, but neither is it merely perfunctory or decorative. The occupation and surroundings of shepherds furnished many useful topics and trappings to pastoral, (and were exploited more fully still when the idea of Christ was superimposed on that of Daphnis); so Marvell turns the associations of the idea of mowing to advantage. He is not content merely with neat and unobtrusive adaptation. And in this poem, he also uses Biblical imagery to extend the range of his pastoral, and deepen its resonance.

But first let us examine more fully the modifications within the territory of the traditional pastoral. The subject of the poem is the destruction of the Mower's world by the entry of
Juliana into it; this too, as we have seen, is at the basis of 'Damon the Mower.' But here Marvell reduces the whole poem to an exploration of this destructive act, and so concentrates it that the complaining speaker becomes himself (this time explicitly) a destroyer. There is no social focus at all in the Mower's world, other than his relationship (which hardly deserves the name) with Juliana, and his 'fellowship' with the meadows. Neither of these can be justly compared with the relationships between the community of shepherds in most pastoral. The Mower has no confidant, no band of friends, no fellow-mower even. This psychological concentration has been foreshadowed by the increasing introversion of pastoral heroes, especially the lovelorn shepherds of Sannazaro and Sidney, who brought the Petrarchan lyric voice into pastoral romance. We have looked already at the beginning of the process in the change of emphasis from Theocritus to Virgil. But Marvell has carried it much farther; and the function of nature in the poem is intimately connected with this greater psychological depth and complexity.

The pathetic fallacy is fully incorporated into the structure of the poem; landscape and mental state are presented in combination. At every moment, the language of human pain and yearning intrudes itself upon the evocation of the landscape. The mown grass is prefigured in the Mower's state:—

...And in your gawdy May-games meet,
While I lay trodden under feet.
(11.15-16)

And the act of the hay harvesting is performed in due time, in a heavily symbolic atmosphere. The fellowship being mourned in
Unthankful meadows, could you so
A fellowship so true forego?
(11.13-14)

was something interior, a state of things inside
the Mower's psyche, or soul. The 'revenge' wrought
in Stanza IV constitutes, however, a quite savage
reversal of the usual Marvellian surrender to nature. Instead of lying down to be bound or seduced by the
vegetable world, the Mower goes raging to the
destruction of his erstwhile beloved meadows. He
takes on the mantle of time, in the fury of his
revenge.

But what you in Compassion ought,
Shall now by my Revenge be wrought;
And Flow'rs, and Grass, and I and all,
Will in one common Ruine fall.
(11.19-22)

The third line here serves to stabilize, to render
poetically solid, the highly volatile emotional
connotations of the language. As in 'Damon the
Mower', the zeugma unites Mower and nature in one
arc of meaning, like a sweep of the scythe. Here
as elsewhere in Marvell, the mastery of rhetorical
devices is a source of expressiveness. The third
and fourth line ('And Flow'rs and Grass...')
constitute an example, not just of zeugma, but also
of polysyndeton (a list of nouns, linked by
conjunctions) and auxesis (a set of things named
in ascending order). The flowers fall first, then
the grass, then the Mower, followed by 'all' - in
cnc common ruin. The word 'ruin' enriches the
connotations of the passage. The Latin ruina came,

30. E.g., Upon Appleton House, sts. LXXV-LXXVII,
and 'The Garden', sts. V-VIII.
in medieval and later usage, to signify the 
lapsus or spiritual downfall of a Christian, as well 
as the physical destruction of a city or building 
(the original meaning).31

The final stanza of the poem presents the 
familiar picture of the lovesick shepherd foreseeing 
his own death. From Virgil onwards, the tendency 
in classical and classicizing pastoral was to give 
more and more emphasis to this extravagant promise. 
As the figure of the amator infelix became less 
rustic and ridiculous, and more courtly and serious, 
his threats of suicide became more elaborate and 
more psychologically congrous, if not more realis-
tically convincing. The balance between comic and 
sympathetic portrayal has been tipped to the side 
of the second alternative by Virgil. The effect 
of this:

I will strip off my cloak and leap into the 
waves from the cliff whence Olpis, the fisherman, 
watches for the tunny; and if I kill myself, 
at least thy pleasure will have been done. 
(Theocritus III 25-7)

differs quite radically, given their respective 
contexts, from that of the following:-

...laqueum miseris nectemus ab illa 
ilice, quae nostros primum violavit amores. 
hi tamen ante mala figentur in arbore versus: 
'credere, pastores, levibus nolite puellis; 
(Calpurnius Siculus, III 88-90)

Virgil's version is the watershed:-

31. A Glossary of Later Latin, Souter, A., 
omnia vel medium fiat mare. vivite silvae; 
praeceps aerii specula de montis in undas 
deferar; extremum hoc munus morientis habeto.  
(VIII 58-60)

Theocritus' goatherd is as if seen from the outside, 
from a long way away; Virgil's Damon speaks, on the 
other hand, with the full authority of the poet, 
almost as in first-person lyric. The safely absurd 
threats of the Theocritean goatherd, the madness of 
Polyphemus' disappointed love, have been modulated 
into a more serious idea. Yet Virgil, we should 
notice, does not need to step outside the pastoral 
convention, to break the rules, in order to gain 
this effect. The complaint of Damon makes up one 
half of a poem which is itself a singing-match 
between two shepherds.

The ritual tomb-decoration envisaged by the 
Mower in the final stanza belongs properly to the 
dead Daphnis-figure, that is to the shepherd-god 
rather than to the complaining, but essentially 
surviving, shepherd. But the latter tends in 
later pastoral to borrow some characteristics from 
the former. In the Calpurnius passage just quoted, 
the grief-stricken Lycidas has the dignity of an 
inscription on the tree from which he is about to 
hang himself:--

Phyllida Mopsus habet, Lycidan habet ultima rerum.

This rings rather more sonorously than the words of 
Virgil's Damon, with its abstract ultima rerum. 
The line is, incidentally, metrically remarkable, 
consisting entirely of spondees, which give a long, 
eliberate emphasis to the idea of an ultimate end. 
Sannazaro expands such classical hints; in the
first eclogue of his Arcadia, the lovesick Ergasto wished for a natural upheaval, the perishing of the world, because of his unhappiness in love. In the lovely final stanza, he draws in the whole landscape to bear witness to the intensity of his passion. There is some borrowed sense here of the deep correspondence between suffering man and surrounding nature which gives its power to the pure pastoral lament for the shepherd-god (e.g. Bion's Lament for Adonis, or Theocritus I). But this sense of correspondence is now operating as poetic metaphor rather than as expressed myth. In an even more complete way, the Mower's fellowship with the meadows is, as I have tried to show, subservient to his mental and spiritual state. Man dominates the landscape, not the reverse.

Marvell borrows, as I have said, a Biblical image: the analogy between the withering grass and the life of man. But its effect in the poem is, I feel, typically secular and philosophical. Its subliminal force is to increase the sense of hopelessness to which the Mower is prey: in its literal meaning, the Mower is saying that he will take upon himself those powers of total destruction which are attributed to God in the Old Testament — or, only a little less directly, to the action of Time upon human order:—

What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field; the grass withereth, the flower fadeth: because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass...

The repeated 'What I do to the Grass...' in the poem

focuses our minds on the word; the inevitable ending is forever being foreseen, at each juncture. Juliana, the power of desire, the absolutely predictable harvest, merge together; the resonance of the death of man is borrowed to express the death of his hopes. It is interesting to note that Marvell gives an almost exact quotation from this passage of Isaiah in one of his Christian pastoral dialogues, 'Clorinda and Damon'. Clorinda offers Damon all the trappings of pastoral delight:

The Grass I aim to feast the Sheep;  
The Flowers I for thy Temples keep...

Damon replies:–

Grass withers; and the Flow'rs too fade.  
(11.5-7)

and prevails over all Clorinda's enticements by his faith in the protection and celebration of Pan, who is Christ.

These once had been enticing things,  
Clorinda, Pastures, Caves and Springs.  
(11.17-18)

But not

Of Pan the flowery Pastures sing,  
Caves echo, and the Fountains ring.  
Sing then while he doth us inspire;  
For all the World is our Pan's quire.  
(11.27-30)

There is something enclosed and trivial about this neat little dialogue; the replies snap quickly back at each other, but without engaging more than the surface of the mind. The transference of all
the pastoral trappings (and this at their most conventional) into a Christian context has not fused them into a poem which poses any real questions. The very explicitness of the statement robs it of its deeply troubling effect. 'The Mower's Song', on the other hand, holds in suspension the Mower's pain, regret and puzzlement, without seeking to resolve all tensions brightly.

But we should not allow the resonance of

And Flow'rs, and Grass, and I, and all
Shall in one common Ruine fall,

to distort our understanding of the poem's mode. This highly suggestive image is followed duly by the refrain, merely influencing it to change form slightly, from 'When' to 'For'. The entry of Juliana and the breaking up of the Mower's world are thus directly linked as cause and effect. But the poem goes its course smoothly, without dislocation. All that has been shattered, after all, is the Mower's personal world; the focus shifts back again in the last stanza, and we get a true perspective on these rustic ills. It is the continuity of the poem's tone and form which imparts this information. A most remarkable control is thus exercised over our psychological reactions. The intensity of the poem's feeling is perfectly contained within its form. The final stanza recalls the first, quite exactly, the key word, 'Meadows', reappears, and 'Mind' is paralleled by 'Thoughts'; but the delighted mutual reflection expressed in 'survey' and 'Glass' has shrunk to the merely decorative 'heraldry'. The destruction is complete, yet nothing ends: the process goes on eternally being re-enacted, the refrain is in the present tense.
The remaining poem of this group, 'The Mower against Gardens', has often seemed to interpreters to demand a different treatment from the other three. Frank Kermode, whose work on the poem is especially illuminating, considers that 'the mower of the present poem is the voice of a naturalist thesis rather than the sophisticated Damon'. I do not agree with this. It seems to me that Damon in the other three poems, and particularly in the two longer of them, may not be supposed to be any more aware of the artificiality of his own traditional gestures of pastoral complaint than the Mower in this poem is of his equally - even, perhaps, more thoroughly - conventional oppositions. Further, there is a positive value in taking the four poems together: in all of them the meaning lies precisely in the very stiffness of the attitudes struck.

The position of the speaker in each of them is equally untenable, strictly speaking. In 'The Mower against Gardens' is the Mower not a man? Can he himself be entirely untainted by the garden mentality? His utter and unmodified condemnation of gardening is an exercise in faux-naif, just as is the dubious position of Damon in 'The Mower's Song'; his meadows are beloved, the scene and the source of his happiness, but he cuts them down mercilessly. Perhaps only in the address to the glow-worms is the relationship between the Mower and nature handled with realistic intention: and this is also the least spacious of the four poems. The language used to designate the insects is

signalled as metaphorical: 'living Lamps', 'Country Comets', 'officious Flame', 'courteous Lights'.
These are all pretty images, and carry nothing of the rather disturbing and complex undertones of the relationship of Mower and meadows in the two longer complaints. Were it not for the grace and artifice which contribute so obviously to the effect of the three longer poems, one might be tempted to suggest that in his attack on gardens the Mower expresses the iconoclastic mentality of the Levellers, or more generally, of those to the left of Cromwell in the 1650s. Of course, the courtliness of style in the poems may be intended as an ironic framing of such over-simplified arguments for pure frugality. But somehow such a simple equation between political event or argument and the significance of poetry is unsatisfactory in interpreting a poet as complex and subtle as Marvell. Besides, when he does intend a political reference he signals it, as, repeatedly, in Upon Appleton House. The gardens in this poem clearly correspond to Juliana in the other three: they are destructive of an existing and happy order, they introduce sexuality and therefore pollution into a world which was pure, complete and, apparently, passive. The 'Fauns and Faryes' are merely present; they do not work but produce a magical effect, far superior to the studied beauty of the 'polished' statues in the garden. So too Juliana disrupts the natural system: she supersedes it, radiating both heat and coolness, even herself taking over the Mower's function.

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34. I think that in discussing Marvell Christopher Hill is inclined to make such equations rather too readily: see Puritanism and Revolution, 1958.
('for Juliana comes, and She/What I do to the Grass, does to my Thoughts and Me'). It is important to remember that Marvell chooses, in his various poems, different ways of handling the sets of opposites which characterize his approach to a topic: in 'The Garden', for example, public, political and city life fulfil the function of the gardens in 'The Mower against Gardens'; in 'To His Coy Mistress', time takes the place occupied by sexuality in all the Mower poems. So it is never a naive or literalistic opposition; the very artifice praised, celebrated and found gratifying in 'The Garden' is execrated by the Mower.

It seems clear that 'The Mower against Gardens' has a close connection with Thomas Randolph's 'Upon Love fondly refused for Conscience sake', an argument in favour of seduction which uses grafting as an image, but a positive one, of sexual activity. But Marvell's poem also draws on Pliny's Natural History, in the passage on grafting but also in a more general and, I think, insufficiently explored way.36

E.E. Duncan-Jones remarks that

More generally, the tone of moral reprobation audible throughout the poem owes something to Pliny's remarks on Epicurus as the inventor of gardens (xix.4) and on the sophistications of the smell of flowers (xxi.4, 5, 8)

37. P.262 of the Commentary in Legouis' revision of Margoliouth's edition. See also Leishman, op.cit., pp.134-6, for reference to Pliny on grafting, dyeing and artificial perfuming of flowers.
Indeed, it is possible to show that the attitude taken up by the Mower in the poem is closely akin to the Stoic disapproval of luxury, artificiality and ingenuity which is often expressed in the work of Horace, as well as that of Pliny.

Horace's handling of the topic centres in the rejection by the poet in his own life of the quest for riches. The benefits of frugality are described most simply in Odes I.38:

Persicos odi, puer, apparatus,
displicent nexae philyra coronae;
Mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum
sera moretur.

simplici myrto nihil adlabores
sedulus, cur ...
(11.1-6)

But usually Horace builds up a more comprehensive picture of the simple life. In Odes II.18, for example, it is defined by what it excludes, and moral blessings are claimed for its practitioner:

Non ebur neque aure
mea renidet in domo lacunar,
non trabes Hymettiae
premunt columnas ultima recisas

Africa...

at fides et ingenii
benigna vena est, pauperemque dives
me petit: nihil supra
deos laccesso nec potentem amicum

largiora flagito...
(11.1-5, 9-13)

In III.16, likewise, the possession of

purae rivs aquae silvaeque iugerum
paucorum et segetis certa fides..
(11.29-30)
brings the poet more contentment than luxurious foods, clothes or power. This Horatian ideal however is a prescriptive one. The poet's life is intended as a kind of example to other men, and as a warning against other, more common, habits. Sometimes he rails openly against the evil ways of modern Rome:

contracta pisces aequora sentiunt
iactis in altum molibus: huc frequens
cementa demittit redemptor
cum famulis dominusque terra

fastidiosus. (III. 1.33-37)

This is both extravagant and unnatural, like the mercenary lasciviousness of the young Roman matrons in III.6. Finally throughout Horace's work his love of the country is made the expression of his desire for naturalness and his feeling that vice is fostered by the complex and the artificial. His Epistle X is nearest to the Mower's complaint:

Vivere Naturae si convenienter oportet,
ponendaque domo quaerenda est area primum,
novistine locum potiorem rure beato?
(11.12-14)

Cares are absent, even the weather seems more clement, and the beauty of the countryside is far more free and genuine than the richest adornments of Roman palaces:

deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?
purior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum,
quam quae per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum?
nempe inter varias nutritur Silva columnas,
laudaturque domus longos quae prospicit agros.
Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix.
(11.19-25)
What is particularly striking here is the condemnation of the tame trees made to grow in city courtyards, and the confident assertion that Nature is a force greater than any amount of human ingenuity. This is precisely the same feeling which animates the Mower's speech: the disgust with that which seeks to outdo nature - to make flowers more variegated and to cause trees to bear each others' fruit - and the certainty that grass is finer than mosaic pavements (I.19 of Epistle X), 'sweet Fields' than 'the fountain and the Grot'. But whereas Horace's denunciations express a literal distaste at contemporary Roman vice, the anger of the Mower is part of a game Marvell is playing with the topic of such denunciation.

When Pliny turns from his account of the geography of the world to the description of man, in Book VII, the picture of human life he offers is a generally sceptical one; he attacks the notion of immortality as absurd, merely a 'sweet credulity' (dulcedo credulitasque, and, a little earlier, ista dementia, 'this madness' VII.55) and emphasizes the feebleness of mankind by comparison with the efficiency and economy of the animal world. Throughout Pliny's work a certain exasperation is discernible. Man is full of possibilities, but uses his energies with utter foolishness, in Pliny's view. We may compare Marvell's

And yet these Rarities might be allow'd,
To Man, that sov'reign thing and proud;
(11.19-20)

with this passage in Pliny's introduction to his Book VII:
Principium iure tribuetur homini, cuius cause videtur cuncta alia genuisse natura magna...ante omnia unum animantium cu _torum alienis velat opibus...: hominem tantum nudum et in nuda humo natali die abicit ad vagitus statim et ploratum... heu dementiam ab his initiiis existimantium ad superbiam se genitos!.

Or, in Holland's translations:

Ne thinkes of right wee ought to begin at Man, for whose sake it should seeme that Nature made and produced all other creatures besides, for first and foremost of all other living creatures, man she hath brought forth all naked, and cloathed him with the _ood and riches of others...man alone, poor wr<ch, she hat. laid all naked upon the bare earth, even on his birth-day, to cry and wraule presently from the very first hour that he is borne into this world...O follie of all follies, ever to thinke (considering this simple beginning of ours) that we were sent into this world to liv in pride and carrie our head aloft!

Man is potentially glorious but actually pathetic.

H is slow to mature and become capable of his most characteristic activities (walking, talking); he is, as Marvell puts it elsewhere,

Constrained not only to endure Diseases, but what's worse, the cure.

('A Dialogue between the Soul and Body', 11.27-8)

- perhaps remembering Pliny's

iam morbi, totque medicinae contra mala excogitatae, et hae quoque subinde novitatibus victae!

38. Historie of the World, 1601, Preface to Book VII.
39. The whole passage is reminiscent of the 'Dialogue'; the notion of physical existence as a captivity is brought out in both cases, in Pliny - and even more strongly in Holland's version - by description of the swaddling bands as fetters: 'The child of man thus untowardly borne, and who another day is to rule and command all other, low how he lyeth bound hand and foot, weeping and crying'.
In a striking phrase, Pliny goes on to describe man's helplessness by nature, without the aid of nurture;

> et cetera sentire naturam suam, alia pernicietatem usurpare, alia praepetes volatus, alia nare: hominem nihil scire nisi doctrina, non fari, non ingredi, non vesci, breviterque non aliud naturae sponte quam flere!

As Holland puts it, 'man only knoweth nothing unless hee be taught'. All other animals know their own nature; only man needs to be taught it. In this passage, Pliny affronts the paradox which Marvell carefully excludes from his poem by making the Mower a naive persona who rails intensely but one-sidedly against culture. Knowledge is always a kind of corruption, but it is also necessary:

> itaque multi extitere qui non nasci optimum censerent aut quam occisisse aboleri. uni animantium luctus est datus, uni luxuria et quidem innumerabilibus modis ac per singula membra, uni ambitio, uni avaritia, uni immensa vivendi cupido, uni superstitio, uni sepultureae cura atque etiam post se de futuro. nulli vita fragilior, nulli rerum omnium libido maior...

...None but we doe sorrow and waile, none but we are given to excesse and superfluitie infinitely in everything...Who but we againe are ambitious and vainglorious?...Mans life is most fraile of all others and in least securitie he liveth: no creature lusteth more after every thing than he.

Luxury here appears as a curse - a view certainly shared by the Mower - but Pliny relates it to a

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40. On the two sides of the debate and its backgroun in classical literature and philosophy see Tayler, Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature 1964, ch.II.
more general insatiability of appetite, for material and for abstract things. Holland's enthusiastic concurrence with this idea is evident in the vigour of his translation, in the Preface to Book XII, for example:

And in truth, these treasures of hers lay long covered under the ground, insomuch as men were persuaded, that Woods and Trees were the last and onely goods left unto us and bestowed upon us by Nature...A wonderful thing therefore it is, that from so small and base beginnings we should grow to that passe in pride, that we must needs cut through great mountains for to meet with marble: send out as farre as to the Seres for silke stuffe to apparell us: dive downe into the bottome of the red sea for pearls.

The Mower does not generalize so widely, but keeps to his own concerns; the effect is to make the antithesis between gardens and meadows a narrow, intense symbol of the larger paradox of innocence and experience, nature and art. Setting up the natural as the ideal was, of course, a perverse and pointed reversal of the normal contemporary decision to find refuge in the absolute necessity for order, and risk the ensuing adulteration of the state of innocence. Marvell sometimes took the other more conventional side of the argument, of course; in Upon Appleton House, for example, the rigidly formalized flower garden is admiringly described by the poet, as a symbol of the happy order of Fairfax's character:

Well shot ye Firemen! Oh how sweet,
And round your equal Fires do meet;
Whose shrill report no Ear can tell,
But Ecchoes to the Eye and smell.
See how the Flow'rs, as at Parade,
Under their Colours stand displaid;
Each Regiment in order grows,
That of the Tulip Pinke and Rose.

(XXXIX)
But this garden is in turn set against its opposite: the wilderness of England laid waste by the wars. This is a fine example of that peculiarly Marvellian trick of opening the perspective suddenly on a delicate, miniature glimpse of something, thus allowing the whole vastness of the outside world to invade it:

Oh Thou, that dear and happy Isle
The Garden of the World ere while,
Thou Paradise of four Seas,
Which Heaven planted us to please,
But to exclude the World, did guard
With watry if not flaming Sword;
What luckless Apple did we tast,
To make us mortal, and The Wast?

Unhappy! shall we never more
That sweet Militia restore,
When Gardens only had their Towrs,
And all the Garrisons were Flowrs...
(XLI; XLII.1.1-4)

There is a similar movement of opening up in 'The Mower against Gardens' at 1.31, ('Tis all enforc'd') when from his increasingly disgusted attack on the depravities of gardens the speaker turns suddenly and finally to the other perspective of his meadows:

...And in the Cherry he does Nature vex,
To procreate without a Sex.
'Tis all enforc'd; the Fountain and the Grot;
While the sweet Fields do lye forgot:
Where willing Nature does to all dispence
A wild and fragrant Innocence:
(11.29-34)

The sense of the stagnant enclosure of gardens is expressed at the very beginning by the Mower:
Luxurious Man, to bring his Vice in use,
Did after him the World seduce:
And from the fields the Flow'rs and Plants allure,
Where Nature was most plain and pure.
He first enclos'd within the Gardens square
A dead and standing pool of Air:

(ll.1-6)

So the poem itself closes in during the description
of the gardens, then opens out again at the end to
the fresh influence of the fragrant meadows.

There is another point of comparison to be
noted between the passage quoted from the Appleton
House poem, and this. It seems to me that there
is a faint echo in these opening lines of the
seduction by Satan of Eve; Satan first fell himself,
then pined for company in his state of exclusion
from felicity; so, says the Mower, Man seduced
Nature into the garden in order there to corrupt
and deprave it. We have here the kind of witty
reversal Marvell was fond of: this particular
temptation and fall involved the bringing into
a garden, whereas the archetypal one resulted in
the expulsion from a garden.

The vices practised in gardens may be further
illustrated from Pliny, in greater detail than has
been done. In XII. 7, for example, we may find
a parallel to the Mower's account of the 'vexing
of nature in Pliny's description of the dwarf
place tree:

Namque et chamaeplatani vocantur coactae
brevitatis, quoniam arborem etiam abortus
invenimus; hoc quoque ergo in genere
pumilionum infelicitas dicta erit...

In XV. 31, the painstaking efforts to produce new
and subtle varieties of cherry are condemned by
Pliny:

Ne quid non hominis ventri natum esse videatur, miscentur sapores et alio alius placere cogitur; miscentur vero et terrae caelique tractus...

Holland's version tends to expand upon such passages as this, stressing the sinfulness of greed combined with artifice. In Book XXI.13 for example, where Pliny confines himself to an almost neutral description -

Inventa est in his ratio inficiendi monstrifica hominum ingenii

- Holland adds a condemnation of the practice of producing exotic colours in flowers:

The excessive ryot and prodigall superfluitie of men is growne to this passe, that having taken no small pleasure in surmounting the naturall savour of simple flowres, by their artificiall odours and compound perfumes; they cannot rest so...such artificial means of dyeing are devised by our sumptuous gallants, that in this strife of Nature and Art together, a man shall hardly judge which of them have the better hand.

(Historie of the World, XXI.6)

There is another striking example of Marvell's following Holland in altering the tone and direction of Pliny's remarks in 11.35-40, about the garden statues of 'Fauns and Faryes'. Pliny speaks approvingly of gardens (XIX.19), saying that a certain sanctity attaches to them, and that statues of Satyrs are set up in them contra invidentium effascinationes - as a charm against the spells of envious people; the name of a garden
comitata est et religio quaedam, hortoque et foro tantum contra invidentium effascinationes dicari videmus in remedio satorica signa, quamquam hortus tutelae Veneris adsignante Plauto.

Holland makes something altogether different of this:

And therefore they used to set up in gardens ridiculous and foolish images of Satyres, Antiques, and such like, envie and witchcraft; however Plautus assigneth the custodie of gardens to the protection of the goddess Venus.

(op.cit., XIC.4)

His marginal note on 'Satyres, Antiques and such like' is 'as Priapus, Phalli, and Ithyphalli', which shows that he disapproves of the statues because they represent sexual licence - a feeling not at all evident in Pliny, but one which is very strongly present throughout the Mower's critique of gardens, the language of which is insistently sexual.41

But the final passage of the poem may also be influenced by other parts of Pliny, in which the opposition of external nature to social luxury is clearly made. Book XII.5 contains the engaging story of a consul who slept inside a tree, preferring the sound of rain on leaves to all the richest decorations of a sumptuous house (laetiorem quam marmorum nitore, picturae varietate, laquearium auro). This delight in nature finds a still stronger expression at the beginning of Book XII, where a general contrast is drawn between the

41. Ll.2, 'seduce'; ll-l4, 'taught to paint', 'for complexion seek...interline its cheek'; 21-2, 'dealt between...forbidden mixtures'; 25, 'adult' rate Fruit'; 27, 'His green Seraglio has its Eunuchs too'; 30, 'to procreate without a Sex.'
luxury and falseness of civilized, as opposed to the naturalness of primitive, man. This comes at one point particularly close to Marvell's final setting of the reality of the meadow gods against their counterfeit and 'polish'd' images in the gardens:

Haes fuere numinum templum, priscoque ritu
simplicia rura etiam nunc deo praecellentem
arborem dicant; nec magis auo fulgentia
atque ebore simulacra quam lucos et in illis
silentia ipsa adoramus.

(XII.2)

Here the silence of the forests which naturally induces reverence is beautifully juxtaposed with the dead polish of the gold and ivory simulacra; as the Mower says:

But howso'ere the Figures do excel,
The Gods themselves with us do dwell.

(ll.39-40)

In all the Mower poems, however, there is evident that curious disparity between the traditional topic and Marvell's use of it, the faintly disturbing gap between the literal and the figurative, which caused Pierre Legouis to assert of 'The Mower against Gardens' that 'in

42. In Holland, XII.1: 'In old time, trees were the very temples of the gods; and according to that auncient manner, the plaine and simple peasants of the countrey, savouring still of antiquitie, doe at this day consecrate to one od or other. the goodliest and fairest Trees that they can meet withall. And verily, we our selves adore not with more reverence and devotion the stately images of the gods within our temples (made though they be of glittering gold, and beautifull yvorie) than the very groves and tufts of trees, wherein we worship the same gods in all religious silence.
this poem Marvell follows no tradition'. Kermode's counter-assertion that 'the complaint against luxury in gardens is ancient' is, of course, also true; but it seems to me nevertheless that Legous' remark is quite right, because Marvell's impeccable adherence to the genres of his various poems turns out as subversion of those genres. The intense accuracy and concentration with which the Mower is made to renew ancient complaints against artifice seems to undermine itself, as does Damon's rehearsal of typical pastoral griefs. All this is almost too traditional, too nearly an echo, to be an authentic contemporary contribution to the tradition. Thus the Mower's complaints seem completely metaphorical; one may be sure that Holland is genuinely exercised about the extravagance and luxury of society, but we are really meant to condemn the formal garden, or find gardening as evil as sexual licence and perversion, as the Mower urges? It is rather that Marvell is manoeuvring the traditional topics to articulate more basic complaints:

For she my Mind hath so displac'd
That I shall never find my home.

Gardening and Juliana are made to represent displacement, and the meadows, the state of being at home. What is conveyed by the Mower poems, or at least by the three longer ones, is a certain isolation. In Pliny and Horace, the critique of luxury is made in a context, to an audience; it concerns the building and decoration of dwellings, the way of life of a society. In Marvell it is

43 _See his revision of Margoliouth's edition, 1971, Commentary, p.261._
hollow, resounding in an emptiness. Pliny's is a lively personal voice - fussy, pedantic, slightly naive - and Horace is roundly and vividly delineated as a character in his own work.\textsuperscript{44} Virgil's shepherds, as we have seen have a fairly robust bodily presence; and those in Renaissance pastoral are generally also solidly realized, often, as for example in Spenser and the Spenserians, by the use of dialect and of passages of comic rusticity. But the Mower is alone, merely a voice and a series of stylized attitudes. His simplicity and stiffness and the comic inadequacy of his reactions, are an important part of the meaning. This, Marvell is saying, is the most suitable persona for contemporary pastoral: a lonely and inarticulate rustic railing against the (obviously necessary) complexity of the world and the (to the sophisticated, inevitable) destruction of innocence by desire. Just as the Mower short-circuits the Art-Nature debate by making a simple and entirely impractical decision in favour of Nature, so there is no meeting between Mower and Juliana, meadows and gardens. In the Mower poems Marvell is exploiting the complete familiarity of the traditional topics, forms and metaphors to articulate his awareness of the genuine impossibility of unity between the self and reality. Thus the pastoral genre is invoked as a model of the impossible contentment of the shepherd community, and the Art-Nature debate as a hollow echo of the confident philosophical standpoint of a Pliny, a Horace, or perhaps even a Philemon Holland.

\textsuperscript{44} The address to his book which concludes \textit{Epistles I} merely summarizes the personal characteristics and history which are repeatedly revealed elsewhere: \textit{... corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum, irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem...}
Chapter Seven

An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland

In this chapter I wish to consider briefly at the outset two issues which have dominated critical discussion of the 'Horatian Ode' in the past thirty years: the question of the importance and relevance of the historical background to interpretation of the poem, and the related problem of its tone. In order to examine these two questions, I shall discuss the satire 'Tom May's Death', apparently written in the same year as the 'Ode', but very strikingly dissimilar to it in atmosphere; and I shall consider the 'Ode' as expressing the harmonizing of two traditionally antithetical ideas whose opposition fascinated Marvell throughout his work. I shall then analyse the handling by Marvell and his contemporaries of some of the problems of producing political poetry, paying especially close attention to their use of classical models in general. Finally, I shall make a detailed analysis of the influence on the 'Ode' of its two principal classical sources, Horace and Lucan.

It seems to me foolish to try to read back into this poem those historical features and details which Marvell deliberately left out. In the 'Ode' we find a difference both of form and of function from Marvell's other Cromwell poems. In the first place, the 'Ode' is a poem of celebration in the manner of Horace, not an expansive state panegyri; in the second, we have no evidence whatsoever that it was intended as 'public' poetry or used as propaganda. We need, therefore, as Cleanth Brooks remarked, to
dissociate it from history.¹ For this reason I think the enterprise of John Wallace in Destiny His Choice: The Loyalism of Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, 1968) is a mistaken one. His reading of Marvell's poem turns into an attempt to fit it into the historical situation, to find a position for it as an historical — that is, a political — testament; the legitimate use of data from outside the poem has become instead a use of the poem to strengthen an interpretation of the data. Wallace's book contains the most thorough examination so far of the background of the poem in contemporary public affairs, and it is successful in one way: it comes near to conveying the feeling one has when reading through the sermons, tracts and declarations of the time; the welter of pamphleteering and propagandizing, the appeals and counter-appeals to various authorities and the fitting of ancient precepts to modern causes. But much of Wallace's attention is devoted to investigating a problem which I think falls outside the province of the interpreter of the poem, namely to discovering what he calls 'the matrix of Marvell's political thought' in the months between January 1649 and the summer of 1650, when the 'Ode' was written.² Wallace sets out to render consistent Marvell's development — from what he sees as the Royalism evident in the 1648 poems to the 'Ode's' praise of Cromwell — by means of his theory of 'loyalism'.³

³. See the Appendix to Margoliouth's edition for a discussion of Marvell's authorship of the Flegry upon the Death of My Lord Villiers, which Margoliouth calls his 'one unequivocally royalist utterance' (p.435). See Wallace, op. cit., p.103, on Marvell and republicanism.
Marvell, he seeks to show, was never a republican; he regarded the overthrow and execution of Charles as a 'successful crime' ('Tom May's Death', 1.70), and can therefore quite convincingly and consistently berate May for drawing parallels between the republican Rome of Cicero and Cato and present-day England. Wallace believes Marvell's commitment is to Cromwell's personal capacities as a leader, and above all to the fact that Providence - Divine, Christian Providence - has brought him forth to heal the miseries of a tormented land. But illuminating though Wallace's discussion is about the complex politics of the period, he has, I feel, ended by studying Marvell as a political writer rather than as a poet. In his account there is an element of justification, of explaining away a morally puzzling or unacceptable change of allegiance. But the 'rightness' of poetry is not the same as that of a political or philosophical system of thought. The 'Horatian Ode' is not primarily a historical document, but precisely what it claims to be: a celebration in poetry of an extraordinary series of events. And when we consider that it remained unpublished for at least thirty years after the event, it can hardly have been propaganda. I doubt whether a correct interpretation of the poem requires a politically consistent Marvell, still less a man who was an accurate forecaster of imminent events; yet that is the impression

4. 'At any time, and most of all in a crisis, the political poet's duty was to squash his own envious caterpillar and to seek the good of the state. The apostrophe of the poet in 'Tom May's Death', spoken by Ben Jonson, distinguishes Marvell's own sense of his responsibility from what he considered to be May's timeserving'. Wallace, p.104. See pp.351-4 below for my discussion of 'Tom May's Death' in relation to the 'Ode'.
Wallace gives in the course of his discussion. In his comments on 11.91-120 of the poem, for example, he says:

From a limited perspective of a few years, the Protectorate was to show that Marvell had interpreted the times correctly, but the difficulty of achieving any kind of certainty in a period of duress when providence was still immediately directing England's destiny led Marvell to make his proposition somewhat tentatively, as if he realised that he, like others, might later be susceptible to providential correction. (pp. 102-3)

I cannot see that 'interpreting the times correctly' is at all an important characteristic of the poem, at this or any other point; and it seems to me that Wallace is reading a tentativeness into the poem which is not really there. He goes on to discuss 11.97-100:

Some of the important verbs in the ode are in the optative or conditional:

What may not then our Isle presume  
While Victory his Crest does plume!  
What may not others fear  
If thus he crown each Year!

A tentative suspension of final judgement would better describe the tone of the ode than the customary 'impartiality', for the poet who had been wrong before about the significance of the revolution was not about to commit himself again and so soon to any declamatory absolutes. (p.103)

But the verbs in the passage quoted are certainly not conditional (that would be 'What would not then our Isle presume', and What would not others fear' - if Cromwell were to go on and on winning all his battles.) To say they are optative is
quite correct; but they are the only ones which are. From this point onwards, the verbs are unequivocally in the future tense:

And to all States not free
Shall Clymacterick be.
The Pict no shelter now shall find...
(11.103-5)

or else in the imperative:

But thou, the Wars and Fortunes Son,
March indefatigably on,
And for the last effect
Still keep thy Sword erect...
(11.113-6)

Furthermore, Wallace is led ultimately to find 'a tentative suspension of final judgement'; I do not see how such an interpretation can be sustained. It seems to me that one must either read the whole poem as a piece of irony - as has in fact sometimes been done - or else take it seriously as a celebration. But there is nothing at all tentative or hesitant about the triumphant sweep to the climax; indeed the very movement from optative to future to imperative which I have been noticing is itself a rhetorical device to build up to that high point at which the poem closes.

Other problems are generated by too exclusive a concentration on the political background. In his interpretation of 11.57-64 - the passage which introduces the king on the scaffold - Wallace finds that Marvell intends us to think of Charles as conveying, by his silence, his formal acquiescence
in Cromwell's assumption of the supreme power.\footnote{5}{See pp.80-4: 'In the ode, by not appealing his case to the gods, Charles has surrendered his right both the fate and to Cromwell, and "the forced Pow'r" now rules with his permission. Of all the ways of changing a government, the resignation of power by the holder to the new ruler was considered the least painful...If we are to call things by their proper names, abdication is also the informing idea of the description of Charles in the ode, though historically it would be more accurate to use another word...'\}

But this is quite clearly a distortion; it ignores the formal signals offered by this, as by all effective poems, as guidelines to the reader. Charles' passive dignity and grace are part of the acting metaphor which is the backbone of this passage (it seems to me that acting is here being set against action: Charles acts in one sense, Cromwell in another and more productive one\footnote{6}{See the perceptive comments by Barbara Everett on the acting metaphor in R.L.Brett, ed., Andrew Marvell: Tercentenary Essays, Hull and Oxford, 1979, pp.53-101: 'Charles' behaviour is 'too high-bred, too sophistic, too late in time for a holy image: Charles can merely act it, with a grace only just not condescension...and that Marvell catches with a perfect dryness'(p.90). See also Annabel Patterson's remarks on the royal image as conveyed in Eikon Basilike and its presence in the background of Marvell's portrait here (Marvell and the Civic Crown, Princeton, 1978, pp.67-8). In his essay on Marvell's satires Tercentenary Essays in Honour of Andrew Marvell, ed. K.Friedenreich, Hamden, Connecticut, 1977) Warren L.Chernaik remarks that 'At the end of his life, Marvell felt that conscience required that a final choice be made between art and action' (p.287). This is a suggestive phrase in the context of the 'Ode' also: Caroline art versus Cromwellian action.}); and the lines are also intended to recall the defeat of Cleopatra by Augustus, in Horace \textit{Odes} I.37. Of course historical background is useful and necessary to the interpreter of political...'}
poetry, but its evidence must always be brought into relation with the primary literary features of the text.

It is for this reason that I find the technique used by A.J.N. Wilson in his studies of the 'Ode' and of The First Anniversary a more productive one. Wilson's method is to examine carefully the poems' specific sources and general background in classical literature, and he is very successful in revealing the area of meaning in which the poem works, and also in disposing convincingly of some of the strained parallels drawn by Marvell critics in recent decades. There has been a considerable range of sharply different readings. The poem has been called 'satisfactorily Marxist' and 'a Hegelian synthesis'; Marvell has been identified as a republican, a royalist, a loyalist. The 'Ode' has been seen as completely impartial, the utterance of a detached observer of affairs.

It has been suggested that Machiavellian echoes have helped to form the character of Cromwell in the poem;¹³ and many people have considered that that powerful figure is presented as the instrument of a Christian Divine Providence.¹⁴

Many of these interpretations depend upon the presence in the poem of a kind of irony or ambiguity which it seems to me is rather more characteristic of the twentieth-century mind than of the seventeenth-century one; I find this true of Cleanth Brooks' reading, and Wallace himself speaks of 'multiple ironies.'¹⁵ It is, I think, valuable to consider the meaning of the word 'irony' in Marvell's time. Ironia is a figure of thought in rhetoric, placed by Puttenham among those figures which work by 'altering and affecting the mynde by alteration of sence or intendements in whole clauses or speaches'.¹⁶ It is preceded by 'Enigma, or the Riddle' and 'Parimia, or Prouerb', and followed by 'Sarcasmus, or the bitter taunt', 'Micterismus, or the fleering trope', and 'Antiphrasis, or the broad floute'. Ironia itself is called in English 'the drye mock'. None of this sounds very subtle; indeed the whole point of riddles and sarcasm, for instance, is that the reader is aware of them, and is piqued, stung or perplexed.

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¹⁶. The Arte of English Poesie, 1589, pp.155-158. See also Henry Peacham's Garden of Eloquence, 1577, which follows the same order.
Rosemund Tuve speaks perceptively about irony in Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery. She points out that

We can judge of irony only in a context, as we must depend upon inferences regarding the poet's other and real meaning. For example, we could not tell except for Puttenham's comment whether the line calling a burden no heavier than a pound of feathers was said by a man cheering the bearer up ('heavy, but you can take it') or seeing truth under appearance ('nonsence, mere feathers'). Ironia is not present in the second.

(p.205)

Speaking about Marvell himself ('A Dialogue between the Soul and Body') she says that

Ironic figures demand more frequently than any others this admission that we cannot be sure, from the image alone, what the poet meant. The Metaphysical poets knew this as well or better than we; hence they commonly buttress such figures with statement. My emphasis.

(pp.208-9)

There is a good example of the use of Ironia in a poem by Marvell's contemporary Cowley. In one of the Pindarique Odes, called 'Life and Fame', the fate of Pompey is being described:

So he who on th'Egyptian shore,
Was slain so many hundred years before,
Lives still (Oh life most happy and most dear!
Oh Life that Epicures envy to hear!) Lives in the dropping ruines of an Amphitheater. 18

Cowley's own note on the lines says: 'An Irony;

that is, Oh life which Epicures laugh at and contemn.' The contrast here between what is said and what is meant is already striking, but Cowley sees fit to draw further attention to it by his note. There is, on the other hand, nothing at all explicit about the 'ironies' detected by critics in the 'Ode', and nothing in the tone to give substance to their feeling. The seventeenth-century poet means what he is saying, or, more precisely, he means the way he is saying it. The style he adopts tells us how to read him: in Marvell's case, 'Tom May's Death' is written in a certain satirical-comic style, which is itself a determinant of its meaning. The tone is set from the beginning:

As one put drunk into the Packet-boat, Tom May was hurry'd hence and did not know't.

This is a poem in a 'low style, which works to reduce its hero by mocking his pretensions and undermining his achievements by caricature. Its purpose, of course, may be just as serious as that of panegyric or religious lyric, but the methods it uses to achieve that purpose will be different. In the 'Ode', the language works to dignify Cromwell; in 'Tom May's Death, its effect is to render May ridiculous. The point is that when Marvell is using the methods of satire - of which irony, in the seventeenth-century sense, is one - he gives clear signs of it. The language of 'Tom May's Death' is colloquial, and it moves fluently through a series of playful insults; it is sardonic in a way we

recognize elsewhere in Marvell (notably the later satires and the prose) and there is, I believe, a clear example of irony in the older sense in the poem. This is in the great passage on the proper function of laureates, in the speech given to Ben Jonson:

When the Sword glitters o'er the Judges head,
And fear has Coward Churchmen silenced,
Then is the Poets time, 'tis then he drawes,
And single fights foresaken Vertues cause.
He, when the wheel of Empire, whirleth back,
And though the Worlds disjointed Axel crack,
Sings still of antient Rights and better Times,
Seeks wretched good, arraigns successful Crimes.
(11.63-70)

Then, very much as Cowley does with his note, Marvell underlines the contrast between this ideal and the actual, May:

But thou base man first prostituted hast
Our spotless knowledge and the studies chast.
Apostatizing from our Arts and us,
To turn the chronicler to Spartacus.
(11.71-4)

Nowhere in the 'Ode' is there any such clear doubleness of reference; Cromwell is never set against an ideal of the perfect ruler, as May is against that of the perfect poet. Instead he is himself made to approximate to that ideal, just as Augustus is in the praise of him by Horace. To the portrait of Cromwell is added a kind of dark

20. See also 11.77-80, in which the irony of the survival of May by his successful rival Davenant is emphasized:
- - But what will deeper wound thy little mind,
- - Hast left surviving Davenant still behind
- Who laughs to see in this thy death renew'd,
   Right Romane poverty and gratitude.
dynamic energy which is clearly influenced by the figure of Caesar in Lucan; but this, I shall argue, serves to give even greater stature to Cromwell as the hero-figure, not to undermine him.

'Tom May's Death' seems closely bound up with the 'Ode', even if one does not see the need to bring them strictly into ideological line with each other. Lucan is a strong presence in each of them, in the diction of the 'Ode' and in its rendering of the figure of Cromwell, and very explicitly in the Roman parallel which is used to show up the shabbiness of May's contemporary life and work. The resemblances are worth attending to. By 'Spartacus' in the passage quoted above is meant either Fairfax or Essex, probably the latter, who was praised by May in his history of the Long Parliament. But this is not the only specific Roman reference used to berate May; earlier in the poem, just after May's arrival in the underworld, he sees the corpulent Ben Jonson in the shadows

Sounding of ancient Heroes, such as were
The Subjects Safety, and the Rebel's Fear.
But how a double headed Vulture Eats,
Brutus and Cassius the Peoples cheats...

(11.15-18)

Brutus and Cassius were, of course, rebels against the rule of Caesar, who therefore must be understood here to fill the role of 'ancient Hero es ... the

21. 'Famous and honourable, in the judgement of all men, was that expedition of General Essex, who by so long a march, fighting often with great bodies of the King's horse by the way, brought, notwithstanding, his whole Army safe to Gloucester, raised the Siege...and vanquished the King's Army, in that memorable Battle of Newbury'. Margoliouth quotes Aitken's remark that May's History 'is first heard of in the newspapers as a History of the Earl of Essex' (ed. cit., p.306)
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Subjects Safety, and the Rebel's Fear'. Later, Jonson is made to relegate the newly arrived May to a wicked succession of wicked types:

Polydore, Lucan, Allan, Vandale, Goth, Malignant Poet and Historian both.
Go seek the novice Statesmen, and obtrude
On them some Romane cast similitude,
Tell them of Liberty, the Stories fine,
Until you all grow Consuls in your wine.
Or thou Dictator of the glass bestow
On him the Cato, this the Cicero.
(11.41-8)

Polydore was Polydore Virgil, the sixteenth-century historian who turns up again in The Rehearsal Transpros'd as a type of dishonest historiography; Lucan presumably is intended to stand as the fountain-head of May's rabble-rousing, anarchic tendencies. Cato is, of course, as we shall see, a figure of complete probity and a moral touchstone in the Pharsalia, and Cicero also stands for resolute republicanism, against the dictatorship of Caesar. All this is certainly a critique of May's political standpoint; but we should be clear about what that standpoint was. May belonged to 'the free-thinking and free-living section of the republican party'. He was a notorious drinker - a habit which no doubt led to the court incident referred to mockingly at 11.18-9 by Marvell - and Wood speaks of him as 'a debauchee ad omnia, who entertained ill principles as to religion, spoke often very slightingly of the Holy Trinity, kept

22. Or as Aubrey puts it with his usual slyness: 'His translation of Lucan's excellent Poems made him in love with the Republique, which Tang stuck by him.' (He adds: 'Came of his death after wrinking with his chin tyed with his cap(being fatt); suffocated.')
beastly and atheistical company'. May's close associates, Henry Marten, Thomas Chaloner, and Henry Neville, were, in the words of the historian of the Rump Parliament, 'secular radicals', with more interest in what Wood rather felicitously called 'the comfortable importance of this life' than in continuing religious reform. Furthermore, May was widely believed to have joined the Parliamentary cause because of his rejection for the office of poet laureate in 1637. 'Tom May's Death' is the attack of a twenty-nine-year-old scholarly poet, quiet and guarded in his personal habits, upon a fifty-five-year-old libertine and free-thinker, who belonged to a notorious 'gang' of parliamentary 'wild men'. Marvell obviously thought May fair game for satire; I cannot see that the issue of support for Cromwell is relevant to a reading of the poem. May's 'servile wit, and Mercenary Pen' is given to Parliament; the sober Cromwell and his friends greatly disapproved of the looseness in manners and beliefs of the faction to which he belonged; and the brilliant passage in which Marvell makes Ben Jonson picture the mortal

23. Athenae Oxonienses, III.810. At a court masque in 1634, the lord chamberlain Pembroke broke his staff across May's shoulders; but the king took May's side in the matter. (D.N.B.)
25. The D.N.B. remarks that this opinion was held by Clarendon, Winstanley, Wood, and Edward Philips; so Marvell's view was common.
26. Marvell is reported by Aubrey as 'in his conversation very modest, and of few words: and though he loved wine he would never drinke hard in company...He had not a generall acquaintance'; Worden quotes a letter to Cromwell by his close friend Henry Vane which refers to 'Tom Chaloner, Harry Neville, and those wits', and 'Tom Chaloner, Tom May...and that gang' (Op. cit., p.261). The irritation and distaste are palpable.
danger of the state ('When the Sword glitters oer
the Judges head') is a critique of the irresponsibility
of May as would-be laureate. What understanding
can such a man have had of 'our spotless knowledge',
if he would thus sell his talent to the parliamentary
rabble? In the 'Ode' Cromwell is presented above
all as a responsible leader, one 'still in the
Republicks hand', wishing only 'on the next green
Bow to pearch'; he is no adventurer, but a serious
and weighty man, and the style of the poem reinforces
this intention.

Cromwell is presented as the possessor of both
the active and the meditative virtues. His
movement from retirement to action is a major subject
in the poem, played as it were in a minor key in the
opening nine lines of exhortation to the 'forward
Youth'. This is the reverse of the process being
enacted in 'The Garden'; and it is no less traditional.
We may perhaps recall the proper progress of the poet
from making pastoral songs in the shade to celebrating
the epic deeds of men and their dealings with the
gods (a progress which finds its archetype in the
career of Virgil, and is conscientiously imitated
by Milton). But the summoning of the 'Youth' to
action is only a prologue to the major business of
the poem: tracing the emergence of Cromwell from
his 'private Gardens'. A celebrated example in
antiquity of such another emergence - to save the
state - is given by Cicero in De Senectute:

In agris erant tum senatores, id est, senes,
si quidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato
nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum...
A villa in senatum arcesebatur et Curius et
caeteri senes... Mea quidem sententia haud
scio an uilla beator possit esse, neque solum
officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura
agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectationes,
quam dixi, et saturitate copiisque rerum
omnia, quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum
etiam deorum pertinent.

J.W. Duff's comment on this passage explains the
significance of the idea:

Later Romans identified the ideal citizen of
early days with a Cincinnatus who was called
from the plough to the dictatorship or a
Manius Curius whom Samnite envoys found
cooking his own meal of herbs.

The herbs and the ploughing are touchstones of moral
purity, just as 'Gardens' and the 'Bergamot' are in
Marvell, who is consciously putting the resonances
of the topic to use; Cromwell's ambition, whose
result is 'To ruine the great Work of Time', is
presented as an honourable and justifiable quality
by emphasizing the impeccable nature of his previous
life. Furthermore, in moving from retirement into
action, Cromwell is said to carry with him the
qualities fostered by gardens: that wisdom which
is acquired by peaceful contemplation of the unchanging,
at a remove from the camp and the forum.

So much one Man can do,
That does both act and know.
(11.75-6)

This cluster of ideas is a very familiar one in the
epitomes of classical history which were in widespread
use in Renaissance grammar schools. They are to be
found, for instance, in John Barclay's Icon Animorum
(1614), a 'Mirror of Minds' which provided modern

27. A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age,
1960, p.332.
versions also of the ethical and political types who passed for historical characters in such textbooks. A right and a wrong use of the opportunity for power is demonstrated in the examples of Abdolominus, who

having long beene used with his owne hands to get a living by dressing the Garden, when hee was elected to the Kingdom of Sidonia, wished that hee might beare his royal fortune with the same modesty and moderation that hee had borne his poverty;

and of Athenion, who

having once gotten the Soveraigne power, did straight together with his poore cloathes, put off his Philosophy.

Cromwell is presented as the ruler who retains his wisdom in power, and also his malleability:

Nor yet grown stiffer with Command,
But still in the Republick's hand:
   How fit he is to sway
   That can so well obey...
So when the Falcon high
Falls heavy from the Sky,
   She, having kill'd, no more does search,
But on the next green Bow to pearch;
   Where, when he first does lure,
The Falckner has her sure.
(11.81-4, 91-6)

This complementarity of negotium - public business - with otium - private existence with its connotations of cultivation of the mind and the soul - is of

28. The Mirror of Minds: Or, Barclay's Icon Animorum. Englished by Thomas May, 1633, pp.295-6. May was a prolific translator, publishing versions not only of Lucan, but also of Virgil's Georgics and Martial.
particular interest in the 'Ode', since Marvell depicts in Cromwell that satisfactory union of the two opposites which everywhere in his portraits of Fairfax is beyond reach. The elegiac tone of his account of Fairfax after his retirement from the war is unmistakable, and poignant:

And yet their walks one on the Sod
Who, had it pleased him and God,
Might once have made our Gardens spring
Fresh as his own and flourishing.
But he preferr'd to the Cinque ports
These five imaginary Ports:
And, in those half-dry Trenches, spann'd
Pow'r which the Ocean might command.
(Upon Appleton House, st.XLIV)

The general's renunciation of war is justified in the next stanza as the rejection by Conscience ('that Heaven-nursed Plant, /Which most our Earthly Gardens want') of Ambition, which must be seen as a weed in this context. In the 'Ode' retirement is seen as leading naturally to action; Conscience and Ambition are not at odds. Perhaps this is the source, so elusive for readers of this poem in isolation, of Marvell's admiration for Cromwell

29. We need to be careful not to misread the sadness in this passage as anti-war feeling. See 'Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow', st.IX:
Much other Groves, say they, then these
And other Hills him once did please.
Through Groves of Pikes he thunders'd then,
And Mountains rais'd of dying Men.
For all the Civick Garlands due
to him our Branches are but few.
Nor are our Trunks know to bear
The Trophies of one fertile Year.

In this poem also there is an unreconciled opposition between 'Height' and 'Retirement': even the landscape, by definition one whole, is dislocated by the demands of the theme.
in the 'Ode': the tremendous energy he shows in uniting apparently opposite qualities, an energy Fairfax did not possess. The elan of the 'Ode' is absent from the Fairfax poems; their rhythms are quieter.

The rhythm and tone of a poem are, of course, intimately bound up with its form; and it is important to remember that while Marvell chose to write an epigram and a country-house poem for Fairfax, he found the grander forms of panegyrical (The First Anniversary), formal elegy ('A Poem upon the Death of O.C.'), and Horatian celebration ode more suitable for Cromwell. He had before him many examples of praise in the vast numbers of Royalist panegyrics which were produced in previous decades; but here he chose to use a more controlled, condensed form. It is significant that even for his own youthful contribution to Stuart eulogy (Ad Regem Carolum Parodia) he had selected a Horatian mould. By 1650 the choice of this form was decidedly unusual; the vast majority of other poets on political subjects were now using heroic or rhymed pentameter couplets (the metre used by Marvell himself in his two later Cromwell poems, in 1655 and 1658). Horace's odes had always

30. His memoirs, written much later and left for posterity in his study at Denton, reveal a certain lack of grip on events at the crucial moments of the crises in the 1640s. See Short Memorials of Thomas Lord Fairfax. Written By Himself, 1699; p.103: "Here the Power of the Army I once had, was usurped by the Agitators, the fore-runners of Confusion and Anarchy"; p.105: "I was much disturbed to see things in this Condition, and rather desired to be a Sufferer than a Commander".

31. Barbara Everett sees the metre of the 'Ode' as suggesting private meditation rather than public pronouncement (see Brett, R.L., ed., Tercentenary Essays in Honour of Andrew Marvell, Hull, 1979, pp.75 ff.)
attracted less attention in the Renaissance than his satires and the *Ars Poetica*; and among the odes which were translated and imitated, those on the topics of love, friendship, conviviality, mutability and rural retreat predominated. This is one reason why the 'Ode' seems to stand apart from other political verse of the period; but there are many other reasons. The figure of Cromwell is heroic in stature, but the poem is not in the heroic mode. In this it presents a far more accurate reflection of 'the Times' than a more expansive and splendid panegyric could have done - than Waller's *Panegyrick to my Lord Protector*, or Dryden's *Heroique Stanzas*, for example, or indeed than Marvell's own later Cromwell poems.

It is a commonplace of historians to remark that a great though gradual change came over England during the seventeenth century. This raised the smaller gentry and eventually the bourgeoisie to economic power, giving them a greater self-awareness and a capacity for more confident self-expression and thereby altering the relations within English society at all levels. The shattering of the whole order of court life, manners and imagery is only one of the many influences which worked together to render the successful creation of the heroic mode in poetry an impossibility in future. The century's one epic, *Paradise Lost*, is private and mythological: it omits the public, political dimension. The other English epic, *The Faerie Queene*, emerged from a confidently united and hierarchial society; hence the universality

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of its reference and the grandeur of its style. But the 1650s and the 1660s are already preparing for the mock heroic, and also for the novel. J.B. Leishman points out the decline of 'the manuscript poets', as he calls them, in the 1620s and the 1630s; this too is part of the process.33 Dryden remarked of Annus Mirabilis:

I have called my Poem Historical, not Epick, though both the Actions and Actors are as much Heroick, as any Poem can contain. 34

It is significant that he felt the need to insist on the point, while tacitly conceding it at the same time in the title.

Among earlier and immediately contemporary panegyrics, the 'Ode' is of course extraordinary in that its subject is not the monarch. But a stream of Cromwell panegyrics followed in the 1650s. In the introduction to her study of seventeenth-century political poetry, Ruth Nevo says that there was in fact throughout the early Stuart, Commonwealth, and Restoration periods a continuous effort to find ways of writing serious verse, whether panegyrical or satiric,35 about political events or political issues.

This underlines Marvell's achievement. He took the form of the great political odes of Horace, and recast it in a totally serious contemporary way. So the 'Ode' is not panegyric proper, being,

34. 'An Account of the Ensuing Poem in a Letter to the Honourable Sir Robert Howard', 1667.
as we shall see, less extravagant in scope, style and metaphor than the contemporary examples of that form.

The conventional panegyric which flourished up to 1640 could draw on a familiar body of images and topics. The monarch is seen as the sun, as the centre of the earth, as one of the heavenly bodies, as the pole round which all revolves, as a magnet drawing everything to it. Marvell knew well enough how to adapt this language to the purposes of Cromwellian panegyric: he does so in 'A Letter to Doctor Ingelo' in 1653 in order to praise Queen Christina and Cromwell together (see Chapter 2 above). The flood of eulogies of James and Charles I in English, Latin and Greek all attempt to surround the monarch's figure with an aura certainly of heroic, and often almost of divine glory. The heroic imagery is still in its full splendour, even if its poetic success is not equal to its extravagance.

These extracts from some of the volumes compiled in the universities are typical of the genre. 'I.T.', of Balliol, describes Charles as a sun:

As when a Tempest rais'd the Sun appeares
And with a glorious Beame
Doth guild the falling drops: do all those Teares
Which from our dangers stremme
Are turn'd to smiles: Your presence doth create
New hopes, and doth revive our troubled state.
What sudden Tumultes? when each frighted soul
Of a strange plot did tell,
And Ireland taking armes, each day did towle
The Kingdomes passing bell:
When your bright rayes breake forth. Those
Rebells all
Which like to Meteors rose doe like them fall...
Your prudence sate as king to rule, else we
Had been an universall Anarchy.
Since at a distance thus you, actuate, shine
In this our Hemispheare,
Rebellious vapours dare not then combine
When Majesty drawes neare...
And when your throne's in Heaven, May Great
Charles thence
Like glorious Starres rule by his influence. 36

The same image recurs again and again; the Scottish rebels must melt away before the king's benevolence:

If, but like wae, through absence of their Sunne
They only hardned, They'l now melt and runne
With first affections...

And while he is away in the north, the south feels cold:

Nor can the vigorous ray of Majesty
Descend on all with equall dignity,
Whilst we enjoyed it in its native worth
Of light and heate, 'Twas gloomy in the North...

On Charles' return however,

All clowded thoughts are now clear'd up;
the ayre
Whene'er the sun appeares must needs be faire.

The almost uniform dullness of these writings serves to aid one's perception that their style is petrified. The conventional trappings are stifling. They are ecstatic, ceremonious celebrations of kingship,

36. This and the next three quotations are from two volumes of poems on the occasion of the king's return from Scotland in 1641: Irenodia Cantabrigiensis and Eucharistica Oxoniensia. Most of the poems are signed only with initials, but there are some with full names. Among these are Cowley's 'Ode upon the Return of his Majestie' and Cleveland's 'Upon the King's Return from Scotland'. 
which use the slightest royal occasion for a spate of extravagant compliment, frequently achieving unintentionally comic effects. They do contain classical parallels whose use is not different in intention from Marvell's in the 'Ode'; the aim in both cases is to dignify the subject by association with great and resounding names. But the effect is very different. One comes away from reading a collection of these poems with a sense of their indistinguishability from one another. The names and allusions do not succeed in raising the poems above the level of an empty rehearsal of commonplaces. It is a matter of conjuring up as many high and ancient matters as possible, mere label-pinning. Marvell's use of such devices in the 'Ode' is more subtle, more sparing and more condensed; and it is in the service of a single, compelling idea, which has determined the poem's structure and force. The idea of Cromwell is the moving spirit of the 'Ode'; and it works to far greater effect than the notion of absolute kingship which informs the average panegyrics. The 1641 eulogies of Charles enshrine a conception of the relation of king to subjects which has lost all reference outside the poems to actuality; the metaphors have been shorn of their tenor, becoming merely vehicles and lacking any corresponding terms in reality. Court language, like court ceremonial and entertainment, like the whole Stuart idea of monarchy in the period from the 1620s on, has been set adrift from the real and the possible, and turned into a language of excess and hollow
The particular classical allusions in the panegyrics are predictable enough. Caesar occurs most frequently (though the glory of the name as a generic representative of great rulers, not the man Julius Caesar, is usually meant), Augustus too makes his appearance, and James and Charles are showered with epithets recalling all the wise and brave figures of the classical pantheon of heroes. The pagan gods are invoked, usually to indicate that the royal family is equivalent to them in glory. The young Charles becomes a second Neptune, in R. Winterton's *Prospopoeia Caroli* (1625);

> O tumescentis moderator undae;  
> O potens Neptune deus tridente;  
> Qui maris zona incolumes Britannon Undique cingis...

The ancient heroes serve the same purpose:

> Phoebus gave wit, and Mercure eloquence,  
> All kinds of skill Minerva's influence...  
> Stand Hercules a little space, and see,  
> If thou can finde antagonist for thee...

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37. It has been suggested that the soaring power attributed to the Stuart monarchs, which has a totally different flavour from the tributes paid to Elizabeth, reflects the abandonment by James and Charles I of Elizabeth's relatively restrained government, and the consequent crumbling of the King's power. See Harold Hulme's essay 'Charles I and the Constitution' in *Conflict in Stuart England*, ed. Aiken and Henning, 1950; on baroque lavishness and pomp, see Judith Hook's *The Baroque Age in England*, 1576, and Whinney and Millar, *English Art 1625-1714*, Oxford, 1957.

38. From a Cambridge anthology entitled *Epithalamium Caroli et Henricae Mariae*. 
Boldly upon his ramping horse he rides,
With golden spurs he plunges all their sides:
In his right hand iron-pointed spears he takes,
And soupilly them here and there he shakes.

Hadst thou, King Charles, striven at Anchises
shryne,
Palme, chyre, laure, aure and armour had bene thine.

References to the figure of Christ grow more frequent as Charles passes into his trials and tribulations; in the sixteen-twenties they are almost absent.

What raises the 'Ode' above this level is, I think, the combination of the relative restraint of its language and metaphor with the dynamic energy of its movement and its dominating idea. It does not merely reflect in repose on the burning issues of public life, but succeeds in catching some of their fire, in a way rare outside Shakespeare's dramatic invocations of them.

There are however some Royalist poems which are more successful than those I have been quoting: some of those, by Waller, for example, and especially Denham's Cooper's Hill (1642). Though this is remembered mainly as the first example of topographical poetry, its real virtues are those of a political poem: the whole scene is moralised. It is far more eloquent and interesting than the other Royalist poems, largely because its attitude is not one of fawning subservience, and because it admits the possibility of disasters into the world it depicts. John Chalker remarks in The English Georgic (1969) on the general similarities between Marvell's poetry and Denham's:

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The end-stopping, the emphatic, frequently monosyllabic rhymes; the medical and geographical bias of the imagery have something of the economy and precision which one associates with Marvell's octosyllabics in, for example 'Upon the Hill and Grove at Billborow'...This highly ratiocinative and emblematic argumentative manner is an important element in the poem.

(pp.66-7)

But Cooper's Hill is, I think, far more reflective and leisurely than Marvell. This may be in part because it is Virgilian, not Horatian. Denham's use of the resonance of the Aeneid is much more subtle than the crude name-dropping of the usual panegyrist; indeed Cooper's Hill employs Virgilian phrase and invocation in very much the same way as Marvell does in 'A Letter to Doctor Ingelo'. And the purpose of the devices in both poems is similar: to elevate the manner and the subject by assimilating them, however obliquely, to those of the epic.

Denham's poem resembles the 'Ode' in another respect: it too contains an informing idea which organizes its imagery - in itself not startling or particularly unusual - within the structure. This is Denham's conception of good kingship. It is interesting to note that it is in many respects much nearer the Tudor one than the Stuart. The ideal towards which the whole poem is reaching, a balance of freedom and allegiance, power and duty, is stated near the end:

H. E.g., 11.117-19:
Tell me (my Muse) what monstrous dire offence,
What crime could any Christian King incense
To such a rage?...
which adapts Aeneid I, 11.8-11.
Tyrant and slave, whose names of hate and fear,
The happier stile of King and Subject bear:  
Happy, when both to the same Center move,  
When Kings give liberty, and Subjects love  

(11.331-334)

All the metaphors of the poem work towards this conclusion; the whole is a plea for moderation, rejecting both the 'zeal' of religious fanaticism and the high-handedness of Henry VIII.

A similar view of monarchy, which holds that it entails duties as well as rights, is expressed in the poetry of another contemporary, Richard Fanshawe:—

That which the murdering Cannon cannot force  
Nor plumed Squadrons of steel-glittering Horse,  
Love can. In this people strive t'outdoe  
The King; and when they find they're loved  
love too.

They serve, because they need not serve: and if  
A good Prince slack the reins, they make them Stiffe;

...And Hee again, with this more tender growne,  
More Father of his people, on his owne  
Shoulders assumes their burthens, beats the way Which they must tread, and is the first t obey  
What he commands...  
Neither in Diet, Clothes, nor Train will he  
Exceed those bankes should bound even Majesty. 41

Fanshawe is a figure of some interest since unlike Denham and like Marvell he was strongly influenced by Horace, wrote translations of him, and frequently attempted to reproduce Horatian rhythms in English by using quatrains. 42 His Ode Upon the Occasion

41. Presented to His Highnesse in the West,  
Anno Dom. 1646, 11.49-61, 63-4. The sobriety of the tone may reflect the extreme situation in which the king found himself in that year.

of His Majesties Proclamation in the yeare 1630. Commanding the gentry to reside upon their Estates in the Country (published in 1648) is his nearest approach to success. The longest section of the poem consists of praise for country life and description of the joy and plenty it brings (see Chapter 5 above). But there is also rejoicing at the peace brought about by good kingship in England, while war is raging in Europe:

What should I tell of Polish bands,
And the blood boyling in the North?
'Gainst whom the furied Russians
Their Troops bring forth...

Only the Island which we sow,
(A World without the World) so far
From present wounds, it cannot show
An ancient scar.

(11.21-4, 33-6) 43

When everyone has gone back to live on his lands, then the newly cultivated countryside will breed another Virgil:

A Tityrus, that shall not cease
Th'Augustus of our World to praise
In equall Verse, author of Peace
And Halcyon days.

(11.77-80)

Marvell also uses the Horatian technique evident in the first of these quatrains: that of running through a list of foreign nations. In the 'Ode', as usually in Horace, they represent the victories of the poem's hero. The general purpose is common to Fanshawe also: to praise the powerful reign

Fanshawe, Il Pastor Fido, The Faithfull Shepheard. With An Addition of divers other Poems... 1648.
which has brought peace at home while semi-
barbarian wars rage everywhere else:

The Pict no shelter now shall find
Within his party-colour'd Mind;
But from this Valour sad
Shrink underneath the Plad...
('Ode', ll.105-8)

But Fanshawe's piece is primarily a retreat poem,
and his concern is to exclude wars by naming them.
Marvell's 'Ode' is a poem for the crisis, whose
rhythm, language and metaphors successfully
recreate the urgency of the historic moment.

The efforts of the three translators of Horace
whose work was published in the 1620s and 1630s -
John Ashmore (1621), Thomas Hawkins (1625) and
Henry Rider (1638) all fail to capture the effect
of Horace's rhythms and tone. The most successful
versions are, as one might expect from the
prevailing taste, those poems whose subject is
mutability, love, and the pleasures of wine and of
country life. Metrically, none of the translations
achieves a very satisfactory approximation to the
model; mostly the clear succinctness of Horace
comes out clogged and clumsy. Thus Rider's
version of Odes III, 4:

You recreate in your Pierian grove
The Mightie Caesar, lab'ring to remove
His troubles, when he in his garrisons
Has lodged up his war-spent legions.

And even Thomas Hawkins, the most fluent of the
three, seems to narrow the poetry in the process of
translation. His verse is crowded rather than
compressed:
For Jupiter, who light to day inspires,
Dividing sable clouds with shining fires,
Hath through the cleare skie oft ordain'd his
drift,
With thunder-breaking horse and chariot swift,
Wherewith dull earth, and thundering rivers quale,
The Styhian Fenne, and horrid seat doth shake
Of hatefull Taenarus, and Atlas bounds.
(I, 34.)

Marvell's poem looks and sounds Horatian; we
have seen that it uses a favourite Horatian device -
the naming of defeated barbarian enemies - and it
makes a direct borrowing for the passage on the
king's death from Horace's Actium ode. But the
title and the formal and metrical resemblance to
Horace are partly misleading; it is possible to
show that it owes a very much greater debt to Lucan's
De Bello Civili than has as yet been suggested.44
Ms Syfret's article is a valuable one. It goes
some way towards setting out the textual borrowings
from Lucan and from May's translation of Lucan which
have been recognized for some time. But the
influence from Lucan is, I think, more pervasive
than she makes clear; and I am not happy with the
reading of the 'Ode' which she bases on her analysis
of these classical influences. I do not find that
in the 'Ode' Marvell is, as she says, playing
Horace and Lucan off against each other. It seems
to me that she oversimplifies Marvell's understanding
and use of both authors when she says that 'the

4 . The fullest discussion of the matter is by
R.H.Syfret ('Marvell's "Horatian Ode"', Review
who comes to the conclusion that Marvell 'is using
Lucan to define his fears, and Horace to express
his hopes' for the future (p.172); and that if
there is a judgement in the poem, it is probably
against Cromwell. She also says that 'the obvious
historical parallel was the civil wars of Rome'.


obvious historical parallel was the civil wars of Rome'. After all, Marvell himself castigates May for 'Romanizing' English affairs:

Go seek the novice statesmen, and obtrude
On them some Romane cast similitude.
Tell them of Liberty, the stories fine,
Until you all grow Consuls in your wine.
Or thou Dictator of the glass bestow
On him the Cato, this the Cicero...
Foul Architect that hadst not Eye to see
How ill the measures of these States agree.
And who to Pomes example England lay,
These but to Lucan do continue May.

('Tom May's Death', 11.43-8, 51-4)

We need to distinguish carefully here also between literature and history, in this case ancient literature and ancient history. Marvell is attacking May precisely because he (May) lacks the historical sense, the awareness that there is a great gulf fixed between the first and the seventeenth centuries. It is the formal features of Horace and Lucan as literary texts which have influenced Marvell in his poem: the Horatian stanza, the particular cluster of metaphors which Lucan uses to characterize Caesar throughout his poem, and such traditional topics as the listing of defeated barbarians, the dignity of the enemy leader overcome and the variousness of the hero's talents and virtues. There is clear evidence in the 'Ode' that Mavell is well aware of the rhetorical power of Lucan's language and conceptions, and is clothing himself with them; likewise he understands, as we have seen, the effectiveness of Horace's strategy of praise for Augustus, and imitates some of its salient features. It does not follow at all that Marvell is invoking the particular crises of Roman history or their various protagonists. It is easy to demonstrate this from the text; speaking of the rise of Cromwell,
the poet says:

Then burning through the Air he went,
And Pallaces and Temples rent:
And Caesars head at last
Did through his Laurels blast.
(ll.21-'4)

'Caesar' here clearly stands for King Charles; it is a generic term for the head of state. Later in the poem, we find:

What may not others fear
If thus he crown each Year!
A Caesar he ere long to Gaul,
To Italy an Hannibal...
(ll.99-102)

showing that for Marvell the events of ancient history have a status which is metaphorical; he can summon up analogies in passing, but he is quite certain, as he says in the poem on May, that none of them fits the contemporary situation. What he is mocking so vehemently in May is the desire he detects to rewrite the present - and, still more crucially, the future - in terms of the past. Such simple minded nostalgia is nowhere a part of Marvell's own sophisticated and complex understanding of ancient literature and historiography. There is further evidence of this understanding in The Rehearsal Transpros'd, where he repeatedly draws humorous parallels between ancient and modern - his running joke about Antiochus, Popilius Lena and the 'magic circle' is a good example of his playful scorn of simple analogy. Marvell borrows heavily from Lucan's poem, but without in the least subscribing to its author's republicanism; there is, to my mind, no reason either for making a simple assumption that he is in favour of an empire like the Augustan one described by Horace.
Lucan's *De Bello Civili* is a long and rather feverish poem. It ranges over vast spaces geographically, and though it lacks the sustained imaginative energy of Virgil and Homer, it has a certain sweeping exhilaration in its best passages. Everything in it is on a grand scale: battles, ruin and destruction, and the corruption of Rome. The praise of Nero by a grateful world is said to be about to raise him into heaven, where if he is not centrally placed his great weight may overbalance the whole cosmic system (I.33-6). But the poem as a whole rings hollow. The high-flown sonority is repetitive and finally exhausting; Lucan's gifts did not include the ability to create a solid imaginative 'world' which an historical epic needs. The most powerful features of the poem are the portraits of the protagonists, Caesar and Pompey; and it is chiefly on these that Marvell has drawn for his Cromwell poem. The character of the hero-villain Caesar is a remarkable creation, dominating the poem and evidently fascinating the narrator in spite of his repeated denunciations. It is true that Pompey is Lucan's hero. But his Caesar has the best tunes. It is he who possesses the demonic energy, mingling creation and destruction, which is repeatedly compared to the natural forces of fire and lightning; it is he who is the first mover, the active element in initiating events; and he is the chosen favourite of Fortune. Marvell uses all these qualities to characterize his Cromwell.

As we have seen, Marvell approaches his subject obliquely. The opening of the 'Ode' presents a nor character whose function is to foreshadow for the reader the movement into action which has already been made by Cromwell, but which is described
only in the second place:

The forward Youth that would appear
Must now forsake his Muses dear,
Not in the Shadows sing
His numbers languishing.

(11.1-4)

But these lines too are a borrowing from Lucan. In I.236-'k3 the inhabitants of Ariminum, the border town, are roused by Caesar's trumpets announcing war, and come sleepily into the market place too late to oppose him. They are reduced to silent laments at their unlucky position at the mercy of any invader on the road to Rome:

Constitit ut capto iussus deponere miles
Signa foro, stridor litum clangorque tubarum
Non pia concinuit cum rauco classica cornu.
Rupta quies populi, stratisque excita iuventus
Deripuit sacris adfixa penatibus arma,
Quae pax longa dabat: nuda iam crate fluentes
Invadunt clipeos curvataque cuspide pila
Et scabros nigrae morsu rubiginis enses.

This is not at all the same picture given us by Marvell's lines, however. There we are shown a single 'forward Youth' who, if he is ambitious to make his mark in the world, must leave behind books and learning and the cultivation of the Muses and gird himself for battle. Here, if we concentrate on what the 'Ode' itself actually says, we see that we are shown the picture of the youth taking down

45. May's version of the passage is:
When now the Souldiers by command made stay
I' th' Market place, shrill trumpets flourisht round,
And the hoarse Horns wicked alarums sound.

With this sad noise the peoples rest was broke,
The young men rose, and from the temples took
Their arms, now such as a long peace had mar'd.
And their old bucklers now of leather's bar'd:
Their blunted Pikes not of a long time us'd,
And swords with eatings of black rust abus'd.

Marvell's reduction of the crowd of 'young men' to a single youth is significant.
his armour, not so that he may oppose Cromwell but as an analogy to Cromwell's own movement up and outward, his bursting through the ranks of friends and enemies alike into the leadership: 'So restless Cromwell could not cease...'

Here, then, Marvell's fancy has evidently been caught by the vivid picture of the townspeople surprised by war, and especially by the poignant detail of the rusty armour; he has used it to produce an effect which is the opposite of Lucan's. In De Bello Civili the soldiers of Caesar the approaching tyrant overwhelm the unprepared civilians. In the 'Ode' the 'unused Armours rust' is a symbol of idleness: an idleness which now becomes culpable, since this is the great moment to rise and fight for England's future in the glorious battles envisaged for Cromwell (11.97 ff.)

Marvell used the passage again, much later, for a strikingly different purpose. In The Rehearsal Transpros'd, I, he accuses his opponent 'Mr Bayes' of stirring up false fears by declaring that a return of Popery threatens the nation. He mockingly describes the ensuing fuss, as follows:

So that, though for so many years, some of your Superiours had forgot there was any such thing in the Nation as a Popish Recusant, though Polemical and Controversial Divinity had for so long been hung up in the Halls, like the rusty obsolete Armour of our Ancestors, for monuments of Antiquity; and for derision rather than service; all of a sudden (as if the 15th of March had been the 5th of November) happy was he that could climb up first to get down one of the old Cuirasses, or an Habergeon that had been worn in the dayes of Queen Elizabeth. Great variety there was, and an heavy doo. Some clapp'd it on all rusty as it was, others fell of oyling, and furbishing their armour: Some piss'd in their Barrels, others
spit in their pans, to scowr them. Here you might see one put on his Helmet the wrong way: there one buckle on a Back in place of a Breast. Some by mistake caught up a Socinian or an Arminian Argument, and some a Popish to fight a Papist.

(ed. cit., p.120)

Here the realistic glimpse of the sleepy townspeople in Lucan becomes a Swiftian vision of intellectual confusion and panic, in which the armour is made still more metaphorical than it is in the 'Ode', turning into the theological arguments of the warring religious factions (their antiquity and rust signifying the preposterousness of the conflict). We are here very far from the historical Caesar advancing on Rome; it is quite evident that Lucan's vivid little passage is now a part of Marvell's own imagining; and so too it is in the 'Ode'.

Two things are established by this introductory passage. First, this is a time of crisis, which demands that all worthy men come out of their retirement, abandon contemplation and the cultivation of mental and physical gardens, and move into action. Second, in this time of crisis Cromwell has risen to the occasion; and this poem is therefore setting out to give him the praise he deserves.

The poem next focuses for the first time on Cromwell himself: it is necessary to quote the whole ensuing passage in order to see how pervasive is Marvell's use of the metaphors and language of Lucan:

So restless Cromwel could not cease
In th'inglorious Arts of Peace,
    But through adventrous War
Urged his active Star.
And, like the three-fork'd Lightning, first
Breaking the Clouds where it was nurst,
    Did thorough his own Side
His fiery way divide.
For 'tis all one to Courage high
The Emulous or Enemy;
    And with such to inclose
Is more then to oppose.
Then burning through the Air he went,  
And Pallaces and Temples rent;  
   And Caesars head at last  
   Did through his Laurels blast.  
'Tis Madness to resist or blame  
The force of angry Heavens flame:  
   And, if we would speak true,  
   Much to the Man is due.  
   (11.9-28)

The influence of Lucan on this is most obvious when we look at De Bello Civili, I.143-57:

...Sed non in Caesare tantum  
Nomen erat nec fama ducis, sed nescia virtus  
Stare loco, solusque pudor non vincere bello;  
Acer et indomitus, quo spes quoque ira vocasset,  
Ferre manum et numquam temperando parcere ferro,  
Successus urguere suos, instare favori  
Numinis, impellens, quidquid sibi summa petenti  
Obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruina.  
Qualiter expressem ventis per nubila fulmen  
Aetheris inpulsi sonitu mundique fragore  
Emicuit rupitque diem populosque paventes  
Terruit obliqua praestringens lumina flamma;  
In sua templa furt, nullaque exire vetante  
Materia magnamque cadens magnamque revertens  
Dat stragem late sparcosque recolligit ignes.

Here 'restless Cromwel' closely matches nescia virtus stare loco...acer et indomitus, and 'But through adventrous War...' Lucan's successus urguere suos instare favori/Numinis; the destruction of all obstacles in his path, metaphorically expressed in the description of the lightning, has clearly suggested Marvell's next eight lines or so. Lucan's account of the lightning rushing to its own appointed area of the sky - in sua templa furt - may have influenced Marvell's 'And Pallaces and Temples rent', and the lightning image itself is clearly a powerful feature of both passages.  

46. May's version has probably mediated the influence of the passage; as Margoliouth suggests, the phrases 'restless valour' and 'forward sword' recall 'restless Cromwell' and 'forward Youth' in 1.1.
applied to Caesar by Lucan elsewhere also: at I.261-5, for example:

...Noctis gelidas lux solverat umbras,  
Ecce faces belli dubiaeque in proelia menti  
Urguentes addunt stimulos cunctasque pudoris  
Rumpunt fata moras; iustos Fortuna laborat  
Esse ducis motus et causas inventit armis.

The naming of Fortune here as the firm patron of Caesar is frequent throughout Lucan's poem; but other characters also invoke destiny as Marvell's speaker does at 11.25-6:

'Tis madness to resist or blame  
The force of angry Heavens flame.

In Book II, when Brutus goes to Cato, the touchstone of probity, to beg him to remain aloof from the fighting, Cato rejects his appeal, with these as his opening words:

'Summum, Brute, nefas civilia bella fatemur;  
Sed quo fata trajunt, virtus secunda sequuntur.  
Crimen erat superis et me fecisse nocentem.  
Sidera quis mundumque velit spectare cadentem  
Expers ipse metus? quis, cum ruat arduus aether,  
Terra labet mixto coeuntis pondere mundi,  
Compressas tenuisse manus?...

(11.286-292)

Virtus is at the beck and call of the fates, who summon not only Caesar, but everyone. This idea is, it seems to me, clearly at the back of the opening passage of the 'Ode'. The anecdote of the scared townspeople taking down the old armour is one strand of the meaning of those lines; but Cato's feeling of urgency at a moment of extreme crisis, his awareness of being implicated, of being summoned to participate, even if only helplessly,
in a cataclysm, is a still stronger thread in the pattern. Cato is wholeheartedly against Caesar, of course; but even he cannot fail to acknowledge the magnitude of the disturbance which is Caesar.\footnote{Caesar is again described as burning, \textit{flagrans}, on the eve of battle, in \textit{VII.24Off}: \textit{Aeger quippe morae flagransque cupidine regni Coeperat exiguo tractu civilia bella Ut lentum damnare nefas.}} Cromwell's 'burning' his way through obstacles is again suggested in a later description of Caesar, on the eve of battle, in \textit{VII.238-42}:

\begin{quote}
Oblatumque videt votis sibi mille petitum Tempus, in extremos quo mitteret omnia casus. Aeger quippe morae flagransque cupidine regni C perat exiguo tractu civilia bella Ut lentum damnare nefas.
\end{quote}

Cromwell's defeat and deposition (as the poem has it, singlehanded) of Charles also finds an echo, in Caesar's speech to his troops in Book I. He accuses Pompey of despotic rule, venality and greed, and further of having instituted a reign of terror, so that he, Caesar, must intervene to restore order and the ancient freedoms:

\begin{quote}
Scilicet extremi Pom ium emptique clientes Continuo per tot satiabunt tempora regno?... Ille semel raptos numquam dimittet honores? \ldots quis castra timenti Nescit mixta foro, gladii cum triste micantes Iudicium insolita trepidum cinxere corona... (11.314-'15, 317, 319-'21)
\end{quote}

This is a very interesting passage indeed. Not only might Marvell's Charles, whose long unbroken power is emphasized in the 'Ode' ('the great Work

\footnote{Caesar is again described as burning, \textit{flagrans}, on the eve of battle, in \textit{VII.24Off}: \textit{Aeger quippe morae flagransque cupidine regni Coeperat exiguo tractu civilia bella Ut lentum damnare nefas.}}
be a shadowy version of Pompey seen through Caesar's eyes, but Lucan's brilliantly actualized image of menace - the glittering circle of swords round the courtroom - is also obviously the source of the famous lines in 'Tom May's Death' about public order:

When the Sword glitters o'er the Judges head,
And fear has Coward Churchmen silenced,
Then is the Poets time, 'tis than he drawes,
And single fights forsaken Vertues cause...
(ll.63-'6)

Just as the single 'forward Youth' replaced the juvenes of Ariminum at the 'Ode's' opening, so here Marvell turns the specific description in Lucan into a generalized, representative gesture. These lines are often, and, I have argued, unwarrantably, cited as an example of Marvell's opposition to Cromwellianism. Yet the passage in Lucan is spoken by Caesar, a character undeniably similar to the Cromwell of the 'Ode', and it describes the opposition practised by Pompey, the hero of Lucan's poem. All this goes to show that to say, as Ms Syfret does, that 'Marvell is using Lucan to define his fears' is rather too simple an analysis.

After this first rehearsal of Cromwell's explosive action, the 'Ode' temporarily takes a quieter turn:

And if we would speak true,
Much to the Man is due.
Who, from his private Gardens, where
He liv'd reserved and austere,
As if his highest plot
To plant the Bergamot,
Could by industrious Valour climbe...
(ll.27-33)
For the delineation of these milder qualities of his Cromwell-figure, Marvell turned to Lucan's two heroes, Pompey and Cato. In Book II Lucan describes Cato's marriage just before leaving for the war, in a quiet and sober ceremony:

...Hi mores, haec duri inmota Catonis
Secta fuit, servare modum finemque tenere
Naturamque sequi patriaeque inpendere vitam
Nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo,
Huic epulae, vicisse famen; magnique penates,
Summovisse hiemem tecto...
(11.380-'5)

Later, when Lucan wishes to praise Pompey, he attributes to him the same virtue of personal austerity. 48

As we have seen, this picture of the hero-statesman as private individual is, of course, a commonplace topic. It is half of an opposition, and the pendulum swings immediately back to the other extreme:

...Could by industrious Valour climbe
To ruin the great Work of Time,
And cast the Kingdome old
Into another Mold.
Though Justice against Fate complain,
And plead the antient Rights in vain:
But these do hold or break
As men are strong or weak.
(11.33-40)

The terrible strength which is partly fate's and partly the hero's and which makes him both actor and acted upon sets up a tension in Marvell's

48. IX. 201-2: Casta domus luxuque carens corruptaque numquam
Fortuna domini...
poem. This is not the struggle - or the choice - between might and right; it is rather the equally basic question of the ambiguity of human designs and actions. This is also, I think, an important theme in Lucan's poem, far more serious and more interesting than the ostensible subject. His unwilling fascination with the figure of Caesar is an indication of his perception of the problem and of his preoccupation with it. At the end of Caesar's speech of encouragement to his troops in Book I, there is a puzzled ambiguity strikingly reminiscent of Marvell's 11.39-40:

Tollite iam pridem victricia, tollite, signa;
Viribus utendum est, quas fecimus. Arma tenenti
Omnia dat, qui iusta negat. Neque numina derint;
Nam neque praeda mei neque regnum quaeritue armis;
Detrahimus dominos urbi servire paratae.

(ll.347-351)

The contention that *viribus utendum est, quas fecimus* finds its best gloss in Marvell's 11.39-40 and the following:

Nature that hateth emptiness,
Allows of penetration less:
    And therefore must make room
Where greater Spirits come.

(ll.41-44)

Caesar is made to recognize the inescapability of force, but he also asserts his good motives: *detrahimus dominos*. So too Cromwell is both the instrument of destruction, breaking the moulds, and an example of courage and honour:

What field of all the Civil Wars,
Where his were not the deepest Scars?

(ll.45-46)
Lucan's insistence on Caesar's status as the favourite of Fortune is an important part of his presentation of the character, since it removes the actions of Caesar partly out of the sphere of moral and political comment - which would certainly be negative comment - and gives it an element of mystery, of inscrutability. There is a striking example of what may almost be termed the seduction of Lucan as narrator by this idea of Fortune's patronage in Book V, when Caesar sets out in a small boat on a stormy night to cross the sea. He is made to convince the boatman of his charmed existence, with a proud dignity which it is hard to feel Lucan means to be ironic:

Sola tibi causa est iusta timoris,  
Vestorem non nosse tuum, quem numina numquam  
Destituunt, de quo male tunc fortuna meretur,  
Cum post vota venit. Medias perrumpe procellas  
Tutela secure mea...  
(11.579-584)

At the end of the night Lucan has him cast on shore safely by an immense wave, omitting to mention that it is on the wrong shore - the one he set out from, not that of Italy. Even Lucan is thus carried away by his idea: the conception of an almost godlike figure with whom inert matter and contingencies co-operate.

Marvell too invests his hero with a mysterious stature; he describes the rise of Cromwell in almost mythically simple terms, completely ignoring all the complexity of political actuality, the struggle, compromises and disorder which in reality characterized the late 1640s. He cuts Cromwell out from his background even more thoroughly than Lucan does Caesar. We are occasionally shown Caesar in doubt, or thought, or anxiety; but Cromwell is presented
only at the level of emblematic gesture. Where Lucan usually speaks of Fortune, a familiar member of the Roman pantheon, Marvell emphasizes the irresistibility of destiny, describing it as 'the force of angry Heavens flame' and as 'Fate'. This is clearly an unbaptized Fate, certainly not Christian Providence (when the defeated king is on the scaffold he is said to eschew calling 'the gods' to his aid); and it is ungovernable, even by Cromwell himself, who is the channel of its action.49 The operation of this destiny, or Fate, is what makes certainty impossible in human affairs. It seems clear to me that Marvell deliberately excludes from the poem all Christ reference, which would have suggested the existence of a transcendent order. Instead he personifies a principle of inscrutability as 'Fate', 'the gods', and later 'Fortune' (1.112, 'But thou the Wars and Fortunes Son...'). It is not, then, that Cromwell's actions are being subtly undermined throughout by irony on the part of their presenter, the poet; it is not that every statement of Cromwell's prowess, energy and success is double edged, that Marvell means the opposite. Certainly the Fate which has raised Cromwell to his present height may, equally, cause him to tumble from it; the poem is open to the possibility that Cromwell's ruthlessness may in the end be visited on him, too -

49. Ruth Nevo considers that the 'Ode' contains the Scriptural sense of 'history as process' which characterizes revolutionary Puritanism (op. cit., p.13). But I feel that Legouis is right in pointing out that this is to read the 'Ode' by the later Cromwell poems (op.cit., p.245). Cromwell does appear as a David figure in The First Anniversary, but the 'Ode' is classical rather than biblical in its tone and imagery. As J.S.Mazzeo says, 'Cromwell as Davidic King' is a later figure in a very different kind of poem (Reason and Imagination, 1962, pp.21-55).
The same Arts that did gain
A Power must it maintain.
(11.119-20)

- but the moment of the 'Ode' is not the moment of such a visitation. Cromwell is a dazzling figure, who unites action with thought, who is both the planter of trees and the winner on battlefields, who has broken the old moulds (and it is necessary for the theme that he should appear to have broken them singlehanded). But he is not completely in control of events, and he is above all an isolated figure. Just as Marvell denudes Damon of the normal pastoral companions, so he removes the hero of his 'Horatian Ode' from the military and political surroundings. The rivals at the beginning of the poem, the fellow soldiers later -

What Field of all the Civil Wars,
Where his were not the deepest Scars?
(11.45-6)

- are never more than shadows of Cromwell's brilliant light. Only the 'Royal Actor' is left to pair Cromwell, and he has only the briefest of scenes in the poem. Marvell strips Caesar of Lucan's condemnations of ambition and cruelty, and makes the resulting vivid and gigantic figure into his Cromwell. He also borrows the gentleness and integrity of Cato and Pompey, especially in the second part of the poem; but the character he creates is a mysterious, starkly outlined one, far more abstract and less historical than any in Lucan, or in Horace, or the Roman historians. Cromwell in the 'Ode' is a series of brilliant gestures. Like the Mower, the speaker in 'To His Coy Mistress', and the Nymph, he is not at all psychologized. He passes out of the poem at the end still in a pose,
sword erect, marching 'indefatigably on'. Lucan's Caesar, and still more Horace's Augustus, think and consider, worry and have doubts; Cromwell is never shown to do so. His gardening and his knowing ('So much one Man can do...') are stylized attitudes too. The poem is a crisis, frozen: the forward youth forever on the point of forsaking his Muses, Cromwell on the point of invading Scotland. Lucan tries, largely failing, to portray his Caesar as a wicked man, but Marvell's Cromwell seems morally balanced between evil and good; the poem does not make a specifically moral judgement on him, seeming fascinated rather by his magnificence and his poise, everywhere stressing his possession of opposite qualities in perfect proportion, and expressing that possession by its movement between action and stillness.

Lines 37-40 of the 'Ode' -

Though Justice against Fate complain,  
And plead the antient Rights in vain  
But those do hold or break  
As men are strong or weak.

- seem curiously guarded, if the poem is a panegyric; the second half of the poem, on the other hand, presents Cromwell making gestures of humility, gentleness and acquiescence in the authority of the body politic:

Nor yet grown stiffer with Command,  
But still in the Republick's hand:  
How fit he is to sway  
That can so well obey.  
He to the Commons feet presents  
A Kingdome, for his first years rents:  
And, what he may, forbears  
His Fame to make it theirs:  
And has his Sword and Spoyls ungirt,  
To lay them at the Publick's skirt.  

(11.81-90)
Cato's speech in Lucan's Book IX on the defeated Pompey resembles both these passages. The speech opens like this:

'Civis obit,' inquit 'multum maioribus inpar 190 Nosse modum iuris, sed in hoc tamen utilis aevq, Cui non ulla fuit iusti reverentia; salva Libertate potens et solus plebe parata Privatus servire sibi rectorque senatus, Sed regnantis, erat. Nil belli iure poposcit, 195 Quaeque dare voluit, voluit sibi posse negari Inmodicas possedit opes, sed plura retentis Intulit. Invasit ferrum, sed ponere norat. Praetulit arma togae, sed pacem armatus amavit; Iuvit sumpta ducem, iuvit dimissa potestas. 200 Casta domus luxuque carens corruptaque numquam Fortuna domini. Clarum et venerabile nomen Gentibus, et multum nostrae quod proderat urbi. (11.190-203)

Like the Pompey here described by Cato, Marvell's Cromwell does not acknowledge the bounds of inherited custom (Marvell 11.37-8, Lucan 11.190-1). But in each case the powers of leadership were free from the abuses of greed and tyranny; both Pompey and Cromwell are said to have been always ready to yield the supreme authority: **invasit ferrum, sed ponere norat...** Iuvit sumpta ducem, iuvit dimissa potestas:

Nor yet grown stiffer with Command,  
But still in the Republick's hand:  
How fit he is to sway  
That can so well obey.

The use of balanced pairs of alternatives in both passages is an important formal resemblance here, bearing out the similarity of content.50

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50. See also the account at the opening of Book IX of Cato's taking up the cudgels against Caesar after the death of Pompey:

Patriam tutore carentem  
Excepit, populi trepodantia membra refovit,  
Ingavis manibus proiectos reddidit enses,  
Nec regnum cupiens gessit civilia bella  
Nec servire timens. Nil cause fecit in armis  
Ille sua... (11.24-29)
Lucan's Pompey is presented as a complex character in whom courage, military talent and moral uprightness combine with a certain impatience for action, which though a blemish may be seen as necessary in a degenerate age (*in hoc tamen utilis sevo*). He is also the possessor of dignity, a quality manifested most strikingly in two passages of the poem, VII.677ff, in which he leaves the battle field of Pharsalia, defeated, and VIII.613ff., when he faces death. In Marvell's poem the attribute of dignity in defeat belongs to the king:

He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable Scene:
But with his keener Eye
The Axes edge did try:
Nor call'd the Gods with vulgar spight
To vindicate his helpless Right,
But bow'd his comely Head,
Down as upon a Bed.

(11.57-64)

This picture of equanimity and conspicuous courage almost certainly owes something to Lucan's two passages:

Tum Magnus concitus aufert
A bello sonipes non tergo tela paventem
Ingentesque animos extrema in fata ferentem,
Non gemitus, non fletus erat, salvaque verendus
Maestate dolor, qualem te? Magne, decebat
Romanis praestare malis. Non inpare voltu
Aspicis Emathiam...

(VII.677-'83)

Later, at the moment of his murder by Ptolemy's assassins, Pompey is made to perform a gesture of stoicism, and his consciousness of having an audience for his death in the future generations is made clear:
Ut vidit comminus enses,
Involvit voltus atque, indignatus apertum
Fortuna praeberet, caput; tum lumina pressit
Continuitaque animam, ne quas effundere voces
Vellet et aeternam fletu corrumpere famam...
'Saecula Romanos numquam tacitura labores
Attendunt, aevumque sequens speculatur ab omni
Orbe ratem Phariamque fideum: nunc consule famae.
(11.613-617, 622-624)

This is reminiscent not merely of the passage in the 'Ode' quoted above, but also of its framing metaphor - the 'Royal Actor', the 'Tragick Scaffold', the audience of soldiers, and the 'memorable Scene'. The role of Charles is Marvell's concern, together with the excellence of performance in it. It is, as I have suggested earlier, important to notice how firmly he places Charles' appearance in the poem within this stage tragedy. Cromwell is the breaker of moulds, Charles the consummate performer within them. Pompey is made to express his awareness of the eyes of posterity, of all history on him; Charles' death, on the other hand, is drama. It is Cromwell who is the historic phenomenon.

Marvell's description of the royal performance has also been influenced by a passage in Horace, in Odes I.37, describing the defeated Cleopatra after the battle of Actium:

...sed minuit furorem
vix una sospes navis ad ignibus,
mentemque lymphatam Mareoticum
rededit in veros timores
Caesar, ab Italis volantem

remis adurgens, accipiter velus
mollis' columbas aut leporem citus
venator in campis nivalis
Haemoniae, daret ut catenis
The second part of this quotation, ll.21 on, admiringly recounts the courage of Cleopatra, in not seeking to escape, or showing any fear of death, but rather seeking it wholeheartedly in preference to being led in triumph. The poem is a celebration of Augustus' victory, beginning with a rhythmically ecstatic summons to an orgy of delight:

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliaribus
ornare pulvinar decum
   tempus erat daposibus, sodales.
(ll.1-4)

It then pours abuse on Cleopatra, calling her deranged, and her allies contaminated with lust. Only by the manner of her death is she dignified. The purpose of the description of her defiant suicide is to show that after all Augustus had a worthy opponent in her; her stature as a defeated enemy serves to add to his as all-triumphant conqueror. It should not escape our notice that to describe Caesar's pursuit of her Horace uses the two similes also used by Marvell later in the 'Ode': Caesar is as the hawk chasing the dove, or the hunter, the hare in snowy Thessaly. Cromwell
is also sometimes the bird of prey:

So when the Falcon high
Falls heavy from the Sky...
(11.91 ff.)

and sometimes the hunter of game on a wild northern country:

...Happy if in the tufted brake
The English Hunter him mistake;
Nor lay his hounds in near
The Caledonian Deer.
(11.109-112)

The emotion aroused in the reader of Horace's Actium ode is not pity for Cleopatra, but admiration for the undeniable courage of a rather outlandish figure, a crazed enemy who menaced the future of Rome (ll.5-9). The stability of the Roman state as established by Augustus is Horace's major concern. Marvell's

This was that memorable Hour
Which first assur'd the forced Pow'r.
(11.64-'5)

may owe something to the assertive Nunc...nunc of Horace's opening lines; before this, says Horace, it would have been wrong to drink and feast, but now the future is assured.

The bleeding head in Marvell's succeeding lines comes from a legend concerning the founding of Rome, 51.

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51. There is also an earlier suggestion of Cromwell as hunter: in ll.49-52:
Where, twining subtile fears with hope,
He wove a Net of such a scope,
That Charles himself might chase
To Caresbrooks narrow case.
Pliny's attitude to the omen is an extremely sceptical one, and he follows his account of it with a general rejection of the authenticity of ritual, augury and omen generally:

haec satis sint exemplis ut appateat ostentorum vires et in nostra potestate esse ac prout quaeque accepta sint its valere. in augurum certe disciplina constat neque diras neque ulla auspicia pertinere ad eos qui quacumque rem ingredientes observare se ea negaverint, quo munere divinae indulgentiae maius nullum est.

Omens are what the witnesses make of them, and neither good nor evil omens can affect those who declare their determination not to heed them. I do not think that

And yet in that the State
Foresaw its happy Fate.

is ironic; it is, however, paradoxical and perhaps a little wry. There are no real signs; the future of states is genuinely imponderable. Charles' death is not a proof of anything, either evil or good: there are no guarantees; what is expressed in the rest of the poem is a series of linked hopes, dependent each on the fulfilment of the last. The Irish are tamed; so, by the same token, shall the Scots be, and perhaps even the enemies further afield. These victories depend on the continuing combination of Cromwell's valour, responsibility, and good fortune.

The vanquished and to be vanquished - Irish, Caledonians, and possibly also 'Gaul' and Italy - have a colouring of Roman poetry; Horace's

quis Parthum paveat, quis gelidum Scythen,
quis Germania quos horrida parturit

52. XXVIII.4 in Pliny; see Wallace, op.cit., p.84 and the 1971 edition of Marvell, Commentary, p.300.
fetus, incolumi Caesare? quis ferae
bellum curat Hiberiae?
(ODES IV.5, 11.25-'8)

is only one example of a motif - the defeat of
outlandish foreign tribes - repeatedly employed in
the Odes.53 But the expression of pride in the past,
and hope for future victories is accompanied in
this second half of the 'Ode' by a certain studied
stillness, a sharp contrast to the urgent motion of
the first part. This effect is partly brought
about by the images of descent and restraint which
pervade it

Nor yet grown stiffer with Command
But still in the Republick's hand...
He to the Commons Feet presents
A Kingdome, for his first years rents:
   And, what he may, forbears
His Fame to make it theirs:
And has his Sword and Spoils ungirt,
To lay them at the Publick's skirt.
So when the Falcon high
Palls heavy from the Sky,
She, having kill'd, no more does search,
But on the next green Bow to pearch;
   Where, when he first does lure,
The Falckner has her sure.
(11.81-2, 85-96)

- and partly by the steadying effect of the three
balanced couplets containing maxims or sententiae:

So much one Man can do
That does both act and know.
(11.75-6)

How fit he is to sway
That can so well obey.
(11.83-4)

53. See Odes I.12, 35; II.9, III.5, 14; IV.2, 5,
8 and 14; Carmen Saeculare, 11.53-'6. The device
was, as we have seen widely imitated in English and
Latin Stuart panegyric. See also De Bello Civili,
I.585-'91.
The same Arts that did gain
A Pow'r must it maintain.
(11.119-20)

All three of these balanced sayings are commonplace,
and a great deal of annotation has accrued to them. 54
The first and the third of them can, however, be
illuminated by looking at a passage in Sallust's
Bellum Catilinae, probably an important source of
the ideas. 55 This is a general meditation, of
a type familiar in Roman and Greek historians, on
the circumstances, morality, and proper means of
achieving power and good reputation. In 1.5-8,
Sallust remarks:

Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit
vine corporis an virtute animi res militaris
magis procederat. Nam et prius quam incipias
consulto, et ubi consuleris, mature facto opus
est. Ita utrumque per se indigens alterum
alterius auxilio eget.

Mere physical capacity - or, by implication, courage
alone - is insufficient for human excellence; there
must also be mental effort and talent, *opes ingenii*
as well as *opes virium* (1.3), knowledge as well as
action. A little further on, in II.3-6, Sallust
says:

Quodsi regum atque imperatorem animi virtus in
pace ita ut in bello valerat, aequabilius atque
constantius sese res humanae haberent, neque

54. Wallace provides a large collection of
references to illustrate the point (*op.cit.*, p.96)
55. As was first suggested by L. Proudfoot in
'Marvell, Sallust, and the Horatian Ode', Notes
aliud alio ferri neque mutari ac misceri omnium cerneres. Nam imperium facile eis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est. Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continetia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur.

The progress and preservation in good order of kingdoms depends, says Sallust, on the constant exercise of the virtus - intelligence and concentration - by which the ruler first reached his position: nam imperium facile eis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est, or

The same Arts that did gain
A Pow'r must it maintain.
(11.119-20)

It seems necessary to point out that there is nothing sinister in this for Sallust; far from being a warning, it is a piece of advice, based on historical evidence given in his previous paragraph, about how to preserve a good which has been gained. Those who read the 'Ode' ironically must, therefore, imagine Marvell to have been reversing the sense of Sallust's observation. We have seen that in borrowing from De Bello Civili Marvell does indeed pay little heed to the political allegiance of its author; but nowhere does he completely alter the literal sense of a passage or verbal borrowing, as we are asked to suppose him to have done here with Sallust; and besides Sallust is a crisp, succinct dealer in facts and arguments, Lucan an expansive rhetorician who works characteristically by metaphor. The third of the maxims,

How fit he is to sway,
That can so well obey.
(11.83-4)
has its origins in Aristotle's *Politica* (IV.14.4: 'He who is to rule wisely must first have learnt to obey') but is so familiar a commonplace that it probably cannot be attributed to a specific source.

Each of these three balanced sayings accompanies a more expansive passage in the 'Ode'; the first two follow upon statements of Cromwell's whirlwind defeat of the Irish and of his continuing malleability:

Nor yet grown stiffer with Command,
But still in the Republick's hand...
(11.81-2)

and the last, which ends the poem, comes after references to Fortune and 'The Spirits of the shady Night'. In this final restatement of the poem's theme, the sober maxim from Sallust which concerns what can be achieved by rational effort and courage is balanced by an acknowledgement of the incalculable element in human affairs:

But thou the Wars and Fortunes Son
March indefatigably on;
And for the last effect
Still keep thy Sword erect:
Besides the force it has to fright
The Spirits of the shady Night,
The same Arts that did gain
A Pow'r must it maintain.
(11.113-120)

Thus the poem insists that even at the height of Cromwell's glory he may be threatened. E.E. Duncan-Jones finds that the 'Spirits' are those of the dead; Legouis adds that they may be those of the King of the Civil War defeated. I am not quite

sure that they need be so specifically identified, and even if they are, they certainly represent the irrational and immaterial, just as Fortune does. If Cromwell seemed during his rise to power to be almost magically aided, then by the same token Fortune may change her favour in the future, however steadfast his labours and his skills as manifested in his victories. The syntax of these last eight lines sets the prospect of those labours (envisioned in the final couplet) against the perils of the sweeping action which will go on being necessary ('...March indefatigably on'). So, as throughout the poem, Marvell renders superbly well the frenzy of human effort, and the impassivity of time and circumstance in its face: the moment of violent action, frozen in a pose, as also in 'The unfortunate Lover':

This is the only Banneret
Than ever Love created yet:
Who though, by the Malignant Starrs,
Forced to live in Storms and Wars;
Yet dying leaves a Perfume here,
And Musick within every Ear:
And he in Story only rules,
In a Field Sable a Lover Gules.
(11.57-64)
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