INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.

5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

75-21,345

SWETSKY, Judith Elaine, 1931-
MARVELL'S ISLAND AMID THE WATERS.

The City University of New York, Ph.D., 1975
Language and Literature, modern

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© 1975

JUDITH ELAINE SWETSKY

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

MARVELL'S ISLAND AMID THE WATERS

by

JUDITH SWETSKY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1975

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

6 May 1975
date

Chairman of Examining Committee

date

Executive Officer

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My major debt is to a group of professors in the Masters Program at Brooklyn College. My teachers never knew of this project, and no doubt forgot their student even before they retired. Because they honored learning, I have remembered them throughout the bitter years of another academic world. In particular, I remember the professor who wondered with me at the wisdom of "The Parable of the Mustard Seed," though that moment brought him neither fame nor profit. Death intervened, or I would pledge to this man that, hereafter, I will choose my adviser as proudly as I chose him. My teachers likely sensed my affection and my respect and assumed my loyalty to the humanist tradition they continued. They would understand that when I had no guide or goal, and hence no defined standard, that I tried to be again their student.

This dissertation was written at Graduate Center and there read in its final form by Professor Samuel Mintz and Professor John Shawcross. As their students learn, both men are distinguished scholars. But I am more personally in their debt, for with his customary kindness, Professor Mintz corrected my first pronunciation of Marvell, and when I reached despair, John Shawcross, the stranger, demonstrated the living spirit of my former teachers. Thereafter I appealed to many experts and can document that courtesy accompanies knowledge; to these scholars also, I say "thank you." My closest ties have been with the library staff, whose members have directed me from language to music and shared my excitement at discovery. Most of all, however, I thank them for always speaking to me as if I am a human being.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Reflections in a Watery Glass: "Upon Appleton House"

I. House: Man as God's Estate---------- 9

II. Island: Six-day Creation---------- 55

III. Island: Son-day Wonder----------108

IV. Vision: "Domestick Heaven"----------157

The Plunge of Pastoral: "The unfortunate Lover"----------218

Keeping Time to a "green Night": "Bermudas"----------314

Footnotes

"Upon Appleton House"

I. House: Man as God's Estate----------360

II. Island: Six-day Creation----------392

III. Island: Son-day Wonder----------422

IV. Vision: "Domestick Heaven"----------448

"The unfortunate Lover"----------480

"Bermudas"----------520

Bibliography (Selected)----------535

INTRODUCTION

To Andrew Marvell the most obvious metaphor was the island. Since throughout Marvell's life, England was the empirical reality which most concerned him, it seems natural that England as an island should have furnished him with the symbol from which he drew his metaphor. More is involved in the island metaphor, of course, than an Englishman's geographical awareness. Marvell, who in his role as politician and pamphleteer "dared be honest in the worst of times,"[1] dared also to be honest when he examined the implications of the island metaphor, which hinged on England's destiny. This destiny encompassed the safety and sanity of his country's future, but for Marvell the poet it meant trying to hold on to his inherited world which was now encountering the sharp thrusts of radical change.

Even while Marvell fathomed the meaning of the island to himself as an English poet of his period, he had at hand a rich body of traditional lore, both classical and Judaeo-Christian, and the heritage of the Renaissance dramatists and poets who rhapsodized about this island world. From England, his fixed point, Marvell evaluates this heritage. But while England was the first term of his metaphor, from the perspective of the second term (its heritage), Marvell was able to examine England with considerable detachment. Consequently, he perceived shifting patterns of thought which might otherwise have remained obscure. As always, metaphor encourages insight. In transforming extrinsic relationships into intrinsic ones, Marvell revealed an Englishman's consciousness to himself. For us,

he reveals the very quality of his mind. As Ruth Wallerstein said, Marvell "insists upon the play of all the lights." Besides seeing the possibility in every idea that came to him, he delighted in the diversity. At the same time he felt the need to find and hold on to a center. Thus the island represents to Marvell a jumping off point in several directions while he still has a foothold in actual traditional soil.

By his virtuosity, a fusion of erudition and elusiveness, Marvell concealed what otherwise would be an obvious metaphor. In recognizing this metaphor of the island, I attempt to remove Marvell from any such strict mould as critics tend to confine him within. Positively, the recognition has allowed me to group together three poems which seem to lack either relationship or unifying principle: "Upon Appleton House," "The unfortunate Lover," and "Bermudas." As the reader will notice, I disregard chronological sequence in order to focus on the accessibility of the metaphor. "Upon Appleton House" is first discussed because it requires detailed analysis, rehearses different genres, and within which the island metaphor is at the very center. For Marvell, the centering of the metaphor within "Appleton House" was suggested both by Appleton's removed position inside England, and by the relationship of its host, Fairfax, to the Isle of Man. "The unfortunate Lover" goes back to an earlier period of troubled social and political circumstances. Just as pastoral was declining, and the hero of an erudite audience was disappearing along with that audience, Marvell, prompted by the challenge of defeat, sets out to project the island as his style.

With "Bermudas" Marvell comes upon the historic island and then, in a great act of creative imagination, remakes the island as his myth.

1

This tribute is recorded under August 16, 1678, the date of Marvell's death, in William Hone's The EveryDay Book (London, 1830), II, 1095.

REFLECTIONS IN A WATERY GLASS: "UPON APPLETON HOUSE"

I. HOUSE: MAN AS GOD'S ESTATE

A STRANGE SITE

The structural integrity of "Upon Appleton House" may escape many readers who are insufficiently amphibious, or at least not antipodal enough, to transcend their assumption that a poem must proceed from a single unifying principle. Duality of structure distinguishes this poem among Marvell's lyric equations, far more than inordinate length and learned allusions[1] or even the arrogant conceits tossed off in a miscellany of genres. To display the skill of a two-handed architect is inadequate, however, if it leaves unanswered the argument that Marvell's art lacks seriousness[2]. To critics contending that his wit arches so high that it attentuates meaning, we answer that its goal is as dual as the structure that embeds it. "Upon Appleton House" entertains; thus wit is justified and, reasonably, rides on a narrative dramatic vehicle releasing a mosaic of effects. But where Marvell seeks to project the symbol essential to him as a lyric artist, the Circle, the archness of his wit verifies the difficulties he experiences.

At the end of the day celebrated in "Upon Appleton House," the oncoming "dark Hemisphere" reveals that under man's feet lies the pole where Virgil saw "the shades infernal" and heard "the silence of lifeless night."[3] Conscious though Marvell is of "the always rising of the night,"[4] with the final direction "Let's in" he returns himself and audience to their starting point "Within

this sober Frame,"[5] and thus averts the cosmic tremor. Conceivably, convention accounts for his achievement: assisted by the ancient topos, "the timing on of night,"[6] the poet completes the traditional circle. A mere glimpse at the reputation of Marvell's concluding stanza, however, dispels that possibility; time and again the mingling of "Tortoise" and "Shoes" has proved just how irresponsible metaphysical wit is.[7] Even as he closes the Circle that reveals a universe divine in purpose and so relates the life of individual man and society to a perfect order, Marvell is the prankster armed with mischief who compels the universe to accept his design. Twenty-two hundred years earlier, the Pythagorean Alcmeon of Croton explained it thus: "Men die because they cannot join the beginning to the end";[8] possessed of this wisdom, he would know that a man dies when the world no longer houses his ideal. Had the Circle of Perfection gone unchallenged, Marvell might have turned the figure without tricks, and "Upon Appleton House" would have better merited the term "great" recently attached to it.[9] Besides the shattering challenges of the seventeenth century to the Circle of Perfection, when the spiritual situation of modern man takes shape,[10] Marvell has a more immediate reason for his sharpened awareness of life escaping its graceful confines. As the entertainer of a Great House and Estate, the prankster devotes his lyric art to celebrating the realization of this symbol in the house's pattern of life.

Readers attentive to the narrative structure barely surmise the symbolic structure, yet the two governing metaphors of entertainment and Circle work together. Moreover, several complementary metaphors, generated by the specific circle Marvell chose to recreate, operate in both structures and thus contribute to the complex

unity of "Upon Appleton House." Intending to measure man's life against the Ideal, to place within the Circle the experiential world, Marvell symbolizes reality by another perfect work of God, man himself. The familiar Vitruvian figure of man's body extended in square and circle revealed to the Renaissance imagination the deep truth that God had built the greater world in harmony with the perfect proportions of His microcosm. Though Vitruvius encouraged what amounted to a rebirth of the classical concept that man is the measure of the universe, he himself analyzed man's perfection in order to build the house sacred to God.[11] Marvell adopts Vitruvius' figure, along with his architectural interest, though he doubles the metaphor of the body by its mirror image -- the land required by the nature of Marvell's entertainment and the dilemma he sought to resolve. As he beguiles the family of a Great House by staging spectacles on its estate, the land serves as the paradisal setting against whose perfection Marvell places the world's many houses and their troubled states.

The mind of Andrew Marvell was one "great Work of Time" recast by the century's intellectual upheaval. Assembling epic echoes and topical sneers, together with a synthesis of biblical and occult lore and a nursery rhyme, Marvell identifies himself as Renaissance man, a model that gracefully balanced encyclopedic learning with a penchant for Platonic abstractions. But peering through the "Appleton" poetic instead are the misguided practices of the extremists among seventeenth-century wits, learned Cleveland and his frustrated elliptics and bored Saint-Amant, spending his talent alternately in libertine dalliances and neo-Platonic meditations.[12] Allusions from diverse realms of discourse, rapidly tossed out, cramp themselves into "Appleton" conceits. Proliferating,

these conceits cross others before completion, though in turn, they trace intricate patterns that, as a consequence, find themselves superimposed on other patterns in each of the poem's major movements. Further, every movement introduces another genre, even a composite. Taking part in several conceits at once, allusions, when detected, glance in a multitude of directions. If more often they escape the critic's net, notwithstanding unmistakable scholarship, Marvell's modern readers have long forfeited Rensissance man's range of reference. Since critics frequently forgo searching for submerged puns, these continue to lock allusions in the silence of Marvell's collection of tongues.

Even if critics could solve the befuddlement created by Marvell's conceits and their interaction in larger patterns, we would still miss the source of the enigma. Two outstanding scholars provide a clue in the common denominator of their apparently contrary interpretations. Neither trompe-l'oeil, in the forefront of that cluster of aesthetic effects explicated by Rosalie Colie, nor Kitty Scoular's "order in confusion" adequately describes "Appleton," but both readings presuppose its relational field.[14] Aware that seventeenth-century man must prove the Circle's existence, Marvell explores the analogical cosmos of the Renaissance, precisely that system of correspondences presumed by the Circle. Not far along his quest he determines, however, that the relations are deserting the field. Shifting before his eyes is a strange site -- the formerly stable ground on which God placed His signatures, ordering their measures and arranging their affinities so that man might decipher His universe. We now celebrate the challenge to the "great Work of Time" as "rationalism," the entry of nature into the scientific order and the concomitant switch from

a system of assumed correspondences to an epistemology based on analysis. Because for Marvell that revision signaled chaos, in "Appleton House" he plays hote, syntax stabilizing the field the "traveler" crosses, and Circle sheltering him from the onrushing order wherein he finds himself a "guest." For the duration of Marvell's poem, as "host" he provides lodging for all the allusions and conceits by which he recognizes the world. Yet Renaissance man would see himself a guest in this cosmos; charged with interpreting God's universe, Marvell reflects seventeenth-century influence. Those of his contemporaries too traditional to denigrate the Circle to a "fiction" were diminishing its dimensions[15] even while they insisted that it enclose treacherous new tracts of subject matter. Crowding imagery into a Circle circumscribed by the physical breadth of Appleton, the terrain he actually crosses, Marvell sights resemblances God himself may have forgotten, since ultimately the Circle's circumference measures the interior realm of the mind. Details all but obscuring the Circle as a figure, Marvell moreover has them examine issues destructive to the Circle as a concept. No symbol dies while an individual believes in it, the moral goes; his contemporaries' thrusts against the Circle troubled Marvell only because he suspected they had cause.

Two singularly exciting moments, a descent into the "Abbyss" and an image encompassing Nile and crocodile and the old Serpent, dramatically affirm Marvell's attraction to chaos. Aware how powerful these poetic moments are, he stations them strategically as the opening and closing of his poem's great center. Though deriving its deepest meaning from Marvell's efforts to recreate the Circle, "Appleton" claims distinction only at his Circle's

center. Of the two major movements comprising it, the first frankly, indeed spectacularly, invites the intellect, whereas the second scores by the favorite trick of magicmakers, conjuring up joy. Genres as congenial to Marvell's talent as a history cycle and a pastoral promote his center's success; moreover, to ward off dullness, he builds in both a review by lyric verse of a drama that imitates still another drama and a leisured trek through the vast wastes of an idyllic domain. But what distinguishes its center, and hence "Appleton," is the metaphor allowing Marvell to wed the two movements. Even unsustained by literary precedent, historical circumstances might have led him to choose the "island" as that metaphor. Behind "Appleton" stands Phineas Fletcher's monument to tedium, his study of man's body as The Purple Island. In hailing Fletcher's work as the inferior predecessor of Ulysses, Joyce nonetheless correctly overlooks "Appleton." For, eschewing Fletcher's scientific theme, Marvell write no "epic of the human body," sparing us the "coloured anatomical chart" analogizing veins to the river.[16] Occupying his river of the mind are conjectures on the river as natural phenomenon, as emblem of England's civil state and man's morality, as time philosophically contemplated. If thereby, paradoxically, he progresses toward Joyce's "home of the full human personality," that theme demands another investigation. "Island," the theme of this essay (though the center requires a periphery), recalled for Marvell the myth of Aphrodite creating the world, defined England geographically, and located Appleton spiritually. As guardian of the Circle amid a nation that had betrayed its principles to war, Appleton was England's spiritual center, however isolated. Further-

more, the man whose house and estate "Appleton" celebrates governed the Isle of Man.

THE REMAINING MANSION

The conceit informing the opening words of "Upon Appleton House" -- "Within this sober Frame" -- was well known to Renaissance man and his heirs. The poet was an architect whose verse raised a structure imitating the "Frame" of the universe built for man by the Divine Architect.[17] About this "Frame" men knew two truths: created by God, it was beautiful, for in Herbert's words "no perfect Artist ever yet hated his own worke"; and comprising this "Frame" were Heaven and Earth, which Donne called both by the name of "House."[18] Though they might raise their maker toward divinity, Marvell's lines create a structure that reflects a house built by man to human scale. Appleton was designed by Lord Thomas Fairfax,[19] whose religious beliefs convinced him that man's dwelling should correspond to the physical world, that earthly house God had created to prepare man to enter heaven. Both architects of Appleton, Fairfax and Marvell, thought of themselves as apprentices to the Master Architect, and both strove by their designs to do Him honor, the first building a structure directly reflecting His house and the second capturing in verse the design imaged by the first. As Marvell pays homage to the design of Fairfax and Fairfax to the design of God, this opening conceit takes its rightful place within a conceit larger than "the poet as architect." As Don C. Allen ventured, "Upon Appleton House" is about "the house of flesh, the body and mind of man."[20] To which we add that Marvell means to examine the many houses of "man," among them

fortress, theater, and temple. Basic to his poem is the metaphor of the world as one of the houses of God, who gave the world to man, His sojourner, until such time as all men inherit the Spritual Kingdom, the estate made possible by the sacrifice of Christ, and, no longer "strangers and pilgrims" but "co-heirs"[21] thus dwell in the house God had reserved for them in Heaven.

By "Humility" alone Christian man draws the "Lines" for the foundation of the "sober Frame" that will be his house. Naturally, Marvell did not "vault" his brain to construct "Upon Appleton House," nor would he consider drafting a design that aimed to "arch" the brow of its beholder. As the creator of this animated masonry, Marvell assumed that matter was sufficiently pliable to respond to spiritual character.[22] As Shakespeare's King John had demonstrated, a building personified by the image of "vaulty brows" would take on the dimensions of the dead.[23] Borne aloft by the verb "vault," proud man might hope to leap to the vault of heaven. But the likelihood was that with this word man would stoop to build a "hollow Palace," and his house would become a tomb, however vast and resplendent in "Marble,"[24] to blow man about within, man whose pride had been his wind, returning to death as the "Mote of Dust." Like Fairfax, Marvell was an English Protestant in a still flourishing tradition whose cornerstone was moderation and whose gate opened unto heaven because it assumed faithful "stewardship" of God's earth earth and its possessions.[25] Men build best when their models are beasts and birds, Marvell counsels, for these creatures, having no choice but to follow God's design as He imprinted it in nature, contrive the "equal Nest," the house expressing their distinct being. Though ostentation had been creeping into English buildings,[26]

it was an "alien" import, unruled by God because it was "Forrain" to the rhythm of HIs nature and sought to possess wealth by "levelling" forests into pastures and by "mining" stone quarries into caves.[27] In particular, pretentious facades were "Forrain" to the value England placed on "use,"[28] which in serving a domestic purpose respects nature's "store."

Urbanity and exhilaration, the results of Marvell's respect for the pun, may obscure for our still more "sober" age both Marvell's "coherence" and the pun as an instrument of insight. In the third stanza of Marvell's poem, the Limbo of "Hollow" space that moves to wanton ways, men build once again the Tower disproportionate to the base, in defiance of a human aesthetic that united beauty with use and morality with both. In the background, Horace's voice cautions against ambition that extends too widely or builds too high,[29] though in this poem that honors Fairfax, classical allusion is secondary to Christian reference. "Breadth" in Marvell becomes equivalent to "Height," as men spreading "superfluously" within a morality marked by overtopping pride prepare "New Babels" for Milton later to castigate in his Paradise of Fools.[30] Apparently, the impregnation of England's "house" by false values was sufficiently serious to stir Marvell into vehement protest. But since Marvell expressed his indignation in a conceit of outrageous hyperbole, he hardly expected Fairfax to read these opening stanzas of "Upon Appleton House" without "arching his brows" in amusement. Impolitic as a "Forrain" allusion might be in its context, Fairfax would probably recognize Montaigne's trenchant attack on "presumptuous men" who, though lodged on the lowest story of God's house and farthest from the

vault of heave, yet thought to bring the sky below his feet.[31] Nor would Fairfax fail to realize that this presumption became humorous in Marvell's rendition. Fairfax might have recalled also that other "outlandish" architect whom Giles Fletcher had spoken of as envisioning so original a structure that he was forced to forfeit his sight.[32] Bearing the honorary title "architect," Marvell complied with the Renaissance dictum that the poet rear an "edifice" that led men not only to delight but also to "edification."[33] From his very first lines about a "sober Frame," which then opens onto a flirtation with animism and caricature, however, Marvell's persona speaks so clearly in a voice of a presenter, beckoning his guests into a place of entertainment, that he promises "Upon Appleton House" will quite outwit solemnity.

"Upon Appleton House" was Marvell's offer of an entertainment, arranged presumably for the opening of Appleton, the house Fairfax designed for the most modest of his estates and to which he retired, as the young Commander-in-Chief of the New Model Army. Engaged at Appleton as tutor to Mary, Fairfax's young daughter, Marvell came to know his melancholy and devout host, the estate's troubled history and its present serenity, and the house Fairfax wrote of as his life's "Inne."[34] While at Appleton, in return for the hospitality he received, Marvell chose "to entertain/Its Lord a while" by playing host to him and family in "The New Inne" built by lines of verse. Surrogate for Fairfax on this occasion, but always a "son of Ben," Marvell slipped into the role of Goodstock, the nobleman who deserted "society" for humble country life

and was determined that all those around him live in accordance with his own Light Heart Inne.[35] Since critics of "Upon Appleton House" comment on its dramatic element with varying degrees of intensity,[36] to recognize Jonson's play as a source sharpens their focus on what is a general tendency in Marvell's poetry. Always, however, Marvell manages to stretch conventional mode as conventional manner into the unique. In this instance he does not construct a drama of "act" and "scene" but rather a series of "spectacles," to be viewed not from any static position but by spectators who are themselves in motion as they follow along on a tour conducted by his persona. After a stopover at its historical "Ruine" in the Catholic "house," settings for these "spectacles" become the corners of man's present estate, the many "houses" of the New Inne as the New Dispensation. Though reflecting the geographical entity that was Appleton, these settings were ordered into a context conducive to "speculation." Laudatory notes continue long after the opening stanzas of "Upon Appleton House" to pay proper homage to Fairfax, while the poem's endless variety announces its desire to please as it celebrates. However, it is by the depth of his speculations and their learning that Marvell declares his respect for Fairfax, renowned general and wearisome poet, who happened to be also an intelligent and cultured man.

Marvell was not about to deny Fairfax any pleasure that Goodstock experienced observing the passing show of humanity. Still, guests could not enter and exit the private estate as freely as they did the Inn of Jonson's comedy. To compensate, Marvell substituted the inhabitants of his stage, Appleton, putting himself in the leading role. Preoccupied though he was in directing his

own persona in a host of roles of which master of ceremonies, narrator-between-spectacles, abridger of history, and tour guide are only part, Marvell would never forgo his responsibility to "Maria." She was the heiress of Appleton and its future, but now Marvell's "pupil," the "apple" of his "eye."[37] Since tradition counseled that spectators become what they see,[38] Marvell directed at this New Inne a performance that would establish Appleton, for Maria, as a "nourserie of nobility" such as Goodstock had once known. Celebration meant, however, that Marvell accept the remoteness of the movements across his stage from those that were sweeping a war-torn nation. The country house, which in order to foster virtue for the future, became a haven from chaotic reality, forfeited its right to play an active role in England's immediate civic life. "Upon Appleton House" is, in this sense, to be understood as the steps by which Marvell comes to perceive that the ideal exists were he only to accept its limitation. Recognition of what Appleton was required Marvell to engage in his own "speculations": to clear the vision of the bodily "eye"; identify the realm of the personal "I"; and in speculum, the mirror, achieve speculum, the spiritual vision.

An imaginative adaptation of Good-stock and backdrop provided Marvell with the major narrative device that holds together the diverse parts of his poem. Reset within the "sober Frame" of Appleton, the inn and theater, both places of spectacle, were to take on associations traditional to Christian ecomium, if irrelevant to Jonsonian comedy. Donne envisions "Theatre" to be "the whole world, the whole house and frame of nature," wherein men sit and view God. Seneca and Augustine compared the world to an inn

and man's life to a sojourn within, though Augustine saw the traveler destined for a "house" where he would rest eternally. In a sermon Donne joined the two houses: "since we must be in an Inne, that is, Lodge in this world, he God enables the World to entertain us."[39] No doubt Marvell exaggerates, in a manner suitable for an inn designed to entertain a lord, when he prophesies that Appleton will become a place for "Pilgrimage." Nevertheless, several references, all related to the metaphor "house," evoke a pattern of Christian paradox that sustains his claim and converts what might seem high-blown tribute to a patron into praise a Christian would accept as "sober." An emphasis on Christian paradox is important when we consider that "Upon Appleton House" has been persistently classified within the genre of the essentially secular "country-house poem."[40] To elucidate Marvell's pattern of paradox within the basic organizational unit of "Upon Appleton House" yields another return. For if this first "episode (a convenient term) is representative, it demonstrates that Marvell organized his poem in a deliberate manner.

Critics easily identified lines by Fairfax as the incentive for Marvell's response:

> The House was built upon the Place
> Only as for a Mark of Grace;
> And for an Inn to entertain
> Its Lord a while, but not remain.

But they have not considered that the subject of Marvell's lines was Appleton, not Fairfax. Oddly, but deliberately, the last of these lines insists that this house, destined as a place of pilgrimate, would no more "remain" than would its possessor. Built as a "Mark of Grace," Appleton stood ready, this last line declares, to receive as its absent Lord He whom Bethlehem had refused similar

lodging at birth. To "mark" was to trace out boundaries for a building that, if "grace" was its aim or "mark," would be so "marked": that is, Appleton bore the inscription of a house that having followed the "mark," in the sense of having been guided by a desire to "grace," had been distinguished by Christ, the grace-giver. Graciousness, Marvell seems to say, still distinguishes the Great House, though its significance at Appleton differed from Penhurst's or Saxham's classical dignity.[41] God taught us, Donne had instructed, "to build houses, not to house ourselves, but to house him."[42] Adorned by virtues, endowed by heaven, Appleton lived in preparation for the entrance of the King who was Eternal. At present a lord dwelled within, but one who knew that man was only God's "passing guest" and so ordered his life that along with the Psalmist he might assert: "Thy statutes have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage."[43] In part because he realized that his mansion, the manor house of a lord, would "not remain," Fairfax designated himself "Graces Inn"[44] and Appleton a place worthy of pilgrimage.

Behind Marvell's explicit "not remain" lies "mansion," the term his verbal play turns on, though, as is frequently the case with his puns, it is never sounded. Originating as an abstract noun meaning "abiding" and "continuance" as well as "rest," the word "mansion" came to mean, along with the sense of concrete house, both "hostel" and, more familiarly, "stately residence of a landed proprietor." For centuries before Tindale translated the Greek (μονή), "mansion" signified "dwelling-place"; nevertheless, his poetic version of John 14.2, which passed into the King James Bible as "My fathers house has many mansions," was the domi-

nant influence in confirming this meaning for the language.[45] Sermonizing on this Biblical text, Donne rejoiced initially that heaven was a house rather than a ship subject to storms. Above all, the "Mansions" of heaven promised to be, unlike the "progress house" or "removing house" here on earth that was God's house of prayer, the "standing house," the "everlasting state," the "Remaining." That "remaining" was the original idea of "mansion," Donne informed his listeners, reminding them of the Latin he assumed they knew to be mansio.[46] "Abode" had attached itself to the idea of "rest," however, and "mansion" extended linguistically beyond "remaining" to become a stage in a journey, an inn for transients, or, in a dramatic fusion of these implications, those varied but permanent settings France and England used for staging medieval and Renaissance plays. In seventeenth-century England, "remains" commonly intended the specific reference to ancient buildings in which "remainders" might be coupled with "ruins."[47] However commodious and costly, of whatever height, the basis of the mansion built by man was "but the Earth," and, although numbered among the "many mansions" of the "fathers house," was no more durable than the tent that housed Christ on earth. From the perspective of the "empyreal Mansion," it was a tabernacle," a movable, a "fleshly nook" in a worm-ridden world.[48]

Considered as a body, the lord of splendid outer walls was himself a "darke Inne," according to John Davies of Hereford, or in Shakespeare's magnificent image a "fading mansion."[49] To the Platonic notion that man was a rational soul using a material body, Christianity had appended the consciousness of moral and physical

decay, inevitable after the Fall. Only when man, Tindale's "erthy mancion," had mastered the "little mansion" of himself, acknowledged the dictates of reason, and received thereby the light of the "Glorious Ghest," might the soul find within the body a fitting habitation. Were it master of the house, however, the soul might mold the body, for "soul is forme," in Spenser's hymn, "and doth the bodie make."[50] Appleton, the outward structure, framed Fairfax only within an earthly setting. But as the embodiment of his character the house proved to be an index to the man. Perhaps for Marvell, a comic Jonsonian host presented a useful contrast and for both architects of Appleton a welcome one. Whereas Morose, transferring his inner commotion, conceived his house to be turning about, a "windmill" of turbulent motion,[51] Fiarfax, and therefore Appleton, was a Christian house of "rest." Marvell draws from that grand construct of analogies between macrocosm and microcosm, between cosmic, social, physical, and psychological orders in which as God is to the universe so the ruler is to society, the soul to the body, and reason to the soul, the specific analogy between the body "natural" and the body "political" in which the soul is likened to the governor of the state, and then in compliance with Appleton's isolated position makes "Domestick" the political.[52] Still Marvell would "approve" Appleton as a "Place (another word designating "mansion") where "Heavens breath/Smells wooingly." Within this "loved mansionry" there also lived a "Temple-haunting" "guest of the season," even further endowed, for he had a soul that was "lord of the ascendent."[53] Fairfax' own body was thus "Vertues rest," a Temple, for within dwelled a soul wherein the Holy Spirit resided. Appleton, Fairfax's house lodging this house of holiness, was marked an "Inne of God."[54]

The house as a unit of order where one member alone ruled and directed had previously served as a metaphor in Dante's treatise De Monarchia (c 1310), which advocated a united world under a single authority who was to be its peace-maker.[55] Even so providentially commissioned a worldly ambition as this contracted before Appleton's narrow gates. All the more would these gates exclude the pomp and power that, according to Marvell, were perpetrated by a "Forrain" Catholicism. Realized architecturally in a massive style or expressed poetically in the grand analogy between the princely "Palace" and man and his inner life,[56] the projects of men who had left the "strait gate and narrow" for the "wide gate and broad" were fit for tombs and flesh. However newfangled their front, they were a throwback to the Old Dispensation, evidence of pride and decay that would come to ruin. Their exponents would descend to the Prince of Darkness, who, though at home in this world, its ruler and resident lord, nonetheless awaited them in his "vault" below.[57] Measured by the architect and poet of Appleton "Magnitude" was, rather, at first man's "Humility" when he lifted his thoughts to the heavenly "vault," the "marble mansion" of God made visible.[58] But as the steward accountable to God for the care of those below his social station in the earthly mansion, Fairfax transcribed "Magnitude" onto the facade of Appleton. That "Magnitude," to cite further the language of the period, was "engraven on the frontispeece of his Heart," and the heart was the Lord High Steward of the household of man. Charity was the "front scenery," another name for "Frontispiece," required by a theater whose performance daily filled the house with the wealth of "Friends." "Preface" only figured the whole.[59] "Near" to God's nature and consonant with that "Place" He

deemed appropriate to man, Appleton became the holy book through effecting the Golden Rule of Matthew, that third of what Marvell seems to claim are the rules of "sacred Algebray"[60] or "holy Mathematicks."

Together with Charity and the Love that daily brought new friendship (virtues which to Herbert were the "sweet cement" that in "one sure band/Ties the whole frame"), a "Magnitude" based on "Humility" offered the emblematic materials needed to structure Appleton as a Christian house. These virtues, however, were impulses within the human heart, a structure that the new style of architecture -- Christianity -- taught was the Temple of the Lord.[61] Therefore the human heart, like the enduring inn anticipated by Fairfax's own lines on Appleton, was "not made with hands." Addressing man, that masonry of flesh and bone, Donne promised that "though thou be but a Tabernacle of Earth," should Christ have a house therein, "God shall raise Thee...into a spiritual building." Herbert's blessed Architect had built such "a stately habitation"[62] in Fairfax's heart that He chose to dwell there. Ushering Fairfax into the Appleton Marvell is building, Marvell's persona brings Marvell into the house that is Fairfax, the man and the heart where God resides. While he measures the "short" Lines of the literal building, Marvell the poet examines the "unconstrained" structure, the heart, that will ensure it salvation as it will to Fairfax, the individual. As the mansion whose foundation was of the earth, Appleton could "not remain"; but as the heart of Fairfax, erected by faith and not by hand, it was a "superedification in sanctimony,"[63] a house above time and history, a sacred abode worthy of pilgrimage.

Read against this background, which is essentially no more than a tissue of Biblical commonplaces assimilated into further literary

expression, Marvell's image of the "laden House" that "sweats" to accommodate its master's dimensions acquires a meaning other than the much mocked "naive animism."[64] "High God" did "painful toile" and "sweat ordaine" before man could seek the gate of honor. Belphoebe's moralizing succeeds if only to call attention to what was Spenser's and Marvell's precedent alike. In the third chapter in Genesis man learns that henceforth life is to be lived "In the sweat of thy face."[65] Burdened by this curse, the body experiences shame before the soul, even at Appleton where body and soul interrelate harmoniously. Two houses, consisting of two bodies and two souls, are involved. One house is outward, whose walls, like its foundation, are based on the earth cursed with original sin. The other is that structure of flesh which, though more intimate with man's soul, is yet its grave and loathsome prison house, an image equally prominent in Platonic philosophy and Christian theology.[66] Before the "Magnitude" of Fairfax's soul, the master of that fair mansion Appleton within which dwells the spirit of Christ, the exterior body Appleton exhibits an awareness of its inadequacy. Actually, this image of extreme artifice, which proudly proclaims that wit has taken up residence in Marvell's "Inn," establishes that Nature reigns at Appleton. For this image respects "proportion," that "principle and most perfect part" of architecture by which Nature's "order and disposition are comprehended."[67] When at Fairfax's entrance

> the swelling Hall
> Stirs, and the Square grows Spherical,

Appleton aspries not only to respect the cupola that tops it, but the "cupola mundi," the immortal soul whose motion is circular, whose action dominates matter, and whose nature, in Ficino's meta-

phoric description, is life itself.[68] At Appleton the soul has its residence in the stately "Tower" or "Head," for its resides in the "Tower" of Fairfax who is the stately "Head" of the house.[69]

Marvell's primary meaning can be no other than an acknowledgment by the square (which thereby testifies to the human constancy it represents) of the superiority of the circle, symbol above all else of God. The bald statement of Marvell's meaning fails, however, to indicate the reach of this image within the opening section of "Upon Appleton House" or to recognize the metaphor it indicates or the one it continues, which assumes significance in the poem as a whole. Nor will a reductive interpretation, as this one would be, ever suggest Marvell's charm as a poet. Here the "Square" disdains to participate in a "dispute" or "square," such as Plutarch recorded concerning the site of Rome. One objective of Marvell's earlier reference to Romulus, who lodged in a "Bee-like Cell," was to alert his audience to the distinction, now alluded to, between Roma Quadrata, which originated from a square furrow, and the Rome of what was then the "new world" radiating in all directions from a circular center.[70] In one of the many salutes in "Upon Appleton House" to General Fairfax, the "square," as the principle of rightful conduct, honor their center. If the house excuses its humble lines "too officiously" when confronting Fairfax, that man from a greater age, it only performs a courtesy of its office attendant upon a nobleman. A delightful confusion made possibly by the notoriously nonconformist spelling of the seventeenth century was that between the "square," solid and upright, and the officer charged with personal service, the "squire," a confusion inherent in John Davies' "This Truth is not squar'd by Platoes Squire."

Guided by Marvell's charm, the reader is prepared for the metaphor of play that persists throughout "Upon Appleton House." But play shifts its mode and relates to another metaphor, that of metamorphosis, and both of them are implicated in a poem whose movement is toward self-perception. Marvell presents the games of war man indulges in until that holy time when his persona, moved by the very spectacles he stages, brings himself, the audience, and Marvell to an understanding that man wages his most effective war, that war for peace within the individual, when he plays "play." But surely the spirit of play must have inspired Marvell before he moved on. For he parades an image whose square aspires to the circle immediately after he has stoutly denied that at Appleton, paragon of the English house dedicated to "use," anyone would think to fritter away time by striving "t'immure/The Circle in Quadrature." Square and circle, terms basic to Marvell's house, were the figures from which mathematics, and hence aesthetics, derived all measure. The Wisdom of Solomon revealed to Augustine, whose authority shaped the Middle Ages, that the fabric and foundation of God's world were "Measure, Number, and Weight." Built on this revelation, Solomon's Temple, as Marvell's own dedicatory poem to Paradise Lost assumed, was the ultimate model for all artistic endeavor.[71] Mathematics, which bound God to His world of nature, was the magical tool deciphering the secrets of both; and architecure, the man-created harmony, echoed visibly the harmony of heaven and earth.[72] But Renaissance artists, following the example of the ancients, had found within the body the figures of square and circle, and man was the measure as Marvell's appropriately anthropomorphic house declared. Inscribed by Vitruvius in a square and a circle, the

human figure had become the symbol of the mathematical sympathy between macrocosm and microcosm and hence the prescription for "sober" architects. If, however, mathematics and architecture depended for their measure on the body of man, man was the image of God and the link between corporeal and intelligible worlds. How then could the residents of Appleton, model of a "holy Mathematics" whose measure was known to "equal Man," pursue so vain an intellectual endeavor as "squaring the circle," a game revolving about a construction, a mathematician of the previous century had already begun to realize was in practice impossible?[73]

Constructed by men who adhered to Sidney's moral-aesthetic principle of "erected wit," the square of Appleton would never strive to "rectify" the greater circle or confine its infinity within a "straitness." Such acts were to be interpreted as attempts to "clownishly ascend" to a social position above one's "Place." Used to modify "nest," "equal" hardly seemed a matter for emphasis, yet when referring to "Man" this term directs Marvell's reader to "Upon Appleton House" as a poem questioning "equality," one meaning of which was a burning issue in the English Civil War.[74] Marvell's square burgeoning into the circle pays that homage essential to society's maintaining the Great House. No poem lifting this banner within the England of early 1650's, however, could ignore that an obedient and respectful populace (the square of constancy) and the authoritative center of the circle of state -- both fundamentals of the secure society that Appleton and its like depended on -- had been severely undermined by the events leading to the deposition of Charles. One purpose of Marvell's alignment in verse of square and circle was to effect a mutual "adjustment," to "square" the two

symbols until such time as he could assist in their reconstruction whithin the state. Geometrical demonstration, triumphing over intuition and orthodoxy in the age of Kepler and Galileo, defined even love in terms of oblique and parallel lines. But in the area "politique," Marvell could apply, without hesitation, arithmetic's Golden Rule, the Rule of Proportion.[75] Thus "Upon Appleton House" is the emblem of Marvell's determined efforts to arrange his vision so that he might accept the Circle of Perfection as persisting, though its superiority had been challenged and its values violated.

Still the ramifications of "squaring" the circle in this poem have not been exhausted. Although officially listed as the "game," quadrature managed to set off bitter polemics in the seventeenth century among brilliant practitioners. Whether the serious meaning Marvell attached to this concept stemmed from their influence is unknown, but from antiquity on this problem had fascinated those striving to advance man's control beyond the limits of the "impossible." Misguided circle-squarers in the Renaissance included Da Vinci and Dürer, in whom mathematical interests coincided with the artistic, and Cusanus, the theologian-philosopher whose doctrine that all human knowledge was conjecture has recently interested Marvell's critics. An ironically-minded Marvell, perhaps restless within even spacious confines, would have identified with that exemplary intellectual, Anaxagoras. Imprisoned for claiming the sun was a fiery stone, Anaxagoras spent his time, according to Plutarch's De Exilio, constructing the quadrature of the circle.[76] "Unsolvable" though this mathematical paradox had been for twenty centuries, Marvell juggled it to a practical end, or at least from the idealist's standpoint to multiply the number of perfection by itself constitutes a practical end. Marvell's initial "number," his image of man living

in the world of Appleton, presented no obstacle to the scheme proposed. Within Fairfax, the earthly "house" containing an immortal soul because he lived a "holy" life, the ancient paradox might be resolved, the square transformed into the circle, with no undue pride. Just so, Marvell could "make fair"[77] Fairfax's Appleton with the circle and envision Appleton's continuing existence as the symbol of perfection; for an estate that lived an ideal existence declared itself an earthly paradise. But Marvell's ironic mind insisted that this image be "squared" with the reality of the topsy-turvy world outside. Preferably, Marvell could do this merely through reflecting on this world in a watery glass, an effort for which his literary heritage supplied ample warrants and variations. If need be, however, he was resigned to seek the assistance of an inversion demanding greater physical upset, which too had traditional ties. "Here," indeed, Donne might again exclaim, "is a new Mathematiques,"[78] even if the pliers of that craft had never claimed it. Marvell longed for perfection, but in "Upon Appleton House" only on the condition that he, as the creator of this cosmos, dared to confront its "Antipodes."

THE RUINED "HOUSE"

To raise Appleton to a prominence in poetry that Fairfax's house would hold were the world moral, Marvell set it against an array of "Forrain" values. When he works to ground the Fairfacian fortunes in its past, the difficulties begin, since house and family had once held views so divergent as to clash on meeting. At the root of Appleton was that "wicked" house, the convent from which Fairfax's great-great-grandfather had rescued his future bride and

against which he, like his posterity, upheld the principle of the Fairfacian way of life even after, at the Dissolution of Monasteries, the property passed into the Fairfax estate. Thus there came about, in "Upon Appleton House," an excrescence, a genealogical episode of twenty-four stanzas for which Marvell's narrative vehicle was the romance that told traditionally, if mockingly, of heroic battle. But the prize had to be Marvell's privileged right to parody the Catholic faith; or so it must seem to readers wearied by inordinate length compounded by inferior verse and embarrassed by the bitterness under the spoof. Critical terms such as "delicacy" and "detachment,"[79] acceptable for the balance of Marvell's poem, are alien here. Unless Marvell's jokes are uncovered, even in "pace" this episode lags far behind the mental agility reputed for "Upon Appleton House." But unraveling the puns on which the jokes turn suggests how outrageous were Marvell's own views toward Catholicism.

History answers many perplexities in this episode, though the answers seldom excuse Marvell and tend to generate further questions by the information they contribute. Critics misinterpret this episode, however, when they charge that it is a "digression" violating the structural integrity of the poem. The potential meanings of Marvell's metaphor, the house, is an easy argument against this charge: with ancient Hebrew usage as precedent, "house" in the Gospels refers either to the dwelling of a family, "the house of Israel" (Mt. 10.6) or "the house of the ruler" (Mk. 5.38). Beyond this, Marvell himself might have pointed to the care with which he linked this narrative to his introduction. Two distinct stanzas (IX and X) comprise the formal transition, though the word "While," which opens the second, implies their singleness of thought. In

mergint these stanzas, "While" bears along Appleton's image of Nature, unbowed yet benevolent to man's art, stressing how shamefully subservient to artifice it had been in the cloistered past. Denoting literally a temporal simultaneity, "While" conveys as well the manner of procedure of Marvell's verse in this "spectacle," as indeed throughout "Upon Appleton House." Respecting Nature as Appleton's architect had, and led by Nature, Marvell's persona conducts his tour as a series of steps within Appleton, and earthly paradise of

> fragrant Gardens, shaddy Woods
> Deep Meadows, and transparent Floods.

But he is at the same time narrating "The Progress of this Houses Fate." House and surrounding estate, Appleton and its enclosed park, share one history; they are the specific grounds for Marvell's poetic reflections. Even so, they are fixed terms of metaphors universally applicable, which, accepted by Marvell, become terms to measure perfection in that universe outside Appleton. In other words, man by the relationship he establishes with God's earth, determines the moral dimension for his house, as in turn the condition of his estate reflects those dimensions. Whether Marvell surveys the topographical features of man's natural estate to assess the persistence of the earthly paradise or examines the moral suitability of man-structured variations of the earthly mansion, he tells the history of "man." Growth, and thus change, characterize house and estate alike, as each is, like man' a "body" that begins with birth, and except that Divinity intervene, ends in the death attended by decay. Despite its pretense of being a "Cloyster," Nun Appleton had "brought forth" the present house, and Marvell implies, it was no "Virgin."[80] The nunnery that gave birth, however illegitimately, is now a

"Ruine," the remains of a decayed and fallen house. This ruin, Marvell's "Quarries,"[81] "piles of dead bodies," exposes to the eye of the world the hitherto concealed nature of its late inhabitants and their Christianity. "Grosse" and "hawk-like" spirits, since "quarry" suggests both, they became for Marvell those guilty "Gipsies" who preyed upon their quarry, quarrying their "Prize" of the innocent child, while their "quarry" order, having forsaken the tender teaching of Mary, had become stony-hearted.

In this one nunnery episode Marvell not only sets in motion the metaphors of house and earthly paradise, but by the metaphor of play, which is here still the wager of war, interrelates the disparate demands of ancestral acclaim and satiric thrust. For behind the mocking facade, Marvell had arranged as antithetical images two "religious" houses in battle position to proclaim the decisive image of man's "religous house" and the responsibility it must assume for God's estate. Overtly, Marvell stressed the Catholic house, possibly hesitating to champion active heroism before his retired host, but certainly swayed by the sensuous detail available in any mimicry of Catholic ritual. By assuring the dominant position in his fictional battle to these recluses from the world, the nuns already in possession of the actual place, Marvell sufficiently intimated their tyranny in the "gloomy" cloister, the house of their order and their selves. Notwithstanding Marvell's backhanded compliment to these exponents of Catholic casuistry, whose "smooth" tongue "weav'd" a discourse that "suck'd" in their victim, his description of them showed no profit from having trafficked with their "Suttle" art. Though unappealing, the length is decorous here: the purpose of parody never releases the poet from fulfilling the generic requirement of heroic-romance.

But wholehearted defense of the coarseness of several of Marvell's puns requires an art beyond the critic's. Others have already remarked on the female cloister where the spirit indulges the senses, religion caters to appetite, and holiness reduces to amusement.[82] Had Marvell been content to parade commonplace images of opposing categories such as Idolatry-Idealism or Virtuosity-Virtuous, no further elucidation would be necessary. But the "jokes" of this episode are inextricably tied to Marvell's subject.

For example, when these nuns go forth to battle, the "Wooden Saints"[83] they brandish as weapons do more than caricature them as crusading Amazons or condemn them as idolators. The "wooden Venus" that hung before the brothel allows Marvell's cloistered inmates nad their earthly mansion to be woven into a pattern of bawdry detailed to the point of crudity. Similarly, when the state no longer needed their services, many wealthy and learned gentlemen of the early seventeenth century retired to their estates to spend a delightful leisure cultivating the "arts." Precisely which arts drew the typical "virtuoso" is specified by Evelyn's letter recommending the study of "'many excellent recipes to make perfumes, pomanders, antidotes and divers such curiosities.'"[84] Surely such innoncent activities, whether practiced by contemporary wasters of idle hours or an earlier century's Catholic devotees, would not have provoked "The Garden" poet into a venemous attack were not "holy leisure" enjoyed at the expense of man's estate. What can one say about "Walls" that "hedge" about the "Liberty" of the community they protect to "restrain" the outer world from entering -- only that they are a bargain benefiting neither side. By the "Bars" they project on the outlying world, however, the "Walls" of this house and the "hedge" of its estate turn that world into a "Den"

of "wild Creatures," men metamorphosed into beasts of the field that society has the right to "inclose." Again Marvell is alluding to a contemporary as well as a historical phenomenon. Magnified by the images of imprisonment that follow it, "inclose" assumes the meaning it held throughout the seventeenth century and for centuries thereafter. Its "Gate," which "shuts out," identifies the cloister with an arrogant manor house, one that not only confines to a "Den" tenants conceived of as a beastly horde but deprives them of their own "Gate," their right to their share of pasturage in a communally owned field.[85] In an economic analogy current with Marvell's period, the state church was equated with private property; and radical criticism compared even the Independent congregations to "'enclosures of land, which hedges in some to heirs of life and hedges out others.'"[86] "Grates" further denounces this presumably religious house with irony, for defined as a railing it "locks" out men from their male rights to the "Grates" associated with the doors of a public house. In Church Porch, Herbert voices, while opposing, this economic movement that would revolutionize agriculture: "If God had laid all common, certainly man would have been th'encloser." Nun Appleton's rulers are doubly damned; first because these cunning daughters of Eve ("Each one a Spouse, and each a Queen," or harlot) have reversed God's chain of command between the sexes; and second because they subverted His earthly estate to the shape of their selfish interests.

Doubtless, "Upon Appleton House" thrust upon Marvell the immediate task of rationalizing the acquisition of church-"enclosed" land by the "house" he celebrated. Nonetheless, literary precedent backed his satiric pointedness, seventeenth-century England merely continuing its heritage of virulent anti-Catholic feelings when it

condemned the Papist house in art as well as in polemics. Burton's Anatomy spoke of the maladies occasioned by "enforced temperance" in the cloister, a reference not likely lost on Marvell, whose nuns' behavior complies with his consciousness of what ensues from trapped aggression.[89] Furthermore, Marvell had England's welfare as his cause. At the time of the Continent's Thirty Years War, which looked to be a death-grapple between religions, England herself had been caught in the Civil War and thereby weakened. European Catholicism continued to pose a threat, backed as it might be by adherents to the faith in England or Ireland. Rebellion continued in Ireland, the seat of the sudden massacre in 1641 of Protestant English and Scots. Religious fanaticism alone might have spurred Cromwell to his slaughter of this troubled land, but fear for the English nation was great enough to unhinge Prynne into raving that Roman Catholics beheaded Charles.[88]

Where his concern is for the island of England, Marvell never troubles about the propriety of his verbal weapons or chronological accuracy. In relating the rescue of Isabella Thwaites by an earlier Fairfax from Nun Appleton's "Dungeon" or "Vault," Marvell celebrates what Donne called the "deliverance from the Vault," the theme of annual sermons in Parliament. His allusion is to the discovery of explosives stored in the cellar beneath Westminster Palace by disaffected Catholics who conspired to blow up James I and Parliament.[89] Even Jonson's "House," that New Inne, had endured a "Militia" "below the stayres." A group of "inferior officers," they represented the lower orders, who under other circumstances might prepare to do battle, quite apart from any professional army authorized by a magistrate. A few years before the Gunpowder Plot, George Sandys labeled English Catholics and their "Roman Priests" the "Militia." A

"Militia," Donne punned, is close to "Malitia."[90] By his word "interweave" Marvell defines which game of war the "sewing circle" of nuns are perpetrating: the imagery of sewing and embroidery was like that of armoring.[91] Clad in the habit of their order, these Amazons aim to bestow through every shrine the work they "sow'd" in their "Dungeon"; they are the Militia that seeks to "sow" among the English an interweaving of religious and political wiles designed to entice them into a Roman web.

Critics who cite Marvell's brief seduction into Catholicism might be justified; for however pertinent, literary precedent and England's welfare are not completely adequate to account for his vindictiveness.[92] The issue at present is not whether biography is a valid critical tool nor whether the datum it offers is relevant to explaining Marvell's hostility to Nun Appleton. Instead, my contention is that biographical research has been too restricted, since Marvell wrote to entertain his lord, and Fairfax's relation to the Catholic "house" requires investigation. The present Fairfax was involved with monastic houses in a context totally at cross-purposes with what Marvell's parody would lead us to expect. In the very period that witnessed the overthrow of the time-honored monarchy and intense religious disputes, history became historiography. Determined that England not forget her tradition, scholars sought out and published for the first time a range of documents illustrating almost every phase of life in the Middle Ages. Fairfax achieved a proud record by fostering these efforts. Volume I of Monasticon Anglicanum was published in 1655, but already in the 1640's Fairfax had financed Roger Dodsworth, one of the two directors of this undertaking. While on military duty at the seige of York, Fairfax had rescued for Dodsworth's use the records from St. Mary's

Tower, where many documents of the suppressed monasteries were deposited. On the death in 1654 of the "father of topographical studies in the North of England," the whole of Dodsworth's vast collection of manuscripts became Fairfax's property and was stored at Nun Appleton. Years later Fairfax lent to William Dugdale, the other initiator of this work and England's first "medievalist" and a zealous royalist, eighteen volumes of Dodsworth's collection.[93]

Possibly Marvell did not know of Fairfax's association with Monasticon, which would have been a lesson in the ability of the scholar to transcend the limitations of religious denomination or political allegiance.[94] Instead he might have assumed his host to be one among many English Protestants willing to endorse any attack against a "house" invested by the Roman Antichrist. To see how Marvell describes this Catholic house and estate might today, however, justify his invective, as in Fairfax's time it might have elicited sympathy from the sponsor of medieval studies. According to Marvell, Nun Appleton was a "Wall" of flesh behind which lurked a greed for earthly luxury. Such a spirit could envision heaven only as another mansion promising even "brighter Robes and Crowns of Gold." Along with this materialism went a foolish drive toward worldly power, as in the attempt to woo into "marriage" Isabella Thwaites for the dowry of her estate and illustrious name. "Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world," John exorted, "For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and lust of the eyes and the pride of life, is not of the Father." Ideallly, monasticism was a force toward perfection. Withdrawal from the world meant renouncing the corrupt and transitory

facets of secular life. Having left behind all desire for possessions, vainglory, and mundane pleasure, the conventual entered a spiritual kingdom modeled on heaven, an earthly paradise in which to imitate the life of the angels. Nun Appleton had perverted John's dictum, or perhaps its adaptation as the three-part monastic rule of poverty, chastity, and obedience.[95] Claiming to uphold the principles of holy life but courting secular temptations, this hosue stood accused of hypocrisy before Marvell's bar of justice.

Marvell may have also been unaware of the historic role of religious houses as nurturing the ideals of rebirth and renewal. He need only have known that both Sir Thomas More and Francois Rabelais depicted their Utopias as monasteries in order for him to conceive of Nun Appleton as a conscious perversion of the ideal.[96] The "wall" traditionally closed off a "body" of land from the impure world outside, and by defending that "body" from contagion, symbolizing sin in Christian allegory, made it an earthly paradise.[97] But at Nun Appleton, "vice infects the very Wall." Marvell's nuns reduced the "hortus conclusus," for the medieval world a spiritual garden, to the literal garden where "Virtues" presumably spring into "Miracles" but where actually the fruit of sin flourishes in darkness. When Marvell hurles against Nun Appleton's inmates the abusive term "Theeves," he refers not only to their having seduced an innocent girl but to their robbery of God's estate by enclosing man within a "Den." Rebounding against the guilty house, this last criminal deed marks it a "prison." To appreciate the gravity behind Marvell's seemingly melodramatic accusation, Fairfax had merely to recall Jesus' charge that the money-lenders who turned the temple into a "deen of thieves" had polluted God's "house of prayer,"[98] Another Biblical passage informs Marvell's contention that if one

"Stone" of Nun Appleton's foundation had been laid by a "just Hand," it would have fallen on its fraudulent inhabitants who led their victim away from the true faith. In Christ's parable, that stone would have ground to a powder the wicked husbandmen, Pharisees who had proved false to their entrusted estate and denied the corner-stone of the righteous house. But first He would have taken from them the Kingdom of God, the earthly estate.[99]

As Paul the Apostle enjoined and as was proper for the representative of a "house" that respected religion, the previous Fairfax, William, "Put on the whole Armor of God"[100] and advanced against the nuns, the wily rulers of darkness who in "shining Armour white" dared impersonate God's warriors. He denounced with his judgment of "Witches" the "Art" they practiced, thereby clarifying Marvell's earlier allusion in that odd culinary image of boiling the "mortal fruit" to preserve the spirit's "uncorrupting Oyl." In the Legend of Peleas, Medea was skilled in witchcraft; by the time of the Renaissance she was cooking men in her kettle of concoctions; and in the seventeenth century she taught them a lesson in charlantry by her ministrations.[101] Since Medea was credited with discovering medicinal baths and their virtues, Marvell may be heaping further shame on her claustral counterparts by observing them distilling "Chemical Oils." According to the mystical alchemists, who were considered by most Englishmen heathenish heretics, such preparations recovered youth and defended against age.[102] While campaigning spiritedly against these deceivers and desecrators, Fairfax exposes their relics as being false "Jewels" for the same etymological reason that the Abbess, herself "disjointed," cannot string her holy beads and convey their intended message. Gaudia, the "jewel" in Classical Latin, became in the

Middle Ages "gauds," the beads of the rosary, but were demoted afterward to "gewgaws" before a final degradation in gaudees, seventeenth-century French for "prayers without attention." Words had entered into a conceit of holy war in which they became shots from a cannon, either as the image of descent in Shakespeare's pun "canon against self-slaughter" or the upward assault "Through the Iron gates of Life" of Marvell's equally famous "one Ball." Prayerful words from the faithful are "a Canon against God," who graciously stations Himself in their path,"[103] wrote Donne, while Herbert's "Prayer (I)" defined its "Engine against th' Almighty" as "Reversed thunder." Marvell's point in "Upon Appleton House" is that however these nuns employ the "loud-st Cannon" of their lungs, their prayers would remain below, for the "gingling" shot of the Abbess's beads relays that they had broken harmony, the golden chain by which man communicates with God.

Not until he is to "rise" through Nun Appleton's "Wall," or "vault" over this house to disclose its "private place" or "unfrequented vault," does Young Fairfax discharge the full blast of Marvell "canon" against the chaste-chased villains, the villeins abiding there. "Vaulting-place" was a common synonym for brothel in this period,[104] while the "Wall" is obviously the flesh of the human body. Although he permitted the spokesman for these nuns a pious protestation that they enjoy sexual pleasure only in the absence of men, Marvell insinuates the contrary. References to prostitution were to be expected, since Jonson's "Militia" below the stairs (the lower floor of man's house constructed on the hierarchical pattern of the body) stimulated John Davies into a "wanton Room-be-low."[105] Modern readers, unused to

regarding tolerance as heresy, would nonetheless feel the shock of Marvell's anti-Catholic blast were they to sound the name "Nun Appleton" while meditating that in this appointed place His brides await the "great Bridegroom" at midnight. For having become the steward, or lord, of an estate whose house was a "stewes," Christ was made to serve as "Apple Squire," the attendant of harlots.[106] Conscientiously Marvell dedicated Young Fairfax to punishing Christ's humiliators by abolishing their house, which desecrated God's temple, the body. But Marvell could not resist amusing himself with the possibilities "stew"[107] offered. Returning now to the nuns busy cooking the "mortal fruit" in liquid in a closed vessel, we can recognize "stew" as the center of Marvell's attack on the sacrament of transsubstantiation. Most of the difficulty critics find in explicating Marvell's bedroom scene,

> 'Where you may lye as chast in Bed,
> As Pearls together billeted.
> All Night embracing Arm in Arm,
> Like Chrystal pure with Cotton warm,'

is resolved by introducing "stew" in its meaning of an "artificial oyster bed." Troops have been billeted in this inn of Nun Appleton, a normal procedure during the Civil War.[108] They come from an Army acknowledged to be a seedbed for words shot from cannoning lungs. When employing the organic image of the state, Protestants assigned deceiving Papists the "tongue," the troublemaker that spread dissension in the realm.[109] A flimsy cover protects the usual propagandizing of the New Model Army while stationed at inns, the same cover under which the "brides," pearls of "union," stew in their bed of "ranke sweate." "Cotton," Marvell must be saying, being itself a component of the fabric "bombast," could hardly guarantee either party's activities to be "Chrystal pure." Besides, he possessed such husbandry as tasted the bitter and decayed fruit

produced when meddling mingled with apple.[110]

Already the victim of its own actions by being made to stew in its own water, the cloister, confronted by Christendom's champion, succumbs to the black art by which it sought to enchant others and "vanishes." In Marvell's virtual "Dissolution of Monasteries," this medieval "Castle" and its "wasting" estate is reduced to "Ruine," to make way for the true religious house whose own "Wall" is lined with portraits of Fairfaxes who historically upheld England's Settlement in her "Breach" against foes. Among the heroes is Edward Fairfax who translated Tasso's Jerusalem Liberated into the English tongue and whose portrait Marvell drew by imitating that epic's disposal of the Castle of Armida.[111] Clad in God's "Armour of Light," the Fairfax family triumphed over Catholic darkness to win for the "religious house" a new day. God, therefore, heralds this house's triumph by hanging out over its garden, within which the next spectacle of "Upon Appleton House" takes place, His orient banner.[112]

GREEN BASTIONS

Seldom has an end to a "romance" of the past, and especially its heroic battle, been more welcome. But for the Christian the holy war never abates. This supposition partially explains Marvell's presentation of Thomas Fairfax as the soldier who even when retired pursued "warlike Studies" in a garden laid out as a "Fort." Obviously the intensity of battle must be mitigated when waged in the self-sufficient miniature world of an exemplary estate and a Great House. Marvell was delighted to participate in the "sport" of militarizing Fairfax's garden by a proliferation of witty images. Only

in this medieval stronghold of "five imaginary Forts" would a bee discovered on duty catching forty winks be allowed to serve as sentry. Taking advantage of his sting, classical writers had armed the bee; but the medieval world, on the ancient legend that insisted the bee never slept, conscripted him to symbolize Christian vigilance.[113] Troops of the finest discipline, the "Fireman" flowers joined the sunrise in a display of ensigns, recharged their muskets, and lined up for inspection before their "Governour" and his daughter. But Marvell has to caution them never to forget that she, their mistress, though a "flow'r" like themselves, was a superior "Virgin." After the nunnery affair, Maria had to make good the title of "Virgin" and at the same time step into the role once played by Ovid's lovely mother of flowers to rehabilitate Flora's notorious reputation in the ages of Marian devotion.[114] Shots from the lips of "Tulip, Pinke and Rose" echo to sight and smell in this garden, but not to the ear. Were they to do so, they too might become "Earrings," jewels like those syllables from the ruby lips of the Votress who needed no rosary in Cleveland's "To the State of Love."[115] Considering what a spectacle jewels had made of themselves earlier in "Upon Appleton House," Marvell was wise to guard against "gaudees" by restricting the "Fires" of passion to "sweet/And round."

Laughter rings through these images. Ease and well-being pervade the world of Fairfax's garden and its day: gay in the morning, a trifle drowsy but snapping to salute, and at night secure beneath a"vigilant Patroul" of stars. Mischievous Marvell has delivered a homily on peace through the instrument of a "New Model" Army. But the note turns to tragic in the following stanzas which poignantly lament England's "fall" from the serenity and concord that once made

the gardener this nation's rightful soldier. Accompanying what has been judged an "abrupt: transition of tone is a sudden shift in perspective by which England itself, once "Garden of the World" but now lost, becomes the standard of Fairfax's miniature model. Why this garden passage has been key to divergent interpretations of "Upon Appleton House" is already apparent. Marvell's shift in tone to measured regret, speaking of Fairfax the soldier who instead took on the tasks of the gardener, reversing his countrymen's direction, becomes legitimate ground for specific controversy. Marvell's attitude toward Fairfax's relinquishing of public responsibility during a Civil War and his own seculsion, are involved. Respect for the ironic cast of Marvell's mind resists a simplification of such issues.[116] On the other hand, much of the ambiguity disappears, together with the discord, once we apply the concept already raised that everywhere throughout his life the Christian wages the eternal battle to safeguard the mansion and estate of God. Marvell unifies every passage of "Upon Appleton House" with the two major metaphors of this concept, the house and the estate that he announces here by his very invitation into a garden laid out in the architectural image that a spirit of play thought "just" to circumstance and occasion. Since the seventeenth century could spell "just" as "joust," Marvell's game was obvious even before this fortress or castle house intimates the sport to be played out in the spectacle's variation on the earthly paradise. Because "just" would also "make fair" Fairfax's garden, and by its meaning of "equal" sustain the appropriate or "equal" fires of the passions experienced there, we ought not to be misled by Marvell's lightly tossed "sport" but assume that amusement proceeds with a serious intent.

"Architecture," Coleridge was later to remark, "exhibits the greatest of the difference from nature which may exist in works of art." Marvell's garden, that precise ordering of nature into a fort with its five bastions, had, nevertheless, numerous analogues. Comparable plans were observed in France's gardens or in England's while possibly Appleton itself displayed this design.[117] Although Marvell's debt may in this instance be, as usual, a composite, a detail appearing at the end of his poem points directly to Sidney's very literary Arcadia, a work that can clarify for us a symbolic meaning for the "fortress garden." Sidney described the yellow stone lodge belonging to Basilius in exile as built in the "forme of a starre, having round about a garden framed like unto like points." Together with its living gardens, whose avenues had been conceived as externalizations of the pathways along which moved the five senses, this five-angled house, suggesting a fort, was a traditional moral emblem of man's defense against assaults to virtue or enslavement to passion. Though the conceit of the Cinque Ports, a continuation of a medieval figure,[118] was popular in Marvell's time, Arcadia can be claimed a source because at the end of one point of Sidney's garden lived Basilius' daughter in a smaller house fashioned like Basilius', "so that the Lodge seemed not unlike a fair Comete, whose taile stretcheth it selfe to a starre of lesse greatnesse."[119] When "Upon Appleton House" concludes, Maria, an earth child more drawn to heaven than even the "Comet," will have become by this praise not a "meteorological freak," but a Platonic "star-soul,"[120] an extension of her father's house, a greater Pamela to another age.

As a literary fusion of two metaphors, the fortress garden was as traditional as each of its component parts. If Marvell's version

is unique, it is only because he self-consciously adapted what he had the insight to discern. Out of this fusion of metaphor evolved an imagery expressing a point-by-point correspondence between the seemingly contrary figures of the garden, which wedded man to nature, and man's rigorously constructed castle-fortress. A dual image is basic to each of the three minor movements of Marvell's spectacle, a thematic agreement of representative images from two different metaphors. Thus the island of England, whose loss Marvell laments in the second of these movements, had been

> 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.
> (321-326_

Acknowledged as a "ventriloquist," and equally a "magpie,"[121] yet time and again Marvell's intellect guided him to the great phrases of Shakespeare, expressing, among so much else important to him, a love of England comparable to his own. In Shakespeare's panegyric that probably served Marvell as model, England was a "fortress built by Nature," the "house" with a "moat defensive," the garden "sea-walled" against "infection." England, that is, was itself the model for the world because it was "A world by itself" that was an "older Eden."[122] Many strands of tradition, man's proud accumulation through the centuries, lent depth to both poets. Britain, the retreat of the ancient gods fleeing from tyranny, was pledged to a sacred destiny.[123] Surrounded by impregnable waters, it was divided from the world if only through Virgil's famous line, "Et penitos totos divisos orbe Britannos," and was the paradox answering Ben Jonson's riddle of "a world the world without."[124] Hedged in by the natural defense of "rocks unscaleable and roaring waters," England had taken unto her-

self, in Giles Fletcher's phrase, "a part of Neptune's strength" to become "Neptune's park" for Shakespeare's audience.[125] For His and Marvell's island, God had changed the "flaming sword" that in Genesis barred man from Paradise into the "watry" sword that ensured England's greatness.

Marvell's investment in the ideal of a green England can be measured by the distance between the intimate "Thou" of his address to a "dear and happy Isle" and his "Unhappy!" cry following her "Wast." Though pastoral had refashioned the "lofty keep" of God's fortress against the devil into the tower[126] as a mere garden ornament, it retained "hope" for the association. When, however, London Tower became the focus of Englishmen, imprisonment became their thought. War was the reality; and men who had exchanged nature's thorns for pikes wore their wounds now for "rosie Garlands." Coupling "Tulips" (that metallic-appearing flower) with "Switzers," Marvell made use of that flower's "onion" root and its meaning of "union" to mourn the failed attempt to united the Protestant Republics of Holland, Switzerland, and England.[127] War destroyed the garden that was the Kingdom, and drew away, along with that Kingdom's gardener, the common gardener from caring for England as Eden. England was an "unweeded garden," her green fields soaked by the blood of political and religious struggle that threatened to "sow" an "Ord'nance" undermining the nation's stability. England's war was that same forbidden fruit indulged in by nations outside her walls of sea, and this nation, infected with mortality, had fallen; or so it seemed to Marvell, safe within Appleton. Over Fairfax's fortress-garden, God's morning "Ray" nevertheless shone. For within these ordered bounds, man guided the "ray" that stood for "military order" by God's

"ray" of reason planted within him.[128] Appleton, therefore, had become, as Rosalie Colie said, "an island of peace";[129] Fairfax's house had become a fortress of reason at a time when the architecture of England's state had collapsed; and his estate had become a second front in the battle to retain for England the image of a garden that promised to convert the real world of history into a earthly paradise.

While Marvell's contention that England's "fall" occurred in historical times does not deny the Christian belief that all men inherit Adam's transgression and suffer his consequence, it implies a limitation to sin that could exempt a chosen nation or a virtuous individual from this pattern. Despite England's "fall," Appleton's garden was "Fresh" and "flourishing," for within it walked a man in whom "stood this Paradise." Or to exchange Peter Sterry's words for Herbert's, Fairfax was "a garden in a Paradise." From the Creation on, Paradise meant the "Similitude and Presence" of God.[130] Every man's soul was made in His likeness, but Fairfax's was fertile ground wherein God's word took seed, until this man, who did "Ambition weed, but Conscience till," grew into what Richard Sibbes called "Christ's garden."[131] In this Protestant plot, the "miracles" of the Catholic garden would not spring up without man's labor. Fairfax is a plant of mortal soil, bowed down by the curse of time, and if he is to be the apple tree[132] flourishing into a flower "eternal, and divine," he must dedicate his life to guarding God's seed within himself, and God's image of Paradise within England. Much as the bee, the wisest of insects, guarded the image of Paradise for Fairfax in Appleton, when Fairfax was assigned to watch over his internal garden, his "sting" was the horticulturally appropriate "pricking leaf" of conscience. But confronting a fraudulent "religious"

house that, fallen through worldly ambition, threatened to destroy the image of England as the "Garden State," this tender plant of conscience pointed the five "bastions" of the senses (sight taking the lead as the externalization of insight) against the enemy. So as Marvell, in the third movement of this spectacle, has made a spiritual garden "just" for Fairfax, so he makes "just" the figure of a fort, asserting Fairfax to be a "Castle of God" prepared to do battle against that tower of vanity and false pride, the "Castle of the Devil." In its seventeenth-century English guise, that Castle of the Devil was Cawood Castle, the seat of the Archbishop of York, representative of the Prelacy, conveniently near Appleton.

According to the figure of the "Castle of Mansoul," the favorite in England's Middle Ages,[133] man built within himself a spiritual fortress by delegating to his body the protection of his sanctified soul. The enemies of the soul, the devil and his army of vices, would attempt to advance through the five gates of the senses or creep through a sinful breach in the wall. Were the "Castle of Mansoul" virtuous, it would empower these same five senses to act as its "five bastions," weapons which aimed to "fence" them out. These are the "five imaginary Forts" for which Fairfax abandoned his military responsibility as Warden of England's "Cinque Ports" and Commander of her New Model Army, in whose campaigns against vaster fortresses the name of Fairfax resounded throughout Europe.[135] In psychomachia, a genre Marvell adapts to his own purpose, the field of conflict is the human soul, the battle language an explanation for the clashing impulses of the mind, the castle a necessary refuge from a struggle potentially destructive to the self. Unquestionably, Appleton is Fairfax's retreat, and thus a setback to England's immediate cause. Only the future would benefit

from "warlike Studies" directed toward maintaining a "Nursery" of green for the nation. But as to the presence of inner conflict, whatever Fairfax's turbulence before retirement may have been, in the present text it is his surrogate, the narrator speaking for Marvell, who asks the unvoiced question with "And yet," qualifies by "But," and in reaching "For," the reason, moves toward a possible resolution. As he walks the soil of Appleton, the whole man Marvell's "one" conveys, Fairfax is confident that in his decision to become the gardener of England's future, God and conscience have determined the correct course. Translated into terms relevant to Marvell's alternate figure, Fairfax is the "Castle" God built so strong that no hostile force might invade and set up a rival stronghold, because no betrayal was possible within its "consecrated wall."[136]

Encircling the historical castle-fortress was a deep ditch of standing water, the moat Marvell chose as the image for this episode's most provocative couplet:

> And in these half-dry Trenches, spann'd
> Pow'r which the Ocean[139] might command.

What these lines ascribe to Marvell, up against that entangled moral issue of Fairfax's walk away from public responsibility, is a maturity of judgment quite distinct from what critics normally attribute to him. They therefore deserve to be read for meaning beyond the obvious references: "Ocean," even when it follows "Ports," refers to more than England as the "Queen"; "spann'd" has connotations beyond the standard glosss imposed by "limited." The war that was overrunning England is their context. To figures who, in flight from the "Wast" land war leaves in its wake, met in Appleton's garden, this war is an issue that "cuts deeply into," "infringes upon," their lives,

"trenches" them. In Marvell's couplet it is the sea that encroaching upon the rival domain of land carves the body of that land. But this encroaching sea had been Shakespeare's metaphor for war in the line "No more shall trenching Warre channel her fields."[138] King Henry's prediction that peace would reign was again denied, and the earth was cursed with a war that set Cain against Abel, and dug trenches in English soil that English blood must fill. As the miniature of an England that in peace had been an enclosed garden, Appleton in time of war set boundaries to, or "spann'd," the bloodshed within "half-dry Trenches." Similarly, Fairfax had turned away from the affairs cursing England's soil, to "steal from spiritual leisure a brief span"[139] in which to perform the holy office of protecting peace. The "span" that was the length measured by man's own hand became the time allotted to a transient life. For his span, Fairfax served the nation as the "bridge," the spirit that crossed the opposing shores of past and future, ocean and land, heaven and earth, as by his life Fairfax "spann'd" the contrary realms of war and peace. General Fairfax had laid aside the "bastion," which as a variant for "baston," he wielded as his staff of combat, only to take up that other "baston," the staff by which man walked the soil as God's Shepherd. A pilgrim who had journeyed through an England swept into an ocean of war by high passion, Fairfax reached the holy land of Appleton bearing the victory staff of the Palmer, the mark of another "Shepherd of the Ocean."[140]

II. ISLAND: SIX-DAY CREATION

Before Marvell's poetic tribute was written, conscience had triumphed over "honor" in Fairfax. Marvell does not reprove this outcome, but expresses an Englishman's sincere regret that his Christian hero would not likely return to front line activity. The presenter of "Upon Appleton House" extends Marvell's respect for Fairfax in the invitation to leave the guarded aloofness of the garden, enlarge his house by turning its eye to face the greater world outside, and venture with him into a spectacle requiring great imaginative daring. Poets in exile, Marvell and Fairfax become fellow pastoralists, like Spenser and Sir Walter Ralegh in Colin Clouts Come Home Again; far from Cynthia's court, Spenser had played host to the patron poet who was the "Shepherd of the Ocean." But Appleton's poets seek, in the meadow on which man has recorded his earthly existence, an understanding of the human condition their predecessors had not fully formulated. Descending, they will fathom the "unfathomable Grass" and from underneath the course of events observe the origin of these events from still lower depth usually hidden to man. Again history will move out on to the temporal plane, but now it is ordered in dramatic scenes, staged on Appleton's sunlit meadow, and beheld by men who have already experienced its bloom in the abyss and its subsequent unfolding.

Poetry, while it is being made in history, participates in making that history. Marvell makes such claims by the allusion to earlier poets in introducing a spectacle based on the Mower, pastoral's metaphor for man, and the phases of the Mower's moral life. A further complexity, however, characterizes the transitional stanzas (XLI and XLII), which are among Marvell's most experimental. For

either of Appleton's poets to see into the abyss or focus on the inwardness of external action, his eye must become a spiritual empowered "lens." This instrument Marvell perfected by firing it through the "cannon-canon" of God's fortress, otherwise known as the virtuous mind of an earthly Christian garden in contact with eternity. By way of conceits that stress the physical nature of ocular beams, Marvell reinstated the old emission theory of vision, which regarded the eye itself as the source of rays sent out to explore the world. Marvell tried to relate the problems he inherited as a Metaphysical poet -- the One and the Many, appearance and reality -- to those equally perplexing problems generated by the science of optics, currently the preoccupation of metaphysical and scientific minds alike.[1] In "And now to the Abyss I pass," he asserted the cognitive power of imagination following its release from a Prelacy's restrictions. On the other hand, precisely in this imaginative leap into a time and space distinct from the garden's, he played on "eye" and "I." He recognized that his age was moving toward a world of objects with a continutity in time and space independent of man's scrutiny, even while that age was becoming aware that this geometrical-physical world in all its historical manifestations could be interpreted only from a stance chosen by man, by a lens man selects.[2]

As the high point of man's historic evolvement, the garden stood above the meadow, casting its beam downward upon this theater. Nonetheless, the poet's vision proceeds from a double perspective, though Marvell's cunning arrangement, the "Or" of "plays,/Or innocently seems to gaze," refuses at first to clarify the directions of the double perspective. Obviously the viewpoints it is stationed between -- "plays" and"innocently gazes" -- "seem" neither altogether

diverse nor unequivocal in purpose. "Or" seems bent on initiating Marvell's arduous search of the theater of history with an optical illusion hinting that artifice is likely to be confused with reality and promising to say two or more things at the same time. Under any circumstances, a Platonically-minded audience would regard a theater spectacle framed in a poem as an image twice removed from the primary world.[3] Brought together in an image of this sort, "innocently gazes" and "plays," the first made suspect by "seems" and the second trifling in nature, distance reality even further, at least for those unwary of Marvellian irony. Fairfax could not wholeheartedly endorse the implication of diminishing seriousness, if only because he shared Marvell's difficulties as an artist of historic reality by his position in this spectacle. In fulfilling four distinct roles, Fairfax held an equal number of views on the proceedings. He was an individual man occupying a single historic era; the omnipresent audience of an entertainment staging events ranging through millenia; an actor playing a single role in one scene within this staging of history; and a figure conscious of existing as man in history as he moved across the stage. Distanced from the past events being presented, Fairfax had to observe them objectively, though as man, their subject in time, he was keen to draw the relevant moral to instruct the present and warn the future. As an actor in a single role, Fairfax could interpret his part only as an individual consciousness limited to his time, though he may have been experienced in a structure of relationships and educated by historic literature. From his position in the audience, however, he saw that role as one of many that man plays from as many perspectives as there are members of that age, each member engaging in particular relatioships and adventuring differently into learning. History is

like a presentation of theater, the story fraught with conflicts, one leading to the next. Historic eras resemble dramatic acts, simultaneously detached and coexistent; scenes come and go, man's passions and aspirations alter; and all events have as many perspectives as there are centers of vision. Historic consciousness, Fairfax learns, is not the passive reception of a a priori reality. Events that were themselves a coherent part of social relationships generated by self-reflecting individuals were ambiguous and relative, to be measured from an egocentric point of stability.[4]

Moreover, as a poet descending with Marvell into the abyss, Fairfax was to be initiated into myth-making, an activity that while creating questioned creation, and then advanced to active projector and stage director of the very pageantry of history he both acted in and attended. Compelled by his participation, Fairfax understoood that for the artistic presentation of history Marvell adopted a series of dual perspectives. As Fairfax saw, Marvell pursued a vision a historic reality that might disclose a single purpose beneath the apparent dualities he thus acknowledged. The text alone demonstrates that Appleton's mowers, while reaping the bounty of a peaceful countryside, harvest the crop of history's blood battlefield. At the same time it shows them acting out an eternal pattern of history in these two phases of their existence as man. As interpreted by Marvell's poem, history employs a double time scheme -- a method by which events that are expressed in temporal terms, the sequential action of stages that roll on, are simultaneously occurring in the present. Acknowledging time's variations on the eternal pattern, Marvell further insisted on the individual insight to interpret it. As naif, Marvell assumed a moral tone regarding the passage of his-

tory, and an equally crafty effort contains its violence within a secluded vista. Nevertheless, his "innocently" pledges that his presentation will not slight history's tragedy, but confront it unflinchingly. Though a part of the unreal world he constructed, each of Marvell's "plays" depends on the world it imitates. But they are also an active force that overleaps the boundaries of reality to become its controller and its commentator, and protect their own creator against the intensity of total involvement.

The burden of duality borne by historical vision in "Upon Appleton House" necessarily troubled the idealist in Marvell. But his spectacle could play lightheartedly with several recurring questions in optics, the first of which was why man experiences a single perception of the object seen though he sights it with two retinal images. Besides continuing an ancient topos, the up-side-down world of Marvell's poem documented a number of its own century's grave concerns, of which the least bewildering to Appleton's poets initiated the scientific-philosophic dispute of how the physical world could be reported as right-side-up when the image of the object seen is inverted on man's retina. Only with the third major problem for minds engaged in such perplexities do we enter directly on to the scene

> Where Men like Grashoppers appear
> But Grashoppers are Gyants there.

At once the composite image in these lines suggests that their reference goes beyond optics. Yet optics is their starting point, and Marvell's lines allude to the question of how man can reconcile the lack of semblance in size and place between an object his eye sees and the replica his perceiving mind constructs.[5] Viewed from a peak moment in history, that is atop its growing meadow, man

appears far below dwarfed by his context. Predictable size, one of the reasonably constant aspects of normal existence, has lost its validity. A change in perspective is called for, and Appleton's poets, the "we"[6] who are stewards of God's estate, descend to take their place alongside men who "walk more low." Were they to have remained there, however, man would have acquiesced to an image of himself as the grasshopper and denied his eye the power to search for knowledge through a vast horizon. So the eye climbs the tall blades until again it reaches the top of the abyss, but there it finds the image to which man has betrayed himself perched in domination over his meadow.

Fanciful though Marvell's speculations on the perplexities of optics are, they provoked him into combining two distinct conceptions of poetic space to create a vision as psychologically accurate as it is historically acute. Because Appleton's meadow was attached to the geography of the real world, and Marvell's stage thereby fixed in an established space, the relative distances and directions of objects within this framework had to answer to a construct approved by man's reason. But though Marvell's extravagant wit remained at the service of reason, despite impairment by the Fall, it had called poetic space into existence as essentially a frame that reflects on events taking place within. For man to behold grasshoppers as gigantic figures argued that his eye, lacking sufficient time in his rapid descent to adjust to a new perspective, still recorded the image it had received from an aerial stance. Alternately, but no less responsible to reason, man, beset by the anxieties resulting from his rapid shift in position, might have sent from below into the world above an excess of light, which widened that horizon and further diminished his self-image.[7] But whatever the distance of

these "Gyants" from man, they exist as images on his retina, their size determined by his perceiving mind from information delivered by the eye. For "Grashoppers" to appear to tower threateningly over man, in

> They, in there spueking Laugh, contemn
> Us as we walk more low than them:
> And, from the Precipices tall
> Of the green spir's, to us do call,

man had to view them through a "lens" that in altering realistic proportions distorted the perspective nature ordered.

Marvell's image is a many-faceted achievement. Simultaneously, it promises a deep green pastoral backdrop and perverts that promise into a spectral landscape wherein the sold association of green is with the grasses growing like "spir's" out of an "Abbyss" into "Precipices tall," the haunt of insects whose noisy whispers make the silence eerie. Encountering this landscape, man contributes the dramatic element that fuseswith sight and sound into an image calling forth an immediate sense of terror. Just as immediately Marvell turns terror into wonder, for man's intellect recognizes that art alone has created this illusion. All movements composing this image take place on a vertical plane, yet the varying actions of this presentation are seen from multiple viewpoints. The visual clarity of this image, however, is not effected only by the intentional absence of a depth plane. The image invites us to intense efforts at visualization because it compels our eye to follow the same compositionally directed eye movements of these lines from one object to another. Since for Marvell problems of perception were basically moral, this image constitutes an expected allegory. England's "fall" is attributed to a failure in vision that should segment out social space proportionate to a stable national structure.

At the same time, Marvell confesses to an inward "fall" conveyed by sound patterns representing his speculations during his descent. Standing at the brink of a pit, mindful of the dangerous intellectual and physical dualism besetting England, he thought to enter a monosyllabic Paradise by gliding along with the deceptively easy "s"'s and the seemingly open "a"'s in

> And now to the Abbyss I pass
> Of that unfathomable Grass

unheedful when he stumbled over "Abbyss" that he was approaching the greater hurdle of a three-syllabled "unfathomable."

Much as in the Biblical past, man sent to spy out the Promised Land has delivered a false report. But were these "Gyants" to swarm like locusts and overrun England's green land, honest men would then have to acknowledge "we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so were we in their sight."[8] Like the meadow, their field of action, Marvell's grasshoppers will assume a meaning in the two other worlds that are allegorically one with nature, history and man; man being here the poet. Tradition presented Marvell with ample precedents for the grasshopper both as a historical-political image and as the critic-poet image and was itself an amalgamation of diverse material open to contradictory interpretation. A Greek proverb shares with the Biblical passage the claim to being the closest ancestor of Marvell's image. Finding this proverb cited in Lucian as "You have caught a cicada by the wing," Jonson translated it as "like so many screaming grasshoppers/Held by the wings, fill every ear with noyse." From Pseudologists or the "Mistaken Critic" on on through Poetaster, the detractors of poets were to continue their calumnies until they reached "Upon Appleton House."[9] In antiquity, however, this singing insect had also been loved by the

Muses and an analogue for the poet whose odes, sung in the heat of dog days, transcended even the final calumny of death.[10] Besides being a symbol for man in political disrepute, the grasshopper was nobility's voice and insignia, a copy seen even in Marvell's day as the weather vane atop England's Royal Exchange.[11] Royalist principles met with lyric verse in the beautiful "Grasse-Hopper" Lovelace sang before death cut him off from the inner kingdom he created to withstand a world that had turned upside-down to his purpose. Themselves poets in exile from the parliamentary cause, Marvell and Fairfax were no doubt sensitive to the taunts hurled by those arrogant grasshoppers, the aristocracy. But Fairfax was Lord of Appleton among many other estates, and as Commander of an army busy organizing itself in the democratic spirit he had witnessed a new model of arrogance, including the refusal of Gerrard Winstanley, the Digger champion of the earth's despised, to doff his hat to any but the Eternal Lord.[12] Only a few years before "Upon Appleton House," Marvell had commended in verse the "Noble" voice of Lovelace; like Fairfax he was aware that the "swarms/of Insects" threatening to taint England's wit and abuse her liberty by censorship had mounted unto the "spir's." The allusion to Lovelace's poem offered Marvell an opportunity to call "plague" on the extremes of both political houses. In accepting the grasshopper image he took on, however, the formidable task of finding for this singer of golden days a kingdom of green within an England wasted by factious war.

Much attention has been given to the claim that "Upon Appleton House" is Marvell's full-scale retort to D'Avenant's Gondibert. But that unfinished edifice to bad taste, while important to Marvell as

a portrait reference and useful, conceivably, for other imagistic detail, seems not to have stirred him into any poetic argument other than its inclusion in conceits attacking the massive foreign style.[13] Far more likely Lovelace's poignant "Grasse-Hopper," whose "Peirch of Grass" became "Green ice," moved Marvell into the meditation

> To see Men through this Meadow Dive,
> We wonder how they rise alive.
> As, under water, none does know
> Whether he fall through it or go.
> But as the Marriners that sound,
> And show upon their Lead the Ground
> They bring up Flow'rs so as to be seen,
> And prove they've at the Bottom been.

Few replies would seem more diverse in matter or opposed in spirit to the private kingdom Lovelace created in answer to "green ice" than Marvell's agressive return, its air of childlike innocence notwithstanding. Expressed in "dive" is the mind's reckless determination to explore an unvisited world beyond consciousness. Externalized onto the objective plane, the mind thrusts downward past the meadow's appearance into the secret depths of historic reality. Of course, in the teasing collision of jocosity and seriousness of Marvell's narrative, Appleton's mowers, who begin to play out man's drama on earth as mariners, are only assumed to "dive," as the tentative "as" of simile, complimenting a shifty "seems," suggests. But directed by Marvell's "wonder," we know that his verbal play is on the Latin miror and that we are enclosed in a looking-glass world in which the inner image views itself perfectly reflected in outer reality.[14] As the poet's eye discerns, both realms are moreover potentially a sea. In Milton this "Glassie Sea" describes the mind[15]; in Marvell's "Garden" it was the microcosm containing copies of all earthly things visible that the mind, as it reflected

on them, could create as original form. Marvell's age was prepared to recognize in the mowers' sensation of a plunge into submerged depths the experience of journeying into Milton's "dark Nativity." As man quests for new knowledge, whose metaphor is birth, this darkness transforms into Shakespeare's "maine of light."[16] Across the symbol of the sea this age challenged man's capacity for and right to knowledge.[17] It documented too a fascination with chaos, which posed the possibility that man would discover himself while pursuing a revelation of the human predicament.[18] Specifically, Marvell's "Abbyss" promised the man who dared in his mind to take a sounding of chaos that beneath the meadow he would discover the primal sea where there awaited a world for him, the individual, to create.

The sea that housed a two-way flow of creative and destructive energies was the grand mansion of ceaseless movement and formlessness. But in its ambivalence the alien sea corresponded to the earth men knew, where forms appeared and then disappeared because they were subject to laws of change and substitution. Ultimately, it is Marvell's metaphoric occupation of this mansion formerly inhabited by deity, and a living mirror to earthly events, that distinguishes his resolution from Lovelace's when both questioned their identity as poets in a time of national upheaval. Why else should Marvell have abandoned his mooring to a known world and immersed himself in the alien domain of the sea, where wieightless and directionless, literally tossed topsy-turvy, he risked loss of personal identity? Only because in that known world a distortion of due proportions and a lapse of right relations had misled the eye to viewing the meadow of pastoral as a prospect of gulfs and precipices, and to seeing poets who hankered after the simple life as less sig-

nificant than grasshoppers. Indeed, the logic of the looking-glass world dictated proper relations and proportions, for where left and right are interchanged, if men "like Grashoppers appear" and "Grashoppers are Gyants," then man, the grasshopper, must appear a giant. Once in this world, Marvell had only to heed the challenge called down from the "green spir's," symbol of the height the poet might in time ascend, to be in his own sight the Grasshopper loved by the Muses. But were the present poet to attain the dimension once possessed by the Grasshopper, he must descend to the bottom, since in a "glassie sea" things appear upside down as well as backward. Similar spiritual voyages were frequent in a period whose sermons expressed the Christian paradox heard in Ralph Cudworth's exhortation: "We must --- ascend downward & descend upward."[19] In the preceding stanzas Appleton's gardener ascended to a new life, symbolized by eternal flowers, through cultivating nature's flowers. As a consequence of the reversal in "Upon Appleton House," these flowers are now to be gathered by the mariner from the myth underlying the meadow of time.

Set at play as mariners, Appleton's mowers return from the abyss with flowers, proving that were man to believe the literal meaning of Carpe diem he would gather the bloom. The poet must seek raw matter for creation in the uncharted realm of chaos. Exercising his double vision, which while glancing at the surface peered into the secret deep, Marvell won nature's flowers. These flowers, Marvell's treasure, are metonymic for the island that rose out of the fecund ocean, life's womb, in the world's spring. The island rose as a goddess grown round with grass and flowers, and men called this goddess Aphrodite and Venus. She bloomed from the same union of

Heaven and Earth that brought forth the giants, but the gods destroyed them, whereas this Mother of Love continued to conceive all living things. Fairfax would have recalled Hesiod's tale of the foam - born goddess and Lucretius' hymn to the nurturing Mother,[20] but in Marvell's art surprise along captured the special strength of this myth, its blend of nature's mystery and her freshness. The importance to Marvell of this image of beauty shining in sea depths is clear from the longing note in "Mourning"

> How wide they dream! The Indian Slaves
> That sink for Pearl through Seas profound.
> (11.29-30)

An ancient scientific theory related the flower of the meadow to the flower of the sea, the pearl: opening to the night once a year, the oyster filled itself with dew to conceive its jewel. Surviving through the Renaissance, this theory engendered Milton's "Dewdrops which the Sun/Impearls on every leaf."[21] Aphrodite, the flower, Marvell's island, is the living pearl in the primitive belief that held she was born from a shell, a tradition Botticelli preserved in his Birth of Venus. To her Appleton's poets award the golden apple, without the strife that followed Paris' judgment. In a neo-Platonic aesthetic such as Pico della Mirandola's, however, Venus, as the symbol of beauty, was a composite principle dependent on the multiplicity found only in the chaotic realm of change. Venus must arise, Pico stated, from that "'formless nature'" of which "'every creature is composed,'" signified by sea waters "'because water is in a continuous flux and easily receptive of any form.'"[22] Marvell's island, his gaudia, the meadow gained from the sea, is his answer to "green ice": earth has still those living depths from which arose the world's first estate; man's mansion,

though mutable by virtue of this foundation, is ever to be renewed. Besides, Marvell's island is the living pearl brought forth by the artist when he sounds the unknown region of man and, by imposing form on amorphous matter, creates a "union" of beauty. Such flowers as man plucks, when descending like the mariner, are no simple perceptual image but a symbol of everything that can flower in the worlds of nature, history, and the self.

Man, ascending refreshed from a fall is like the giant, Antaeus, Mother Earth's son. Since Marvell in this spectacle focuses historic attention on the island that is England, "Gyants" may also refer to those Brutus was said to have vanquished before giving Britain his name; Fairfax, an extensive reader, likely knew Geoffrey of Monmouth's romanticized history or its progeny.[23] Announced by a shift in "Scene," Appleton's mowers enter to present their island's history dramatically. During their time on stage, man's "house" and "estate" are one unit: the house is the outdoor theater whose stage is the estate. On nature's meadow, the representative of man's estate changing constantly with the seasons, seventeenth-century Englishmen will enact their nation's evolvement into its contemporary moral consciousness. Marvell's medium is a series of playlets, each a telescopic version of significant incidents that constitute the major phrases in that moral development. Swinging across Appleton's field, the mowers "seem" to be Israelites before whom divide the waves of grass that grow like a green sea in the traditional metaphor. From the audience's perspective, however, the scene is set in history's summer, its grassy stage "vext," its players "tawny,"[24] and Death already coming to the harvest. Wielding their scythes as their weapons, the mowers "Massacre" the grass, perverting the living

body of the land into a battlefield and becoming themselves its warriors.[25] Like the other warriors "unknowing" of the consequences, one mower nonetheless plays out Isaiah's "All flesh is grass" as it is mirrored in minds that "see through a glass darkly." Along with the grass he scythes down a baby rail, and with this "untimely" slaughter realizes history as carnage.

Not often does Marvell achieve an ironic triumph comparable to this "incarnadine" of the green meadow into the Red Sea.[26] But the gratuitous death of the fledgling bird demonstrates the apparently contradictory interpretations possible for Marvell's meadow spectacle. Criticism ranges from accenting the raw violence that intrudes into the idyllic pastoral world all the way to an acceptance of death as part of Marvell's kaleidoscopic illusion of a harvest. Many critics hear the blows being struck on England's soil echoing through this episode, while Marie Sofie Røstvig has convincingly exposed a pattern of "universal history" that begins with the Creation and ends by describing contemporary events.[27] A historian adequately attuned to the seventeenth-century man's realization of how comprehensive experience is could unify these sharply divergent interpretations. But Marvell went beyond the synthesis of the apparent contradictions of any given moment in history. By "wondring" about the meaning of this simultaneity of existences, his spectacle illuminated man's felt relationship between the nature he inherits and his immediate being. On Appleton, the sea-meadow, past and present events mirror each other. We are aware of attending the Mystery play (in the cycle telling the Christian story through Scripture) that occurs after man's Fall, from the moment the reapers cross the stage swinging their scythes.

Appleton's mowers imitate Moses' people in their Exodus, but as Israelites who have been tainted by contact among the "tawny" Egyptians. Defenseless birds are killed in the work-a-day world and mowers consider such mishaps minor. Sudden death shames man and initiates him into a guilt-ridden life "black" with forebodings because he is the conscious inheritor of man's curse on Cain. The land reflects the sea: the island that blooming into birth had held the promise that England would become the scene of miraculous deliverance is now cursed with blood. Seventeenth-century English rustics "play" Biblical warriors because war symbolizes history, which is the record of inner corruption and wanton destructiveness inevitable since man's division from nature and fraternity.

Marvell's "seems" should not mislead us into assuming that his staging of the Old Testament's Chosen People is only an unsubstantial pagent. Just as war continues to be man's estate, Appleton's mowers are the Christian successors to the Israelites; they are the people of that elect nation England who see themselves as the inheritors of the Biblical destiny.[28] Having learned how useful history could be as an instrument of propaganda with drama as its medium Englishmen of the previous century adapted the structure of the Mystery cycle dramatizing "universal" history to a series of "chronicles" playing out Britain's own memorable events.[29] By the time of the Civil War, Puritans conceived Israel's redemptive history to prefigure that of England, which, when they delivered her from oppression, would as the New Sion fulfill what had been the type.[30] But before pointing out England's potential for self-determination, Marvell characteristically sketched in the internal flaw and arbitrary fate man inherits.

For the moment, however, we are to imagine the historical pagent bringing in the van a "Vice," the consequence of murder and the evidence of Marvell's mastery, among much else, of the Morality play. Opportunist that she is, Vice serves the moment and steals the show; and incidentally offers Marvell an opportunity for a virtuoso display of poetic technique. In Virgil, Thestylis feeding the reapers acted as surrogate for mother earth, the life-giver. Now she is "bloody," to suit the altered occasion, and behind her hides Vice. Like the primitive mouth of death and war, she busies herself about the mower's camp the better to devour the "quick" of the earth. The best of scholars assume Marvell's "Thestylis" either was spawned by a crossing between the sanguinary Amazon, Bellona, and pastoral's gentle shepherdess, or, if they waive the pagan context for the Christian, she is an emblem of gluttony.[31] But for Marvell, Thestylis is above all the present effect of the remote cause of war; that is, she personifies "the eating of the living body of the land," which is metaphoric for war, the abstraction. Since Thestylis is the figurative middle term in the metynomic substitution whereby war is realized as the greedy maw of the battlefield, the lady was, before serving Marvell's dramatic purpose, the poetic device of the "metalepsis" or "farfet." With Thestylis, Marvell might congratulate himself on having realized Peacham's claim that the figure "metalepsis" dove below the sense to perceive the far-off meaning, and he might also be pleased that he had employed a figure excellent for revealing a bad thing under cover, or satiric reprehending. For Fairfax to have found the tie between Thestylis and metalepsis entertaining, he had only to remember why in Puttenham poets "leap over the heads of many worlds," and fetch

one from a great way off:

> And it seemeth the deviser of the figure had a desire to please women rather than men: for we use to say by manner of Proverbe: things farrefet and deare bought are good for Ladies.[32]

Though continuing to entertain Fairfax and reflect Marvell's fascination with theatrical effect, Thestylis is an artistic "discovery" in other senses than the "farfet." As the Vice, she usurps the stage with her unmannerly entry and rude eavesdropping; she even accuses Marvell, apparently for comic effect, of attributing to her and her cohorts a seemingly false honor: "He called us Israelites." Such conduct could be anticipated, for Thestylis is the figure of Allegoria, the "ring-leader" of all other figures according to Puttenham, and among the potential "Vices" of style. As the "false semblant," Allegoria expectedly "speach wrested from his own naturall signification to another not altogether so naturall." Because Marvell conspired to make dissimulation easy for this figure, if she achieves a "contary countenouce to th' intent,"[33] Marvell receives his just desert: "waites," the word ending the line introducing Thestylis, is there to testify that Marvell paved the way for her behavior. By momentarily suspending motion, "waites" raises our awareness of the volume of space from which this figure emerged, and then, dismissing the backdrop as it releases motion to the succeeding line, sets her in bold relief. A foreground position in a plane whose horizon vanishes upon her emergence admirably suits Thestylis' desire to dominate. In that Marvell scored off this willful member of his cast by several important insights, he did well, however, to permit her to "upstage" him. In his directing of Thestylis, Marvell saw a possibility of the Renaissance's fluid stage, which he realized, just as he outsmarted the Jacobeans who had reared illusionist fa-

cades. Whether wooden or imaginary, the "Great Stage" had provided many points of entry, all of which Inigo Jones' theater daubed in as paint upon a painted scene in order to accommodate the masque.[34] "Door" prize belongs to Marvell, however, for his theater best demonstrates architecutre as a design of the mind. Bypassing the doors of his predecessors as restrictions, Marvell for the moment abolished the "space" any theater set would impose, and instead introduced his character from an area definable only as that which is dramatically optimum. Though previously dramatists had defied scale, stretching its limits by verbal description and physical prop, they were limited by the required presence of actors. Marvell's Thestylis is an advance over their art to the size demanded by the drama.

As a figure in the drama of history, Thestylis ushers in a time when the world, having lost its measuring rod, lost the sense of pattern from which it derived meaning. Characterized by a lust for the world leading to mediated butchery, this time follows after the "unknowing" time when mowers played Biblical warriors; that is, the movable stage carrying Thestylis to where spectators await the next play in the cycle has been scheduled for a later appearance. Only with the forthcoming curtain, the "new Traverse,"[35] (Marvell again borrowing from the Jacobean masque) will the mower, as the "Roman Conqueror," command the meadow marked a "Camp of Battail." Thestylis, who falsifies scale, violates chronology as she "waites" in the wings of history's theater to convey Marvell's message: historic phases are discernible but none is static, and men's lives are conditioned, therefore, by their ancestors' deeds. Though the Gospel denies that the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon

their children, sevententh-century Englishmen read history with an eye to "cause." "Rails" do actually "rain" for "Quails" now as God's "reproaches," which like the plagues in Apocalypse rebound on men who have countermanded His command that when locusts "reign" they "not hurt the grass of the earth."[36] Coming from a bitter sea to replace the birds sent in the still of the evening to His Chosen during their exile, the "rails" are bars laid against reentry into Canaan, as they are curses molded to man's crime and before which man "quails"in fear. Now the dew of the morning dissolves the manna, the "sacred Dew" with which the Lord gifted men's souls and provided the bread for their bodies' mission.[37] Neither in the "Hight" nor "Lowness" of history's meadow will the sacrificial victims of man's lust find a measure of safety. When time turns against earth's purpose, earth is no longer a fit habitation for birds and beasts but instead the judge who condemns them as "untimely" hatched if not prepared to "higher build" in heaven's mansion. Despite adulteration by Vice's low comedy and notwithstanding its own intentionally meoldramatic air, Marvell's "aside" to "Unhappy Birds!" sounds the trumpet note of death with high seriousness. Coherence having fled the earth, "Orphan Parents" perform the funeral of the moral state of "unknowing."

Succeeding undifferentiated man, bound to a tribe, is man the emerging individual described by Marvell's "every Mower." Since this individual derives his identity from service to a conquering army, the light tones touched off in his passage through history are throughout ironically countered. Murder having multiplied in the course of man's mowing, the earthly estate has become the plain stripped of life, which "Lyes quilted ore with Bodies slain." In their pillaging, Thestylis' cohorts pitchfork the dead grass they

reaped as spoils from the sacked City of Man. Historic man dwells in a moral wilderness where, "car[e]less" of the devastation his victory cost, he "haynously" plays out his triumph in the serpent-like dance of "Hay." Critics have justly assumed that Marvell had a Plutarch passage in mind when he alluded to Alexander and the sweet smell of his successful labors. However, even if he had forgotten Burton's caustic comments on Alexander's regret that there remained no worlds to conquer, Marvell might have remembered Seneca's sentence: "'twas spoken like a bedlam fool.'"[38] Bitterness was already evident in the lines introducing this playlet,

> In whose new Traverse seemeth wrought
> A Camp of Battail newly fought,

since "Traverse" as a legal term indicated what man had "wrought," itself a homophone for "raught" or reached.[39] Christ's Kingdom was wider and more enduring than any that men like Alexander might claim. Converted to sin, men partake of "Hay," the "bottle" indulged in by Marlowe's drunken clowns, as Marvell's "Mead" slyly hints at.[40] Hay, which was food for beasts, symbolized for Robert Southwell "all mortal flesh"; "Car[e]less" conquerors share with the once-green grass a transitory existence, having forgotten that only He who had lain in a manger might "beasts to men renew."[41]

By no means was Marvell prepared to abjure the sinuous plain of history, however. From the Moralities had come down a comic spirit of acceptance for mortal weakness. If every man bears within him the whole pattern of human condition, as many Renaissance men believed, then existing alongside the turbulence and corruption of empire-building was the old dream of ease. Particularly, the mowers could dance the genuine joys of harvest on Appleton's peaceful meadow and revive associations of another world where man was "careless"

of the ills to which culture is vulnerable. For Fairfax the antiquarian, the mowers in their "Fairy Circles" danced the rich tradition of the ancient Avalon or "Isle of Apples."[42] The haunt of fairies in medieval romance, Avalon was the one place in the British Isles undisputedly a part of Fairyland. Tradition had made it ideal for the retired soldier, as in Celtic lore it was the paradise reserved for the souls of warriors slain defending their country, and Arthur the giant-killer went there to heal his wounds. Identified by Geoffrey of Monmouth with the Fortunate Isles of classical myth, Avalon was the Terrestrial Paradise, where in the balmy climate and spontaneous bounty the Golden Age might still flourish. Through Avalon's alternate names, Glastonbury or the "Isle of Glass," Appleton's meadow emerges as the mirror-image on earth of Revelation's heavenly "sea of glasse like unto "crystall"[43] provided, that is, seen, by an eye that was itself a bright "crystal."

Separating man from the desired land -- the island -- is the barrier of water. With foresight, Marvell had set the mowers to crossing the sea by means of the French traverse when he had them "Traverse," or cut a passage through, the field. Resuming his sea-meadow image, Marvell returns from reflections on the Golden Age and God's eternity, both of which by definition stand outside history, to the fluid world. The hay heaped, "Cocks" of dead grass show in the looking-glass meadow as "Rocks," obstacles to man's safe steerage through the "calm Sea" of time. Reflecting on the difficulties of this voyage are our historians, Marvell and Fairfax, the "We wondring in the River near." Well they might, for their vehicle is the "Cock," an abbreviation for cockboat, and in it they

wander, as they wonder,[44] on the stream that images time. Amazingly, Marvell pauses, while releasing a series of fleeting images, to marvel that a traveler through the present time can observe man's journey through ages of the past. Thestylis herself shamelessly eavesdropped on the doings of those who lived earlier, as did Marvell also, though stationed even further from them in time; and moreover he overheard her. Guided by the narrow oasis of the Nile, man once crossed a vast desert world to where stood colossal edifices designed to withstand time. But these temples presuming man's eternity had come to symbolize for the future, Marvell's present, the very "time" they defied,[45] and in the present eye appear no more than "Short Pyramids of Hay." By design, pyramids are destined to a common end with the "Hills" or Roman funeral mounds, "houses" fit for mowers who, as they played at being conquerors of the earth, had "hurt the grass."

To the dismal tune of obsequies, the past withdraws from the page of history. Supposedly the mower faces a "new and empty" canvas on which to draw his age's portrait. References marking time as definitively as do Lely and Davenant leave no doubt that, cast in Marvell's final "Mystery," the mowers play a role contemporary with their lives. For Marvell, the seventeenth century offered England a world newly created with which to challenge history's record. But as his presentation has equally demonstrated, qualifying this unprecedented opportunity to effect major change was seventeenth-century man's inheritance of a choice among inevitable alternatives. Two forces struggle perpetually in the body of man as in the body of society: one is Leviathan, the old sea dragon of the original Biblical darkness, who turns the water red with death; and the other a wisp of dancing light lingering around fairy circles and seeking flowers in the abyss. Massacred, the grass turned into the steril-

ity of the Memphis desert, and flowers grew into impregnable rocks. But though the sea ran with blood, its waters were blood for the earth, the current from which flowers associated with Venus might spring.

Image remains Marvell's instrument for indicating changes in the state of man's mind, an instance of thinking by analogy so foreigh to the terminology of fact and objectivity that it scoffs at the critic who denies that this spectacle belongs in a traditional interpretation of history that moralized the universe. From Eden onward, events expose a providential plot. As all men knew, "All the world's a stage" on which they perform their parts in "God's play."[46] Although this metaphor of the cosmic drama had a pagan past, the Church Fathers, by their favor, assured its Christian position. Later, neo-Platonists and humanists somewhat lightened the gloom it cast on life, but nevertheless, life conceived of as a "play" was inclined to shake man's dignity. Powerful as this metaphor was, it likely helped pattern selected Biblical incidents into the design of the race's salvation stamped onto the medieval Mystery. Besides, it structured the Morality from the contentions testing a Christian soul. Transferring its sense of purposive history to the sixteenth-century's chronicle play, the metaphor formed the backdrop against which Englishmen scrutinized national interests as they played at the center of their more secular stage. Turned about, the world as stage became the stage as the world. Together dramatists and nondramatic writers analogized that other microcosm, man, to a stage. While the Lord continued to laugh at the human vanities parading as triumphs before Him, in the moments between self-exaltations, man joined Him in mocking the figure borne along by history's pagent, and

even the figure swaggering across his own stage.

Following his usual way with inherited metaphor, Marvell assembled for review its achievements, surveyed its potential associations, plucked out the mystery pertinent to his purpose as the nucleus on which to graft themes local and current in nature, and hence individualized it. Along with the Biblical sequence already shaped by drama, his presentation of universal history included an allegory of life as the field where grace battled with damning greed for the prize man. Furthermore, man is a figure sketched in the act of contemplating man pursuing dubious endeavors through the ages. As to Marvell's reason for casting so weighty a matter in the fragile lyric line, it is much like his purpose in writing "Upon Appleton House" as a New Inne: "drolls," virtually the only theater allowed by a Puritan reign, were poor entertainment to set before the intelligent Fairfax. Giving free reign to wit, Marvell imposes on his readers the enormous anomaly of substituting a pagan creation myth for the story of Genesis. Stripped to its scaffolding, however, his cosmic drama betrays a Mystery cycle such as Englishmen once performed. Historical fact comes down flat; in all likelihood Marvell never saw a Mystery performed on native soil, though puppet shows and drolls on Biblical themes continued to draw crowds in the seventeenth century.[49] Possibly we could wonder at how acutely Marvell intuited the genre of "Mystery" from non-dramatic projections of the "world as the stage," for even his self-conscious deviations testify that he imitated it. But we know that Marvell traveled in France in the mid-forties, where he could have happened upon several of the fifteen dramas composed and performed by amateurs outside of Paris,[48] curious medieval survivals outside the prevailing classical

system. Again, arriving in Spain during his "grand tour" and familiar with Calderon's language, theatrical metaphor and theocentric drama flourishing there, Marvell would have known the 1642 El gran teatro del mundo.[49]

Nonetheless, it is possible to discern in Marvell's manner with image the influence of several trends in historical thought that transform his own essentially medieval interpretation into one that anticipates the modern. Marvell's image probes a past that consists of temporal regions each distinct morally from the other and from the contemporary, much as history was moving toward a heightened recognition that man's past was a subject for exploration and interesting because there had been change. By metamorphoses of the image, he acknowledges that an "effect," an event in one period, becomes the "cause" of an "effect" in the period succeeding, an assumption basic to history's new emphasis on explanation and continuum.[50]

One question lingers after we, supposedly, have charted the principles by which Marvell interpreted history. No answer is at hand as to whether in making a metaphor literal, Marvell meant to track it back to its "cause" or to blur all distinctions between the literal and the metaphoric. In pausing to face one ambiguity, we face a meadow exhibiting many. For instance, a Christian devoted to demonstrating Providence in action rarely initiates his narration with a "Gyant" disproportion that threatens to warp the reality of God. However hesitant he might be to couple cause and event, as a historian inching his way toward a reasonable account of the world, Marvell should tolerate neither "Haynous" twists of rhetoric nor allegories pruned to riddles. Even the minimal evidence presented suggests Marvell's intellect was too discerning of the problematics

he experienced in his own literal version of the metaphoric theater of history (or is it the other way around?) to comply with convenient categories such as "faith" and "reason." Only because the meadow is a mirror of metaphysical doubt could appearance mislead us both to its own surface and what lies beneath. If "Cocks" must metamorphose into "Rocks," logically they should imperil man's passage instead of offering him conveyance, though by suggesting conveyance, Marvell slips in the meaning of "removal." Possibly paralleling Marvell's sighting illusions above and below the meadow are both a nascent historiography, busily subjecting to textural criticism documents whose authenticity had earlier been unquestioned,[51] and a reactivated Pyrrhonism, adament about testing all philosophical positions and questioning all sense knowledge.[52] Alternately, Marvell's game might involve pseudo-paradox, for doubling the negative does invoke the positive. Not for the first time, man, the creature longing for certitude, might hasten to the camp of reality on colliding with illusion twice over.

Apparently Marvell culled for his "theatre of memory"[53] the most sophisticated techniques of distancing available, from forerunners of Shakespeare's "Pat he comes like the catastrophe of the old comedy" to the latest French "jeu de illusions."[54] Should we be tempted to identify with Fairfax and his fellow pastoralist, we hang as they do (most graphically in the river image) half-in and half-outside the dramatic frame. Disillusionment quickly sets in. Aside from the shifts in stance, the tone fluctuates from the flippant to the funereal, all of which, together with an "Unhappy" moralizing "aside," climax in a "never knowing how to" reaction that sends us scuttling back to the section reserved for the audience.

To appreciate Marvell's technique, which is necessary before we can extricate the "reason" of this spectacle's scheme, let us watch those attending a medieval Mystery. While the performance lasts, audience and actors alike are apt to identify with the events staged and forgo the phenomenal world, even mistake for reality what moderns call the world of illusion. Enclosed in the theater frame, "Mankind" participated in the play whose emotional intensity transcended life on God's "natural" stage, for in re-enacting the great moments of sacred history man reaffirmed his Christian existence.[55] Man's single focus being God and God being the sole measure of the earth that was a part of the whole He contained, man attached only a spiritual significance to Jerusalem's location in relation to Egypt's. Even when leaving the "multiple setting" stage of the church, the Mystery expected its audience to view simultaneously settings which geography separates.[56] Scholars still explore the numerous meeting-places Elizabethans maintained between the country of the play and the country men daily inhabit. But sophisticated far beyond his predecessor, the Elizabethan playwright envisioned a space, psychological and virtual, separating spectators from the stage. Theaterwise spectators on beholding Rome one scene after Eygpt, gave their nod to a convention. Notwithstanding his professional passion, the Elizabethan performer detached his person from Hecuba. And when God's address to His people, or some Everyman's sermon, became the "extra-dramatic," ritual fully evolved into drama.[57]

"Space" becomes Marvell's focus when he stages the life of Man-the-Mower in the theater of history. But the space of which we speak, the space that adds distinction to Appleton's meadow, is only secondarily the constituent of any literary artist structuring

an imaginative world. Space for the metaphysical poet was a subject to reflect on; its meaning for Marvell in this section is primarily the alternative possibilities of man's response to the history play that images life. Man either yields to what God prefigured and dedicates his life to re-making that image by ceremonial observances, or, should he fancy himself an objective observer, chances flinging to the past the challenge that future man might surpass its acts and scenes. Whichever attitude man adopts is signaled by his stand as the audience relative to the stage: to this purpose Marvell insisted on the theater metaphor. Accompanied by his host, Fairfax comes to the theater, a realm of make-believe in which perhaps to trifle away a space of time, and insulated from actuality to spectulate philosophically on life as a spectacle, as Goodstock had. A reality more compelling than he experiences in the world of days and weeks asserts its presence, penetrates the space separating him from the stage, and draws him part way into the performance. Thereafter detachment hinges on an act of will as much as does participation; "distance" between spectator and stage fluctuates. The innocent gazer totters on the borderline defining man-the-player, who perhaps embodies innocence. Seventeenth-century man's peculiar "Destiny" was a change in "theater" and the concomitant opportunities from which arose the need for "Choice."

Marvell hardly fares any easier with time, the second mundane criterion disregarded by medieval minds. By barging onto the platform ahead of schedule, Thestylis actualizes so boldly his meditations on the historical process that none can avoid the implication. Shockingly she accuses him of an anachronism, and he, while sponsoring a Mystery cycle that in a noon-time hour proceeds from Creation to his present century, encourages the audience to accede to her charge.

Marvell's terms may have differed from ours, but having been schooled in the typological reading of history on which the Mystery was based, he accepted its concept of time as the unfolding of recurring patterns. Time derived its meaning from the Passion of Christ, that moment in time yet beyond time, which made all the moments of time, and for which it served as an infinite Present.[58] No artist working in a framework of ideas that slights chronological division fears appearing awkward or incurring reprimand when he collapses time. Medieval man had bequeathed to Marvell along with the Mystery a penchant for ignoring the limitations of time and space. But Marvell's art, expressing an age already departing from the sacramental ambience, manipulated a formula comparable to "Egypt a few feet away from now" into a vehicle for effects that startle us into thought. Times that are distant in space seem to converge -- or is it that time preempts a space already occupied, for when the seventeenth-century "Shepherds" forget their office and scythe God's "flock," they also fail to push through Yam Suph, Hebrew for the ancient "Sea of Sedge," the Red Sea to which "sedge" grass was thought to have given its name.[59] Joining this technique of superimposition to a perennial world-play among others, Marvell masterfully twists into a question his own achievement. He aims to persuade us that ambiguities prevail in the theater of history, using as tools the vivid images projecting that theater and the ingenious transitions rendering a plot-like continuum to its history.

A scholar less proficient in Greek than one who merited Milton's commendation[60] would know that man's purpose in the "theater" is "to see" and, hence, "to know." Nevertheless, by the rapid flux of its events, the meadow housing Marvell's theater subjects him and his

guest to dizzying shifts in perception as they attempt to keep pace with what seems a multiplicity of familiar patterns gone askew. Generally critics agree: this meadow that fractures vignettes and makes them deceivers holds up the mirror to a society aghast at internecine war. Quilted with "quick"death, namely, mowers mown before their season, the meadow bends us into seeing that in this age man has lost the sense of absolute certainty in his relationship with the macrocosm. A meadow wise in age would forbear belaboring so obvious a truth, though adding as a corrective that outside of Eden life never escapes from illusion. Pastoral has a past, and during that past it provided a stage for conquerors celebrating a brutal "Pillaging" only by violating its own inviolate realm. Before we might seize this splendid opportunity for crediting his canon with a bitter pastoral, however, Marvell rules against a simplified equation. Through a chink in the same green wall we glimpse dancing on the Isle of Apples. At least one detail guards against our conjecturing that in an anxious age he abandoned the early tale as incomprehensible. For the rubric "Roman England" bridges the disparate vistas of "Fairie Circles" and triumphant "Hay." Led on by an interest in describing events in the context of a preconceived pattern, Marvell edged his way to validating the poet as independent historian.[61] Several steps are involved, since after stopping to match pattern against fact, he bolstered that pattern in his fictive imitation with this fact already previewed as belonging within its province. Stranger reactions to novelty are on record than Marvell's subordinating metaphysics to the down-to-earth consideration of where were Englishmen heading

Straightaway as he cranks the "Engines" that start the drama, Marvell relegates to a façade the honored combat of nature and art,

which is another way of saying that, wholly preoccupied with playing life, Appleton's mowers spare no energy for speculative philosophy. As directed, they station themselves close by the "mansion" earth, Marvell's major scenic device, and there ceremoniously unroll a Bibilical past in which they played just such figures as they remain, intimates of the land until called to battle. Spared by the Civil War, they fulfill their role as Man-the-Mower, tasked with attending to God's everyday stage, the soil of Appleton that is part of His earthly mansion. Finding themselves under the common roof of "mansion," the body that belongs to nature and the house that designates art agree to postpone their contention. Literally, such a "comedy of errors" directs the meadow, traditionally a figure for the stages of man's life, to become the stage, an equally conventional figure for man's life on the meadow, as to betray anyone's ability to figure out exactly what is literal. Merely to juggle the pieces "play," "Mower," and "scythe" is to figure out that in whatever combination -- a play about Mower and scythe: Mower plays at mowing with scythe; scythe mows Mower as/at play -- physical representation and spiritual significance have been made "contingents." While these tropical gymnastics are transpiring, Marvell has transferred his own position. Obviously trusting that history's play goes on despite the absence of a dramatic character, he has assumed the standpoint of the rhetorician who dutifully details its mechanisms to the audience.

Beneath Marvell's devices for affirming how delusory are man's illusions while attending the theater of history there stretches the land, the reality that by enduring unifies life's play. When playing Earth in the cosmic drama, the land agrees to be closely observed by Heaven and Hell, the polar mansions obliquely present as "Hight" and

"Lowness." As the writer of a Myster-Morality, Marvell would say that life resists reduction to a singular plane. But the Everyman this play tests is man in his historical, specifically, English dimension. Under qualified circumstances, Marvell allowed that Heaven and Hell might be "cramp'd into a Planisphere" whereon to hang the familiar tale: man, the inhabitant of the middle region, mirrors their contest in that "most clere and perfect mirror," the Renaissance commonplace for history.[62] Promoted from victor's prize to decisive battlefield, man assumes responsibility for proclaiming Heaven triumphant throughout a history in which, all too often, he enacts Hell. Mirroring man is the land, often man's coveted prize, and for Marvell always the space across which the destiny of England strides before reaching the sea. Despite the penalty of Adam, the seasons' variances and the imprints left by his restless heirs pitching battles to possess it, the land abides.[68] For land is the life form that thwarts man's deviations and fluxes by itself endlessly metamorphosing into a new beginning that is ever the same. Two patterns of order therefore underlie the bewildering diversity faced by the theater-goer in the meadow. Both meet men's urgent need for continuity in life whose fundamental principle is change, before both collapse into the unity that Marvell's initial "Or" anticipated. As to the eschatological pattern, Eternity and the One, comments would be superfluous beyond that it subsumes the second, a production of time. Each of the moral epochs of history has a meaning unique to itself, and yet each shares the land. As the Great Estate, Appleton never represents for Marvell an empty background on which to wheel out forms engendered by trompe l'oeil, but land that is synonomous with nation.

If the meadow episode frustrates modern spectators into a bifurcation moving along the supposedly conflicting analytical lines of universal history and seventeenth-century England condemned, Marvell's too complex art is at fault. While presenting history as the dual drama of God's inspiration interpreted by time-bound man, he would create an emblem of his England's intellectual state, and from the same poetic phenomena that comprised his historical drama. Prompted by a respect for the principle of change, Marvell inquired into the current nature of chaos. Conscious also that many epochs of men had struggled agains "the bitter waves of this blood-drenched life,"[64] he searched beneath the freshly besmirched meadow for its cause. Chaos had come to England reared on the gloomy but containing metaphor of life as a "play" in the form of a blaze of "Choice." At present the theater, life's mirror-image, exhibited such a multitude of sights on such a tumble of planes separated from each other yet overlapping, and unwilling to hold still, as to stagger the mind. On this stage the poet played a vital role, for only a dramatist who was a historian, and a metaphysician to boot, could hope to detect the pattern.

Really Marvell's meadow ought to rebel. Whereas we note only intellectual dilemmas, his devices as often trap us in literary puzzles. Viewed as the formal element "image," the reproaching "Rail" represents either a flattening out of the "railleur," a character given to ridicule, or a semi-personification of "illusio," the rhetorical device Cicero designated as appropriate for raillery.[65] By rooting Thestylis in rhetoric books, we meant to focus on the comical relief she contributes. Fleshing her out, however, evokes a tradition that excuses Marvell for allowing a figure concocted of

rapacity and coarse humor to command a battle stage even while he is entertaining General Fairfax. Kitchens have occasioned comedy since antiquity, and cooks, when they are not complaining, have been heard to utter indelicate bits of humor. But in singling out a blasphemous warlike practitioner of culinary art, Marvell alludes to Nebuchadnezzar's captain cook, still notorious for conquering and plundering Jerusalem when Rabelais wrote his comedy. Conceivably Marvell, a master at mergings, crossed this crafty cook, whom allegorists pictured as gluttony ravaging the church's flock,[66] with Virgil's Thestylis, yearning for the motherless fawns.[67] Don C. Allen's scholarship has unearthed an association linking the "Rail" with the equally unfortunate Charles;[68] but for Marvell the bird "Rail" was more important as the "flock." With "Rail" as a reference to the deposed King, "flock" suggests that the King might as likely be the Lamb who reigns eternally. Though Testylis' master did not know that devil-like figure Mak who enlivens The Second Shepherd's Play by mocking at holy forms, beguiling hard-working shepherds, and making off with the lamb, boisterous rascals cut from his cloth became Falstaff's boon companions.[69] Marvell's insertion of a folklore figure in a ritual drama, namely, Thestylis, shows again that he comprehended well the genre he imitated.

Novelty was a plot to amuse Fairfax, no doubt, the genesis of the unique effects Marvell sowed across the meadow. Yet these effects lead us to suspect that theoriesyet to be discussed are involved in the very entertaining. As the indignant poet might protest, the critics rationalize what he brings vividly before man's eyes. But as a citizen of a century still struggling against authority, including the past, and himself exploring England's relations to history that he might determine its present status, Marvell likely re-

quired the leeway of some "Gyant" precisely for such effects as seem most novel. His stress on the play element of rhetoric,[70] the very enargeia by which he dramatized what we rationalize, points the way to a cluster of "arrangings" neglected by critics otherwise attentive to this spectacle's oddities. Beyond a definable body of literally realized rhetorical devices, some effects are more diffuse and result from Marvell's adherence to two principles: that moral particularities divide the world's time into distinct periods; and that to the individual historian belongs the right to trace through events the pattern he perceives. As has been hinted, spurring on the search for Marvell's sources was his curious response to the "Gyant" perched on the tall spires who, from the onset, sought to dominate both the meadow and men who walked "more low." Generations living in his shadow respectfully referred to him as Antiquity, though by the Renaissance the "dwarf" had grown so bold as to question his authority on occasion. Disseminators of the giant-and-dwarf image of Marvell's century alerted him to its double-edged character. In refuting Dr. Browne's Vulgar Errors, Alexander Ross' pessimism bared his kinship with the authority on The Fall of Man. When Hakewill answered Goodman, the dwarf grew in wisdom, however, and happily most seventeenth-century writers joined in the elevation, including Burton and George Herbert.[71] Marvell demands a footnote in any scholarly accounting of this traditional metaphor, for as usual he renders a unique treatment, and as usual by doing two things at once. Even while raising Antiquity into the "Gyant" hovering over man in history, he turns the authority assumed by the image into a question, and with that question frames his spectacle.

Whatever their quarrel among themselves, Humanist historians of

fifteenth-century Italy and philosophers of neo-Platonist persuasion contributed alike the theory basic to our defining the European Renaissance as a change in man's consciousness of the universe.[72] "Distance," by which we recognize the theory, fostered an attitude of detachment that enabled man to look upon the classical world he often revered as a coherent cultural system, a "past" as distinct from the present. Irrevocably lost, "Antiquity" became the object of nostalgia. Through this separation, however, man released each age, including the present, to display its own pattern. Moreover, the ideal could thereafter be reconstructed; our sense of history as "continuum"emerges from this critical posture to the classical world. Along with generating the concept that each age was a unity (another axiom of modern historiography), "distance" encouraged man to adopt its corolary that an intellectual perception is relative to its own time.[73] Man's mind measures the universe, Cusanus claimed, and from a point freely chosen among points that are fixed rather than permanently prescribed. In the infinite universe he postulated, which held forth a plurality of choices, the individual ego becomes the point of stability.[74] The achievement of focused perspective was closely allied with the impulse toward relativity and the attention to the subjective importance of man, both of which enlarged experience in history and philosophy.[75] Renaissance artists not only matched the theory of cultural distance but gloriously realized the consciousness of man's ideas as an active power. Confident of providing exact rules for representing space, in ordering the spatial relations of their diverse "canvas," they upheld "artifice" against the "natural" (spherical) visual field of the ancients. As sixteenth-century treatises document textually

and graphically, however, what began as a theoretical dependence on mathematical rules ended with the artist's declaring his freedom to manipulate externally determining relations for his private vision.[76] Far from evolving according to fixed postulates, perspective metamorphised into the varied systems of representation of space found in fifteenth-century art.[77]

A plenitude of parallels exist in Renaissance thought and disposition to the compository elements of Marvell's stanza introducing us to the meadow. As previously suggested, its stress on sight must be reviewed with reference to Renaissance thought, since illusionist art was codified only by the development of a practical science of optics.[78] The trompe l'oeil Marvell reputedly exploits began its own exploits from the measure of the distance between the eye and the object, that is, from treating the pictorial image like the retinal image and combining the three dimensions into a two-dimensional plane. On view in Marvell's scene, contemporary man actively experiments with "perspective" in the effort to measure self-stature against the far-off "Gyant" of classical achievement. Design thus transforms into emblem a seventeenth-century dilemma: the instrument distancing man from his ideal, the classical past, is his own consciousness of temporal distance. Further, there are signs of Marvell's having recognized that in rationalizing space, man had disturbed the ancients' confident picture of the universe. "Space" dominates the landscape created by these stanzas because space was becoming an entity independent of objects, an abstraction divorced from the palpable texture of reality.[79] Before Cartesianism completed the splintering of the universe into a mathematical grid on which science assigns objects their "space" by reducing them to

lines and formulae, man measured each object of the phenominal world in proportion to the universe conceived of as a body. During the historial interval in which the two visions of reality shifted for position, no doubt intellectuals experienced just such a betrayal of confidence by the familiar world as Marvell images. Perspicacous Marvell sighted, however, the accomplishment by which the dwarfs were to climb the shoulders of the ancient colossus and prove "Truth is the daughter of Time."[80] For the last image of his historical pageant, he chooses the "perspective glass," the telescope opening onto the modern world. Opening and closing lines unite, as Marvell intended, and out of the secularly minded "quarrel of Ancients vs. Moderns" form a "frame" for all intervening events. If within the frame Man-the-Mower continues to play life as a sacred drama, evidently Marvell expected that history's "daughter" would foist on man the choice between secular and sacred.

Even had Humanist historians restricted their conception of the classical rhetoric they imitated to a compendium of maxims geared to regulating value judgments, they would have gained another perspective on the world. Used to isolate from its own tradition such strands as men deemed worthy of transmitting to posterity, classical rhetoric must highlight areas of moral sensibility. The act of exclusion emphasizes; as Alberti clarified, judgment involves measurement.[81] But the Florentines of the Quattrocento sought in rhetoric a comprehensive instrument, finely honed and capable of generating multiple perspectives. The "Theater" in which they performed demanded no less. History operates, they assumed, in the world of phenomena, divorced from all absolute authority except experience, which must therefore be directly felt or imagined. Pre-

on motivation and themselves interpolated psychological elements into analyses of events, both as causal factor and effect.[86] It is no wonder that they spoke of "surpassing" the Ancients, Marvell's "Gyants"; an original enthusiasm for classical rhetoric matured into a respect for accuracy, and a dedication to preserving past achievements extended the realm of reality.[89] Where these Italian Huamanists, like Giordano Bruno among the philosophers, spurned theological commitment,[88] Marvell as the maker of a Mystery cycle professed a diverse approach to history. But by his newly won power to discriminate among a wide range of choices, both inimical and compatible with his "perspective," Marvell may well owe homage to their influence.

It is the challenge to England of the "Table rase" that absorbs Marvell's attention while he is creating a play about the current scene. A reference to Madrid's bullring is the first suggestion that in this instance challenge harbors threat. Like Burton in his phrase the "bull-bellowing Pope,"[89] Marvell sports verbally with the instrument effectively ruling Catholic Spain. It is only a step from a Spanish arena fed by slaughter to England's village greens busy grazing, since Marvell guides us by transitions. Besides the flat terrain, he calls up "circus" time again in England. Less than a century before, bull-baiting filled a theater that bellowed tribute to its Roman model, the ampitheater "with its Horns outstretched."[90] Popular among the accusations hurled against a Papist sympathizer was that he had a "Pope in his belly."[91] Bull would couple oddly with "Lilly" (well spelled for the occasion) were Marvell not echoing "lillibulero bullen a la," the watchword of the Irish Catholics in their bloody massacre of Protestants.[92] Marvell wastes no reference; "Spanish" was the third term of the

occupied with choice, these historians were suspicious nonetheless of source, whether they found it in antiquity or in the more recent past.[82] Seasoned in political strife and jealous of liberty, these Florentines weighted the power of passion and partisanship to distort objectivity.[83] To them fell a twofold task; before their elegant narrative style might persuade an audience to honorable doctrines of moral philosophy, acceptable doctrines had to be ferreted out. Language accomplished both ends of the desired union of wisdom and eloquence. It is not that Humanist historians were innocent of the problematic nature of a tool evolved from the same ambigous historical process they asked it to examine. But language "illuminated." In distinguishing man as "creator of rational entities and artificial forms," Cusanus made explicit what was also their premise: man's sphere is sign and symbol, and he is powerful within it.[84] By the style he created, the individual claimed his identity and his freedom of choice. Like other Renaissance artists, the historians cultivated artifice that they might express the truth of the phenomenal world. One belief buttressed another: if man gained access to the noumenal only through experiencing phenomenal truth, "invention" was the significant center of historiographic activity. Withdrawal from the ontological dimension, the "why" to concentrate on the ethical, the "way," led historians to regard an event as a particular structure of relationships. Ludus and theatrum expressed their sense of history as the coexistence of separate yet internally coherent areas of human discourse and action. Interaction held the clue to meaning. As rhetoricians, they recognized verbal games in others and figured out from their own attentiveness to an audience how essential the beholder is to any illusionist art.[85] Thus they set the stage for future focus

1641 Popish Irish plot.[93] But while the "bulls" launch England on an era of violence dedicated to liberating Christianity from "bull" as either the "fraud" or "self-contradictory propositions" of a corrupt church, they attract Marvell, in the main, by the strength of their genus. "Cattle" was a collective name, but Marvell restricts his interest to propertied England's most significant beast, the base masterless man known as the "many-headed monster."[94] Besides their enlistment with Anti-Christ under a common title, these beasts further accommodated Marvell since they had been heard "bellowing" against those above them by North back even in the days of Plutarch. With no reason to practice deceit, Fairfax's host declares himself the "hostis" or enemy not only of the devil but also of the "host" that was the multitude. All that Appleton's mowers need to do to sketch the dominant portrait of their age is to present themselves as commoners chasing cattle across the commons. Men who chase beasts that claim to be, as they run before them, the "precursors"[95] of those men, threaten to "rase" the Commonwealth's "grace," a homonym for "Grass,"[96] even closer than the scythes. For they would return England to the hour preceding God's creation of man. In a satiric thrust at Davenant, Marvell supposes him to "stain" Lely's canvas by imposing on it the "Universal Heard," an image out of Gondibert.[99] But in depicting men as aping beasts, Marvell reveals himself an ironist contemplating their power to void what civilization had won during the millenia stretching from the sixth day of Creation, when this phenomenon came into being, to the century that Millenarians promised would know "last things."[98] The "Gyants" threatening to plunge the Commonwealth of England into an economic "Abbyss" are the "ruminators," abettors of the "monster of a democracy"[99] who think to strip society of the privilege and wealth

that make up its pattern of gradation and reduce it thereby to an "equal" and equally "naked" plain. His stay at Appleton would have sharpened Marvell's awareness that had the social radicals triumphed, the Great House and its way of life, civilization's flower, would have perished.

A stanza by Marvell, which alludes last to the "Universal Heard" and opens with a reference to the "Levellers," refutes any hypothesis that images are being randomly sprouted. Had the kaleidoscope image proposed by a critic been framed within a circle, it would capture one sense of the meadow, an endless rearrangement of a few elements. But along with its failure to generate insight thereafter, the "kaleidoscope" caters to a criticism that projects its own carelessness onto Marvell's method of composition,[100] actually a relentless pursuing of a previously determined pattern. But brief remarks on the undebatable relevance of Levellers to General Fiarfax, or the "levelling" principle to great landowners generally, belong later with the inundation scene. Meanwhile, Marvell will have issued another spate of conceits inextricably related to his previous stanza as they continue the portrait of seventeenth-century England. On call throughout this spectacle to represent the earthly estate, Appleton's meadow serves here specifically as the backdrop for a moral landscape Marvell himself will paint. But scythe and beast have shaved so close the grass that the "polisht" meadow is also a "Looking-Glass." Refracted from this glass is the vision of a landscape that has been reduced in size, though conceived by the artist as vast in expanse as nature's meadow. The figures in this landscape, the cattle, seem even further diminished, "shrunk" as Marvell says, because they are seen against the "huge Pasture."

Marvell's is an imaginative emblem, the landscape of an artist who sees double: the vast estate, the "Table rase and pure," give to man at Creation, and superimposed on this reality the realistic dimensions stamped by history.[101] Gazing into this strange metaphysical mirror, man, the mower, confronts his image, a face on which cattle appear as "Spots." For his emblem's "motto," Marvell reaches back to the myeth of Io, metamorphosed into a heifer, and the lesson she taught: "You will never escape from your own face." Translating this myth from Ovid, Sandys comments that Io represented Earth, for she was the daughter of the River Inachus or water in general, and "the Earth afarre off appers to rise from the Sea." Behind Sandy's identification lies the traditional confusion of Io with Isis, who was worshipped in the form of a Cow symbolic of the "soyle of Aegypt."[102] An Englishman wears for his face the face of England's soil, since both bodies, man and the land, the two "houses" of England, partake of the one heritage that began with "A new and empty Face of things." Were seventeenth-century man to subvert the earthly estate to a "commons" ruled by the "many-headed monster," he would degrade his own image to the contemptuous extensions of the term "cattle" in that age: a beast yoked, or trash, or the insect. Playfully Marvell evokes the associations of "cattle," the ordinary word, until he makes it a metaphor[103] for those alternatives by which contemporary man will determine his own stature. Men can define themselves as minute verminous "Fleas," a multitudinous flock of insignificants, crawlers across the face of the earth which "Multiplying Glasses," the microscope, must magnify if they are to be seen.[104] Or men can regard themselves as the "Constellations," called to mind by Taurus, the Bull, roaming the "wide" heaven with slow and measured motion, a part of its fabric, the focus of the telescope. With these

extensions to the sense of sight offered by a new age, Marvell arrives back at the theme initiating his spectacle: man's eye alone is the lens that can determine his dimension.

Properly, Nature voices the "Epilogue" to these "Acts" performed in the theater of history, since she provided the stage and bears the record of man's deeds upon her. On this occasion, her River Wharfe, grown torrential, overflows Appleton's pasture.

> And makes the Meadow truly be
> (What it but seem'd before) a Sea.

At a scene of inundation in the simple seasonal round, Marvell had only to gaze "innocently." But these lines reaffirm what we know: Marvell has been a "player" and, moreover, played with the devices of the correspondence of literal and figurative, and the interchange of inner and outer worlds. Though they do so parenthetically (as the literal parenthesis insists) these lines entice us into a final reflection on Marvell's rhetorical instrument "seems." When floodgates open in the historic world, they signal that a dissolution of order has been brough on by Civil War. Through its act of mirroring the raging river which figuratively speaks of turbulent events taking place outside the pastor al frame, the river coursing through Marvell's fictive meadow (itself at work painting a "Landskip," meaning literally an island scene), becomes the "Sea." The outrage from which Fairfax fled has pursued him to Appleton. Nature, here drowning the river "in itself --- Isl's the astonish'd Cattle round," and thus enisles the inland scene into a mini ature of that island the sea closed off from the world. Never a simple retreat from the cares of civilization, Nature, by her act, joins in the request that Fairfax reconsider his responsibility to England; or such is the interpretation Marvell's own phrasing enforces. But again, as in the garden episode, Fairfax's surrogate, Marvell's persona, in-

tervenes, in this instance to meet the flood of events as reflections in his own mind. Temporarily, the theater of the mind is overwhelmed as it reflects Appleton, the green world within the pastoral frame, reflecting the historic world outside. Being the "Ocean," the mind, however, has contained all along the meadow land as "form," making imminent a transformation of the land into the "sea" it before only "seem'd." More than any Protean realm of metamorphoses, however, the mind is where land can mate with the surrounding sea to form something better than either domain, the new entity of the island. Appleton, though now engulfed, had already been envisioned as the island moving to laws of its own.

Aiding Marvell in the conception of an island as the potential unity of diverse realms was a pun that Shakespeare had played in Pericles. Speaking of the garment "made up---through the rough seames of the waters,"[105] the Second Fisherman referred to his craft, while Shakespeare revealed water's power to heal. Though life yields its past to the hungry sea, that wasteland at the bottom of time restored to Pericles the armor that was his heritage and shield against death. Shakespeare believed that below the sea, in whose mirror man faces the knowledge that time has been swallowed from life, lie powers which would "seam" into wholeness the life that in the mirror of Marvell's sea-meadow "seems" to be a shattered image. At present, Marvell confronts in the "Ocean" of the mind a metaphor of loss. The island, such as men saw arise in the world's dawn, has been swept away by the havoc of history, and Appleton, its potential successor, has been invaded by hostile thoughts. From this "Ocean," however, is to arise verse attempting by structure and concept to control the destructiveness of the flood and channeling it creatively, ensure that though Fairfax dwell serene at Appleton, Marvell's England will survive. In pursuing

this renewal of life, Marvell will take, necessarily, a long voyage, of which the historical spectacle is only the initial lap. Riding with him, as certitude, will be the understanding gleaned from accepting that life is a tentative, varying shore which "seems" defines. Man, living on earth, longs for certitude. Yet surely, though earth contines to wear on her face the "seams" marked by the river of time, Fortune, brought down by that river, forever shifts the outline of life's shore. Life's domain, and death's, and those other seemingly absolute worlds supposedly antithetical to each other - past and present, inner and outer, literal and figurative - might deceive other men, but as the poet who mastered "seem'd" knew, they were transitory in themselves and perhaps divided from each other by less than the strip intervening between nation-states known as the "seam."

For the Andrew Marvell who recognized that man's estate, the geography and history alike of his life, were distinguished by "seems," this concept became a vehicle that carried him along a buried stream, though a world lightened by wonder, and on to a moment of discovery. Out of the "seeming" world will appear, to this poet, an island his verse might "seam" and around which it might center a circle of perfection. Another Marvell is present in this stanza, no less audacious a punster, but directing the force of his pun toward superimposing on the future, as "fixed," the staid island possessed by England's landed gentry. Through a reiteration of "Cattle," this Marvell measures out an elaborate compliment to Fairfax as the leader of the Grandees in the radical New Model Army. Again by way of "Cattle," this Marvell derides the immoderates who dared threaten

those he later referred to as "the salt that had hitherto preserved this gross body from putrefaction," and thereby gives notice of himself as the polemicist whose concern would be to help found England's "Country" ideology.[106]

For close to two months, in virtually the decisive battle of the first Civil War, Fairfax' army beseiged Oxon, the name by which Oxford was known, More generally "disaffected" to Parliament's cause than any other part of the Kingdom, Sprigge's Anglia Redivia reports Oxford was the "never failing Spring" of support for royalists, their major garrison, and Charles' favorite retreat.[107] Situated between two rivers and encircled by a high wall, the city was prepared for defense. In their resistance, the royalists caused the Charwell River to overflow its banks and inundate the meadows. Surrounded with water, Oxford had seemed to Fairfax's forces an unapproachable island before it capitulated by royal order.

Though employed by Marvell the pun relives much of the vitality associated with it in Elizabethan drama, any pleasure Marvell derives from the verbal play on "Cattle" is complicated by his purposefulness in the safeguarding of what "civilized" society had already established. How "Oxon" and the "Cattle" representing the "Levellers" come together is a story rooted in the falling out of Oxford's victors among themselves soon after June 1646. Three years later, Fairfax returned to the former royalist stronghold, where with Cromwell and two of the leading Fifth Monarchists, he received from its university an honorary degree as reward for the ignoble suppression of the Leveller mutiny at Burford. Yoemen formed the backbone of the army; yet when London feasted Fairfax, the scourge of Leveller "treason," the grace presiding there aptly recalled the

Biblical curse on him who removes his neighbor's landmark.[108] Inhabiting symbolically the Great House when not in actual residence at Appleton, Marvell acknowledges no sympathy with men existing marginally on the land's bounty. War, coming in a time of poor harvests,[109] brought grave hardship to these men who were the mowers and the herdsmen, the "belly" of the body. Whole levels of living never impinge on Marvell's consciousness, if the canon is a just guide. About the topicality of "levelling," however, he was well informed, evidently having perceived that by its corollary "equal" the levelling principle called into question the foundation of the Commonwealth as the "house" and the face of its "estate." Nonetheless, the critic correctly supposes Marvell to have confused the Levellers, whose strength was city-based when outside the army, with the land-oriented, communistic Diggers, if he restricts "levelling" to an association with John Lilburne. Despite the legends that grew into accusations as they overtook this flamboyant but indomitable champion of a limited franchise, Lilburne assumed rather than challenged the immutability of existing property.[110] As even the ease with which they were divided and crushed should indicate, however, the Levellers were never a united, disciplined party. Among the army's ablest and most radical of commanders was Colonal Rainborough, whom the Levellers honored after death by adopting his color, so that prosperous citizens thereafter feared the "sea-green blades."[111] Today Rainborough lives on for having opposed Ireton's cool and assured argument for property qualifications during the Putney Debates with a prophetic outburst: "I think the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live, as the greatest he." Though he remained remote from public attention,

Walwyn was probably the Leveller movement's dominant intellectual force. Humble before God and compassionate toward man, Walwyn not only advocated a tolerance for religious beliefs beyond Marvell's capacity, but having early in his career exhorted Christian charity for those starved and oppressed by circumstances, through a deepening understanding of the plight of the poor came to explicitly condemn economic inequality.[112]

Man's natural right, the theoretical underpinning to Rainborough's militant demand for a voice in government, endangered the hierarchical State in which men inherited power and position along with their property. By contrasting prosperity with the hunger around it, Walwyn stabbed at the Puritan consciences of the rising gentry who, like him, strove to eclipse the traditional meaning of "estate," but by substituting the enlightened value of money. Although divided into the two groups contesting for power, which we may conveniently categorize as oligarchists and contractualists,[113] wealthy England united in panic before men upholding values such as either Rainborough or Walwyn represented. Marvell, himself a representative of the Great House, opposed two concepts of "equal" which opposed each other. In attacking ostentation he had struck at, along with a "forrain" Catholicism, the heraldic value of the middle calss, whose egalitarianism sought to liberate property from any entailment of virtue and listingness, scoffed at the historically sanctioned virtue of "use," and generally denied the burden of stewardship. The definitions of "equal" implied by Rainborough and Walwyn were sufficiently radical to invoke Marvell's contempt had he known them; but neither Leveller spoke directly for the rude multitude, nor were they "True Levellers." That name had

been preempted by the Diggers, a scanty band of landless men and their families who, seeking to restore a pristine England when earth was a "common treasure," in 1649 planted themselves on St. George's Hill and vegetables on its waste-land. Assigned to investigate what the Diggers were doing, Fairfax pronounced them "cranky" and thought no further action was needed. With comparable arrogance and the greater ruthlessness lent by foresight, the local gentry turned cattle onto the Diggers' crops, pulled down their houses, and dragged the men off the land. Though it took a year, propertied Englishmen made short work of the enemy herd led by Winstanley, whose past position as a herder of cows[114] had ill prepared them for his eloquence and courage.

Despite the notoriety this local outburst of the "monster of a democracy" gained, the Great House had little cause for alarm if "levelling" were confinable to its "communist" plot. Marvell had greater numbers of men in mind than adhered to either the political Levellers or their offspring, the Diggers whom they hated, when he created a verbal collage of "Cattle," "equal," and "commons" for the forefront of his symbolic delineation of the age. During the Civil War, as Marvell evidently realized, a long-buried stream of social discontent sprang forth, motivated by economic need but spurred on by a collection of eclectic doctrines and spread in an atmosphere of intellectual and physical mobility. Reports circulated of ferment among peasants in unrelated areas, protesting interference with open field strips and encroachment on common land. As early as 1646 demands were heard in the New Model Army for an agrarian law. Before Winstanley in 1648 announced his solution to England's ills of a community of land ownership, a local group of Levellers pro-

duced a pamphlet calling for equality of property. In Lincolnshire men opposing encroachment emphasized the fundamental law of the land. Coupled with these stirrings toward economic levelling was the consequence of England's powerful religious upheaval, reaching its culmination now in the two middle decades of the seventeenth century. Spiritual egalitarianism followed as effect the tenets of Protestanism. Stirred by Millenarian excitement to an expectation that Christ's reign was about to begin, non-conformist preachers were repeating to attentive ears the traditional view that the common people had a special role to play in this crisis. Christ comes to take up his abode in a manger, Winstanley wrote, among the poor in spirit and despised of the earth.[115]

Appleton practiced charity since it reflected Fairfax's character, and in its relatively modest dimensions pledged to the "Humility" beholden of a Christian "Inne." But charity, as Marvell acclaimed it, was a virtue cultivated by sophisticated gentlemen to protect society from a return to man's pristine state; and clearly Appleton was no manger. Self-interest generates a proper logic, as usual. Forthright demands that England become the common estate found an opponent in Marvell who, when vindicating the Fairfax possession of confiscated land, had claimed England for Englishmen. "Poor, illiterate, mechanic men -- turned the world upside down," William Dell wrote, and he referred to the Apostles and the crime laid against them of subverting religion. Speaking of those who in Marvell's England sought to bring the bottom up and level the top, that is, "turn the world upside down," this same preacher sympathetically pointed to the disinherited mass flocking to rebellious sects, while Christian society still denounced them as men "that make the

nation full of tumults and uproars, that work all the disturbances in church and state." No wonder, as Winstanley exclaimed, the "man that will turn the world upside down -- hath enemies," for his name is "Freedom."[116] Marvell had need of his double vision to screen the truths that might be disclosed by too long a stay in history's theater. For if "All Flesh is Grass," in the harsh chronicle of history every monumental event is only an episode and the civilization molded by the Great House is transient. While enabling history to beguile spectators with a drama of possibly unprecedented achievement, the "Table rase" mocked the role Marvell allotted to the Great House as the respository of culture.[117] Historical relativism made interesting configurations on Providence's design, but joined with a Copernican universe devoid of any intrinsic hierarchy of being, relativism left value ontologically unsupported. While science needed room for observation, experiment, and deduction, its practitioners shrank the image of earth. As had scythes the grass, Cortesianism threatened to sever "Thoughtful children" from their roots to a sentient earth. Earth itself was menaced by the image of "Cattle," the bellowing "Beast" emerging from the deluge hoping to possess "a whole kingdom."[118] Though Marvell inherited antiquity's catalogue of "impossibles" for the form of the "Paradox" he would "Let others tell,"[119] his contemporary scene generously provided the substance from which he fled.

III. ISLAND: SON-DAY WONDER

Were "Sanctuary" always experienced as in Appleton's wood, no doubt even those critics censoring Marvell for his self-indulgence there would be wise enought to cast aside their burden of morality and abandon themselves to delight.[1] To listen in this woodlands section is to hear now the poet of the "Abbyss" stanza rejoicing throughout his whimsical experiences in a comparable lyricism. But another tone has been added to this lyricism. Though still brisk and amusing lyric verse, Marvell's spectacle is touched with the radiance and warmth of the Sun to which it moves. Language has power to capture feeling, and in art feeling is a formalizing element, a component of its meaning.[2] Betrayal of this spectacle begins, however, with Marvell. After clearing the labyrinth and glimpsing the island blessed by the Sun, he ungratefully derided as so many "Toyes" the inspired cavortings that had borne him through the boundless interval separating man from the earthly paradise. Nor are the censors of "narcissism" the sole force effectively denying this episode its place among seventeenth-century verse's brilliant moments. Frequently readers who empathize with Marvell's persona, busy preeening himself as the "easie Philosopher," overlook the lessons he learned to earn the degree.[3] Joy comes to Marvell in Appleton's wood, but only after the meadow of history had dramatically exposed life's disconcerting dualities. That is, joy awaits the metaphysician's triumph over an awareness that the world of appearances reflected another world of realities, and joy follows, therefore, upon such instructive acts as compose the divided mind and solace the troubled soul.

Personal regeneration, an incontrovertibly honorable endeavor

and a theme of Marvell's solo flight, tends to cancel the more crass condemnations of his indolence. To neo-Platonists only the mind that becomes sunlike ever sights the sun. Besides sanctioning Marvell's verbal play on "sol," Renaissance wit favored his pun on "recreation."[4] In escaping a Sixth Day of Creation that yoked the world to the reign of "Cattle," Marvell chose to take his "holyday" where he might move toward that time when men heard, as Dylan Thomas would under the magic spell of pastoral's mood, the "sabbath" ring out "slowly/In the pebbles of the holy stream."[5] Persistently Appleton's wood instructs Marvell in a Sunday wisdom that he must as her tutor in turn impart to Maria. At least Nature, his teacher, never plays the pedant; on the contrary, instruction is conducted amid a general glee. Deriving from the Greek skhole and the Latin schola, the English word "school" inherited their original meaning of "halt" and connotation of a "resting place" where one passed free time pleasantly in learning.[6] Deep in the "Forrest" Marvell discovers such a holy land as Fairfax reached in the garden, because like his host and hero he stole from life a brief span of leisure for independent study. Transforming Appleton's wilderness into a garden of his own, Marvell grows into another whole man and a kind of "Shepherd of the Ocean." Should any stern preceptor among critics then insist that solipsism warrants demerits, he would do well to read the parliamentary preachers who in Marvell's period constantly analogized personal regeneration with England's rebirth.[7]

Far from the mower-devastated plain, Nature reigns in a wooded realm that invites the solitary to study, intones for him life's essential lessons, and provides the text by its very body, the "mys-

tic Book" of hieroglyphics. But man has blundered far from Paradise where the knowledge of all things divine and natural originated and has left behind his ancestor Adam who was the foremost scholar.[8] Man has, in fact, come out on the wrong side of the universe if he wanted to get around to the front where wisdom lay. By a simple expedient Marvell corrected time's arrow and in so doing reversed the meadow experience and resolved its perplexities. In a "Looking-glass" world all he need do to turn the last movement of "Upon Appleton House" back upon itself was go out the back door of man's historic house. For the completion of his circle's center, Marvell designed a variant of architectural symmetry: two self-sustaining spectacles related to each other as mirror images. When war inundated England, Marvell retreated to the shelter of Appleton's wood, but in the cause of peace undertook there the exacting task of rediscovering the primal world. Just over the threshold of his retreat, however, we surmise that Marvell is prone to "err," to seeing "wood not trees," and fallen into error will wander long through a dark wood reminiscent of Dante's "selva oscura" before perceiving the stream of light. Or as the "errant" knight, he will meander through a moral maze until he exists on the locus amoenus placed in the wild forest by courtly romance.[9] Error having established itself as a persistent principle in tis third corner of man's earthly estate, Marvell's questing mind had need of what temporary habitation the comic structure offered. At the center of Marvell's house, the "ludicrous," insisting on the meaning of its Latin root, lives next door to the earnest.

Divergent gates open into Appleton's "Forrest," for art assists nature in gently guiding man into life's mysteries, and though solaced

by his experience there, man nevertheless confronts the forest as the "wilderness."[10] Once past the green gate of imagination, Marvell comes onto a literary terrain where allusions bounce him back through the thickness of human time so that he understands that his ancestors survived the successive errors from which he creates his character. But man goes through the iron gate alone when he ventures into the wilderness whose moral dilemma he must confront before discovering his being and assuming the kingdom of himself. But despite the learned and singular manner in which Marvell's soul struggles to capture its essence, he repeats the journey every pilgrim takes. A wayfaring Christian, Marvell acts out the second stage of the three-part drama of Exodus, the great figure of the journey that tested man through life's wastes for a period of forty years.[11] Noah's trial by water was among its antecedents, Jesus' temptation for forty days amid the privations of the wilderness its New Testament antitype. Cast initially as Noah, the "first Carpenter" who confronted the Sea of Death, Marvell ultimately performs as Christ who descended into the Waters of Death. What should have been the miraculous crossing of the Red Sea, marking the elect's definitive departure out of Egyptian morality, the mowers played as a failed exodus. Before Israel might cross into Jerusalem or the Christian be baptized into the grace opening heaven's gate, God must perform His further miracle and part the flooded waters of the River Jordan.[12]

Between these two acts there stretched a desert space which an age of ecclesiastical and political turmoil could occupy. "Wilderness," as one scholar explains, became "an almost incantational term" among seventeenth-century Christians. Proponents of the Radical Reformation, in particular, convinced that their age moved toward

the better state God promised his English Israel, revived the complex wilderness motif of medieval and earlier faith. Though God had blasted the sown land into a desert, that is, flooded Marvell's historical meadow, He would convert this wilderness into a meditational refuge, a realm of purification, a cultivated garden, and provisionally Paradise.[13] In Appleton's forest, Isaiah's prophecy is fulfilled: the Lord will comfort Zion's "waste places," make her

> wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody.

In the experience of the individual, however, the wilderness was closer to a theater of unchartered movement in which he was the solo player. He who risks voyaging toward truth must embark on the most irrefragable of human doctrines, Plato counseled in Phaedo.[14] Tradition contributed to the "ark" Marvell chose to "embark" in. Represented by the deeply rooted forest of Appleton, tradition was Nature's "Cradle," "yet green" and "yet growing" that, expectedly, would be Nature's "Hearse." "Take ship - at home," and in a "Paper Bark," "sayle about they selfe," John Davies of Hereford advised one seeking the "wondrous Isle of Man";[15] and Marvell, the introspective poet turning voyager into himself, complied. But conscious of overweening pride, Plato had wished that some stronger vessel might be at hand, a divine revelation upon which to sail more safely and securely. Faith embarks with Marvell, who identifies with the figures of Christian myth emblematically a part of the landscape he traverses. Though by its efforts to entertain Fairfax, "Upon Appleton House" discourages the critic's conclusion that its poet expressed a personal intensity of religious conviction, nonetheless, Marvell's emergence from the wilderness is a rebirth into harmony.

After Marvell's aboreal compliment to the Fairfaxes and the Veres, all other "family trees" must resign themselves to metaphorically playing the originals that stand in Appleton's forest. But in complimenting the woodland patriarchs, Marvell reveals with certitude the Marvell who, valuing tradition, is concerned with its possible demise. Trees that stand like soldiers, emblems of their masters' military bravery, literally honor England's famed line of invincibility. In a time of violent social transition, however, these stately pillars also form a sustaining structure for the English state that has retained its inheritance of moral values. Their antiquity proclaiming them the soil's true owners, their "Union" an object lesson to the contentious bodies misruling the nation, the trees in turn declare their master, the "ancient Stocks," the noblemen fit to reign over the land. From at least Donne's "Satire II" down through English literature trees have represented organic growth, which to the Renaissance mind was the "natural" condition of the world; conversely, a tree felled suggests a radical break with the past.[16] Many of the venerable denizens of the Fairfax and Vere "house" and forest have fallen as a consequence of war's deforestration. Marvell's troubled thought that the "Sanctuary" provided till then by England's patriarchs might be lost "While it lasts" goes beyond the concern for woods[17] to the continuity of the nation's social structure.

Despair has no place on Appleton's wooded stage, however; branches of the family tree still are "shooting to heaven." A Spenserian pre-cedent[18] existed for describing thus the wooden tower rising out of the earth's bosom, but Marvell's "shooting" trees sprang from the same cause as determined that all "Creatures" board his "Ark---in Armies, not in Paires." Although Cromwell's dominant personality

hoodwinks many modern readers, Fairfax's contemporaries knew his organizational ability to be responsible for forming and training the New Model Army. From the sidelines Marvell had watched the temporary invasion of Fairfax's Army by the ideology of "shares," whereby society was the contract or Agreement of the People.[19] "Shooting" alludes also to aspiration, had Marvell taken a lesson from the author of The Sholemaster. In Toxophilus, Robert Ascham, linking book with bow and both to the commonwealth's well-being, defined "shooting" as "learning" and as that state of mind "honestly exercised where a man alwaies desireth to be best."[20] There in the wilderness, or Appleton's forest, Marvell founded a University, an enclosed green traditionally regarded as a reinstituted paradise where scholars sought to rectify Adam's error, to safeguard and transmit knowledge. Since its ultimate sanction derived from Christ, whose threefold office was that of priest, prophet, and king, the university comprised the three coordinate societies suggested by Marvell: Sanctuary, School, and State. And because the academic community engaged in a kind of spiritual warfare, it was thought of as an encampment of the militia of Christ.[21]

By liberating the "Wooden Saints" from the cloister, Protestanism restored them to Nature. Once again trees are dignified images, a "Militia" enlisted in God's original cause of enlightening men. Because they grow up in a theoretical soil grounded in Paradise, Appleton's "ancient Stocks" would prove "Fit Timber" were the "first Carpenter" to resume his mission of regeneration. Backing Marvell's boast is the liturgical claim that Adam's tree furnished the wood for Christ's cross and that Noah's Ark was the type of this cross that floated above the chaotic abyss of the primeval flood and

saved men from the wilderness of waters. Embarked on the image of the ship-house built from this venerable wood and voyaging across the sea whose source was the topos of "the world as a wilderness," Marvell became such a Spiritual Navigator Bound for the Holy Land approved by Thomas Adams' timely sermon, along with others. Familial alliance and local loyalty, the natural connections celebrated by Marvell's "Union" and "Neighborhood"- these rested on a system of inherited values consented to by men who stressed birth and status and analogized change in the body politic to the growth of trees. Such values antagonized a Puritan morality that joined a theology of covenant and command to its economic reliance on contractualism. Yet the Puritans struggling to shatter Marvell's image of the ideal -- a life whose many trees of growing branches were molded into "one great trunk" by vicinity and kinship -- had adapted as one of their instruments of iconoclastic power the very image he uses of life as a voyage, with comparable emphasis on the strides of its pilgrim.[23] We are unavoidably aware of inconsistency -- that is, if we allow Marvell to have aimed his poem at other than a "high fantastical exuberance." In confusing Anglican and Puritan values, Marvell corroborates the charge that "Upon Appleton House" fails to achieve the "inquiry into philosophical speculation" it initiates.[24] Applied to Marvell's woodland escapade, however, the demand for philosophical consistency presupposes that ready made concepts resolve in advance the paradoxes that existence posed for Marvell and provide him with a smooth bridge. Meanwhile Marvell proceeds by jumping distanced and unaligned stepping stones in an episode whose shape realizes in outward act the mind in its inward state. Matching a journey of progress stopping along the way at conventional stations

is a mind bent on reconciling a drive toward aggression with an equal inclination to abide by ancestral formulas. Metaphor, or perhaps conceit, organizes this as it does all other episodes of "Upon Appleton House"; for metaphor alone gave Marvell strength to reveal that behind what is logically a tangle of contradictions throbbed one man's mind consisting of "single yet, entangled trees," as Louis MacNeice phrased it,[25] and the power to disentangle this forest of consciousness.

As the woods proliferate a further image of the metaphor "house," we glimpse another motion of Marvell's mind. Basic to Noah's Ark and the Ark of the Covenant it ushers in, Solomon's Temple, was the experience of "Sanctuary"; both structures, build according to tradition of the Tree of Paradise, prefigured God's New House of the Church.[26] Pomp and pageantry have passed; what grandeur distinguishes the "Temple" where Marvell worships is a "green" shared with the ark he rides. Even the dignity of classical measure seems compromised by the "loose" fluting of leaves and flowrs on "porticoes" admittedly "Corinthean." Still, these columns build a Porch of Pillars like the one that graced Solomon's house in the Forest of Lebanon,[27] and they display God's natural artifice, for in Appleton's forest symbols which are emblems to man are His realities. In honor of their Maker, tree trunks aspire to essence, leaving the elements behind, and boughs "shooting" upward pay reverence in a clasping of hands. Right measure prevails, since semi-light reigns in this temple and the feeling of space is calm. Within the sacred grove the trunks have grown tall and the branches high to let in the first intimation of God's light, the Sun, even though outside stretches the profane space experienced by the soul as the dark night. Tree trunks slanting

toward each other, branches interlacing, the temple "knits" the outer "Dark all" that convertly or "under a hedge" slinks to hem in or "hedge" life. Clad in the green armour of a defender of life, this religious house "hedges" out the dreaded "Night" by defining it as God's light, until the night is "hedged" or bounded within God's promise of eternal life. Twilight will soon descend on Appleton, but in the forest of his imagination Marvell's ark voyages east. The thin light of dawn hovers over the trees, but to Marvell approaching through the dark and profane wild, they appear a "huge Bulk" visible only because they are darker. An erring man, Marvell likely interprets the scant visual evidence as a seascape of becalmed galleons with inky sails. On his entrance the sea parts, however, opening "passable and thin" and allowing the ark directed by his questing mind to float among the trees of the sacred grove, the emblems of the temple, the ships of the sea, all islands of discovery in a landscape of wonder.

With the motion of floating, Marvell comes into the wise inheritance of "seems," bequeathed to him by the meadow experience. Facts were fast filling the empty spaces of the expanding map, and explorers of history and geography were relinquishing their freedom to seize upon the blanks as their proper realm. But not that accomplished story-teller, Sir Walter Ralegh, who to present his own claim told in the "Painter's Wife's Island" of the country an artist discovered to please his love. Nor did Marvell, though in this episode he lacked Ralegh's dismissal of the fear that "time should run backward" and make his "conjectures appear ridiculous."[28] As "Upon Appleton House" finally tells, poetry had no power to heal the breach of a nation, to recreate a state of innocence, nor to stop

the coming of night; but for the moment its poet demanded that the world be his to fill with his vision. His mobile house eddying around the ranked columns of the temple enclaved by the forrest, Marvell was a "floating island," a piece of the continent separated by water from the continent of the wilderness, as was that wilderness separated from the larger world that had turned upside down. As an exile cast adrift, Marvell was at sufficient remove to fill the blank spaces, yet still he floated within the social structure and possessed the guarded freedom necessary to attain a vision of the whole world. Centuries later, Henry James typed as the artist that kind of mind, "active and passive," engaged in an "adventure" that was "interesting in itself."[29]

In the terms of literary tradition respected by Marvell, the hero impressed to cross the sea, which was assumed to be the natural sphere of adventure, was likely to have epic stature. Thus Odysseus was conceived to voyage again on Appleton's island sea, glimpsing spectacular sights in unexplored lands where he triumphs by fantastic adventures. But in shouldering the reputation of the Homeric hero, Marvell became also the unhappy wandering soul, far from home, tossed and crossed by wind and wave, yearning to leave the buffetings behind him. Christian allegorists would read in his adventures man's longing for the Heavenly City, and emblem makers sum up his "striving to win his life" as spiritual aspiration. From Du Bellay on, the exiled poet would identify with the epic hero in a nostalgia for home.[30] To forgo Odysseus' presence in Marvell's spectacle is to miss at least one delightful reference. Having donned "Silks but newly washt" in the river, the meadows await their wedding with heaven, just as long ago Nausicaa dreamed of marriage and signaled

her readiness by hanging out the wash on the river bank. Where the "two Labyrinths" may lead is to Scylla and Charybdis. A hero "languishing with ease" arouses the suspicion that he forgot to say "no" to the tempting lotus, while his plight as the human "Bank" content to stretch "unto the Tide" can be counted among Circe's victimizations. Allusion-matching tends, however, to deploy its energy in trivia. There would be no purpose, for example, in associating the wind's rescue of Marvell's head by winnowing it from the chaff to Tiresias' advice to Odysseus about what to say when he is told that he has a winnowing fan. Classical allusions play at best a secondary role to the Christian and the neo-Platonic. If Marvell seems to obey the Greek prophet, plants his oar in the ground, sacrifices to Christ if not to Poseidon, and returns home, narrative patterns other than the Greek suggest themselves, not least the Christian. Few actions are more universal than a long wandering followed by homecoming. The Odysseus essential to Marvell is a seafarer, the literary ancestor to the Aeneas destined to found a nation, and a hero who having seen the world wisely returned to the hearth.

Not many giants, not even the Cyclops, retain their integrity as epic monsters when they are reduced to the single "shining Eye" of a hatching throstle high in a hazelwood tree. So playful a parallel, if only as a possibility, tests the critic's forbearance. But parallel aside, this apparently surrealistic image provides the final clue to Marvell's manner with metaphor as he guides us through the woods. Though "one eye" should convey a world wrested from right relations, Marvell placed that single eye in the temple. Surely, the image depends on emblematic verse with its focus on the sharp-etched outline at the expense of the continuum and its idealizing

of theme that gives no quarter to "natural" effect.[31] But Marvell's purpose in turning sailor was precisely to sight fragments that,were they "knit" or "seamed," might unify the world to his vision. To the sea-bound observer engaged in mapping the land, the bird's "shining Eye" represents a seaboard discovery. Simultaneously the emburdened pilgrim, wandering through the dark wood, beholds in the eye of God's creature a beacon placed for man on earth. Sophisticated Marvell underlined his theme of man the amphibion, neither fish nor flesh ("nor good red herring") and therefore both, by alluding to a nursery rhyme. Tossing on a "Bet/Of gelid Straw-berryes" as he treads, Marvell recalled for Fairfax the paradox:

> The man in the wilderness asked me
> How many strawberries grew in the sea?
> I answered him, as I thought good
> As many as red herrings grew in the wood,

or its variant last line

> How many ships sail in the forest?[32]

Seafarer and wayfarer head toward one objective which unites them with the temple-haunting guest and the scholar dedicated to study: all make their way home through the wilderness of the world. Distinguishing Marvell's woodland spectacle from others in "Upon Appleton House" is a metaphor that is unique by reason of its structure, though it is commonplace in theme and an overt statement of similitude. One tenor is transported by a host of vehicles that share with it a body of metaphor. Sole man, whose soul participates in many roles while bound to the earthly estate, is Marvell's single tenor. Ark and bark, university and temple, add up to the many vehicles bringing that man home. Yet each vehicle is, like the body of man, a "house," and each vehicle, like the "estate" man seeks as solace for the soul, is part of earth's estate, which is its body and its

house.

Read in the context of the temple, Marvell's image of the single "Eye" clarifies the way man, the erring "I," comes to see rightly and thereby returns home. For this gleam is singular also in the sense that images of sound surround it in an auditory sphere that emphasizes its singularity as an image of vision. Even on entering Nature's holy house, the hierophant hears "the winged Quires/Echo about their tuned Fires." Leviticus VI:13 records that because the Lord spoke to Moses, "The fire shall ever be burning upon the alter." Worship in ancient Italy centered about the hearth and its Vesta, who as Ovid's Fasti informs us, was one with the earth, for both burn in perpetual fire.[33] Aflame with religious devotion, the birds that guard God's altar and hearth in Nature, which is His temple, send forth a matin of joy. As Marvell's richly ambiguous "their" implies, the birds are part of a fuller-voiced choir. The hymn they join began with the winds of dawn tuning the leaves on "arching Boughs," the "winged Quires" echoed by the singing birds circling "underneath." Alight with God's sun shining upon them, the leaves of the arching boughs are attuned to His glory, and it is about these "tuned Fires" that zealous birds echo in song.

Green thoughts have turned golden again the "yellow leaves" and "few" that hung upon Shakespeare's boughs and have restored to a full-bodied voice "bare ruin'd choirs." Marvell's temple is alive with the music that is nature's language, so that this music overflows into the figure of the maker of verbal music.[34] It is as the lyric poet that Marvell joins his voice in the song circling between heaven and earth. Leaves are "loose" pages of his book of verse, the unbounded order termed as being "in quires."[35] Self-conscious Marvell,

the lyric poet, is about to trace his "Pedigree," the lines in the genealogical tree but literally the "crane's foot." After a morning devoted to hymns, he becomes Philomela, the bird who sang "high" in the classical world. Always that woeful nightingale sings propped against a thorn,[36] but Marvell poses her on "Low Shrubs" before "squatted Thorns" to audition the "Tryals" of her voice. With his introduction to the "Stock-doves" wearing "Nuptial Rings,"[37] namely Lord Fairfax and Lady Vere, Marvell finds the melancholy music of Christian contemplation and domestic solitude more pleasing than the Classical song. But anyone thinking to "mourn" this "Sadder" turn of song should consult Socrates, who though he questioned other matters was certain no bird sang for sorrow but because it had foreknowledge of blessings in another world.[38] It was time for the poet, the would-be-lord of his house. to measure its proper dimensions. So in Appleton's forest, Marvell, mining through the "tainted Side" and cleaning what were earlier the arches of corruption, builds his temple to the "tinkling" tune of the green woodpecker.[39] Wisely Marvell heeds the lessons taught in the singing school conducted for feathered creatures, for, as Democritus proved and Montaigne repeated,[40] the innately wise birds, uncaged, improved their singing by study and taught men song-production. In joining the "winged Quires," the "Resolved Soul," like the many birds of his family tree who sing the "Aires" of nature, became the champion of "Pleasure."

With a rhetorical flourish Marvell would have applauded, one reviewer has dubbed this woodland song a "Silly Symphony."[41] Birds were "silly" before men corrupted its meaning of "innocence," but nonetheless that throstle's "shining Eye" entertained Fairfax. Al-

ready his host has dispelled for Fairfax the discordant sounds gathering in man's earthly house: the "gingling Chain-shot," the "squeking Laugh," and a "Sourdine" in the throat playing "Obsequies" for soldiers. By its discretion in teaching its lesson, Courtesy turned didacticism into a delicate art and allowed Marvell, the fledgling poet singing his plaintive notes, to end the dissension between Chapel and Church. For high-born "Quakes," the arrogant pillars of a hierarchical ecclesiastical order, condescended to "stoop down" and hear him, and they were joined by those "prick-eared" gentlemen of the low orders, the "Elders" who seldom listened to song. When even the "Thorn," a close relative of conscience, drew back its claws,[42] peace reigned in England's religious houses, that one of the outer structure, the Church, and within the individual, the soul. All would not be well in the Blessed Isle, however, until "equal" had been removed from combative territory. In the penultimate appearance of the term Marvell craftily circumvented the issues that he had elsewhere in "Upon Appleton House" clustered around it. Sustained by versions of "The Phoenix and the Turtle," he extolled the "equal Flames" of Appleton's coupled stockdoves until "equal" was totally assimilated into Love's lesson, which climaxed in a Fairfacian "one." Apparently, the poet of An Horatian Ode still puzzled over the execution of Charles, which he knew Fairfax had disapproved. During the revolution Puritans adapted the reconstruction of the state as a theme, several of their preachers analogizing the work of Parliament to the rebuilding of the temple by the returning Babylonian exiles.[43] In hewing the "tallest Oak," an accepted symbol for royalty, the hewel demonstrated a lesson in the new Statesmanship. Sin had bred a "Traitor-worm" in each of the

two bodies of the King, his "houses" of soul and state, both represented by the Oak. As the sacred spirit or divinity that "hedges" a King came to share the weakness of the tabernacle, the once fertile Oak became "hollow." Since his other "house" of the state looked to the King for strength, the whole body of society was endangered and, breeding its own "Traitor-worm," developed as the Oak's "tainted Side." Assigned to design a green building for the state, the hewel had first to deal a death blow to the old frame. Only a "feeble Strok'" accomplishes this fierce deed, for the Oak a "felon" to itself, "falls content/Viewing the Treason's Punishment." Marvell sports in earnest with the word "fell," which besides meaning the cutting down of trees and men, or villainous and cruel, relates to the French félonie, disloyalty to one's lord.[44] Slyly Marvell insinuates that the King had his revenge in the knowledge that the "Traitor-worm" went to feed the "Hewels young."

The playing of earnest parables in tableaux threatening buffoonery assorted ill with a mind inclined to see life as possessed by absolute values. Lurking always within idealism is satire and its literary companion, parody, both difficult to evade in a society morally at sea, as Marvell was to become aware. But in the haven provided by Appleton's community of birds and trees, he mastered temporarily a positive art, that of living gratefully among the ridiculousness of relative values, content to write graceful verse within the comic frame. Sidestepping political issues in the main, Marvell deflated them of their importance, only to let in instead a kind of social insight that moved his spectacle on to a miniature but splendid vision. That is, the hierophant in Nature's temple penetrated the secret of how to "see." As the glaring meadow experience taught

Marvell, man seeing double and topsy-turvy, misjudges size and mistakes distance, a state of affairs introducing the essential nature of error into consciousness. Whereupon in the very forest of error, mirror image to the meadow and its Antipodes, Nature takes the "pupil" in hand and becomes his vehicle for exploring error's nature. Moreover, she is the temple in which he reassembles images in a spatial relationship meaningful to himself as the "I" who dwells among them. Few moments of "Upon Appleton House" approximate in intellectual interest Marvell's realizations as, immersed in the sounds of the temple, he spots the "shining Eye." Images are seen by Marvell in three dimensions and a proper perspective, for, having become attuned to the universe's sounds, he receives the gift of another "Eye." At heart man is a listener, hearing in the sounds of the present echoes of those stored in the memory. Memory, man's "Treasurie," is an alternate form of recognition, an inner eye. Present images arrange themselves in meaningful patterns before Marvell because in seeing them Marvell hears echoing through the universe voices of those who in the past mastered progression and proportion.

Among the voices he heard Marvell's own would sound as if it were in an echo chamber, the temple repeating in outward structure and intellectual form the "house" closest to his heart. Arching boughs capturing the image of heaven's dome tell us about this architect who, searching for a transcendent realm, planned a sacred center continuing nature's lines. Enclosed by the dome, space becomes the bounded volume securing him from the chaos of infinity known to the Lover of the "Coy Mistress" as "Desarts of vast Eternity." Within, space opens before him a limitless horizon which the harmony of song circles into a perfect round. Effortlessly his eye glides among nature's emblems, placed like recesses in the wall of the temple

conceived of as an outward structure. Since to the initiate into Hermeticism the mental process of coming into being can constitute the temple,[45] these emblems are shrines. As forms that advance lights and shadows, the shrines give visibility to space otherwise formless and hence invisible. Measuring the immeasurable, the emblems of the natural order reflect the spiritual order of the universe.

If the outside has come into Marvell's secret house of the heart, his heart has gone out of doors into the open where figures move freely not only backward or forward, but even up and down. Physical mobility, analogous to the mental fluidity forever sought by philosophic minds, presents opportunities to wing bird-like into the marble mansion, or, like the tree that endures through the ages of men and floods,[46] to sink roots deep into earth while springing into realms of light. In the course of conferring philosophically with his colleagues, nature's denizens, Marvell frequents haunts alive with echoes of the great men of academe. An "easie Philosopher" in an ambience permitting freedom of direction, he takes "stock" of the human condition. Plato's figure of man as the plant whose roots are in heaven puts forth its ancient appeal.[47] Who would not choose, however, to flourish in high-pillared aisles shaded from heaven's glare and secluded from man's topsy-turvy world? By a simple somersault Marvell might remain permanently "embarked" in a green world and soar aloft with the "Aires" of birds. Fortunately, the wise language learned by Renaissance man, partly through reading the Classics, resolves the dilemma. Lovel from Jonson's New Inne would explain that whatever the "gorgeous Structure" or "brave Frontispice," man would remain "captive in the outer court" unless he advanced to the knowledge of who "inhabiteth the house" (111.11.131-ff). In Marvell's analogy of Appleton's house and estate to the body

of man, Fairfax as the "Head" occupied the "Tower." Outdoors, the five senses stood sentinel in "Watch-houses" guarding against sin encroaching its weeds on the English "Governour" who was himself a garden. Arms, legs, and the very belly of the body sprawled across the meadow. In Appleton's forest Marvell found the "Heart." By its structure the human heart demonstrated man's need of "Humilitie," but man's heart was the "Temple" dedicated to God in the body Purchas' Microcosmos praised as a divine building.[48] Marvell graduates with honors in self-hood, the philosopher easy in mind because he realizes that in the house of the heart all along he has been an "inverted" tree, that is, one "green within."

Both in Latin verse and pamphlet polemics Marvell mocked the preposterous philosopher prophesying in Sibyllian leaves, and so immuring himself against challenge.[49] Nevertheless, when he returns to language's "learned Original" and gathers its offspring "Leaves" that the winds of time had scattered, Marvell performs as the "easie Philosopher" offering no occasion for parody. Like Bacon in The Advancement of Learning, many would resist depending abjectly on "Sortes Virgilianae" to answer questions currently astir in the universe. But literary tradition was built into the foundation of Marvell's intimate house, though that house observed the contemporary scene and invited self-laughter. No spoof on an "Attic" philosophy adequately accounts for Marvell either as the bird who "divines," or as the "inverted Tree" who by the "light Mosaick" reads Nature as the "mystic Book." Solitude, which according to Petrarch links man to the natural world, inflames his thoughts with desire for heaven as if they were "burning words,"[50] a conflagration the young Augustine experienced from Platonic readings. Marvell's bird, "Knit" by

"Limetwigs," suggests just such a figure as Augustine's Philosophia, the winged soul classic in neo-Platonism dragged down by the "bird-lime of wantonness."[51] Hope yet remains that, like Philocalia, the "love of beauty" who was sister to the "love of wisdom," Marvell will wing his way unrestrained to that haven Plotinus called the "Fatherland" and reserved for voyagers possessed of the inner eye.[52] With the collapse of ecclesiastical institutions, mid-seventeenth-century England witnessed a powerful revival of the whole tradition of Platonism.[53] For the knowledgeable Fairfax, Marvell recapitulated Platonic prophecies along with Biblical and Vergilian: the amphibious bird in free flight describes definitive patterns.

Most significantly, solitude reopened the channels of continuity, withdrawing man from the ephemeral and sending back to him the memory on which rested his consciousness of any identity beyond change. Neither the progress of the soul toward divine knowledge nor the realm to which it ascends, which Vaughan named the "firy Volume,"[54] holds the center of Marvell's attention. Though respectful of the complementary Books, of God's Word and of His Creatures, from which the seventeenth century collected divinity, Marvell moved toward the making of a manmade volume. "As forests change their leaves with each year's decline," Horace intoned in Ars Poetica, so words and all mortal things die with the old race. Translating Apollo's scorn in the Iliad, Chapman wrote of "wretched men that flourish for a time/Like leaves."[55] Time, moreover, provided opportunities for the foliation into error. Nonetheless, Marvell stooped to recover the leaves on which man had inscribed his symbols, though Virgil had said that when the wind blew the Sibyl never troubled to do so.[56] By his act of joining the "broken letters" of man's cul-

ture into a "Mosaick," surely Marvell dignifies mortals. Though it is with woodland magic that he metamorphoses into a "Tree of Knowledge," Revelation's tree of "twelve manners of fruits" bore leaves "for the healing of nations."[57] While the pilgrim navigated a river running backward through time, bound on reversing man's decline from innocence to sin, the lover of beauty's wisdom, wandering through memory, gathered leaves for a folio.

As a candidate for a university degree, Marvell denies on several counts that his "easie Philosopher" plays at mere straightforward parody. Simply by choosing to read what "Rome, Greece, Palestine, ere said," he prepares the serious thesis that argues against seventeenth-century man's acceptance of the "Table rase" as the most effective beginning for a new departure. Perhaps, as he intimates, it were best to exist unconsciously in nature, like birds singing a "learned Original." But man who named the birds knows consciousness, culture, and history by means of many languages. Proposing to collect man's treatures into a thesaurus, Marvell had to select leaves whose symbols had endured the wind. Poetry originated with the singing of angelic choirs at the end of the sixth day of Creation, Jean de Sponde wrote in the "Preface" to his edition of Homer. Human poetry began as soon as man had an alphabet, for it was "God's first gift to man and man's first response to God." Babel confounded the tongues and with it poetry. In his return to the time of Noah, Marvell repeats that savior's role as the preserver of pure song.[58] Besides revealing God's law and being a type of Christ in his role as prophet, Moses, the eldest of philosophers, was the perfect pattern of the poet. Analyzing Moses' revered narrative of the Creation, Pico attributed its exact imitation of nature to God's

inspiration, which included His teaching of writing technique.[59] Though he was never to reenter Israel, Moses shepherded his Hebrews out of bondage to where they would cross the Jordan under Joshua. To foretell man's fate Cumae's inspired prophetess trusted only verse. On his way to bring back honor to ruined Troy, Aeneas stopped at Cumae to learn his posterity's fate, and only then sped triumphantly on to found the land later known as proud Rome. Joining with Virgil's Sibyl and Moses, Marvell becomes the "Thrice happy" of the poet-philosophers who know nature's secrets and figure significantly in founding a Promised Land.

Living in England, which the seventeenth century acclaimed a Troy of honor, a second Rome, and God's new Israel, Marvell preened amid the world's accumulated glory. With such feather-headed "Phancy" as befits the prophetic peacock,[60] he wove paintings that images his age which in "one History" had consumed all that preceded. But as "Mexique," the title of these period-portraits, shows, Marvell credits his contemporaries with adding further "Plumes." The domain of Nature celebrated by the singing bird extends as far west as the New World discovered by man, Mexico[61] Wherever may be the destined end of man's earthly voyage (and of course Noah was reputed to have anchored in the Americas),[62] in his ark Marvell awaits God's sign that never again will raging waters cover the world. Gently, because metaphorically "flooding" through the trees in the autumn of the day, God's light tints the world with His rainbow, eulogized as "the richest piece in the treasure of nature" by Récréations Mathématiques. Impious Anaxagoras had earlier questioned the divinity of Iris; by Marvell's time even Jean Leurechon, the Jesuit responsible for the charming Récréations, taught man how to bring the rainbow mathemati-

cally down to earth and there reproduce its colors. Descartes took the giant step in the scientific story of the rainbow by his law of refraction, and not long after came Newton's prism experiment. Philosophers were subjecting Iris, along with the rest of the once sacrosanct book of Nature, to explanation, and addressing her, accustomed to admiration, in the reduced language of geometry. Plato however understood that philosophy begins in "wonder," and so Socrates was heard to admire a genealogist who declared Iris the child of Thaumus. Before the advent of Christianity three had been a sacred number, and for centuries after Aristotle, his belief in a tricolored rainbow dominated.[63] Other than as an allusion to Hermes, Marvell's reason for being "Thrice happy" was joy in a triad of cultures that had sung the rainbow's beauty.

What a marvelous instrument Appleton's forest reveals the human eye to be. It sees size and shape, adjusts itself for distance and direction, registers intensity of brightness and darkness, and, moreover, beholds the glory of color. Microcosmos described the "Centre," the pupil of this eye, as "environed with a Circle" called "Iris." Colored variously in man only, Purchas believed, the iris was the "painted Glasse" ornamenting the "Window" of man's house.[64] Around this membrane was the "aqueous humor" which a disgruntled pampheleteer claimed discolored everything when itself distempered. Iris herself, a "distempered" though many-colored "messenger of wet," rounded the eye of Shakespeare's Helena.[65] Indeed, the eye signifies water, Purchas thought, for God, desiring to fortify this "most beautified" organ, fashioned it "like a closed Well." Nature's pupil, the "babie in the Eye," appears at the beneficence of iris and lives thereafter amid a

rainbow suspended in shining water, like an island surrounded by a variegated sea with a built-in bridge to heaven.[66] This eye Maria's tutor seeks to clear as he "whets"[67] and waves the wings of his soul in the "various Light" of Nature's temple and sings a "Mosaique of the Air."

Marvell left no clue to whether in naming the eye's parts he recognized that since each part sees only a kind of "tessera" of the whole scene, the eye puts together the pieces somewhat like a mosaic. Theoreticians had long delayed and wrongly directed the hypothesis concerning the mechanism of vision by assuming erroneously that to see a body was a single, indivisible operation. For fourteen hundred years nothing of importance was added to the opthamological anatomy projected by Galen in the second century, who had submitted every experimental observaiton to teleological analysis. The development of cerebral anatomy, in general, had to wait until the seventeenth century. Because the delicacy of the eye's tissues, the minutiae of its architecture, and the problems of maintaining its form in dissection offered particular difficulties to anatomists, an accurate knowledge of the eye's structure lagged far behind that of other organs.[68] An easier perception for Marvell would have been that the mind fuses into mosaic composition the difference between the images presented to each eye. Today there remains the mystery of how man's visual system, taking one flat image from one eye and combining it with another flat image from the second eye, produces a perception with a quality of depth possessed by neither image. Yet the graphic artists of Italy's Renaissance developed most of the techniques available today for arranging material on a two-dimensional surface to produce a three-dimensional effect.

Among his many contributions, Leonardo da Vinci worked out and even articulated the essential role of binocular vision. Setting out to determine which characteristics in the environment of normal vision could not be represented on a flat convas, da Vinci concluded that in a painting the near object preempts the whole space behind it, but that as seen by man in nature the near object appears in relief because of the disparity of the views obtained by both eyes.[69] Though scholars have often discerned in Marvell's "Appleton" poem a fascination with art technique, with greater justification we might conjecture that he had caught the fever of his century and succumbed to curiosity about vision itself. Consider: his rigid lineup of images on a vertical plane calling attention to the appearance of depth it pretends to eliminate; his frank manipulation of size to suggest the relativity of distance; his partial overlapping of events to indicate their interposition; and finally in the woods, an acknowledgement of the limits of visual acuity, followed by the intimation that proper perspective requires the presence of a "third" eye, and then his fascination with "iris." What this leaf-weaver and plume-painter assumes beyond compromise is that behind the "eye" reading the lighter of the two "Mosaick" books is the "I" of the artist.

After laboring to coalesce history into prophecy, it is the wise philosopher who heeds the better half of wit and takes his ease by trusting to change. Given the change, Nature guides all men, but naturally keeps a most attentive eye on the initiate enrolled in her course of study. With the switch in curriculum calling the pupil away from his vocation to play, Nature slips in, however, a Vacation Exercise. As Marvell's guests we are assigned to attend with him a "Mask."

Now that she is the initiator, Nature refuses the traditional role of sympathetic backdrop to man's forefront projections of psychological stages and instead performs a witty variation. Crawling out of the learned pages, Nature "hales" the peruser of her body, the "Book," as the "worm" and clasps him lovingly to her bosom. Oak-leaves and caterpillars and ivy, which crawling follow, seemingly shape themselves onto that mishapen or "grotesque" composition of the vegetable and animal kingdom known as the "antic."[70] Righteously, they would claim to be professionals, performers responsible for the "antic" or antimasque. Actually, these members of a motley company known as the "antic" have been cast as artisans and directed to clasp, embroider and curl in an "antic" dance until their antics outfit the former weaver of poetry's garment in the robe called the "antick Cope." If such a transformation scene and accompanying change in costume speaks ill of the reconciling powers men attribute to the masque, the verbal underpunning of this allegorical garb testifies that the student managed to "cope." Despite Nature's antic "hit," Marvell comes out ahead both in proving himself sufficient to the encounter and also making a good exchange. Made part of Nature's pageantry, Marvell wears a ridiculously piebald cloak, but one eminently suitable to the out-of-doors. "Cope," however, was often erroneously confused with pallium or "pall," the mantle of the Greek philosopher and vestment of the high church celebrant.[71] Though from its introduction into English "antic" was a distinct term, the equivalent of the Italian grottesco, the seventeenth century frequently wrote it "antique." Officiating in the temple of Appleton's wood, Nature has full authority to grant the honorific title of "Prelate of the Grove" to match Marvell's "Cope." As the

pun on "Prelate" proclaims, the mantled Marvell is being honored as a "forbear" of the priests of England's green island, a "very wise" Druid. In accepting graciously the doctorate in divinity, Marvell reverts to a religion he conceives to be primordial, and from there preaches his "Strawberry" or once-a-year sermon.[72]

On the way to transforming the temple into a private playhouse and estate, the newly ordained prelate behaves like a punning show-off. Partly, Marvell's avocation is to deride such affectations of ostentatious dignity as Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops donned with their vestments. Members of the more soberly minded religious orders had even less cause to rejoice, since he indulges in these counter-antics to prelatical formality on the Sabbath.[73] For his further amusement, this nonconformist vaults with ease over antiquity's deities, even as represented by Iris herself. She holds court beneath an iridescent canopy below heaven's vault, but Nature's "preferred," the prelate, experiences the greater joy of presiding over a realm secured under a "Cope" convoluted with creatures of earth. Besides representing an over-arching canopy or vault, "Cope," as firmament or expanse, suggested height. Together with his title and robe, the prelate receives a map to his terrain detailing its moral dimensions. Sensuous carpeting, woven of the rich cloth of "Velvet Moss" suggesting a "Palace," tempts him to toss on "Pallets." The high and the low, distinctions that quarrel tiresomely in the social world, risk a truce at Marvell's return to the soil when the wilderness begins to grow into the garden. Grandeur itself almost becomes equal to restricted space once the heraldic terms backing Marvell's verbal play are exposed: "pale," the third part of the whole field, might be further diminished to the "Pallet," which is half its breadth.

Etymology turns into a fast and loose game as Marvell proceeds to emphasize that both the palatial playhouse and "Pallets," the mean straw beds, are structures of the mind. His bed originated most likely in the French Separer la paille et le grain. Already indoctrinated with Druidic notions of metempsychosis,[74] the prelatical Marvell would be further "translated" along with the French phrase, and bed his head on his "Thoughts," which the wind winnows from the chaff like his "Hair." For the greater part, that is, "mostwhat," to use the common seventeenth-century quasi-adverb, Marvell's hair abandons its roots in his "mossy" or downy head to swell the banks with moss. Consequently he grows stupid, the jocular interpretation of "mossy," and even "hare-brained," as Marvell the pamphleteer described with "As much out of order as if...an Hare had crossed his way."[75] An "easie Philosopher" to begin with, the prelate "languishing with ease" grows so lazy that moss cleaves to his heels.[76] Thereupon "Pallets" have "swoln" into a virtual "Palatium," but the man who gathers no moss never grows rich. As the rolling stone, Marvell grows no moss, nor as the running head, the proverb says, will he ever thrive. But in his palatial playhouse, wealth holds no more correspondence to moss known as "money" than does imaginative flight to physical dimension. Gold and the quest for Eldorado, to which "Mexique" alluded, never enters into the contentment dreamed of by pastoral as the Golden Age.[77] Expressions of gratitude, the "Thanks" threading through Marvell's lines like a refrain, are tendered for another order of "Magnitude." Identifying the noble house of this retainer is the "antick Cope" bearing as its "cognizance" or device an eye/I "cognizant" that Sunday's wealth consists of taking easeful pleasure in the sight of God and His Son. Again the Gospel's doctrine has been

"winnow'd, and sifted, from the chaffe of overdated Ceremonies," as it had been by its "Divinely inspir'd" planters in Milton's "Of Reformation."[78]

A dedicated prelate, Marvell assumes responsibility for his "see." Consequently, his "Brows" seem to withdraw their allegiance to the head and become the "Eye-brows." Two thousand years later medical men still denied the claim, but Alcmeon of Croton, the Pythagorean whom today we credit with discovering the optic nerves, had asserted that man's brain was the organ of sensation and motion,[79] and thus the seat of his "ruling soul." Though Marvell depended for his imagery on the tradition in which the heart was the "Temple," he knew that man's optic nerves were connected to the brain. The "Brows" having sent their stores down to the "Banks," the prelate must deliver his sermon from this "seat." Whether these human "Canopies" are above or below, however, they are in the "richest part" of that exemplary house, Marvell, the moderate Protestant "Palace." For under them sits Sight, "Queene of Senses"; nor, as Purchas extolled, could Salomon frame him such a Throne."[80]

Apparently crediting Bacon's conjecturings in the House of Salomon, Marvell discovers the lost Natural History of the philosopher and magician who for the Renaissance was the "wise man."[81] And having recovered, in Thomas Browne's phrase, the "perished leaves of Solomon," Marvell grew wise and "Spoke three thousand proverbs."[82] Just as apparently, his harebrained lunacies set up a Solomonic equation between scanty hair and wit's plenitude. One of the three things very hard to find, or not to be found at all, was a muse without a hare. Should one find a muse, and a knave without an excuse, this particular proverb continued, "hang them up." So Marvell, the

lazy knave, found his muse when having become the "poulter's hare" he hung by his heels, as in Falstaff's absurd comparison.[83] Having relinquished his thoughts to "Banks" which hem in the moss, he trod underfoot what wealth was before his head, his "Brows." While man's brows were "two lovely Bowes" from which the eye shoots piercing rays, they were also a "woody Forest of Haire."[84] Playing the proverbial pun, Marvell turns himself upside-down with ease, no mean skill to acquire considering how the world goes. Since he landed on the rich grass of Palacium leporis, otherwise known as "hares palays," Appleton's hare is certain "no beest can touch hym." On enchanted ground somnolence pervades the air, as prescribed by literary tradition. Cooling Marvell's brow, however, is Zephyrus, the wind blowing fresh from the west, and he, the watchful hare, sleeps open-eyed. When "Zephirus" blows and Chaucer's pilgrims seek the "hooly blisful martir," they will hear, among the "smale foweles" that "maken melodye---al the nyght with open ye,"[85] Marvell journeying to his Crucifixion passage.

Analogy's mode of operation ensured that with the cropping of the "poll," an alternate term for head, the "inverted Tree" lopped off its branches and the bird plucked its plumes until reduced to a "poult." Metamorphosing his painter's palette into the pallet of meditation, Marvell replaces the mosaic image of the sensuous eye with more abstract reflections. But the supine figure confirms what his counterpart voices in "The Garden": Marvell's departure to a "green Thought," or the land where inward optics operate, begins "from pleasure less," those sensuous delights enjoyed in an enclosed shade that relieves the mind of its worldly burden. If on losing its head the "inverted Tree" played under the "antick Cope" in a

fool's paradise, Marvell lived in Paradise, a land green within and without, while he was content to play the fool. The fool, who sometimes speaks wise words, always knows more about his own house than a wise man in another's. Like the hare, the pupil sees "lesse," but Nature's pupil, whether trained by the eye or the forest, sees "greater and better," as Purchas said. Loss of his manly hair "translated" Marvell into the "poult," the fledgling who was sufficiently a fool to have wits[86] to see and speak the "green Thought" of truth and try to live life merrily.

Sharing swiftness with the hare, the pun shares with the conceit responsibility for Marvell's amazing economy in verse. Both equally impose lengthy explication on critics, although often the image becomes less the conceit as critics recognize the word play. Again like the conceit, the pun is by structure ideal to this poet. Under its quasi-comic facade or "antick Cope," Marvell can pause for serious reflection, confident that his instrument, while revealing his meaning, removes him, the wielder, from any intimate commitment. Under cover of his foolery, Marvell arrived "safe" behind the trees. There, in workmanlike fashion, he "incamp'd" his mind and stumbled onto a wisdom for which men still wander through woods of error. When the world was God's child, Solomon's proverb reads, man lived in Eden as His "delight, rejoicing always before him."[87] But Solomon's leaf only preserved the memory of a world that had already vanished. Overshadowing God's presence were the "Horsemen," Marvell's symbol for the unleashed powers under Venus and Mars, which speed on the hoofbeats of Death, the Great Horseman with claims to man. In time of war, the temperamental Venus and Mars fall out of planetary conjunction, swarming locusts take on

their Apocalyptic shape "like unto horses prepared unto battle,"[88] and Death, the usurper, quickens his tempo. At moments, however, man spurns life as the acquiescing to death and, flinging aside thoughts of mortality, emerges a being unfettered, "strong" as Marvell says, and near to divine. When he would relive Paradise in the here and now, man plays at becoming a child again and builds a miniature "my house," the shelter that contrasts with the confusion outside. Behind the trees, Marvell hedged around a "green" camp of his own,[89] imitating yet splendidly isolated from those of ecclesiastical factions warring over objectives that were often political. By the constructive antics taking place under his "Cope," Marvell, like David, "clothed with shame" the destructive deeds of his adversaries.[90] Only a narrow border excluded his camp from the hostile world of inconvenient fact and the variables in social weather; but secure within, Marvell gave the lie to its dart and shot. Playing hide and seek with Beauty and War, and taunting Time with tag, he defied the world where "Horsemen" rule with the games of our kindergarten. He subordinated into dramatic act the discords and conflicts incited by mock-deities, while all the while intimating what divine harmony might be achieved by the man wise enough to play the child.

That every temple and university ought to schedule a Vacation Interlude amid its Sabbath devotions is part of Marvell's sermon. God's "Holyday" would become man's time for joy. Within the freedom of the playground man could interchange the comic and the serious and thereby explore stages of consciousness known only to the mystic in ecstasy or the artist through illusion. If questioned directly, Marvell, the self-styled imitator in verse of Appleton's reasonable

structure, would probably acclaim measure as being as proper a rule for conducting the game of life as for building its house. Even while playing, the Chief Masquer advances to the final measured dance marrying any unconventional consciousness into the staid social structure. Besides, as Charles' 1633 promulgation of James' 1618 Book of Games declares, the rebuking of "Puritans and precise people" eternally concerned with Sabbath-breaking was a "preferred" pastime among gentlemen.[91] Yet games, as Marvell plays them, are mobile blocks on a board setting up an imaginative inquiry into the nature of the self and the world. Play of this nature is capable of breaking down the barrier between man's life and comic existence, for it propels the examiner himself to the conclusion that "life" is the game. France exported impressive evidence that the fantastic and capricious, which passed for the ludique, had designs on the house of poetry.[92] It would be in character for Marvell, should he have felt his debt to these Catholic Gauls a sore point, to "gaul" them while harassing the "Horsemen," armed with the "gall," the wound made in horses by chafing. But interacting with its complement in Marvell's private plahouse, the comic issues in a note of wayward joy whose wisdom remains innocent and remote from the précieux. Though never voicing the question, Marvell asks whether man regains heaven's grace through the solemn tones of either philosophy or religion any more than through the measured steps of the masque. Perhaps he should enlist instead under the irrational spirit of play, and trust that joy will lead his soul to wisdom.[93] From wisdom man need take only a step to join the effortless measures of the heavenly dance.

While urging his students to "live the life of philosophy," Plato suggested they take his advice "with a playfulness."[94] Plato's

student, Marvell attended also the Christian humanist school in which Erasmus praised Folly, the goddess native to the Fortunate Isles who kept folly in check by opening to man an exuberant and expansive world.[95] Marvell's playhouse basks in the "Sunshine" of "L'Allegro," and resonates the thoughts of Vaughan seeking through childhood and nature the estate of spiritual unity man had lost. Betrayed by society, Royalists were apt to return to the serenity of nature, and those who were adept at verse added to Marvell's storehouse the phrases of the "Hortulan Saint."[96] The question is whether these instructive notes, even in the aggregate, graduate Marvell as the ironist who sang of joy while recording that to "gaul" Time's Horsemen cost him "all the Day." Herbert's poetry could coach him in the art of gentle irony, show him that many meanings might be brought together in a word to suggest conflicts within the self, and teach him with "Love bad me welcome," whose host is never heard, to build stanzas around the unspoken pun. But Marvell is the poet devoted to acquiring skill in the prized game of language, and so is never humble. He curled with metaphors his intention, in "The Coronet" proud of the "slipp'ry knots" and "winding Snare" even while counting their cost to the poet who would honor God. As each particular declares, for the most part Marvell's debt is to the poet who ventured into a garden amid the "deserts of Bohemia" and overheard the philosopher discoursing from "a cowslip's bell": language as the playground of the poet who expresses and protects states of consciousness that history fails to credit; the return to the imaginative terrains of nature and childhood where play discovers the land of joy unavailable on maps conventionally formulated and there transforms civilization into the artist's image; the emphasis on the beauty dwelling on earth; the

maturity to contemplate life, tenuous and fluid, and, confronting the victor Time, carry off irony's award for understanding.

Few readers forget the sacrificial figure, hauntingly like Christ, in Shakespeare' line, "For Orpheus" lute was strung with poets' sinews."[97] Marvell remembered. But this Orpheus striving to weave wood-notes into song and impose on Nature the pattern of art appealed to the woodland forces. Brambles and briars, woodbines and vines were to bind him to the "Place" where he had "incamp'd" his mind. Having found in the safety and repose encircled by the trees a joy leading to "ecstasy," the prelate asks to remain "out of place," namely, in Nature's temple apart from the world. Unmistakably, the phrases "chain me" and "nail me through" deliver the Crucifixion message responsible for the controversy this stanza arouses. The same evidence at once accuses Marvell of trivializing "shockingly" the sacred theme and reveals him a masochist.[98] More sensibly, as others suggest, personal emotion that poses so self-consciously means to attract attention to literary genres and draw about itself drama's detachment.[99] Neo-Platonic myths, appearing in masque and pastoral, fused Christian themes with pagan; the Lover in contemporary fiction suffered his torments through a mingling of secular and religious imagery. Transferring his passivity along with his affection, Marvell's persona pledges his devotion to Mistress Nature, while the Masquer, in the poem's immediate context, requests that the natural kingdom extend its courtesy to safeguarding his newly won peace of mind. Since throughout "Upon Appleton House" he has meditated on the theme of withdrawl through images of binding, Marvell prepared his audience for a passage that is their "bolting" conclusion.

Even sampling at random the commentary of Marvell's contemporaries, we recover the topical meaning he assigned to the squence from "antick Cope" to Sacrifice. During the reign of Roundheads, mere self-preservation would urge him to shed his hair and spare his head. Agitated about the growing of hair below the ear, Prynne attacked the fashion in "The Unlovelinesse of Love Lockes, or a Summarie discourse, proving the wearing and nourishing of a locke or love locke to be altogether unseemly and unlawfull unto Christians." If anyone missed the message, they got another chance, since Prynne later contributed "A Gagge for Long Hair'd Rattle Heads." Wits among the gentry were not loathe to reply, though not necessarily in kind. One gallant, "full of life, and void of care," asked his friend to join him in finding a hare. Preferring sleep to sport, however, his friend informed him that he had not lost any hares. As another dialogue went, long hair was the confirmation of religious sensibility, since it was "inclin'd/To save the Temples from the wind." Moreover, long hair was the very mark of gentility, for "that which being largely grown/Derives its Gentry from the Crown." In Charles' reign, the extravagance of male attire called down the wrath of Puritan satirists, one of whom penned "The Picture of an English Antick," complete with a ribbon atop the codpiece.[100] After both sides entered the lists of the Great Horseman, Charles needed Eikon Basilike wherein to curse with a "cloak" of "their own confusion" his enemies whom he alleged had martyred him like Christ.[101]

Marvell's "Crucifixion" stanza still challenges the critic, but as a remarkable instance of Christian humanist insight it asks not defense but respect. The closure we sense relates only to that

masque modeled on an entertainment once pleasing to the court, whereas another masque continues, in which man reaches toward salvation. In mocking the forces outside the circle controlled by his gallery of players, Marvell voices those dark night fears that beset fallen man because they mirror contradictory impulses in his soul. Like Orpheus who ordered man's body and soul into harmony as he tuned the strings of his lyre,[102] so Marvell, the poet and soul of the body, seeks to winnow out the fear. The pagan witness to the truth that man both feared and needed harmony, Orpheus was the martyr, burdened by man's "cross." His sinews stretched like the figure of a harp, Christ on the Cross taught His celebrants, Herbert among them, "what key/Is best" to strike the music of God.[103] In the Christian seasonal round, when March goes out like a lamb, the hare attends the Easter service. And the "easie Philosopher," who sang of the "light Mosaick" and gathered Solomon's wisdom with his "leaves" until he grew into the Tree of Knowledge, remembers the Tree of Sacrifice. From his seat of authority under earth's "Cope," the prelate has been searching into the meaning of his office and discovers the bloody robe covering the seed of David and beholds the Son. At the end of the antic dance, in the masque in which God's minister makes a spectacle of himself unto the world, it is the throne of the King who reigns eternally before which Marvell stands, for in His divine humanity is His majesty. When man casts himself in the role of the sacred fool, he becomes the fool for the sake of Christ, who in the world's wisdom became the Great Gool when He in His wisdom took on the burden of man's Cross.[104] But though Christ by His sacrifice absolved man from sin and lessened man's agony, every man who fears knows the agony of Christ.

To experience joy in Christ whose promise is rebirth, Marvell has become the child, and in trusting again God's mansions of heaven and earth, taken his final step toward maturity as a man. Isolated behind the trees, playing childhood's games, Marvell tries on at last the mask of man and finds that he shares a community in the sacred and sacrificial game called "life" with every Adam who, fearing the voice of God, hid "amongst the trees."[105]

Unified in faith, men will cease to be "children tossed to and fro" on shifting winds of doctrine. As they "grow up in" God's Son, they become God's children, "living" members of the single perfected body of which Christ is literally the head. Such did the Apostle Pual promise in Epistles, "speaking the truth in love." In asking to be made Nature's prisoner, Marvell affirms the mediatory powers of Appleton's wood, which delivers him to the part he has been preparing to play as Paul, "prisoner" of Christ. Before the Christian era, man depended on the "schoolmaster" Mosaic law[106] to bring him to the Lord; and afterward the Roman Church erected idols barring him from God's word. Christianity's concern to uphold the image of man as a transcendent being determined early in its career that it would sharply differentiate man from the creatures of field and forest, and thus sever their intimate relationship.[107] Included in the anthropocentric program was banishing the "spirits" believed by pagan man to guard natural objects and local places. Religion as practiced in the West, however incidentally, paved the way for Nature to become the "Mistress" exploited by indifferent men. Man was sustained by his faith in land, despite his devotion to the Church's moral and doctrinal strictures. In two passages of his mentor Paul, Augustine found proof

texts for accepting the green world until redeemed man led nature to heaven.[108] Emblems alone verify that men continued to impute an exemplary nature to the members of God's "secondary" Creation. Trained in schools revering the ancients, and perhaps themselves so inclined by nature, Renaissance poets dallied with the "false surmise" that signs of an empathetic earth were all around them. A sophisticated citizen of the seventeenth century, Marvell willed a return to the unselfconscious harmony that bound more primitive man with nature and divinity. To this end he rehearsed systems of thought, but always the ironist perceived that this itself, contemporary man's only path to an intuitive participation in the harmonious universe, barred his way. Assumptions and axioms from at least a quarto of European systems -- Stoicism, Epicureanism, neo-Platonism, and Humanism -- fuse with the Christian as the poet moves in "Upon Appleton House" toward his unique version of the seventeenth-century vision. Nature and grace engage, as expected, in an intricate interplay, which forms the backdrop against which Marvell's lyrics most often position man.[109] Only as Marvell wanders through the temple of Nature and reads its "mystick Book" does he come upon the faith essential to see with what Milton singled out as the "quick-sighted Protestants eye."[110]

When Marvell in the name of Paul preaches a faith capable of unifying men to a Church that in its divided being repeats the experience of Corinth, his backdrop consists of "Corinthean" columns that move in unison to worship God. Sojourning among these trees of Appleton's forest, he has achieved a personal harmony enabling him to confront the image of England uprooting its tradition and undermining its edifice of state. Whether in his own person or as Good-

stock, surrogate for Fairfax, Marvell's persona lodges an appeal to protect England's wooded wealth, the body that grows to shelter man, the "peer" and the "house" of nature's realm that guards his land and services his houses of church and state. The potential pillar of fire and the holy road were among Marvell's many other borrowings from the definitive group of images that had grown around the symbol of the tree. One figure of the tree, however--the fixed trunk and moving branches--seem particularly Marvell's emblem for changes that could occur within the limits of a basic structure. At that moment England inclined to a more racial turn of affairs, and the design went unheeded. Necessarily Marvell restricted his thoughts to those trees "shooting" at Appleton as he reached a certainty about the tree: since "the root be holy, so are the branches." "Rooted and built up" in Appleton's residents is Christ, the true tree of life and "chief cornerstone of God's household,"[111] and Appleton's residents are England's gardeners.

"I am crucified with Christ,"[112] Paul's graphic expression of longing, becomes Marvell's text. Inserting the intermediary figure of Nature, specifically the tree of Crucifixion, and imaging the text dramatically, he identified the religious house of Appleton and himself its retainer with the risen Lord. Thereupon the trees, Nature's deligates, acknowledge him "their Lord." In experiencing the Last Adam, man resumes the divinity his ancestor, the first Adam, forfeited when he was exiled from God. Cognizant that she is the only one of the two great bodies of truth, Nature releases her student to that body which is of higher instruction. Where in man's life the two bodies of truth cross, there at the union of two woods,

Nature, that had earlier welcomed the initiate into her realm, now sends him forth by making a "Lane." In traversing her own domain to point him on his way, earth forgives man who was the Mower the violations he committed in the course of historic conquest. Enrolled in the curriculum of revealed truth, he accepts faith as his guide, grace as his course, and Christ as the sole mediator between himself and God. As he learns to see the world aright, man ends his weary wanderings through the wilderness, converts the error-entangled forest into the clarity of the garden, and returns home. The act parallel to transforming the wilderness into the garden, in the comparably chaotic domain of the sea, is the parting of the waters whereby the seafarer, newly baptized in Christ, steers safely into the haven. To trace through the mazelike path of a mosaic patterned on the ground was once an accepted symbolic substitution for the pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[113]

Although critics glance casually at the image, Marvell's maze rewards closer scrutiny, for even in asserting the skill of its architect, the maze holds out an essential clue to the entire woodland episode. Of the several themes converging in this image, the common denominator is a participation in the paradox of man the amphibion. "Betwixt two Labyrinths" so often has described the hero's path that the phrase almost defines the figure. But in following an "equal Thread," Marvell's persona goes the way of the Fairfax family, who go the way of Paul. Moved by the "desire to depart and be with Christ," yet bound by duty to "abide in the flesh and serve men, Paul in his dilemma cried "I am in a strait betwixt two."[114] Paul's theology derived its power to inspire Appleton's inhabitants, as well as Protestants generally, from a

central concept. Though now "of the earth earthly," at the Second Coming man would wear a "body of glory" woven of light. After Christ appeared to Paul on the road to Damascus as a great light in heaven, salvation ever after depended on the individual, and the individual's salvation depended on merging with His spiritual body. Because faith was man's surest means of achieving union with the Son, love, which led to faith, was elevated above creeds and the sacraments were subordinated. Sustained by the promise of deification in heaven, Marvell's persona places in a proper "prospect" the body of earth that is subject to mutations that must be withstood. Thus he can conclude the fable of "The Triple Pun," wherein the "hare," having rescued his head by shedding his "hair," resumes his mastery of the earth and, indeed, marches to the greater light of April. Confident that he is heaven's "heir," the "Lord" leaves the wilderness behind to enter the world as garden. Though he sent Paul's cry echoing down the lanes of his own labyrinth, Marvell reset its dilemma within a context of resolution.

Framing his passage out of the maze are "Morning" and "Ev'ning," another instance of man's paradoxical nature. Beginning with the request to Appleton's wood

> Here in the Morning tye my Chain

Marvell concludes his stanza by asking further

> But, where the Floods did lately drown,
> There at the Ev'ning stake me down.

The poet-host anticipates for his guests the oncoming darkness that will write epilogue to his day's entertainment. Before restoring the world to a garden, however, man must join day and night in the effortless round Adam knew in Eden. Under the Old Dispensation, God sanctified the day following the six of Creation as His Sabbath.

After God's Son became their Redeemer, grateful Christians celebrated "Sabbath" on the day of His Resurrection, and conjoined it with the first created day.[115] From the time Adam strayed from the truth, man has wandered dim-eyed a path that only the total darkness of death halts. But a loving God saves him from a straight-line journey; love, the perfect circularity, ends where it begins. At the close of the (Hebrew) Sabbath God sends to His Christians another beginning -- Sunday. Among the coincidences of opposites that God wrote into His comedy for man to discover is that "death doth touch the resurrection." Sunday, first witness to God's light on earth, promises that darkness will not be man's final end, that awaiting him in heaven is yet another Sunday.

Alone of the creatures sharing in nature's household, man measures its distance from the mansion of heaven. God has endowed him with consciousness, and man makes use of sight, his greatest sense, to perceive through the realm illuminated by nature a realm withheld from the "originals" of Appleton's forest. If sight serves as man's liaison between the external world and the mind that translates its signs into meaningful symbols, the "sight of the mind" brings the presence of the immutable into the transitory. Man's advantage would be self-evident, were it not for dubious consequences. Trees never ensnare themselves in labyrinths of thought. At home in the visible realm, they do not split the observor from the object observed, the practice by which man denies certainty to both. Only man inquisitions the world presented by his eye as to its reality; suspecting that his mind has directed this "appearance," he investigates the faculty responsible until he accuses his own imagination of distorting reality. Nor do trees disdain their realm of "becoming"

and dissipate the warmth of the sun by wasting away for want of perfection. Living for the day, trees do not falter before tomorrow. Because man measures life in dawns and dusks, he fears the dark interval dividing "Ev'ning" from "Morning."

But a life of retirement heaps honor on itself by clearing the brain, at least temporarily, of man's age-old perplexities: the claims of subject and object, what is inside the mind, imaginative delusion, and what is reality; the motives of the mind as opposed to the appetites of the body. Despite the anguish (shading into an obsession with depravity) that man's condition could provoke, and though man, the amphibion, gropes through straits,[116] Marvell draws on the beneficience of two worlds during this positive moment. Until he inherits heaven's glory, man lives on a shining earth. Because Christ ransomed him a Sunday future, imperfect man might accept his "equal" nature and with serene mind delight in the pleasures of mundane Sabbaths. Dwelling in a "Domestick Heaven," members of the Fairfax family already experience eternity in time. Toying with such thoughts, the poet levels out the "Lane" and "Thread" of his own lines and forsakes the labyrinth. "Ev'ning" closes with "Morning." By his act Marvell pays perhaps his finest compliment to Fairfax, the poet who titled his manuscript of verse The Recreations of My Solitude.

In asking to be bound to where the wood opens onto a morning vision, Marvell reclaims his circle's center, the island only recently inundated by evening thoughts. All the winding paths through the forest were designed to return him to the place of his departure. Striving to become an inmate of earth's mansion, Marvell settled verse into the literary "excursion" at a time earlier than is usually

acknowledged.[117] His method hints of magic, but a magic whose instrument, being no more than a mirror image, is of the white variety as opposed to the devil's; Magia naturalis, the best known of the popular works of Giambattista Della Porta, discussed optics.[118] Exiting from the rear door of man's house of history, Marvell progresses through reflections whose terrain is the watery glass of the mind. Ultimately, his journey discloses the image with which it began, though now as a response in reverse. Morning and evening surround Marvell's garden, for the frame becomes the hedge. But the garden can be none other than the island the poet observed in awe arising from the abyss in the dawn of history, the same that overwhelmed his imagination when, itself invaded by the bloody flood of Civil War, it drowned along with the river of time. The waves having now "fal'n and dry'd," the Old World appears "fresher dy'd" as though it were the New. Marvell's spectacles have served their maker well, from the time he first explored the estate ruined by Roman Catholics to when the moderate Protestant "prelate" unearthed the warm heart of the land, and, washing his blood-blinded eye in its green, beheld the Son. Under the direction of the spectacles sweeping across his stage, Marvell has come to grasp what Nature gave him eyes to see -- that the island of Appleton might be "squared" with the circle of perfection.

Dressed in the splendor of "green Silks" appropriate for Sunday morning, the landscape sits for its portrait. Slyly, Marvell abstains from even alluding to his "arrangement"; that would imply boasting. Instead, confident of his audience's judgment, he tasks them with recognizing how superior his cloth is to that unworthy runner-up, the Six Days of Creation. Evidently, Marvell's ease of mind returned as

the high tide of Civil War ebbed and he believed that from its raging waters England might harvest new life. Rain is God's blessing; like all water, the flood of war might grace the "Grass" by stimulating the mind, clarifying the senses, and stripping to essentials a philosophy of life.[119] Earth, however, brings forth only such "herbs" as are "meet for them by whom it is dressed."[120] As a consequence of Adam's having neglected to dress the garden, generations of belligerent men "hurt the grass." Because those dwelling at Appleton understand that man, the other "body" of the earthly estate, tends the land only when he "dresses" himself like a garden, they fulfill Paul's command and live life as a preparation for the final clothing of themselves with Christ. Mingling the motifs of a dip into the baptismal realm, the cultivation of man's house and estate as the garden, and the donning of new robes, Marvell predicates a renewal of spiritual life. As his canvas shows, at Appleton another Eden grows on the island of England.

But the island particular to "Upon Appleton House" rewards the labors of its artist. For the subject of Marvell's canvas is an island that is a vision in the third dimension, a reunion of wisdom garnered from dual spectacles. Walking the waves of the meadow-sea, Marvell probed into grave matters of history and immediately after immersed himself in a green retreat as much to learn again pastoral's soothing song as to dazzle his guests by the dramatic contrast. History, keeping time with him, walked with him through the mirror, supposedly into itself. But facing history was its Antipodes in thought, since Marvell had granted "philosophy" an equal right to reflect on life. During the backward phase of its mirror journey, history flirted therefore with thoughts that were "light" and "easy" though

permanent; that is, the subjects that "head" the university's curriculum, aesthetics, metaphysics, and, naturally, religion, courted history's gloomier "body" of fact. Meanwhile, deciding to desert the troubled mind, Marvell took on a singing engagement close to his heart. From his embrace of a meadow reality and a woodland reverie, the poet generated his child of double being, an island "newly washt" in an imperishable joy though old in the world's experience. Despite history's intervention, Aphrodite's island, the image initiating Marvell's progress, saw itself reflected in Appleton the garden, all its pagan beauty dedicated to Christ.

IV. VISION: "DOMESTICK HEAVEN"

"CHRYSTAL MIRROUR"

Marvell returns Appleton's gift of a pristine freshness through his art.[1] Thus the woodland episode belongs among his lyric "essays" that meditate on the nature of green, and as always green stirs Marvell into reflections on the triad "nature-grace-art." For the design of his "estate," Marvell emulated Fairfax, who followed God and designed Appleton according to His art. But both men met the "Grass" that in a poslapsarian world forgot grace and thwarted man's ideal. Growing into a giant non-human force in the abyss, "green" challenged man's dominion of the land and threatened to engulf his mind. Or did it only seem so because man was fallen, and was not the land, mirror to man's morality, exposing his loss in spiritual geography more than promoting its own perversity? With the "subtil" words, "Your eyes shall be opened," the serpent swallowed the first Adam's ability to "innocently gaze." Whatever his antic plays, Marvell never forgot which body wielded history's bloody stroke across the green plain. At Adam's Fall, however, earth began a process of decay whose doomsday many Englishmen anticipated within the decade.[2] At the least his purpose of celebrating a Fairfacian future dissuaded Marvell from echoing expectations that time ran short.[3] But with the line opening his penultimate stanza, "'Tis not, what once it was, the World," he joins in the lament of "all coherence gone" and hence of ubi sunt.

Appleton was to be "Paradice's only Map," and thus assured of the "foremost" distinction that "only" denoted. "Only," however, not only modifies but limits, and as a consequence puts a condition

on Paradise. So that this irony be noted and, moreover, intensified, Marvell situated "Paradice" close by that paragon of regimated space, the "Map."[4] "Gulfes, Deserts, Precipices," all its particulars, show that the world had grown a heart of "Stone." As the audience of "Upon Appleton House" remembered, land as the body that mirrors man's body is also the externalized reflection of man's soul. None but a beast would have so "negligently overthrown" a world that matched its contours with the Circle of Perfection. Verse that flings out Marvell's pained outrage at the "rude heap" into which England has tumbled asks us to infer this accusation. England was no longer the Garden, a body of land so in unison with man's that, in passing freely through it, he discovered himself another among God's created wonders. Nor would spirits of adventure lure the player further. The "seams" that once measured an island "equal" to the artist's vision had frozen into boundary lines, and they had reorganized the body of Nature into an abstract schema controlled by men off in the distance. "Green ice" had to invade Marvell's heart before he could reach his conclusion that England's man, conscious of inner imperfection, spends life on an impure terrain. If hereafter Appleton had to "tame" a world fallen into a "rude heap" into more decent "Order," that world cared nothing for Paradise. In realizing the responsibility conferred by its distinction, Appleton would learn what condition society had imposed. A "lesser World" is necessarily similar to the world it images, even though the latter is great in disorder and the former is a Paradise. Nor could Paradise graft its image onto the world outside without some shared correspondences. Ignoring Marvell's supposed importuning of Fairfax to withdraw from his retirment, or the poet's presumed guilty return to an embattled

England, in these next-to-last words of his most personal poem we hear why Marvell soon abandons the lyric mode.

In Appleton, the Garden, Adam's heir still strives to reach Eternity, where he will see the Son "face to face." St. Paul instructed the faithful to approach "invisible things" by looking to "things that are made."[5] Disguised as the serpent, wily Leviathan thwarts this directive by discoloring God's art, the green earth.[6] To glimpse light again, as it once danced on the Isle of Glass, Marvell had to overcome the sight presented to man by the serpent's temptation and by the same act ensnare the tempter.

"Undefiled"[7] Nature, such as has been attributed to "Upon Appleton House," disappeared with Eden. To swerve to the opposite conclusion, however, is to iron out the intricate turns of Marvell's art. Beyond question our host, reclining voluptuously on the grassy couch, entertained ladies of dubious virtue. His gracious host Fairfax might be equal to receiving Venus who gambols with hares, creatures of unlicensed sexuality; but in allowing "Zephyrus" on to the grounds of his palatial playhouse, Marvell subjects Fairfax to Flora. Marriage to Flora, as "lascivious" Zephyrus learned, was a contract with scandal, especially when Boccaccio endorsed the aspersions of the Church Fathers and tagged her "courtesan."[8] To construe that Marvell's antic masque aims primarily at routing the beast in man, however, we must not only claim here what a later image is assigned to accomplish, but forgo the leisurely romp in a green luxuriance proclaiming Appleton as "Nature's Lap." Civilization had dominated the alien element, divested Nature of primitive power, tamed it, and taught it manners. Marvell complies by the parallel act of clothing with "Silks" the island he dedicates to Christ and His servant, Fair-

fax. Man's art repairs what man has made of God's. Before verse staked out a Sunday island, Fairfax mastered social chaos and the savagery of its war by practicing the Christian art of domestic peace. Critics whose conscience prompts them to dondemn or condescend to Marvell's solipsistic ecstasy bypass more than art, however; they turn a blinded eye on magic. For the Renaissance, magic was an art, the magus directing the creative forces in Nature toward a universal order.[9] Beyond this magic, Marvell's art reveals another kind. Like other seventeenth-century creators of poetic landscape, he used allegory and emblem to invoke agreed values. Such as art sent him into the dark woods with perplexities about man's vision as companions. Enclosed within he rejoices in the very act of perceiving, however, and licensing his roving eye surprises fresh matter for fixed thought in the wonder of strawberries growing. Earth appears so splendid on his return from the labyrinth that beholding Paradise he blesses the prison house as "home." Though Marvell unearths treasured traditions to name his island, he honors its natural magic best in bestowing on it the name of its adventurer. Joy succeeds joy as the "Chrystal Mirrour slick" announces his binding of the serpent who imprisons the eye in matter and therefore affirms his self-purgation of that bemuser of reason, the "Triumphant Beast."[10] Only as he advances his rational part, the God-implanted light by which he most resembles divinity, might man see the sun that foreshadows the Son. Yet the "Chrystal Mirrour" remembers Marvell's fascination with a green profusion and his affection for Nature's object -- his teacher, his book, the school where he began to learn sights and sounds that express a poet's inner life.

Even as Marvell's "Chrystal Mirrour" works out the triad, it

elaborates on a poetic endeavor of Fairfax and ends the woodland spectacle, rich in traditional lore, with a flourish of allusions. The most promising perspective on the image's comprehensive power stems from Marvell's adherence to neo-Platonism. The briefest of remarks, screened for relevance to the "Mirrour," must suffice here for this philosophical phenomenon. Centuries of contact with European Christian culture and traffickings on diverse streams of mysticism complicated Platonism far beyond the motifs concentrated in Marvell's image. Critics correctly read the entire spectacle as conceived under the influence of this philosophy.[11] By references to Heremes Trismegistes, the Druids, Orpheus, Moses and Solomon, besides a consultation with the Sibyl, Marvell visits the Platonic realm of benedicta veriditas, or the "Fifth Element." While travelling back through time, he has been acquiring the prisca theologia, the secret wisdom originating in Egypt intoned by Platonists. The sages of the past, they assumed, possessed a Divine Wisdom, a key to the inherent symbolism of the universe.[12] Since considerable scholarship has dovetailed many images of Marvell's woodland with those belonging to the Platonic realm, the consistent avoidance of the "Mirrour" is all the more startling; Professor Røstvig's brief though incisive remarks are the exception. Others who delineate the idealistic underpinnings of Marvell's verse in careful introductions and appendices either ignore the image or render it trivial in the chapters that focus on its context.[13] If there were reason to justify attending to any Marvellian image, the argument on this would pivot about its position: the "Chrystal Mirrour" succeeds the planting of a garden amid the wilderness, marks the climactic moment of the poem's great center that began in the "Abyss," and joins joy-

ous woods with serene river, the setting for the spectacle shutting up "Appleton House."

So often did Marvell himself view new life in commonplaces that he ought to excuse an adaptation of "the mirror doubles." In scrutinizing the critics' neglect of an image on which the poet lavished twelve careful lines, we uncover perhaps a source of the embarrassment occasioned by Marvell's woodland behavior. Any critic identifying sincerity with high seriousness[14] must deem too preposterous for analysis verse that serpentines a river as a pretext for washing it or ranks the honored sun with silly Narcissus drowning in "echo." Frivolous Marvell might quip back that a goal of spontaneous overflow sorts ill with his "Pilgrimage" through the "wilde of Passion."[15] Leisured gentlemen rarely over-insist on the intellectual lining of their images or exhibit naked feeling in public. To be just, Marvell's whimsicality easily is confused with the précieux. An artifice delighting in variety and surprise shares the same detachment as a poetry prepared to reduce the insights of experience in the interests of aesthetic effects. But any who have met "The Garden" poet as he worked overtime at probing the relation between man's mind and a range of realms suspect of his "Mirrour" a metaphor. So defined, the "Mirrour" invites regard as it grasps after correspondences between diverse orders, pairs the external and the mental, expresses a state of mind, and manages a few Marvellian extras. One result of neighboring the metaphor with its ideological supports is an alternative to the business of proving precisely to which philosophical "school" Marvell adhered. Philosophical though his initial perspective is, Marvell accomplishes such thinking as belongs to the poet's craft, that is, he proposes not a thought but a metaphor clus-

tered with images and inextricably tied to feeling. While few available philosophical systems eluded Marvell's intellect, in exploring them the poet collected raw matter for association. Preliminary study guides the critic approaching the "Mirrour" but delivers him to an inevitable explication. What generality has slighted, intensity of explication encourages -- our alertness to Marvell's mingling strands and strains of neo-Platonism until he maneuvers into his usual stance with inherited patterns both of image and creed, independent though amicable.

Essentially, this sprawling theoretical system excuses Marvell from strenuous efforts to reconcile those disparates responsible for the human predicament, a body tied to time and a mind aspiring elsewhere. The extremes represented by Nature and the Ideal are the complementary terms of its dialectic. Fundamental to neo-Platonic thought is a belief in the indivisibility of the whole acting through contraries. As eternity is enclosed in time, so soul is in body; like the superior world of Ideas, the lower order of Matter, where chronicles are made, emanates from the One. In identifying the One, the first and undifferentiated principle, with Beauty and the Good, Plotinus began a long dialogue with subsequent neo-Platonic writing. All things point to the earthly mansion as a divine creation: though phenomenon imitates Idea, "in its degree" it is "an Idea"; and shining through the two realms that together realize the external world is the radiant One.[16] Endemic to neo-Platonists, however, one basis on which they befriended the Gnosticism that Plotinus attacked, is a bias against the material aspect of the universe,[17] the shamefulness of the soul descending to body and eternity flowing through time. Since both worlds, the corporeal and the intelligible, meet in man, the

universe finds its center, its bond, and its juncture in the soul of the privileged participant of creation.[18] On man, in turn, rests the responsibility for directing upward the dialectical process so that the soul and the mind, presently immersed in the sensory world, may return to their perfection in the original unity.

Significantly for Marvell's "Chrystal Mirrour," neo-Platonists after Plotinus surrendered to the force of history that changes man's concept of man, and consequently they wrote a new chapter to Plotinian thought that poets studied and praised. As Renaissance Humanists, they implicitly protested the attitude endorsed by their predecessors toward the right conduct of the center, man's soul, in relation to the periphery, the world of flux. An age associated with Cusanus, Ficino, and Pico actively sought doctrines that supposed its hydroptic thirst for knowledge and the obverse, a belief in man's dignity.[19] Besides initiating the concept of a "continuum" to reconcile Christian tradition with the rediscovered wisdom of the classical world, Renaissance minds readied the future to search for a common layer of belief in all religious and philosophical systems.[20] Dedicated to asserting man's capacity for creative thought, they closed the gap betwen finite man and the One as autarchic possesser of absolute knowledge. Henceforth "knowing" pertains to individual man engaging in relationships, and thus honors his origin in God.[21] Mankind remains the shadowy imitation of "reality" that is eternally fixed in the Platonic Forms. But man moulds himself; to this positive end, Pico's Creator assigns man no permanent place in His grand design. Man need no longer disdain his earthly home. Though disguising the eternal verities, Nature is their necessary embodiment, the very soil in which man develops the soul that, in rising to divinity, will redeem Nature.[22]

Any opposition to that "inner eye" the mind offered by sensual perception, Cusanus interprets as the means through which the mind fulfills its actuality.[23] Love unifies the world; grace descends. Even as man strives toward God, Ficino's God strives toward man, overseer of the realm of matter.

Though the Cambridge school of Platonists writes only a minor chapter in this philosophy's vast volume, seventeenth-century England, the time and the place, argue a more direct influence on Marvell that scholars have not hesitated to research. But in connecting Marvell to the Cambridge Platonists, one should head off heady speculations as to which variety of neo-Platonism engendered the "Chrystal Mirrour." Considering that everyone copied earlier exponents of the philosophy and each other in an age that constantly leveled charges of plagiary,[24] it is even more difficult to discriminate "kind" than "source." Right reason is the respected emphasis of the Cambridge Platonists, who continue the effort to equate philosophy with Christianity. What changes, in part, is the nature of the enemy. Whereas the Florentines marshalled the intuitive, the symbolic, and the magical against the Schoolmen's rigid logic, their heirs combat an upsurge of materialism callously pointing out the many rifts in the One body of the world. Nevertheless, on consulting the texts of individual members of the Cambridge group, Marvell would encounter the same occult "isms" courted by the Florentines -- those identified with Hermes and Orpheus, the Gnostics and the Cabalists. For a critic to cite Scripture next to the expression of a relatively obscure alchemist will seem random and arbitrary, yet as these quotations illuminate Marvell's "Mirrour," they justify the choice. But anyone passing an intellectual day in absorbing the outline of Cudworth's The true intellectual Sys-

tem learns, besides the Universe, that Marvell found fellow "syncretists" among the Cambridge Platonists.[25] God appeared in their writings as imagined by Marvell's "Mirrour", a God of "Gayety and Festivity," as the sun warming the world and by the love of the Son irradiating it. As far as he was conscious of his feelings, Marvell would agree that the "Candle of Reason" always casts more light than "the Glow -- worms of sense," just as God, the fountain of light, outshines the candle. Inspired by the grace of God's love, the mind contemplates higher being, even as the flesh struggles to overcome the light. But only as it is "jogg'd and awakened by the impulses of outer object," does the mind acquire confidence in its power to ascend. Sensory perception is the first rite in man's passage to philosophical purification, which is self-knowledge, a vision of the Ideal, and a corresponding interior harmony. No line demarcates natural from intelligible being for the Cambridge Platonists; the spiritual is the highest form of the rational. As a consequence of their belief in contemplative society, they can be imagined protesting society's encoraching supposition that Bacon voices: in the theater of life, "it is reserved for God and angels to look on." Out of his concern for the freedom of the individual will, Henry More nonetheless projects the same active "Theatre of the world" as Marvell's forest excursion perceives Appleton to be: "an exercise of Man's wit."[26]

Though Marvell was likely to be familiar with an impressive range of Platonic texts, his metaphor initially echoes a closer source. Fairfax's enthusiastic reception of Platonic tenets led him to translate Saint-Amant's poem as "The Solitude" of his own Recreations. In stanza ten the river that reflects the sun is so serene

that the body of light responsible for making the water a looking-glass appears to have fallen from the sky and lodged within the river itself. Thus Fairfax momentarily resolves the pervasive perplexity of idealism, the One and the many, reality and appearance, "Himselfe or image." Things below are as things above: the natural world is continuous with the idealistic reality it is conscious of. "Two" having shifted its realm of discourse from contrary to metaphor, the analogies recurring among Platonists announce themselves as two "suns" along with two "eyes." On entering the flesh, the luminous soul descends into the darkness of the sensible world, a delusive experience that has no more actuality than an illusion -- thus might the Plotinian narrative begin. But should a man scorn the painted show and determine to live by mind alone, he retires into solitude, the landscape solicitous of the clear mind. As the first step in eliciting the sun without his soul, man loosens the downward tugging bodily ties; he thereby enhances his visual awareness and in time achieves the power to see with his mind's eye the spiritual sun. The soul of such a man meets the Cabalist definition that Agrippa read, "the light of God."[27] In solitude, man greets God's emissary, the sun, with the vestige of his own divine origin, the inner light revealed by his soul.

A host of additional notions must be presented before Fairfax's lines disclose their meaning. Yet as the reader surmises, Marvell made of his somewhat plodding model a verse more intense in thought and nimbler in movement. Fairfax's own lines lacked a sense of action, for never would he think to relieve their flatness by Marvell's method. Cunning distinguishes the master; Marvell literally lugged the "Triumphant Beast" into the river and compelled him to join in cleansing it.

Nonetheless, Marvell found the "winding serpent," though absent from the tenth stanza, in the streams Fairfax had gliding through the grass at the close of the fourth stanza where serpent and streams crystallized into a resort for naides. Several river images explain why and even how both Saint-Amant and Fairfax exorcised the serpent from the river visited by the sun. By Plotinus' important analogy, as the river mirrors the sensible world, so by its nature matter mirrors the world of true being.[28] That the river theme is lost in the theme of the false mirror has been voiced too often to need reviewing. But in touching on the problem of Marvell's serpentine river, a few descriptions of the mirror deserve exerpting; and they also suggest how unfairly men dealt with the image. For instance, Macrobius denied life to this unsubstantial shadow, yet Augustine denounced it as a "seductive similitude."[29] Fortunately, others saw that the mirror awakens in man consciousness of the Ideal, for it images eternal beauty even as it displays the beauty of the momentary body. Ficino gave to Plotinus' river analogy its Christian Renaissance emphasis: like the river of nature, the mind of man reflects all things within itself, but as an emanation of Divinity, the mind mirrors God.[30] Life flows into the river; in Cusanus' analogy man's mind is a "living mirror."[31] But certain as the beast was to inhabit this river, the glass needed cleansing if it was to reflect God clearly. Pico would persuade man toward this purpose with another "living river," moral philosophy.[32] Because Renaissance moral philosophers were sensitive to couplings of wisdom and beauty, they might have recalled the promise of the mystery Christ, "A Mirror as am I to thee : who discernest me" and "Behold me in yourselves as one of you beholds himself in water or in a mirror."[33] Models of such thought existed close to

Fairfax, among men as capable as he of absorbing the amorphous mysticism of the time into their fundamental Christian belief. Besides Saint-Amant's passage and related verse, there were Peter Sterry, the New Model Army Chaplain and Calvinist mystic member of the Cambridge Platonists, and his writings. It was Peter Sterry who, walking in Paradise, saw that Paradise lies within the soul that from beneath the river answers the face appearing above the watery glass.[34]

Mind and scene meet; in a moment of pure reflection, the external shines back at itself through the inner world. A clearer river mirrors in man what it mirrors in the world, for man matches the sun with his thought and supports it with the mirror of his soul. In the world that is home to man, inviting him, answering him, delighting him, where the human order corresponds to the natural for both are illuminated by the One, we recognize the Earthly Paradise the contemplative soul seeks in solitude. Within this paradisal metaphor bestowed by the poets to round off his journey through the wilderness, Marvell coils the very serpent they had ousted.

> No Serpent new nor Crocodile
> Remains behind our little Nile;
> Unless it self you will mistake,
> Among these Meads the only Snake.
>
> See in what wanton harmless folds
> It ev'ry where the Meadow holds;
> And its yet muddy back doth lick,
> Till as a Chrystal Mirrour slick.

"No" space has been alloted to his evil presence, as even this master of deception could retort; the fallen only "mistake" for affirmation Marvell's denial. Heeding this caution against erring imagination, we outline Marvell's stratagem more precisely; he plans to negate the spoiler of The Coronet" by acknowledging his presence, and to chain mankind's jailer by tolerating his "wanton" ways. So tricky a game.

follows from a complicated cause; but Marvell's opening move is simplicity itself. Camden and Blount explain why this poet, otherwise a model of compression, verged on periphrasis in

No Serpent new

the only Snake.

Serpentine verse runs into itself, as serpents are pictured with their tails in their mouths: the last world of the metrical line repeats the first. Possibly this is the oldest symbol, this tail-eating serpent that forms a circle without beginnign or end, the tail of death dissolving into the head of life. Surviving among the Gnostics, it was preserved by the early Church Fathers and thereafter chosen by Cabalists and Platonists as their emblem of the One.[35] On the title page of Utriusque Cosmi Fludd showed the same Vitruvian figure representing man as the Miscrocosm that had appeared in Agrippa's De Occulta Philosophia (1531). Surrounding Man was the image of the Universe as a coiled rope, for though drawn out by Time into history, temporal life winds back into eternity.[36]

If Marvell nevertheless associates the serpent with "Crocodile" and "Nile," hostility to its image far outweighed occultic reverence. Once upon a "fabulous" time, the crocodile wept like a Christian body to lure his prey. Though the serpent bred by old "nilus slime" no doubt practiced more inviting wiles to attract the manly from their duties of empire, her success competed prodigiously with spiritual aims. Instructed by Philo, men detected in the King of Egypt a figure symbolizing "the mind that loves the body,"[37] For classical corroboration of the serpent's power to generate complex feelings, learned Christians had only to leaf through Book Two of Virgil's Aeneid.[38] Compared to the serpent identified with Leviathan, however, croco-

dile and Cleopatra are amateurs at entangling men in the material world. Philo merely reinterpreted Ezekial's equating of Pharoah and the "flesh-pots" with Leviathan. Yet this father of all "sons of pride" appears to be a Nile crocodile in "Can you draw out leviathan with a fish hook?", since the Hebrew word refers impartially to either monster.[39] Job's description assumed immediacy for Englishmen of the mid-seventeenth century when Alexander Ross spilled into Leviathan drawn out with a hook his exasperation at the materialism advocated by Hobbes.[40] But while Christians cursed the satanic serpent for stirring men to social blandishment, sexual desire, and materialistic reckoning, they cursed him most as Leviathan the sea-monster, and therefore by extension the sea. By hooking and landing him, Christ would triumph over Leviathan's domain, death, and thus release the life swallowed by the sea.[41]

"What a Pleasure" to dismiss as mere truancy Marvell's going-a-fishing. If in reviewing Marvell's escapade after clearing the "Mirrour," today's readers thus indulge their "lazy Side," their erring subject supplies the excuse as he does the phrase. After piping them down unfamiliar lanes, Marvell at last confesses to "Abandoning" upright conduct. But his contemporary reader, Fairfax, attuned to medieval legend and romance, learned in classical myths and their Renaissance interpretations, and well-versed in the Gospels, noted patterns in Marvell's literary terrain that since have slid into obscurity. Were Marvell's only goal to arrive at the indolent shore of Isaak Walton,[42] he would first have to cross the river fouled by serpent and dragon (the largest reptile)[43] into "li fluns au diable."[44] In fording the "perilous," he accomplishes just that act attributed traditionally to the hero who saves his

people. Again society's savior journeys into the ambiguous region below the waters, where he destroys the forces of darkness threatening to blight the world of natural cycle. Scorched deserts dramatize the sun's burning darts of death that metaphorically merge with the fiery serpent, who in other guises crawls crookedly and infests the waters. But many ancient peoples trusted in his antagonist, an antithetical serpent sun-god, stronger, winged and radiant, a healer, a reconciler, and the supreme life-giver. Apollo's victory over Python, repeating the vanquishing of Typhon by the Egyptian sun-god, Horus, is part of the world's endless dialectic between life-renewing forces and sterility. After Pytho became Delphi, initiates, singing the praises of the Python there on every seventh day, knew themselves to be worshipping Apollo.[45] In medieval rhetorical paraphrases and hymns, serpentes often interchanged with dracones; more significantly, the term referred either to Christ or the Devil.[46] As the "Serpent old" coiled itself in "The Coronet," Marvell appealed to Christ on the Cross, a figure of salvation figuratively like the "brazen serpent" raised by Moses as the standard of his people.[49] A part of the reader's high glee, as he responds to the "lick" in the "Appleton" passage, springs from the nonchalance with which Marvell manipulates the would-be-opponent of life into revitalizing the land. Armed with similar guile (modeled on the behavior of their gods), countless heroes fared forth against evil long before Christians raised the standard. God and His Son now sanctioning his trickery, Marvell beguiles the Devil with greater confidence. All concerned would agree that our hero is, however, a minor dragon-slayer; Leviathan's capitulation awaits the hook of the "Divine Angler," Christ returning with the Cross.[48] But though Marvell's heroics as the serpent sun-god

are limited in nature, they elevate to a "holyday" spirit every Christian's quotidian preoccupation: a disciple of Christ, and hence a "fisher of men," Marvell angles to catch his soul.

Voicing the direct object of his "Pleasure" in "to hedge/My Temples," Marvell locates the exact "where" of his dragon-ridding adventures. After neo-Platonism had intensified its inward bent, and heroism accommodated, as always, to history, Christianity sought its warfarer in a camp centered in the mind and the soul. To the Renaissance mythographers Conti and Cartari, the conquest of the monster meant the mind's triumph over vice;[49] nor were they originators. Aware of the imperativeness of the Delphic inscription "know thyself," yet knowing himself unprepared, Socrates listed first among relevant investigations whether he was "a monster more complicated and furious than Typon" or a gentler and simpler creature.[50] Even Isis searching for the pieces of Osiris hewn by Typhon confronted a lesser ordeal than Cyprian in "De ecclesiae catholicae unitate." For in the early years of Christianity when he asked who and where the serpent was, Cyprian grappled with a dilemma so protean as to wreak discord both outside and within the Church.[51] In rehousing the serpent evicted by Fairfax, Marvell registers a truth established by fallen man: dungeoned in the mind, the Dragon seldom submits to its control. Allied with convention, circumstances had predetermined all the counters in Marvell's allegorical list -- which contendors enter the battle, which ground it rages across, and which token represents victory. Engaging monstrous sin in the "living river," the heroic soul, champion of the Son, strives to secure the estate of "reason," and achieves, at least as a penultimate prize, a purification of the "Temples."

The circuitous paths of the river coursing through the landscape of solitude and mirroring the thought of every "Drop of Dew" are as twisted as the serpent's coils. Any early neglect of "inwardness," the theme begun by "this sober Frame" and furthered by the prefixes in "imbark" and "inverted," has been corrected by recent studies. Independently, several critics ascribe to "Upon Appleton House" the seventeenth-century phenomenon of a shift to the "in/out" axis. Particularly Harry Berger delivers a sparkling essay; but an explication of the "Chrystal Mirrour" might persuade the "green world" scholar to relate the two axes he acknowledges, "in/out" and "before/after," to the "up/down" he believes they replace.[52] For Marvell's image depends on the vertical line where extremes mark the stretch of spiritual existence, the same line that traditionally served as the hierarchic axis along which social forces scaled and somersaulted. Moreover, this plane of spatial dimension interacts with the heavier line of corporeal existence common to man and land; like the river, man's life in time flows on a horizontal plane.

Insisting that man's life is the cross formed by these diverse directions,[53] Marvell repeats them in the succeeding stanza. Signaled by "Or," ambiguity returns; and the mirror metaphor again works witty reversals, its subject the very images of the "Mirrour" stanza. Turning back or going down, either diminishes the pilgrim soul who has climbed the straight and arduous moral path that reaches to an awaiting heaven. Footloose, hugging earth, Marvell drifts back to Aphrodite, mother of the "isle of man." Being of two minds, this human "Bank unto the Tide" suspends his "sliding Foot" and hangs down into the depths. Everyone knows that only man walks upright, the position that both marks his distinction from non-human nature and assists his great

achievements. But in arriving at the station of the Contemplateur, the "easy Philosopher" borrows from Saint-Amant's poem the wit of progressing inversely and aping his model descends "Dans les termes du Philosophe."[54] An isolation hedged about with sedge -- such is the kingdom of a lord who accepted I am what Eye am, and indulging the acceptance, lapsed into languor. On a Roman holiday in Egypt, libertine Mark Anthony succumbs to the "old Serpent," and abdicating from the responsibilities of aspiration and empire, he trifles with hooks in the Nile until Rome almost melts into the Tiber. Apparently, a temple sojourn has lightened the "cross" borne by Everyman in the theater of history. Marvell's point is that the One allows all to every Christian. Pagan man puzzled over the source of the Nile,[55] but the Christian confidently assumes that it coils back into the same sea where the sacred serpent joins his beginning to his end. A ring of bright water around him, the sea flows within man as the river that brings his thoughts, however dark and coiled, back to the source. Considered diagrammatically, the oppositional directions that make a cross of man's life define his cosmos as a circle; and as Plato said long ago, in the circle these directions lose their significance.[56] Sunday is for Marvell what "Prayer" had been for Herbert, "something understood."

To the Calvinist cast down in sin an immeasurable distance from the Almighty, no doubt neo-Platonism was appealing by its permissiveness. Ironically in trusting to the benevolence of the One Marvell disqualifies himself as the ideal neo-Platonic hero. Assuming a stance as a "Bank unto the Tide," he deviates from what Plotinians pledge, a "happy forgetfulness" of the "lower phase."[57] When he emerges from the labyrinth of flesh, the hero is expected

to fix his attention on a spiritual-metaphysical order beyond the visible world; a virtual "Chrystal Mirrour," he aims at transcendence. His "antick Cope" stiff with soil and crawling with forest creatures, Marvell blunders further, even so far as to proclaim himself time's proper storehouse. We argue against reason in impugning him for verbally rounding on "No Serpent new." To encompass the enemy must be among his motives, for if the serpent is not acknowledged, he manifests himself with foul virulence. But in unfolding the serpent's motion, Marvell runs the risk of being entangled, even to the danger of confusing those extremes between which moral life oscillates, the "Fifth Element" and a "muddy back."

About mud, seemingly the "ideal" analogy for matter, Plotinus warns emphatically if indirectly: "evil to the Soul lies in frequenting strangers."[58] Evidently Marvell's logic objects just as keenly to the mud and the monster it spawned, since he performs an ablution on puddled reason and sends forth the now clear ray to further the victory. To make light of the monster within him, the neo-Platonist drops a crystal of reason into the wriggling river and, tranquil in mind, thrusts toward the higher reason of the One. For the Christian Marvell, the transparency of eternity shines through the green world as the Son grants the petition and smiles on a struggling soul. Instead, Marvell may be alluding to a mystical Mosaical discourse on Revelation's sea of glass "like unto crystal." Enlightened by Edward Stephen's 1649 translation of Blaise de Vigenere's du Feu et du Sel," he would mingle "white flame" with the "white water" that "designed" the Christian faith.[59] Whichever process transformed it into "Chrystal," Marvell's "Mirrour," by explicitly requesting release from the passionate disorder that men and nature are prone to, allows to "Nilus

slime" no more than a degrading status. But even had other evidence been lacking, as a "son of Ben," Marvell appreciated that "All men are wormes."[60] Rooted in the loin, the swamp of desire, the worm-dragon-serpent had an invincible stand in the flux. With this recognition, Marvell subjects to an untied, "wanton" stream the "Meadow," the body of land whose movements reflect man's thoughts, as in turn man's thoughts reflect the rhythms of his body, the correspondent of that body being the "meadow" held in tow by the "wanton" stream of time and desire. "Bermudas" is Marvell's return bout with the sponsor of restless surgings in innocent, timeless Eden, the same Leviathan who now in fallen England wastes both men and the land with the passions he nourishes them by. At Appleton, Marvell takes only those steps that reduce to "harmless" the established resident.

Running with the river, desire is inescapably linked with Nature's rhythm. At best, man's postlapsarian efforts render the judgment "wanton" as morally neutral; but desire degrades only base natures. Still, Marvell's canvas, "Appleton as Earthly Paradise," is a study of light and harmony, a composition of turning lines that bring purity of perception to the mind and peace to the soul, so that man knows Divinity a presence in the Garden and himself another "one." Such are the Garden's "wholesome Hours," where thoughts racing with worldly confusion, calmed by Christ's peace, are reflected in the river that idles through Pastoral's idyllic land. But if man can do no more than resign himself to residing in time, despite his heroics of mind and soul, Marvell's "Mirrour" is a supreme instance of metaphysical complexity. Sundering the divine and demonic worlds, the image simultaneously demonstrates their coexistence. What it expresses is Marvell's will to come to a unity as conceived by neo-Platonists,

but as the whole or multi-faceted Humanist man. Dedicated as his metaphysical craft was to the paradox of unity in multiplicity, he had a capable assistant. But he canvassed support within the camps of a most oddly matched pair, Christianity as it strove to reconcile the irreconcilables of eschatology and epistemology, and the serpent, the mocker of knowledge once honored as its symbol.[61]

For Plotinus, time, like place, was a fragment from which thought must deliver man by discovering and establishing universals. To commune with the One, Marvell has to leave behind worldly memory, not only the time-bound and burdened human condition, but also the rainbow allusions drawn by the ages from a manifold reality. Though himself a true son of Terra like the giant Antaeus, he must forsake the touch of earth. Such abstractings are "strangers" to the poet of a showpiece of learning who shored its moss, man's heritage of enchantment, and its leaves, his thesaurus of wisdom, against the tide of time. Though neo-Platonists after Plotinus inclined to a more Christian valuing of time, civilization continued to collect appearances that contaminated the primal unity. Too weak to see the highest truth directly, fallen eyes nonetheless see what God intended, and God does not deceive Christians; He gradually educates man towards relevation in Paul's attempt to accommodate history to "final things."[62] With the rood of earthly root in mind, we approach Marvell's witty caperings about the "inverted Tree" from another perspective. Leaves that bow from heaven's plant mirror leaves yet growing in knowledge, and they, the shadow of the leaves overhead, overshadow the leaves already fallen. Truth is a truth of time, for even as man journeys through time to interpret them, God's symbols develop.[68] Living in the mid-kingdom of the present, man is an amphibion twice over; he goes towards the future from a present informed by the past.

Though tricked into Marvell's service, the serpent performs so gamely in the "Mirrour" as to earn further attention. In placing the monster at the center of his image Marvell does more than hearken to the river sounding time or affirm regenerative pwoer (phallic energy as an overflowing Nile), or even indulge his poet whimsey to play St. George. Notwithstanding our many qualifications, he pacifies the river into an eternal now at least for the moment and trading in the whore Venus for the Aphrodite of the soul[64] redeems himself as the neo-Platonic hero by the boon of spiritualized love. But in the surging, twining motion of the serpent, the spirit of unrest incarnate, Marvell recognized an emblem of his own "Appleton" art, the forcible curving of a reluctant reality into the Circle of Perfection as if it were freely willed. Understandably, he punishes the perpetuator of negation by his very offense, who suffering his own pseudo-extinction, thereby performs the "Goode" that for Donne was as visible as "grene."[65] By means of this discolorer of God's art, Marvell dismisses the "Table rase," the scene currently on the historical stage, and brings on an Emerald Tablet tableau worthy of Hermes. "Sedge," hedging for a Creator's "Temples," grows where bulrush, the British cattail, disfigured the ground.[66] In Appleton the garden, Marvell praises his Son-God for delivering a green world, and sings "Io," the ancient chant to Apollo under the name of Paean. With "Io Paean" Marvell clears the looking-glass of the face of Io, the image of the human-become-brute, one of the many faces possessed by the master monster. Fairfax caught the allusion: Marvell like Ulysses is innocent of the six-day sacreligious dining on the Cattle of the Sun and escapes the seventh-day sea-sorrow.[67] Appeased, the Sun-Son continues to shine, perhaps fulfilling the prophecy of the "seven-fold" light on the day the Lord will bind the breach of His

People and heal their wounded land.[68] Baptized by his triumph over the spiritual blindness associated with the Nile, Marvell becomes Israel, Philo's "seeing one," the trueborn to whom God reveals the Promised Land.[69] Following the "sedge," the landmark highlighted by the pun on "Temples," Marvell corsses the Jordan, of which the Red Sea, the "Sea of Sedge," was the type.

In a candid moment, Marvell credits the glorious worm with weaving the gown that earth wears to marry heaven's emissary. Expending her labors, quite undoing herself all for "a bewitching moment," the silk-worm of The Revenger's Tragedy might be Marvell's precedent were the drama accessible as he planned his sequence of green "Silks" and servicable serpent. Though verbally blazoned by Circe's lustful son, Nature herself luxuriated in Comus by setting

> to work millions of spinning worms
> That in their green shops weave the smooth-haired silk.[70]

An ironic twinkle no doubt accompanies Marvell in praising a cousin of the ravisher of virgins entombed, but with the wedding at hand, joy spills over into generosity. Rejoicing, the Sun the bridegroom runs toward earth from the heavens where, in Psalm 19, God set him as a tabernacle to declare His majesty, divine love coming to draw the human world into a perfect union. Surely the glory of the Lord fills the house into which, out of the wilderness, His faithful bring another movable tabernacle. Symbol of His presence, the ark now rests in the Holy of Holies, its permanent home, the inner court of Solomon's Temple in the land of His Chosen People. But the God of Christians does not dwell in "things made with hands"; as Solomon's Temple replaced the "tent of witness," so the Son fulfilled the "schoolmaster" Law as the light in man's soul.[71] In seeking his "shade" at Appleton, land mirroring man's soul, God's tabernacle the Sun marks Appleton's

man as a temple where "nothing ill can dwell." Nature, which gave man eyes to see the Sun, gave him "Temples" to discern His heart and thus to know His wisdom. Noah harbors his bark, fashioned of the wood of the rood, where a branch of Adam's Tree has been planted. The ark, traditionally depicted as the throne or seat of invisible Deity, rests now in Appleton, the Holy See where man has kept His "holyday" by establishing a "see" or seat of learning.[72]

Images from many realms, typology and those "isms" courted by neo-Platonists, classical and Renaissance favorites, attend the ceremony Marvell carefully planned to wed heaven to Appleton, Appleton's man to self-wisdom, and himself, the tutor, to a community of like spirits. Confident of a literate audience, however, their host thinks it unnecessary in the main to name them, whose poetic potential he realizes. From the "shadow" of the apple tree where she awaits him, Solomon's sister and spouse, a "garden inclosed," rises to his Song. For this once Echo becomes the beloved, since Narcissus "too" pines in

> And for his shade which therein shines,
> Narcissus like, the Sun too pines.

Pausanias sensibly preferred a late version of the legend wherein Narcissus loved his twin sister and at her death assuaged his grief by imagining he saw her likeness in his own reflection.[73] Informed by Professor Røstvig we associate Marvell's Sun-Narcissus simile with the Hermetic account of creation (which incidentally sustains Pausanias' implication that man desires communion as the reflection of his own image in another's countenance): earth having come into being, Man leans over the armatures longing after his image fallen into Nature. Just so the disembodied soul, an emanation of Deity, penetrates down toward earth where it views its own reflection.[74] Both the corpus

hermeticum and the Cabala expressed in sexual terms self-knowledge, the union of dialectic extremes, the cosmic oneness, that spoke of completeness in man. Closely related to their holy marriage or hieros gamos was the Androgyna, the myth of man as originally circular, a commingling of sexes, until, irate at his insolence, the gods sliced him in two. Love's power derives, understandably, from man's forever seeking of his other half. But for Aristophanes' suspiciously tongue-in-cheek tale of giants and grasshoppers and sorb-apple halved for pickling to have inspired Ficino and Leo Hebraeus to conceive of the Androgyna as symbolizing a perfect union argues a mysterious power for Eros.[75] If while voyaging to this most mystic marriage Marvell halts his ark for "gadding Vines," Cabalistic tradition reveals his cause. For wine transported Noah to the ecstasis from which supernal wisdom follows. Yet the Glo-worms need never worry about night duty for their poet studying all this Jewish lore. Parnuge blazed Marvell's trial in Rabelais' text, which offered joye and ecstasis and "To Paean,"[76] verbal buffoonery expressing a gusto for life and a lust for learning and the conviction that Nature is good and God is love.

Another voyager signals the marriage bringing Marvell into full sight of the Isle of Man, the center of his circle. Though Ulysses roamed the wide world, home lay due west, whereas God's glory enters always through the gate whose prospect is toward the east.[77] Throughout his own westward journey to the east, Marvell enacts Quattrocento-centered speculations on the coincidence of opposites, with the geographical illustration of Donne's cosmographers.[78] Wedding these polarities of space and spiritual estate, Eden's freshness and the cultural bounty reaped by earth's sojourner westward since, he calls their union the circle of civilization, Appleton, home.

Home meant the human estate committed to civilization, man engaged in restoring a lost integrity as a mosaic of changing scenes that together might approximate the concept of perfection retained by the mind. The sun's search for its semblance at Appleton, the home of civilized man, paints "narcissism" favorably, in contrast to its customary slanders. Even as His emissary bends over the river of time grasping at the fleeting image of beauty, God, who revealed Himself to a people in time and place and after became man, examines His self-manifestation in the phenomenal world with benign though seemingly distant solicitude. "Se pencher" minors as pun, however, where "grace" prevails, as it should in so wickedly clever an image. At first God observes only the grassy pastoral plot reserved by His grace for man to cultivate England's traditional estate of country house graciousness. Rather expectedly, Marvell muses on a relationship between the domestic world and western man's supreme fiction, the "heaven as in a glass" of Wallace Steven's wry Notes. A century after Marvell, Henry Brooke's Universal Beauty wrapped perfected, preening Nature both in its own joyous light and in the "smiling" light of heaven. "Self-lov'd" and "self-enjoy'd," narcissus-like Nature had no reason to pine;[79] nor would the critic have any cause to belabor the point had Marvell been as restrictive on the subject expanded by his "Mirrour" as Brooke. But Marvell's image involves Appleton's man, dweller in the sphere of the Sun, Fludd's middle sphere in a world that mirrors God.[80] To this "I" who sees with the "world's eye," Ovid's phrase for the Sun, Appleton's river clearly reflects the transcendent ideal of the mind. Become a "little human sun," Appleton's man, like Apollo in Shelly's "Hymn," is the eye "with which the Universe/Beholds itself and knows itself divine."[81]

"Solitude" implied man's inherent dignity, even his divinity, but unlike Marvell, Fairfax spared the sun a cohabitation with the apple spoiler. Nature had to be ordered; and he had been consulted about personifying contemplative man as Narcissus the fruitless dreamer, Fairfax might advocate that Marvell's soaring wit be curbed. From the privileged stance of the entertainer, Marvell makes clear his espousal of insult and injury, even if they foil reason's end. Furthermore he may progress from divining a kinship between the overflowing One of Plotinus that salves the imperfect self and the annual conduct of the Nile that revitalizes the land, to recognizing that the hero visiting irresponsible gods releases man to play. A universe analogically structured by a God known for His wit, which was the legacy of the seventeenth century, encouraged such intuiting. And surely in the sequence from "newly washt" grass through wedding rite to his personal dissolution into a "Bank unto the Tide," in intimate fusion with the universe's original condition, Marvell defines play as the life spirit sending man on from rebirth to rebirth by its message, life is fun.

As man-the-player, who exercises all his parts in their varied motions, the possessor of Marvell's island is man the whole being. Players customarily dash color onto life, but Marvell's creation fascinates by coming into final form only in the course of the poet conducting a "dialectic," a competitive play-off among philosophical tenents. In answering every man's question, how to find happiness, Marvell can be imagined as calling together a round table of major thinkers on the theme. Abandoning sin as he abandons ignorance, man unites with the divine One in Plotinus' formula, whose promise of ecstatic happiness drew even Calvinists trapped in the hell of life without the assurance of Augustinian beatitude. Yet the neo-Platonist's path to real knowledge, the soul reminiscing of its former abode the

World of Ideas, accorded ill with man's reawakened drive to find happiness by fathoming his present mansion. The unlimited dreamer is nonetheless the pilgrim across finite earth; such is the dilemma Marvell's "Mirrour" confronts in the Sunday setting ideal for resolution. As liquid crystal, the "Mirrour" interprets one paradox of temporal existence: emerging formed and permanent from the flux, life soon flows back. Unsubstantial Echo, the mere "shade," resounds an actual cry, for though he lives on as allusion, Narcissus died centures ago. Weary of "meadow" time, the scythe to aspiring man, Marvell devised a mirror spectacle to recapture time in its circle of recurring cycles. Playing the Platonist, he spurned time's westerly direction and hurried back through the woods to an untrammeled Eden. But he hardly escaped the impermance troubling the sensible world by traversing the forest. Rather throughout the crossing he defers to the commentators on the "silva" of Aeneid VI.13: silva materiam notat," for the Greek hyle denoted both the woods and the basic matter of which the world was formed.[82] At the forest's end appears the river that sings Echo, the serpent having to be appeased even on a pastoral Sabbath. Ultimately, Marvell elects Christianity's model of time; that is, he accepts the serpent along with the linear sequence. Maria's tutor dare not disregard time's fallen forms or he disvalues the living stream of history that has borne him to the Holy See and his vocation. Moreover, as scholar he has been reading the world as God's original Text by virtue of his wanderings among the human commentaries he alludes to -- all the works of time. It is time that grants the teacher the heightened vision to observe in his pupil that learning involves perceiving as well as memory, its mirror image. Like moving water, the mental process sets one image besides others

chronologically separated until the advent of true identity or revelation.

If man would be happy, Plato counsels him to take the disciplined path, the way of reason that leads beyond things visible to the bodily eye. Imprisoned in the body, whose matter bound him to the material universe, man's soul was the dupe of sense perception, deluder of the intellect. Though declining Plato's challenge to explore the invisible world of forms, the Stoics agreed on the prescription of self-inquiry and self-restraint; in brief, they enjoined duty. By the light of the universe, the Sun itself, symbol of Truth, Marvell swears fidelity to the principle of perfecting the inhabitant of his island until he attains the brief but ecstatic happiness that most likens man to God. The whole narrative pattern after his dissipation on the grassy lap with the hare points to his clearing of the glass and aspiring past the realm of fire and air to the "Fifth Element." Everything so points, that is, except for Narcissis, short-sighted by his ego, the mud-blinded serpent he appears with, and the "Chrystal Mirrour" that afterword degenerates into the baser elements of the "Bank." Apparently, the happiness Marvell envisions resists any Platonic liberation from the delusion of tangibility. It is not that he fails to assess phenomena in the light of ideas or to suffuse objects with meaning; our evidence for this is the earthly sun he recognizes as a vehicle of God. Marvell's thoughts plunge below surfaces and pace beyond the body, yet they rely on immediate sense experience. Could man encompass the confusion of multiplicity in the "one-ness" of the optical view, the world spread out in fragments before him would mirror God. Third-dimensional vision involves man in a "disagreement" other than that between the two visions of space borne by two separate eyes. Each individual must bring about

a communion between his intellectual eye and what perceives objects incontrovertibly out there, assembled in space in the delight of the sun. Unchecked by temperance, which reason exacts from the lower appetites, flesh might overwhelm spirit; were Maria's tutor to devote his time to professing with Narcissus, "I love myself such as I am," he would forget to learn. Yet Marvell is not only loathe to cast aside the body impeding the soul's clarity, he skips the Stoic lesson. In accepting the self-restraint that his limited nature makes necessary. man saves dignity. But how cramped must human dignity be if for it man-the-player must lose his joy.

Only a few stanzas later Marvell invites Maria's laughter at his woodland "Toyes," instruments of images comparable to the "toys" denounced by Augustine for distracting man from the concerns of his soul.[83] From their adopted perspective of heaven and Agape, orthodox Christians were at best tolerant of the flirtings and mirrorings that refract the story of Narcissus and Echo in Marvell's Sun and the Garden. Neo-Platonists sponsored his overflowing joy, mainly because their One, the source of Eros, inspired all things to return to Eros. Neither of the religion philosophies adequately respected that human hands cannot grasp an unfleshed soul; both slighted man's attachment to the fleeting beauty of the earth. Millenia earlier, in explaining man's inability to judge truth, Alcmeon conversely blamed the weakness of man's sense-perceptions.[84] Raised to "higher Beauties" and assisted by her witty tutor, Maria grades his pleasures "slight" and by her person lectures against his beastly theme of error, sensuality, and enslavement. But earlier, through his dialectic, Marvell has moved past neo-Platonic values and settled his player close to the Humanist concept of the whole man.

By his presence the serpent asserted that worm and man are intertwined in the mid-Kingdom, that body and soul, time and the Abstract, are inextricable. Engendered when a River-god encircled a Nymph with his streams,[85] short-lived Narcissus is a sensitive allusion that the domain of the river time is only a small island compared to the sea of eternity. Marvell's "Mirrour" metaphor never means to reject the duality of the subject and object or to convey the oneness of man and God such that the human creature and the superhuman Creator disappear. Gazing up from beneath the watery glass at the down-gazing sun is Appleton, the face that mirrors the sunlike soul of man; but Appleton is also soil, land wherein ideals might grow because they are plotted in time and place. Plans for the happiness of Marvell's player only allude to, but do not leap into, occult heights. Truthfully Archibald MacLeish flattens out the metaphysical stance, yet placed "face down" Marvell feels the warming sun that daily his eye sees circling the earth. A sacred body risen from the sea, the earth retains a wisdom of its own. So Marvell locates his Garden where Pan might feel at home, in Arcadia's fertile woodlands amid the flux.[86] Happiness resides on earth, if earth's resident, man, plays all the roles possible within the strictures of time and becomes Pico's dignified man, the "chameleon," by marrying the wisdom of all the realms: the space where he moves from past to present and through memory returns to the past; the natural world that half articulates the universal process; the timeless realm storing fresh guides for human conduct. His surrogate the Sun beaming down a blessing, God sanctifies Marvell's earth-oriented decision. Given this idealistic context, Narcissus prepares for "echo" the words attributed to him by Gaston Bachelard, "I am such that I love myself."[87] Where man-the-player dwells, dimension actually has no more significance than direction. As Appleton's two bodies, the land and man, are married to Heaven and its intellectual Light, life rounds into the Circle, a structure whose circumference is nowhere and whose whole repeats itself in every part. In this intimate moment completing the center of "Upon Appleton House," God, the center of the Circle,

gazes at the image that Narcissus-like He has sought, and despite His cognizance of the serpent, falls in love with Marvell's Isle of Man.

Known to favor witty sinners, God would grant an easy grace to the petitioner who surprisingly, as it seems, impells Narcissus' vanity into emulating Him. Few enough among poets thought to collapse the tragedy into its opposing counterpart, the Androgyna of mutual fulfillment. Boarding Narcissus' story, Marvell crosses to his "bank unto the Tide" stanza where, stretched out on a grassy verge beside a clear stream, a statuesque figure fading away, he immortalizes Ovid, except for the "fishes" that "twang." Intercepting perhaps is Britannia's Pastorals in which the hunted leap at sight of their captor Narcissus the Adonis-like swain, engaged in fishing.[88] But though mythological and patriotic, William Browne's scene enhances neither the divine marriage of "Appleton" nor its foregoing pastoral. Meanwhile, even readers attuned to Marvellian crosscurrents stagger at connecting his Christian "Lines" with infatuated fish. Rescuing us is the tendency in neo-Platonic symbolism for any figure to engender others. Pico's parable advises why: Pan is always hidden in Proteus.[89] Who would not admire Marvell? While wandering back to the Garden he practiced transformations so that he might identify with "the first man"[90] twice over, Adam the father of mankind and Proteus the great figure of mutability. As Proteux, commonly associated with the chameleon and invariably called "ambiguus,"[91] Marvell among other exploits

upholds the "dignity of man," discovers the secret gate through which the universal permeates the particular, extols the verbal wizardry of the unfettered artist, selects the mansion for nuptials on the isle, ends his own "georgics" on a literary note that actually writes scholia on a Shakespearean pun, and not least, hooks Christianity onto neo-Platonism.

Having mastered mutability, the doctrine dignifying man, during his initiation into the prisca theologia and his sojourn in silva, unprompted Marvell might metamorphose into the "Bank unto the Tide." Still, toying in The Wisdom of the Ancients Bacon altered him that Proteus denotes "matter, the oldest of all things after God himself."[92] Flowing back into time and fusing with the local scene, "Dans les termes du Philosophe," Marvell rises toward the eternal Abstract. Opposites coincide in the One perfect form, the Circle enfolding the many and the contrary, as Aristophanic man particularly knows, since he attends simultaneously to the upper and lower realms.[93] Exasperated at another devious manipulator of words, one who "makes things go round in a circle," Socrates libeled him with "Proteus."[94] Typed as a "Tyrant" in Spenser's Faerie Queene, Proteus protected his image as reconciler by furnishing the "house" for the pageantry that married the Medway to the Thames. Marvell draws life back to the same fluid mansion, but instead of rivers, he marries rivaux. Originally, in Latin, each member of every pair of the many rivals (French rivaux) that he has been uniting lived on the opposite shores of a stream (each shore and each stream an English "rival"). Former rivals, such as the mansions of earth and ocean, dwell together now as the "Bank unto the Tide," but lamentably they occupy one space with their bridge. "All" has evidently gone to Marvell's "Temples," for he even poses as

the Osier that intersects him as the "Bank," its "undermined Root" therefore his own, though it fathoms his "Tide," as the "Branches" are his that hang down his "Lines." In espousing this parody of the One and the "many," more than taking leave of dialectic, Marvell succumbs to the temptation to exhibit his intimacy with arcana. Every man of potential, that is every Protean man, aims to discover Pan. But as Proteus disclosing Pan hidden under his own many guises, Marvell confuses what is metaphor with identity. Forgetting that for mind and matter to interact they must be "two," he gathers the universe's "all" into his "one" as man.

"Ambiguus" Proteus showed a shady side through much of his literary career. But the Proteus who ends Virgil's Georgics with a prophecy of what Bacon later called "the three times" is the revered ancient vates[95]? What Marvell divines for his scholarly posterity is a "crux" in Macbeth. Reading "upon this Bank and Schoole of time" before Theobald's emendation, he assumes both "Schoole" and "shoal" and lets the "Fishes" argue his position. Schooled in Christianity, he would concur with Dr. Johnson that life is a "narrow bank in the ocean of eternity." For that same Christian reason, Maria's tutor sits on the bench taking lessons from "the life to come."[96] "Shule" and "shool" spelled seventeenth-century English "shoal," a swarm of fish swimming together; in Dutch the word was school, and Marvell mastered that language. Identified spelling-wise, the English pair delights the paradoxist, for whereas the verb "shoal" separates, the noun "school" unites by a similarity of principles or methods. Associating verbal paradox with the mirror, its parallel in the sphere of imagery, Marvell reserves self-reflecting Narcissus for the ultimate image of himself as the artist. From the first, however, he induces Proteus into his piscatory eclogue, where he aims by the wholly unvoiced

instrument of "shoal" to fashion himself into just that singer of immortal verse and another Shepherd of the Ocean.

Before Fletcher appended examples to The Purple Island, piscatory eclogues had ceased being novel. After Sannazaro, poets took for granted that Proteus, the keeper of Neptune's sea-creatures, sings among the shepherds of pastoral. As usual Marvell revivifies a generic cliche, and as usual by rendering literal what he discerns to be its ground note. If in this instance Proteus transverses neo-Platonic and Christian pastoral, Marvell has determined the nature of his "shoal" as relevant to "spiritual Piscation," otherwise known as the "divine trade." Though not attracted to the shape-shifter, Spenser steered Marvell toward his goal: in describing Proteus' charges "Of stinking seales and porcpoises," he implied shoal while voicing "heard"; after identifying shoal, the "flock" of birds, as the shoal, a "troop" of an army, he extended the meaning to "a shole of shepheardes." To tell the tale briefly, in that ideal Arcadian landscape where Proteus guards as fish what are his sheep, Marvell establishes a "school" in which to rehearse his "sliding Foot" until his verse flows with the ease of "smooth sliding Ovid," or at least with the glide worthy of a "son of Ben." As the singing master of a Sunday school, the pedant must, however, guide his other half, for surely such is his "flock" since it answers his gaze from beneath the watery glass. Fish that "twang" enticingly spell moral danger, and the wary hare is not about to be caught twice with the same bait. Due to the fortuitous confusion of the siren with the mermaid, Marvell's charmingly seductive chorus enchant, yet lure no one to destruction. Instead, they play Sireniacals, and as members of that celebrated club, meet again at the Mermaid Tavern.[97]

No flock thrives on "sedge" even in the Promised Land. On the day celebrating the Good Shepherd, God's witty sinner scans the grass for a sign of grace. Thus Marvell fulfills Christ's command to Simon Peter the fisherman, "Feed my sheep" (Joh:21). Possibly Marvell tends "sheep" with the Festuca ovina in mind, though the Oxford English Dictionary first enters "fescue-grass" at the close of the succeeding century. From the then-active meanings of fescue he draws on the "plectrum" for fishes that "twang." Not long before, Areopagitica asked: "What advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only scapt the ferular to come under the fescu of an Imprimatur?"[98] Neither of Marvell's charges, Maria nor his flock, require the ferule, the plant that grows into the rod destined for schoolboys' fingers. But though Latin dictionaries hesitate, like Milton Marvell may connect ferule with fescue and shape thereby a shepherd's walking stick. Again the pointer teaches a lesson on liberty, however remote from Miltonic flashes against immoral licensing. Liberty, not license, can also stand for Marvell's whole man, who conscious of new latitude in persuing endeavors along a horizontal plane,[99] still commits himself to the difficult ascent. But in a "holyday" context where he fishes for sheep to displace history's "cattle," Marvell defines liberty positively, as man's freedom to recognize happiness on earth and to take it as evidence of God's grace. From the ancient ceremony of manumission, he retrives the festuca, the plant that grows into the rod whose touch transforms the slave into the free man.

One contemporary source of Festuca demonstrates why his joy in freedom coupled with his adherence to the Circle sent Marvell striving after the pliant strength associated with the Osier. In 1639 all the

great London Apothecaries led by Thomas Johnson rode to North Wales, and there, having braved the terrors of the ascent and wondered at the cloud-capped grandeur of the summit Snowden, they spread out their specimens of grass. In the Second Part of Mercurious, published in 1641, Festuca ovina was recorded among the noteworthy supplements to previous listings.[100] Adventurers were crossing into the domain of science to behold the earth, and, thus observed, earth shifted its appearance. Hereafter, accurate accounts by naturalists would vie with emblems. Aware that Protean man was growing another nature, Marvell documents in "sliding Foot" his inhabitation by the same flux. Had he settled for distinguishable worlds, the Renaissance concept of adapting to circumstances was at hand. But the "I" of "Appleton" aims at pliancy, not accommodation, focusing two eyes for three-dimensional vision; that is, Marvell chooses to be a Narcissus poet.

A sixteenth-century precedent exists for Marvell's persona, another poet-persona distracted by his "Syren-singing self," another "I" who mistakes his "Sun-shine shadow for the substance." Besides re-creating Thomas Edward's figure, Marvell sustains his self-parodic tone. Yet he need not have known the earlier, enigmatic "Narcissus":[101] Echo predates both; Appleton temple is constructed of visual as well as auditory images; and discordia concors encouraged levity as a vehicle for earnest statement.[102] Each of the poets interprets his craft from the perspective proposed for metaphor by Wallace Stevens: "Narcissus did not expect, when he looked into the stream, to find in his hair a serpent coiled to strike."[103] Instead, his resemblance would give pleasure. Alberti claimed Narcissus invented painting, for "what else can you call painting but a similar embracing with art of what is presented on the surface of the water in the fountain?"[104] In seeking

his image in the world's glass, the artist externalizes the reflections of his mind. As it mirrors his image, the world becomes a subjective glass, even his loving observor. Seizing this image as the raw matter for art, the poet takes back from the external world his own projection of its reality. In turn, however, he gives back more than the world's own image, that image metamorphosed by his verse. Such is Narcissus the poet, a "Bank unto the Tide" -- a self who, in interacting with the world, consciously bridges those seemingly diverse shores of subject-appearance and object-reality.

Although Appleton was never "brazen," poetry committed Marvell to delivering a "golden" world. However unintentionally, Parliament in 1651 furthered his cause by granting Lord Fairfax the seignory of the Isle of Man, "in public gratitude of his high deserts and not as the issue of his own desire."[105] On Man Marvell reigns over a playground of lore reaching across a great part of the familiar world and deep into its Golden Age. His backdrop a wooded temple dominated by the oak, Marvell, in the explicit reference "Prelate of the Grove," relates his player to the line of Druid priests and prophets and inspired bards. Actually, the center of this Celtic people was Mona (or Anglesey, its other name), but a grand confusion has occurred. Hector Boece's Scotorum Historiae (1526) fostered a Druidic tradition of piety and learning for his native Scotland by transporting these moral philosophers north to Man from Mona. Answering an appeal for information, the antiquarian Humphrey Llwyd sent a description of Anglesey as "De Mona Druidum Insula" (1567), whereupon his recipient, the cartographer Ortelius, printed this survey of the Druid home as an appendix to Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570). Though later correcting himself, Drayton repeated Boece's mistake, and he was the first to write

frequently of the Druids. As a "fact" established by wishful mythologizing, the Druids were literate from the first; they equaled the Athenians in scholarship; they instructed the Pythagoreans in mysteries; they disseminated culture among the Gauls. Profound theologians and philosophers, they exemplified early man walking close to the gods and intuiting nature's secrets.[106] By a series of extraordinary riggings, the historians prepared English poets to boast of their Druidic ancestors as direct descendants of Noah, and hence to see their nation as providentially placed in history. Italy's Annius of Viterbo forged a record that lifted classical references to the Druids and fictionalized them as the names of early monarchs in Britain and Gaul. According to him, it was Samotes, the son of Japhet and hence Noah's grandson, who founded the Celtic colony. Though Holinshed had berated Druidic views on the soul's immortality, he nonetheless in the interests of national pride mixed Annius' inventions with fabrications by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who traced Brutus and his band to Troy. William Warner took Britain's pedigree back to Noah by way of the mythical ancestors of the Trojans. Selden exposed Annius' fifteenth-century deception, but retained his reconstruction filling the gap in Europe's post-diluvian history. Like Seldon, Stow believed that Britain was originally settled by descendants of Gomer, another grandson of Noah. Whatever their variances, however, the historians who brought Ararat to Britain lent a literal dimension to Marvell's anchoring of the Ark.[107]

Though for the pamphleteer Milton who urged his countrymen toward reformation "Druid" meant precedent, for the poet of Mansus, as for Marvell, the term was synonymous with his nation's heritage of sacred chants. "Druid" moreover linked Britain with the land of the Hyper-

boreans, classical antiquity's most venerated people.[108] According to a fragment of Hecateus of Abderos preserved by Diodorus Siculus, the Hyperboreans inhabited an island off the Celtic coast. Located within the limits of Ocean, yet beyond the north wind where the sun rose and set only once a year, this land enjoyed perpetual sunshine and plenty. As the legend goes, its people were free of toil and strife. Worshipping Apollo, they received the god on their island and built him a magnificant temple. From their land Hercules carried off the olive spray that formed the victor's crown at the Olympic games.[109] Surely seventeenth-century poets recognized the mythic nature of this race dwelling in a "nowhere" land; however, dating from the seventh-century B.C. journey of Aristeas of Proconnesus, the Hyperboreans had been literally put on the map.[110] Though Marvell never abandons time, by relating Noah's posterity anchored on the Isle of Man to these happy innocents, he places his player in an anachronistic Golden Age. On his remote northern island, man-the-player possesses even the West's greatest treasure, for Apollodorus had departed from precedent and planted the Garden of the Hesperides and its golden apples among the Hyperboreans.[111]

CRYSTALLINE MARIA

With a final fourish of "Toyes" that laugh at their master, Marvell resigns himself to superior Maria succeeding him as spectacle director. After all, his "pupil" possesses just such wisdom as flourished in his instruments. And having perceived in Appleton's green the gold still growing on the Isle of Man and having mirrored that perception by his verse, Marvell sees the world aright. Thus this I of "Appleton" may confer on the apple of his eye his island's treasure --

"Chrystal" vision. Ancient Hebrew literature assumed the pupil, the "apple" of his eye, to be the seat of vision. But the Alexandrian School of classical antiquity and in general the Arabs regarded the crystalline lens as the unique visual receptor, and hence the major seat of wisdom. For Galen this glacial "ice-like humor" was the divinum oculi; others thought its shape determined the quality of one's vision. Though misconceptions continued concerning its position as well as its function and structure, at the beginning of the second century, Rufos of Ephesus described the crystalline lens in approximately its correct anatomical position, immediately behind the iris. Centuries before Kepler demonstrated the retina's essential role in vision, Da Vinci drew the crystalline lens much the same as in the earliest extant pictorial representation: the largest and central circle in the globe of the eye. In maintaining the traditional view, Marvell had such excellent company as Roger Bacon and Vesalius.[112] Even had he fathomed the findings of science, Marvell would have ignored any diminishing of the crystalline's importance. To clarify his poetic point we turn to Maurolycus, for whom also the crystalline humor occupied a joint tenancy with the pupil in the "great fortress" of visual power. But like Gassendi, Marvell's contemporary in France, Maurolycus insisted that only the crystalline uprights the inverted image that is received by the mind.[113]

Her "Ages Aw," Maria uprights even her tutor's conduct. At Maria's entrance certainly reappear the many ladies who reign influence over poets in seventeenth-century evening landscapes. "She" reawakens to life the radiance of Elizaberth Drury; for "Her," blessed in name, the sun blushes with the same modesty that celebrated the great Son of Milton's "Nativity"; perhaps a more secular sun honors another "Sylvie"

like Theophile da Viau's. Previous commentators authenticate Marvell's credentials as literary curator; and if they acclimate from woodwind lightness to verse trumpeted into pomp and circumstance by his gallantries toward Maria, they imply that "She," Marvell's Appleton "fruit," is "his best piece of poetry."[114] But for the reader released by the "seems" of earlier lines, and still hearing their notes of joy, flatteries echo emptily. Among the legitimate "mysteries" of "Appleton House" is why its poet, who filched the Isle of Man from chaos, nevertheless failed to garner the insights of so daring an act of mind with a memorable Maria. Poetic wisdom lay in recapturing in the blooming maiden the sensuous rhythms of the land. But maybe Marvell deflected his aim to the Fairfacian ethos of "Discipline severe." In consequence Maria wears the face of Appleton as the furrowed land tilled by knowledge and virtue expressly to betray what the artifice of the "Black bag" seeks to conceal, its own sin-wrinkled visage.[115] Essentially stringing his heroine out of stock-in-trade metaphors, Marvell reveals, however, a concern for the "Times," specifically a concern that through his efforts England's country house inherit its conventional hostess. As in preceding spectacles, Marvell's verse here, the "Safir-winged Mist" and the silent scene below, mirrors the circle he searches for. But despite the grace and presence of the vision, the circle engages readers only at the level of image. Bounded in context as in conception, it holds Marvell in the "rationalist" frame erected for him in Ruth Wallerstein's summary statement:

> objectively oriented and critical, not readily surrendering the imagination to a great chain of symbol or extended myth.[116]

Except for several of the motifs that form Maria and require additional explication, our business with her spectacle is confined to her fabri-

cator's tasks. Night coming on, Marvell must ensconce Maria in her historic role and close "Appleton House" by responsibly completing its overlay of patterns. Possibly adapting for his young patroness the traditional device of a name conceit,[117] Marvell is prophesying that, contrary to the Marian practice of sowing discord, Maria Fairfax will heal the wounded land. Like her male counterpart the "Marvellous Apple," which Marvell presumes his pupil acquainted with, Maria, the "Balsam Apple" (the "Balm" or "Jerusalem" apple) "puteth away al scarres and blemishes."[118] Thus her tutor boasts of his "making," while polishing her "golden" nature. Her destiny to extend Appleton's "Line," meanwhile Maria grows on the Fairfacian Oak as "a sprig of Misleto." From Pliny's comments alone her poet might learn that Druids worshipped this "heal all" and distinguished as heaven's choice the tree on which it appeared.[119] In Britain, mistletoe prefers the apple tree to the oak.

As heiress of a domestic kingdom wholly pledged to England, Maria commands such arms as Protestant virtue recruits. Since in their final reading of God's "mystick Book," Appleton's architects discern discipline as the shape of His grace, Nature wears the livery of Order. Just this unvoiced livery, a legal term attributing possession, further suggests that Marvell presumes the permanent subjugation of the Irish and the Scots. Until God's "Chosen" nation yokes the Catholic "cattle" who whispered "lillibulero" while massacring Protestants and breaks the Kirk of "party-colour'd" minds, Marvell exacts their tribute by his pun on "Bonne Mine." Yet he confounds England's virtu with England's "nature," and accepting this fiction we approach his pun via nature, the earthly estate. Analogous to its four corners are the four elements that comprise man, which though they are no longer the alle-

gorical figures of the earlier interludes, continue to bridge Old England and New. Such was the title of Anne Bradstreet's Dialogue published in London with her "Four Elements" in 1650; America had spawned its first volume of verse.[120] So mixed are the elements in Maria, England's envoy to the future sponsored by Marvell, that she is able to find the gateway to virtue, Nosce Teipsum, and no doubt comprehends the wonderous architecture of the world. Respectful of this self who concentrates the powers of the soul -- "recollect" in its religious sense -- [121] "loose" Nature hastens to "recollect itself." In a ceremonious salute reminiscent of the garden at attention, Nature's four corners, transformed for the occasion into four handmaidens,[122] tidy the earthly estate to welcome their mistress and literal "governess." Offspring of the elements, these four recognize in Maria the superior to whom they do homage -- the "Fifth Element."[123]

Were we guided by Maria, we would soar immediately into the quintessence, the fine lucid stuff of Aristotle's heaven.[124] Our delay in ascending defers to Marvell's alternative focus, the earth-bound scene that saddles man with the shame of "Cotton warm" and "muddy back" and prods the poet into the provocative line "Starts forth with to its "Bonne Mine." "Starts" startles us into conjecturing about flight, for a violent release of energy rushes us swiftly across an instance's distance. Whether as the adverb "forthwith" preferred by recent editors or the original two words, "forth with" intensifies the immediacy thrust upon us by "Starts." From the other end of the line "Bonne Mine" commands attention, if only because by his vocative (wherein "Mine" properly follows "Bonne"), Marvell complements French "good appearance" with Scottish endearment. We join Appleton's adults

in a recall of "The Start," Charles II's adventure on Highland soil in 1650, which aborted to his and hence England's dishonor. Thwarted in his attempt to escape his dour Scottish host under the pretense of hawking, the young carefree rake was led ignominiously back to Perth. Bitter months of humiliation passed before the Scots deigned to crown him King. A moderate Protestant, Marvell perhaps chooses to forget where Catholic priests once hid and, assisted by the underground "Mine," means by that "Starting-hole" only the frequently employed figurative term for an "evasion." After Worcester fell to Cromwell's valor, however, a Stuart played the fugitive's role for forty days. Again the poet of "An Horation Ode" vows to rout from "shelter" the Pict, not least for having witnessed the "royal oak" serving England's King as a "Starting-hole."[125] Punning on "Bonne," Marvell recruits the vanquished foe, the Irish as well as the Scots. For the Irish pronounced their "bonagh" with the same two syllables as the French "bonne," denoting the permanent soldier who originally served by virtue of his relationship to the land.[126] "Bonne," however, sounds a poignant note to Lord Fairfax, for on advising his son in Eikon Basilike, "I had rather you should be Charles le Bon, then le Grand,"[127] the King departed from all earthly Kingdoms.

England had grown another "loathsome age" for Jonson to scorn. True, in the absence of a "vulgar stage" no spectators could censor his New Inne. But after the King's death neither might any tuned harp raise "Charles his Chariot above his Wain."[128] Outlanders speak of Ursa Major's cluster of seven stars as the "Dipper." Centuries before Charles ascended to the throne, Englishmen called it "Charles's Wain," possibly by corrupting ceorles wæn (the churl's wagon), which resembles the constellation more than does the bear (Latin: Ursa). Or the

populace confused the legendary cycles of romance connected with Artur (Arth being Welsh for bear) with those of Charlemagne.[129] Discontented winter now hovering over traditional England, Marvell stills the waves rounding the island Appleton and chimes in the December hush ushering in Heaven's King. Across a twilight stage of the winter solstice, the Kingfisher wings a dome of blue. "Dumb" with admiration, Appleton's residents "assist" in the rebirth of "Halcyon Days." With earth become a clear glass of the heavenly mansion, Wisdom returns. Then is Maria's time.

"Greater is he that prophesieth than he that speaketh with tongues" (1 Cor.13:5), yet Paul's disciples move in the sphere of historic change. Responsibility for the Christian estate will "intail" on a "Female"; moreover, this "She" denies that the nature of her "Wisdome" -- seeing aright with crystal eye -- inheres in a "fugitive and cloistered virtue." As Protestant heroine Maria elects "Heavens Dialect"; for that same reason she engages in the languages of worldly men and there apprehends the adversary. Throughout campaigns brandishing the Protestant's right to say "no" to any but honorable love, she upholds the message of Marvell's military-game metaphor: "Halcyon Days" can only be maintained by the Christian's ceaseless warfare. In no way, however, should Maria's domestic role refute the suggestion of Professor Allen of her link, through the halcyon, with Pallas Athena and the heroine of the Sophia Salomones.[130] To present his "Idea of a Woman," Marvell vanquishes the image of ruined Marianites stewing their Popish plots at midnight. Athena, Goddess of Wisdom, still encourages her scholarly devotees to "out-watch the Bear" by teaching them to extract from the olive, her "fruit," oil for their lamps.[131] Like her Greek counterpart inspiring Wisdom, Sophia, who was before Creation, remained

to counsel the leaders of God's Israelites; thus she served as steward of His earthly mansion.

By a pattern of allusion to the constellations, Marvell predisposes Appleton, however, to the influence of Virgo, the winged maiden said to have been the last immortal to bid the earth farewell. With his Sword of stars, Orion the "Giant" faces Taurus across the meadow, the "Bull" always swimming through the ocean. Notwithstanding his timidity, Lepus the "Hare" shines in turn with Sagittarius and Lyra the "Harp"; Draco and Serpens cast unmistakable, if dubious, light. Chamaeleon's[132] proximity clarifies the appearance of Aries the "Ram" during Pisces' fishing season. Brightest of all stars, Sirius would dominate any heaven, but in Marvell's it glows spectacularly, possibly reversing both its ancient messages that "Dog days" approach and that Nilus (England's wanton Civil War) will overflow again. And from Virgo, the heaven's sweep us on to the astronomical image concluding "Appleton House," fair "Bootes" shedding its cheerful light as Marvell confounds "Canoos" with "Shoes," those Yorkshire homynyms "boats" and "boots."[133]

As diurnal winter settles in and "Eben Shuts" close over the Mansion "River," Marvell extols his Stella. Simultaneously, he broods on the changes in England conveniently rubricked under "the house of Charles's Wain," foretelling his penultimate note "'Tis not, what it once was, the world.'" To link this notion of the astrologically influenced body politic with his maiden of "Chrystal" vision whose quintessential nature analogizes her to the stars, Marvell turns to an image of the prisca theologia. In descending from its celestial origin to the earth, the soul puts on a shining starlike garment identical with the substance of the spheres through which it passes. Known as

the "astral body" or "star-soul," this image of the human spirit generated and conditioned by celestial forces lured Renaissance neo-Platonists toward the dangers of believing in the soul's pre-existence. Unable to reconcile what is a philosophical truth of the prisca theologia with Christian eschatology, Ficino like others rationalized: "it is pleasant sometimes to play poetically with the ancients."[134] But Marvell is addressing Fairfax, a nobleman accustomed to hyperbole and moreover one possessed of the "single" eye (Matt. 6:22) whose truth perceives God through many myths. Never doctrinaire himself except where sensing a threat to "English" values, Marvell while sojourning in the Temple glimpsed a profounder truth, that even the mode is inconsequential. Let the ritualist intone "our fathers," the pilgrim bare His Word, the magus imagine a divine circle: when the poet touches the mystery at the heart of life, religion, no less than philosophy, is his metaphor.

While dwelling on earth Maria the star-soul assumes the virgin body of the daughter of "starry Vere" in order to bestow on the land virtues she mirrors perfectly and to govern the fleshly body through her incorporeal soul. Since constituted of incorruptible fifth essence, no doubt this astral body will denote absolute spirit refined from physical presence when translated into "Heavens Dialect." But in transcending Nature's forms, does not Maria nip our earthly hopes of bloom? Living under the donée "All flesh is grass," man rejoices that "all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field." Marvell's field, his text, might grow into the form of this "goodliness," his flower maiden, and her arms imprint their winged contours on the sky. Before a philosophical intent spiritualized the poets' idiom, the dew of heaven fertilized the chastity of Mary. For Lovelace earth

still lives in the "Sun-shine" reprived by Lucasta and scattered by Amarantha's hair.[135] With a sprinkling of "Chrystal" allusions around her, Maria wings her way through the sky, but as an emissary from the crystalline, the sphere of fixed stars, come to promise that Appleton's Nature will be "wholly vitrifi'd."[136] As the "sacred Bud," she marries earth to heaven. "Sunday" is the "next worlds bud," Herbert sang, and Maria, Marvell's Appleton "making," can only be Sunday's child.[137] Then Sunday's joy should belong to Maria at her destined wedding; but her affectionate tutor left joy behind with his woodland notes. Out of his concern for England's future country estate, Marvell makes Maria history's pawn, a pure vessel in service to the body ruling the land.[138] Perhaps I exaggerate; Heaven sanctions the "Choice" and history is rife with comparable violations of human dignity committed by Pico's admirers. But even the earthly flowers in Appleton's real fields, awaiting their "Fairfax," anticipate a joy beyond the extending of a lineage. As "Destiny" plucks Maria the maiden, earth feels the slight, and retaliates. Despite his row of boasts about Appleton, the paragon of paradise, Marvell sings no hymn after his Temple service. Most kindly we remember Maria as the pupil for whom he married the two halves of the bitten apple to bring before her eyes the marvellous Isle of Man.

MARVELLOUS OURS

> But now the Salmon-Fishers moist
> Their Leathern Boats begin to hoist;
> And, like Antipodes in Shoes,
> Have shod their Heads in their Canoos.
> How Tortoise like, but not so slow,
> These rational Amphibii go?
> Let's in: for the dark Hemisphere
> Does now like one of them appear.
> XCVII

By stanza ninety-seven, the spectacles have all been staged. Any

practice judged "Forrain" by Protestant England has, ideally, been banished or abandoned on "Quarries," and what remains is the object of celebration: Appleton the mansion and green estate, the "house" extending in virtue from founder to future heiress. By now night comes on to compromise the day -- the presence of Appleton's fishermen hoisting their "Canoos" overhead -- the cue to their stage-manager. Arranged two by two, Marvell's players, however, instead of hastening closure, arrest his attention. Observing their heads "shod" in "Leathern Boats," Marvell grasps how absurd his metaphor is; for these fishermen wear leather where "capital beaver" belongs. Long before Brome and Cleveland outfitted the upside-down figure in seventeenth-century style, Martial epigrammed Phoebus' "well-shod" head. And after travelling with Mandeville into the extraordinary land which "lyeth foote againe foot to England," contemporary readers would spot the "antipodes" even without Marvell's explicit reference.[139]

Once Marvell begins reflecting, absurdities crowd in for his review. Contrary to the so-called truism, here appears one indiscreet tutor and a gentle charge who never mimics the dancing bear. Even more absurd than a superfluous bear-leader[140] is England's "progress," dubious since Charles' Wain came unshod. As the folk rhyme tells us, the fallen Royalist leaders formerly served as "wheels" for the King, now fallen himself.[141] Conceivably a "son of Ben" might complain that no one shines Ursa Major[142] from the Mansion of "State" to decently direct its Ship. For before the time of the Protectorate and his captaincy in "The First Anniversary," Cromwell shows signs of turning tyrannical Turk. Just as the Civil "flood" had "cast water on the burning bear," so too Cromwell threatened to "quench the guards of the ever-fixed pole,"[143] the stars by which his own pilgrim-mariners lighted

their way, by violently disbanding the Long Parliament and indeed labelling the emblems of its authority "baubles."[144] Well, Marvell is no braggart committed to the absurdity of "He would bind Bears," and Fairfax remains at Appleton. Nonetheless, the verse holds despair at bay. Welsh tradition dignifies the strength of "Salmon-Fishers";[145] moreover, as puppeteer of this show, Marvell has made each fisherman figure a Leatherhead. "Rational Amphibii" bridging each two of the many rival realms with an extra ploy for "reason," Appleton's performers "give light to the business" as Littlewit discerned of Lanthern Leaderhead, the model Toyman.[146] Should Rabelais have returned to visit Appleton and be greeted there by the "virgin crystal" Maria, he would reexperience the Port of the Midnight Oilers, otherwise known as Lanternland.[147] Bringing his own verbal play to bear on finding a lantern for the night, Marvell realizes that Appleton guards England's pole-star. Steadfast Arcturus shines in precisely the constellation that presides over "Charles's Wain." Englished, Homer's "Ploughman" became both the "Wagoner," pursuer of the wagon, and the "Bear-Driver," when not more popularly the "Little Bear." Accepting in advance a plume for his midnight mastering of Greek, with "boats" and "boots" Marvell retranslates Homer's Bootes.

To reflect on one's own metaphor is not altogether absurd if as a consequence our modeler of Leatherheads infuses a renascent England with Appleton's "decent Order." Until men structure that ideal, Marvell outwits the pale ghosts of Orcus feared by Virgilian man and the dark Snake gliding river-like among the two Bears[148] -- forces that would instill terror in the "dark Hemisphere." His day's labor done. Appleton's man lives under a dome of light, almost touching the stars. Endowed with a ray of reason, God's six-day child trusts to His Son.

On his Hyperborean Isle of Man, Marvell may be seaming together fragments of occult lore to affirm the Christian certitude that, with Christ as man's light, day follows darkness. Caesar reported that in the regions of the gloomy Druid god, men reckon time by the night, this same night that Cudworth recognized as basic to Orphica.[149] But in that Orphic night, progenitor of numerous mysteries, men sang of the sun god Apollo, whose

> piercing light
> Extends beneath the gloomy silent night
> Beyond the darkness, starry-eyed, profound.

"Hyperborean" Apollo is the sun that in the dark winter dwells in the northland where Delphic Apollo has his garden. Since, like "Appleton" Marvell, the Orphics conceived of the annual cycle as running parallel to the diurnal, at night Apollo appears at the other end of the earth, that is, among the Hyperboreans.[150]

Easily, Marvell's amphibious, antipodal figure of the "Salmon-Fishers" allows him a final comment on a society that beholds the world from two divergent eyes, one of which retains the image upside-down. In making his "Rimes/Their owne Antipodes," Marvell like Cleveland has attempted to track England's "Times."[151] But in this stanza, his last play on "seem," he subordinates specifics of the social scene in order to lay, across that strange site of "England in the Times," a visual metaphor of what "Appleton House" taught him about poetry and of life.

As every "I" beholds with two eyes the world outside, so do many minds surmise that they bear to the object beheld ideas from beyond that are as potentially upside-down as the image in the eye. Among the truths that a world destined for "Choice" must relinquish is the classical doctrine of perception. Those images in the mind that

accompany sense-images of the external world might no more mirror them than does yonder cloud the shape of a camel or Appleton's grasshopper project a giant. Reality informs the observer's mind, but immediately thereafter takes on the subjective form of that mind. Man's experience of "seeing" is inherently a metaphoric process, an abrogation of the separate identities of external and integral images to assert a dynamic unity.

Such an insight commends Marvell but hardly marks him as an artist. Distinguishing the artist initially is an ability to perceive in the world's objects a relationship disregarded by others. Every day eyes observing fishermen wearing "moist" garb visualize the source; for Marvell, the river mirrors the detail. As this linked image courses through his mind, itself a river-mirror laden with literary associations, up-turns Fluellen's "salmons in both." Ardent nationalism delivers him from Henry V[152] to Howell's 1650 Instructions for Forreine Travell, wherein he is lectured on the absurdity of translating English idiom into French by a guide conversant with the century's common greeting of surprise, "Are you there with your Bears?" Burdened with "estes vous la avec vos Ours,"[153] our "seer" no doubt finds relief in the configuring of a new entity. To the aspiring artist, however, there remains a further task, representing in verse what his imagination would persuade reality must be its "real" shape.

For all Marvell's toils of wit, he was to earn the almost unqualified disapprobation of readers. A poetic wit disengaged from any earnest purpose betrays not only analogous flaws in "Appleton" but those intrinsic in the Metaphysical mode. Of course, readers who deride the affectation refer only to the figure itself and ignore

the special grace of a conceit about metaphor-making by a poet whose delight in the project disarms any suggestion of conceit on his part. Even reduced to the dimensions imposed by critics, Marvell's metaphor retains its validity; it even re-presents an amazing insight. "Rational" in nature, our "Salmon-Fishers" comprehend why the "dark Hemisphere" must "like one of them appear." By reason of the "moist" mirror, "Salmon-Fishers" appear in the paired rivers of many rival realms, that is, there dwell sub sole identical souls for them to greet —— "Tortoise-like" figures wearing "Leathern Boats." As above, so below shine the Bears, since surely they are "Ours." Nor in this setting need the Bears fear plunging beneath the watery plain, for the Son dispersesthe "shades infernal" and His Adversary the Serpent loses the tortuous power of his coils when recognized as inextricable within man and the land. As residents of fallen earth, however, we detect the "seam" in Marvell's metaphor: if the Antipodes are "there," where is hell? Were he to borrow Joyless' line, Marvell retorts: "You may find that/Without inquiry."[154] But in presenting his play of "the world upside-down," in which tragic notes are heard among the comic, more likely he dismisses "hell" as a facile evasion. "This thing of darkness," the kicking up of heels, the conducting of life contrary to reason, had moved from Prospero's magic island, past Adam Overdo's licensed site, to England proper. For Appleton's pliant poet, il est ours was Ours to acknowledge, and "We" having "become our own Antipodes,"[155] hell was to be sighted chez nous.

On another level, Marvell's metaphor rewards him for his past ramble from "seem" to "seem" as he viewed prospects from varied perspectives. In one view, the fishermen figures who carry their coracles overhead are rightside up, for they wear "bear" where man's capital dig-

nity belongs.[156] Though "Art indeed is Long,"[157] like life it is a maturing process; by the trials and triumphs of imagination, the "seer" corrects the image in his eye until he beholds the myriad-imaged Nature the Great Artist designed. Where man sees the earthly mansion aright, where the perceiving mind and that which is perceived meet, as at Appleton, art and nature agree. This "Appleton House" demonstrates at its close, Marvell stage-directing "Let's in" just as nature's "sober Frame" of night completes the cycle that dawn began. Together art and nature celebrate Appleton as the Circle wherein life strives with dignity toward perfection, and thus the potential inverter of England's inverted vision.

MICROCOSMIC INSIGHT

For the night Marvell re-enters the Inn, where Fairfax again plays host, with thoughts that prompt the poem's quiet close. Other artists who to please their audienc dove to the Antipodes forewarned him of the brief time allowed the entertainer in the theater begun "A great while ago"; how brief also seems the bear-leader's role. Outsic Appleton's "sober Frame," Marvell chances a reality his poem judged to be remote from its own green and crystal vistas, and with him he bears the culture and dignity of the Great House and Estate. The armour necessary to this change in scene is a poetic wit ingenious enough to create consonance between the gracious tradition of the idealizec past and the bare unpatterned reality of present England. The challenge is to devise an image of man that "squares" him as the Circle (God's link between His corporeal and cognizant worlds) with the image of man as self-reliant conferrer of meaning on an exis ence otherwise contingent after man subverted God's hierarchy of being and denied natu any telic reference. It is as the conscious prankster that Appleton's nimble poet now observes his metaphor.

An upside-down coracle covering his upper half, each fisherman displays two legs topped by a hemisphere. Face to face with the "human" figure he shaped, Marvell the artist is obligated to transcribe it graphically as π. Now familiar to every student of mathematics, the figure π impressed the Fairfax Circle by its novelty. Not even Archimedes had used this symbol when he approximated the value of π as the ratio between the circumference adn twice the radius. Rather it was the cleric William Oughtred who first designated that ratio by the two letters δ delta and π pi. Interested persons had access to $\frac{\delta}{\pi}$ in 1647 Clavis Mathematical and again in the editions of

1648 and 1652.[158] War was a mathematical art for General Fairfax, but the introduction of receives scant attention from today's surveyors of the century's achievement. Recovering the vigor it possessed at the height of the Greek period, scientific mathematics flourished with Descartes' invention of analytic geometry and the independent development by Newton and Leibnitz of the calculus. Even the definitive adoption and dissemination of π awaited the brilliant eighteenth-century Swiss mathematician Leonhard Euler. But if we respect Demargues' 1639 "point of infinity" where parallel lines meet, Marvell slips as the lover of a mathematical "Definition," much as when "scientifically" complimenting Maria, he forfeits Kepler's rejection of the crystal spheres a half-century earlier.[159] Such logic and judgment as the poet possesses ought to delegate the evaluation of Oughtred's formula to mathematically objective minds. Though Marvell might discover affinities between his concise verbal play and the shorthand of mathematical symbol, his metaphoric logic prefers to play with abstract constructs, mainly in order to judge what is to them inaccessible. Metaphor's business is precisely with what the mathematical symbol conveying a universal meaning ignores: the uncertainty of relationship, the wavering of comparisons, the transformation into language of mental motions and nuances, the insight into the rhythms of existence. Converted to Marvell's poetic cause, π peers into the possible consequences of scientific rationalism for "rational" man, for man accustomed to regarding himself as the measure of "holy Mathematics."

Despite the figure's notorious reputation as fantastic, each fisherman arrayed in an overturned canoe embodies what Pythagoreans conceive to be the essence of reality, namely, number. For our figure is identical with the transcendental number represented by the symbol π

(3.14159...). If by his "rational" nature Marvell's fisherman probes Nature to discern the divine pattern, he also as π, a constant that relates the proportions of a circle, determines that pattern, for he measures a universe ordered by perfect mathematical laws. Furthermore, as a mathematical figure, he himself is the celebrated key to knowledge. Few figures surpass Marvell's in graphically testifying to a creator's interest in theory per se. Plainly, Marvell honors his Greek predecessors, and not least by attempting to multiply a number by itself, their definition of "square," that he may "square" his own image of man. Since the symbol is identical with our salmon-fisher, it is as "moist" as that recent denizen of the river and equally the subject of a mirror transformation; when squared the capital Π appears as $\amalg$. Just as ingeniously, Marvell doubles his "human" figure now identified with the miniscule π into the circle π. Thus, by his total endeavor, all in honor of the ancients, Marvell realizes the Vitruvian microcosm, the figure of man enclosed in a square and a circle, in harmony with which the Renaissance God built the greater world.

If as a consequence of looking at numbers with a geometrician's eye Marvell re-creates the universe as the Circle in whose center stands man the measure of all things, he now proposes to re-create that Circle symbolizing the inner world of man by assigning numerological values to geometric forms. Still emulating his Greek masters, particularly Plato, Maria's tutor inscribes over the door of his Academy, "Let no one ignorant of geometry enter here," for one approaches philosophy through geometry, the universal mathematics that investigates inward relatins and values.[160] In exploring the mysterious integration of body and mind that is man, nearest at hand to Marvell

would be the familiar symbolism of elemental square and virtuous, incorporeal circle. But Marvell, disciple of the ancients, might well have known the arithmological writings of those like Sir Kenelm Digby, inventor of the powder of sympathy, and thus he might have directly assigned related numerological values to the specific geometric figures of his metaphor. In Digby's account, man, placed by God "like a diameter in the middle of the universe,"[161] has a soul that is itself a circle. Since the circumference of man's soul is limited by God the center, man is a radius. As a radius extended to meet God, man must conduct his actions so regularly that they proceed directly from a point on the circumference through the circle's center. "Just proportion" between body and mind depends on maintaining a right angle: what Digby meant was that man by his virtuous conduct bisects the angle at which that radius meets the circumference. Digby finds that right angle in a "quadrate -- Proportioned equally by seven and nine." The juxtaposition of these two numbers is based on an astrological theory well recognized in the Renaissance. In the theory of "grades," 9 and 7 determine certain critical stages in human life. Seven is the number of days in a week, of the "ages" of man, hence of time, the body, and mortality. Spiritually perfect, immutable, and sacred, 9 is the number of the Circle itself. So Marvell's ninety-seventh stanza encompasses all of man, the horizon between heaven and earth.

Ninety seven stanzas is a lengthy spectacle to stage only to end by seeing man as the same boundary line that was surely implied by the "sober Frame." In climbing on the shoulders of past giants, Oughtred nevertheless strengthened a vision of man in space that continues to disquiet modern intellects. Man walks erect through analytical, geometric space, and disciplined by the mathematical mind, "Corinthean

Porticoes" straighten into the π prefacing a social order directed toward rational goals. It is a matter of climate: the humor native to English local life, if not the pliant grin of irony, bars Pascal's cold spaces from Marvell's miniature world; yet oddly, when transported across time to northern regions, the dignified column reflecting the Greek ideal assumes a stony stance. Estranged from community with the sensuous rhythmic earth and an encircling heaven, man pulls down the ritual pillars, and life is no longer the temple of the round dance. As he doubled the area of the known world and measured precisely the distance of Jerusalem to England, man distanced himself from Jerusalem. Notwithstanding the incentive to which he responded with verbal play, Marvell's intellect penetrated the role that π must play in the drama announced by the "Table rase." For no figure surpasses in absurdity his fisherman dedicated to the goals of π . Before the benefit of this "scientific" art, each figure represented the human form that most naturally bodies forth the mind of man and its capacity to shape the objects of God's universe into a metaphor that makes them come alive with his vision.[162] Half hidden by a mathematical symbol, man becomes himself the metaphor of man regarded as the cipher. At the end of his comic crossing of God's seventeenth-century estate -- man -- Marvell the insightful player appeals to Marvell the prankster to complete his Circle.

His pilgrimage ended, Marvell, the departing guest, nonetheless marks Appleton the New Inne with the sign of the Rood, the Crossed Keys. For Oughtred contributed another Clavis to mathematics, the multiplication sign $\times$.[163] Our fishermen, if literally "Antipodes in Shoes" $\vee$, would indeed form an $\times$ with their reflection in the river-mirror. And justly they fulfill the figure for Lord Fairfax, Governor of the Isle of Man, one branch of whose Parliament was the

House of Keys symbolized by two keys crossed in a circle.[164] Clearly God wills that Appleton inherit, along with the office, the emblem of St. Peter, the same crossed keys that Christendom's enemy, the Archbishop of York, possessed among his arms. Appleton is England's "key": the unlocker of the cipher measuring man "equal" to God's Circle; the fortress, also "key," guarding the pole-star; the green haven, yet another "key"; the house in tune with Heaven. When so great a tree as the "royal oak" is squared, Appleton will design a cross-piece to "key," to fasten together, the King's other body -- England.[165]

THE PLUNGE OF PASTORAL: "The unfortunate Lover"

Were it better known, "The unfortunate Lover' might have served as the model problematic poem. But critics in past generations seldom thought it worthy of mention, much less explication. What they read was a strange poem. The first stanza led them into an elegant garden where young lovers strolled. The six stanzas that followed, however, tossed the critics about on a stormy sea of the past, making them witness the violent birth of a Lover and his experiences up to the time of his death as a bleeding banner. Presumably, the eighth and final stanza pronounced the moral; but the pronouncement failed to clarify the gap, in time or scene, between the first and succeeding stanzas. The obvious disproportion and disjunction characterizing this poem were emphasized by the singular rigidity of its structure. Veering flippantly between the nostalgic and the distraught, the tone that accompanied this structure had to seem dissonant.[1] Nor could critics defend this poetic behavior by citing the convenient judgment of "unprecedented." Though they might conjecture that revenge had been Marvell's motive, the extravagances of this poem actually consisted of "swellings" upon a conventional theme and style.[2] Only in recent years, when critics realized that the poem's flauntings might provide an essential clue to its meaning, did their attitude change. They studied the resources available to Marvell with increased intensity and with an eye to analogous techniques, and as a consequence read the poem

with greater appreciation. The influential emblem literature of the period offered an especially plausible approach to the content of the poem and to its mannerisms of disjunction and hyperbole. For as an art form which frequently depicted the trials of love, the emblem yoked together separate traditions and translated into even more extravagantly graphic terms what were already hyperbolic literary metaphors. Interpreters could instead emphasize the extension of metaphor within a narrative framework, in which instance the poem was read as allegory. Sophisticated as are the poetic mannerisms of "The unfortunate Lover" so far disclosed, they have been matched by the methods of criticism. This is to say nothing of the theme of the poem. Critics who have dealt with emblematic source or allegorical mode, and joined either to the title, have removed the theme from the realm of the problematic. We would need little effort to reconcile the plight of the Lover, cast upon the waters of sensuality and helpless before the passion of lust, with the buffetings encountered by the "resolute soul"[3] which is compelled to voyage through the world of time. In brief, critics can today claim to have followed Marvell's Lover from his thrust out of Edenic innocence to his apotheosis into artifact and thereby to have read "The unfortunate Lover" with understanding.

The present chapter, however, is based on the belief that the perplexities of the poem remain unresolved and that its theme is still subject to question. The hypothesis here advanced is that a relationship exists between Marvell's poetic experiment and the metaphor of the island. Necessarily, this assertion has its difficulties. A more easily authenticated

thesis would be that even within the tradition of emblem acknowledged for the poem, the range of sources from which Marvell drew had been too narrowly prescribed; or that his extraordinary display of wit, made possible in part by an awareness of the metaphors illustrated by these emblems and of the potentiality present within them, has been seriously slighted.[4] But whatever the efforts of critical conjecture, unless these are centered in the development of a poetic or the historic evolution of an idea, they must be made worthy by the quality of the poem. Yet, even with the gains of recent critical endeavor it is unlikely that "The unfortunate Lover" will find itself in a list of favored poems. Additional study would even have been thought unnecessary except that the oddly poignant note heard in the final stanza struck me as the conclusion of a bitter poem.

In particular, it was the couplet in which this stanza, and therefore the poem as a whole, concludes--

> And he in Story only rules,
> In a Field Sable a Lover Gules

--that stimulated this further inquiry. But, as its history in criticism indicates, this couplet, when not neglected, had been seriously misunderstood. Usually the critic acknowledged it only as corroboration for a fully formulated interpretation of the poem. Before moving out the metaphor of the island, it will therefore be essential to focus in on this final couplet. Between the proposals advanced by the first and second lines of this couplet the poem seems to have wedged a division. The conclusion of the "Story" is that "he," who has been the sub-

ject, "rules." A quite opposite conclusion has been reserved for the heraldic emblem, though it had a common origin with "Story" and evolved into existence along with the subject "he." Fulfillment for this emblem is dependent on the Lover dyeing red, by a glaring waste of blood, the dismal background of his life. Thus interpreted, the only note that could command this line is that of futility. The conviction that this couplet evidences bitter wit need not occasion surprise, nor invite the accusation that a twentieth-century consciousness has been foisted upon a poem of a prior age. The couplet is recognizably the epigram of reputedly pointed wit: and the epigram, in an adaptive return to its inception as the inscription on a tomb-stone, is the ensign commemorating the dead. Such an epigram would not have been anachronistic to a culture pervaded by Civil War: bitter wit is fully within the consciousness of mid-seventeenth-century England and its poets.

Far different interpretations of this dying into art have, however, been expressed, their strength depending on convention. In Rosalie Colie's reading, Marvell, as well as his anonymous narrator, would have delighted in the heraldic turn by which the turmoil, along with the story, is brought to an end. For the poet's thematic intention, was no more than a playful critique of the distortions of love in literary discourse. The poem's complexities result from Marvell's attempt to mediate between poetry and emblem, the representatives of the verbal and visual arts. Underlying this eminently sensible reading by Miss Colie is the assumption that a sophisticated Marvell, rather than jettison altogether the tired subject of the victim of irresistible infatuation, aimed to discover a new way to

write about it. Supporting the technical emphasis of this analysis is the celebrated desire of seventeenth-century art to fuse sense and thought, a tendency which the conventionalization into cliche of an ancient topos was to reflect. Overcome by great emotion and, hence, drained of vitality, the figure verbally presented frequently was transformed into a graphic representation.[5] Most notably of several poems possible to cite, "The Nymph complaining" affirms Marvell's informed use of this conceit. Nor can the stress of "play" in this interpretation be denied, or "The unfortunate Lover" be declared a serious attempt at a love poem. Love, in literary dress, striking poses exaggerated to absurdity, demonstrated a clear inadequacy to the reality of emotion. Its pseudo-tragic figure of the Lover, obsessed by passion through apparently deprived of even the reward of a mistress, is at the least the vehicle of Marvell's mockery.

The difficulty of this interpretation lies partly in that mockery as a literary weapon is seldom single-edged, and has been known to extend its attack beyond the boundaries convenient to an interpretation. Then too, poets, while making use of a convention, have accomplished ends that are by definition adverse to the intention with which it was conceived. So the term "unfortunate," appearing in both the title and text of this poem, would seem to sustain, along with their recognition of the mockery intended by the poet, the critic's designation of Marvell's stance as one of "disengagement." The word "unfortunate," however, is equally capable of reflecting sympathy,[6] and in this meaning suggests that, at least in this poem, the reader consider Marvell's boastful detachment as a

mask for feelings of involvement. The Lover, simple-minded in his relentless pursuit of self-destruction, and by design a puppet pulled to the strings of false myth, evokes that response merited only by the buffoon. As the object of Fate's[7] opposition, however, his victimization is sufficiently close to reality to arouse within both poet and audience a reaction of greater complexity. Essentially his "story" is an allegory. Marvell set into interpretative motion concepts stilled within the emblematic images from which his stanzas take off. But the poet so designed his emblematic allegory that, while it was impressing the Lover into a course of action, it contributed a critical commentary on that role of impressment. Subsumed, that is, within the Lover's final static pose of the banner will be the self-evaluation borne by his pictorial history. There is an unmistakable note of derision in the poem; but the question is whether the pathetic figure of the "unfortunate Lover" can have been its major target. Instead, Marvell may have aimed his attack against a sensibility that could conceive a wasted existence emptying into a meaningless death as constituting a triumph for art. Perhaps his poem acquiesced to the conceit it employed in order to provide the society proclaiming such a sensibility with a true emblem of itself. By his use of the heraldic banner, Marvell may thus have meant to mourn the passing of that way of life that had conceived heroic aims heroically.

All the same, as Ann E. Berthoff would content, the lines preceding this couplet offer the assurance that the Lover, assuming for a moment it is he to whom they refer, "dying leaves a Perfume here./And Musick within every Ear." Obedient

to the dictates of his cause, and consequently the great martyr of Love, Marvell's sacrificial figure has bestowed a reward upon his faithful followers. Those pleasures of the senses to be experienced in heaven have been made known to readers on earth. A supposedly ecstatic death incurred in fiction has exalted the Lover above the fret of time-bound existence. Though defined through the temporal medium of narrative, heroic nature, seemingly because it partakes of divinity, has reversed the falling motion of mortality and surmounted its realm. The emblematic denouement of his story, that is, announced the entrance of Love's champion into an "artifice of eternity." And, drawn to a stand above the sublunary by this example of devotion and valor effecting the perfection of art, the privileged audience looks down upon the plane of embattled passion.

As Miss Berthoff suggests. the heraldic colors of Marvell's poem corroborate her reading of "The unfortunate Lover" as the "hero." On the "Field Sable" of this poem, as on the black surface of the shield denoting constancy, the poet has displayed the military fortitude and magnanimity associated with "Gules," the martyr's color.[8] Essentially, however, this interpretation would equate the stasis of the heraldic banner, symbol of the Lover's achievement, with both the timelessness of the garden and the eternity of heaven. By this interpretation also, the impending death with which the poem begins will have become life, and elegy have changed into eulogy. In time the green modulations of the garden must set the proper perspective from which to view the stark realities of heraldic colors. Partly answering this argument at present is the term "only" which,

offsetting the created "Banneret," ironically qualifies any conquest and hints heavily that, if the ecstatic world of love has been adopted, the purpose was parodic. The flaw in this argument will become more apparent with a review of another of its basic assumptions. For despite Marvell's seeming distinction between the two, this interpretation, among others, insists upon an easy identification of "Love," the principle of Platonic or neo-Platonic acclaim, and the Lover, its passing embodiment. No immediately perceptible problem is posed by the latter figure coming upon the scene only after "Love" has ended, together with its phase of innocence, the poem's first stanza. Abstractions can only act metaphorically; alegory begins with the setting into motion of a quality. Readers will understand that the intention is personification through dramatic sequence, for the purpose of explaining or evaluating a concept and of enlisting sympathy for the individual who through experience exposes the degree of its influence. But when in the last stanza it is "Love" that returns, by Marvell's direction, to create the "Banneret" and though "dying" leave behind the "Musick" heard, the distinction intended between the ideal and its representative involves a value judgment. Acting here as sole intermediary between the two is the figure "he" who, as the poet expressly states, "rules," if in story only. Even a cursory glance at the historical account of his life will, however, confirm that "rules scarcely seems the correct designation for the strength exhibited by the Lover. Overruled by winds and waves, insulted by bestial nature, affronted by Fate's decrees, in actuality the victim of Love grown the "Tyrant" of uncontrollable sexual desire, his power resides, until a final heroic stance interest-

ingly timed, in a submission, and at that a slavish one, to forces beyond his control.

Still, if Marvell had created his hero with Crashaw's values, as well as his images, his Lover, though he could not triumph over adverse fortune, might have triumphed through a death by passivity, the force Crashaw considered most active in life. By "Story" Marvell would likely then have meant his figure to possess the power of ascension denoted by the word as the "level" of a structure. This possibility of transcendence the "field" of the line that follows and names the "Lover," if a pun be permitted, plainly denies. The purple robe may have been donned, the sanguine flower become the tenor of man's woe; nonetheless, the corpse lies bleeding on the ground. Better tuned to Marvell's wit is Harold Toliver's response to the closing couplet, one that bypasses all paradox yet indicates a keen awareness of the "paper" quality of Marvell's Lover. "He," the knight of the age, reflector of the childish enjoyment mature minds sought and found in the stormy epic of love, survives, but only in the time of the "Story." As opposed to their fictive exemplar, "natural" lovers with the loss of their "flame" face extinction.[9] The dialectic which critics have long found in Marvell's poetry, of art and nature, specifically here artiface and reality, has made its anticipated appearance. The only embarrassment of this theory becomes apparent when we consider that it limits to fiction the hyperbolic duration of love. Toliver assumes that Marvell meant by "story" literature and legend in contrast to the reality which the emblem depicts. The reality of the matter is, however, that "Story" to Marvell meant not only narrative

but also any work of pictorial and sculptural art representing a historical subject, including the heraldic banner.[10]

The conclusion in unavoidable: whatever the nature of the story that has been narrated, its symbol is the heraldic banner. Marvell was too skilled an ironist to have burdened the conclusion of a poem with a simplistic dualism. The paradox, however cleverly played with in the epigrammatic closing, is ultimately deceptive. But this understanding would be at variance with the synonymy of the tale Marvell was compelled to record and the "Story" of the hero who "rules." Nor would it confuse the unity achieved by this couplet with the triumph of a new creation. Paradox has been insinuated, and unmistakably for the purpose of ridicule. On the other hand, in spite of the swaggering critique launched at its literary poses throughout the poem, Marvell, as the inheritor of a valued tradition, would not have betrayed the guerdon sought by Love, the ideal, and won by the Lover, its hero. Or, stated in the terms of irony of which he was a master, Marvell was not con= tent to undermine superficialities; his profounder concern was to investigate the possibility that, within the reality, the ideal still existed.

Our inquiry into the ironic intent of this final couplet requires the inclusion of the six lines immediately preceding:

> This is the only Banneret
> That ever Love created yet:
> Who though, by the Malignant Starrs,
> Forced to live in Storms and Warrs;
> Yet dying leaves a Perfume here,
> And Musick within every Ear.

The fascination which these lines exercise over the reader is

at least in part the result of a firm syntactical control directed towards an advantageous repetition of "yet." Essentially a simple-seeming word, "yet" has been endowed with as many multiple meanings as serve its varied functions within the language, and made consequently rich in the nuances which cluster around these meanings. The exploitation of the possibilities of this word which we expect of Marvell assumes, in a poem admittedly expressive for its major effects, a particular subtlety. Reading it in prose order, "yet," following "ever," would of course mean "till now." Sounding in "only" the poet's remorse, the word would thereby convey the bloody nature of the ensign which adult love has hitherto produced. But since "yet" does not imply a termination point, "yet" would, by accompanying "created," permit this verb to foresee a future contrary to the temporal "till now." And therefore, when "yet" reappears, the word would willingly grant to Love its present triumphs and, further, imply their continuance.

Irrespective of their disagreements with each other, most critical readings previously presented would confirm the above explication. However, as the text makes visually apparent, "yet" is not only repeated by Marvell but also strategically positioned. Concluding one poetic unit, opening another, and bounding in the space within a third, "yet" has fulfilled its task as assistant in the constructing of a "frame." Upon the recognition of this poetic configuration will depend some fine distinctions of meaning for "yet" that have been otherwise neglected; but, then too, upon this recognition will depend, in a measure that is all but disquieting, the meaning Marvell intended for "The unfortunate Lover." The term "pictorial"

has, of course, been predominant in critical analyses of the poem; nonetheless, along with the other ingenious poetic arrangements that, almost visual in effect, seek to reveal his purpose, Marvell's "frame" has remained unnoted. As has been implied, responsibility for this neglect can partially be settled on a poem which, choosing to disport itself under banner headlines, has blocked the awareness of any poetic nuance subtler than the conceit. Equally important, the exaggerated reliance of critics on the pictorial rather than the rhetorical element of the emblematic tradition has done a disservice to "The unfortunate Lover."

If by its accessibility the emblem has diverted critics from other lines of inquiry, this same emblem, focused on as a guide to visual emphasis, enables us to perceive immediately the odd punctuation of Marvell's stanza. Surely, even in the idiosyncratic punctuation practice of the seventeenth century, two colons and their surrogate, the semi-colon, within eight lines of verse suggest an excess designed to influence meaning.[11] An abstract of Marvell's hypothetical "frame"

yet: Who--------wars; Yet

would be able to persuade the most hesitant reader that the colon has been, in cooperation with a repetitious "yet" and an alliterative "w," a force in its actual construction. Of the several influences that the frame naturally exerts upon the sense of "yet," two are pertinent. Throwing into a bold relief the lines contained within it, the frame would permit "yet" to break the boundary of the line in which it first appears. In the reading "yet Who though --Yet dying" that follows, the

fragile, yet enduring, traditional Edenic state of being celebrated in the poem's beginning, "dayes -- still -- seen," would, as a consequence of the cause enclosed, experience a final fall. Conversely, the frame can cross-over to, hence, momentarily cross-out this message it had before emphasized. "Yet" then could connect with its counterpart in a reading that, harkening back to the earlier "yeten" of Chaucer and of possible presence in the "Yet once more" of Milton's Lycidas, "sheds" its own tear for the flowers of a tradition of which now only the "Perfume" remains.[12]

Ultimately, only the "cause" secured by poetic technique within the frame can explain Marvell's indulgence in the colon. But the poet's concern with this second of the "pauses" invented to reform the language, the occupier in Puttenham of "twice as much time as the comma," must be considered. For while at this time, according to Joseph Summers, the colon might have served grammatically "merely as a 'strong' semi-colon or a 'weak' period," by descriptive definition the colon was, according to Ben Jonson, "two Prickes."[13] If the colon figured in Marvell's frame by virtue of its dual capacity of design and rest, it did so no less as a composition of the "pricke." Originating in "punct," the "pricke" yields the "point," to merge with this word in meaning and gather about both a wealth of poetic associations. The "point" of Marvell's poem can be conjectured as the attempt to "mark" the notes of the music sung on the voyage "charted" across a world that lies beyond the garden. Its probable aim is to "puncture," with the instrument of wit, an England already wounded by the sharp-edged weapons of war and words. It would then insist, while

entertaining the vexing "stings" of a critical "moment" directed against an inherited mode of conduct, that though the formality of the legacy be reassessed, its "principle" be maintained. It might, that is, seek to "pin" the rent garments of state and, by weaving the fabric whole again, "attire" the body of poetry anew. So an examination of the imagery of "The unfortunate Lover," written in the England of a time when "without his point a lover durst not rage,'"[14] will bear out.

The "prickes" that provoked Marvell into his poem originated from the same "cause" that occasioned the colons and semicolon of its last stanza. About this "cause" the "points" have, in an alliance with repetition and alliteration, disposed themselves to lend the prominence of a "frame." Through this "cause" Love, the ideal "forced to live in Storms and Warrs" and, capable, therefore, of projecting as its representative for these times only the Lover, has been brought to a "dying" state. Explicitly designated as the force compelling what was a time-honored way of life to enter into a state of mortal consequence are the "malignant Starrs." Because Shakespeare's great lines attributing to their astrological agency a predestined thwarting to human desire and life, indeed building a monument to this these,[15] echo through, Marvell's "Malignant Starrs" have prompted no inquiry. Nor is it likely that the need to refer the qualifier of the heavenly bodies to the historical period for specific application would have suggested itself. Properly, as the adjective, the term might denote a general disaffection to rightful authority, an association not unwarranted by the willful stars which had in ancient belief "struck"[16] man and whose erratic behavious had become subject for an age of emerging

scientific consciousness. Or, if the deleterious influence was permitted its pathological bent, the fevers of love had, long before Renaissance physiology, been listed among man's diseases. Cupid's dart, shot from what then became the star-eyes of the loved one, was bound to bring havoc. Among the Petrarchan precedents that could well have lulled critical inquiry is that meteorological phenomenon of the "blasung star" which was credited, in the Argument to Spenser's "December," as the cause of Colin's "great heat."[17]

Given the apparent thrust of "The unfortunate Lover," Marvell's image is an expedient one. Grave illness was to attend an excess of passion, as pathos would a "star-crossed" love. The question is whether the "cause" had not a more local habitation and a name. During a period of civil contention lasting almost twenty years, "malignant" was distinguished as a term of opprobrium hurled by one faction against the other. Politically its primary employment was against the upholders of King and Crown in the hands of supporters of Parliament and Commonwealth. Milton, however, made use of it, as did others, in the battle of "malign" words directed against religious opponents. Nor was it long before the Court party, retailiating with righteous indignation against its accusers, turned upon them this same verbal weapon.[18] The pervasiveness of the term is exemplified by its title appearance in a pamphlet ascribed by his contemporaries to Tom May, and by its later use by Marvell himself to condemn this poet-historian.[19] Sharpest of the voices among literary figures who "observ'd the language of the dayes" was, however, that of Cleveland and he, with admirable conciseness, spoke of his age as one when "Allegiance

is Malignant, Treason Merit."[20]

A single phrase, of course, though substantiated by contemporary references of similar import, does not prove that "The unfortunate Lover" is Marvell's commentary on his period. An explication of "Banneret," however, encourages the notion, and this union of references, in turn, necessarily points to a meaning for the closing lines of the poem. Guided by the sound suggestion of influence from Lovelace's

> Love neer his Standard when his Hoste he sets
> Creates alone fresh-bleeding Bannerets

scholars have for "Banneret" clung to "a knight dubbed on the battlefield,"[21] probably assuming the reader's supplementation by "in the presence of the king." From an expansion of this textual gloss, when corrected, all can now share in the knowledge that this grade of knighthood was, after a long cessation, again conferred by Charles I in 1642 at the Battle of Edgehill.[22] An adverse explanation of Marvell's choice of "Banneret" comes from an ironically-minded critic who, sensing a rejoinder to Lovelace, noted that one overt meaning determined for this word by its "et" suffix is that of a diminutive standard.[23] It is, however, the poetry of Cleveland, seeking again to "track the times" with candor, that might inform the reader most precisely as to what Marvell meant by his heraldic image. While it is usually remembered that chivalric subjects had blazoned into ensigns displaying that benighted condition of being in love, it is less frequently recalled that heraldic terms had entered civic life. With Cleveland, these terms had been distorted to Royalist purpose. What was evolving from "The Mixed

Assembly" were "The fading sables and the coming Gules."[24] Without the risk of committing a Clevelandesque travesty, we cannot assume that this was Marvell's point of view. But heraldic jargon had before, in the "Player's Speech" in Hamlet, decked out cruelty with "sable arm" and "total gules."[25] Cleveland's line, if credited as an influence on Marvell's "In a Field Sable a Lover Gules," would lend to "The unfortunate Lover" a meaning as satiric as it was political. Until this poem can be fully explicated, only a cautious statement is possible: both poets were witness to a change in the order of their society, the structure of its state, and the disposition of its mind.

For those who shared Cleveland's convictions, Civil War would threaten destruction to an established culture. Stated in terms suitable to the sensibility of Marvell adn the sense of his stanza, the engagement of England in a storm of passion past reason had contrived against the fulfillment by the Lover of the ideal of Love. Between the "Banneret," however insignificantly sized, that Love had till now designed, and the emblematic transfiguration of the Lover, stretched events which, though carefully set in a poetic frame, actually "framed" the life of man and the poetry of Marvell. The brilliance of this metaphor does not lose by a suggested referent in a practice related to painting in the poet's time. Numerous Dutch paintings, imported into seventeenth-century England, would have shown the individual canvas as having been attached at the edges to a provisional stretcher (frame) by cords secured with pins and pegs.[26] The "point" of Marvell's metaphor, emblematic

of a society dislocated by "Malignant" forces, is that the "prickes" of the colons, by which the artist sought to transfix disastrous events within a "frame," have instead been driven back into the canvas by them. In a world picture that has been framed contrary to its ideal purpose, Love has been separated from the figure by whom alone it is expressed in time:

> This is the only Banneret
> That ever Love created yet:
>
> ----------:
>
> And he in Story only rules,
> In a Field Sable a Lover Gules.

Together with the "Lover," Love has therefore ended on that final frame of the bier. The "Perfume" and the "Musick" endure. One is, however, the mere distillation of a garden whose beauty has faded; the other sounds solely in the ear, the seat of memory:[27] together, they are the creations of a "story" belonging to a coherent and radiant past. Of the tale being told by the exemplar of the present "unfortunate" age, the symbol is the "Banneret" which depicts the "he" who "rules" only when, against the black events dominating life, he dons the bloody tatters of a dying culture.

The splendor of the Cloth of Gold had become the canvas for a "Field" to be framed in the "plain black" of Lowlands' paintings.[28] Descent strikes a bitter note as it sounds, along with the death of his figure, the defeat of the artist. Faced with so radical a change in the "frame" of man's world, Marvell has, with the conclusion of "The unfortunate Lover," admitted his failure to determine the nature of the loom upon which the

subject of poetry was to be created. For the poem, when spoken of as an allegory conceived in terms of tapestry, will have been an experiment in the structure and texture of accomodation. Against the enclosure of the garden, the presumptuous sea of change had thrust up an opposing center of interest. Rising new notes threatened to set down the pegs of a well-tuned music. On the shield of England, a new coat of arms had to be marshaled. With self-conscious irony, Marvell, a traditional poet, attempted in "The unfortunate Lover' to confront the demands of this new vision of life. At stake was the maturity of a poetic style and, as Marvell knew, of a nation's image. The need was to create, for an England divided against itself, and hence "Dead to Heroic Song,"[29] a hero. Therefore, although the history of heraldry recorded the impairment of dimidiation, Marvell tried to effect the marriage. Central to the poem is the paradox that antagonistic elements, if they were ever to be brought together, had to be allowed their play. Juxtaposing one clashing pattern of life against the other, Marvell tried to put the musical duel into counterpoint, the form adequate to the text of the times. Above all else, the successful creation of his hero depended on the achievement of artistic unity. Through the use of style, Marvell tried to deliver, from out of that ancient contest between the valued of land and sea, the entity of an island.

The result may be read as "The unfortunate Lover," a confused genre and a tangled texture, a confession of the difficulties of the poet's task and a satire ironically directed against its own achievement. Metaphors, such as before alluded to, have overburdened the allegory; and allegorical tenor and

vehicle had not always been the best working partners. Narative was, ostensibly, directed by the adventures of the candidate for Cupid's favor. At Marvell's burlesque of what had become a puerile theme by overpopularization and at his caricature of a figure, a worldly-wise audience, in a bitter age when amusement was needed,[30] was expected to do little more than laugh--until a crucial moment, that is. From under the surface of the conceited tale, however, a wit, responsive to the situation it chose to consider, shot its own arrows with serious intentions and serious consequences. This wit could first demand a voice in the selection of emblems from which the stanzas were to take off. The result would be a capricious loss of interest in narrative vehicle and the ultimate inability of ideas to mingle. Primarily, however, wit was scheduled to mock any would-be heroics, and therefore to declare its poet as one aware of the impossibility of achieving that unity of style necessary to the creation of a figure other than the mock heroic.

From the preceding remarks it will have become evident that the explication proposed can hold no brief for "The unfortunate Lover" as either inviting casual acquaintance or leading necessarily to unqualified admiration. Wit, which permitted a potential narrative of fashionable erotic poetry to be invested with Marvell's own allegorical significance, rested on erudition. Besides pointing to an interest in emblem books, the bewildering series of rapidfire conceits reflect Marvell's intellect as one versed in the literature of several cultures and, as always, particularly sensitive to the etymological and figurative possibilities of language. Conceits

are about to be shorn of many of their associations; correctly, this default should be charged to the critic's limited powers of assimilation rather than to any illusion as to Marvell's knowledge. Detection has been complicated by the poet's insistence on an abbreviated form of wit; and intervening centuries have not made for familiarity. Literary references can, however, be made available through research. Allusions to the contemporary social scene would seem to pose a problem of great magnitude. For example, while allegory need never exist in a historical vacuum, no exact date is available for "The unfortunate Lover." Conceivable, Marvell's circle of readers discovered within the poem references to factual events now irrevocably lost. A footnote suggestion offered in the past by one critic named Charles, Prince of Wales, as the castaway hero. Miss Syfret has since found reason to retract this thesis.[31] But then, the difficulties in dating the poem negate this practice of exploiting the tacit term of the allegory for the purpose of matching personalities. "Corm'rants" may, as a consequence, never line up with Grenville and Goring; nonetheless, these strange birds, the "fit" guardians for the Lover become the "Orphan of the Hurricane," trouble two of the stanzas of Marvell's poem. To deny, because of the absence of individual referents, the need to query either of the phrases quoted is tantamount to a damning of allegory into even more rigid lines than this mode frequently invites. Applied to "The unfortunate Lover," this manner of thinking fails to perceive the poem's intensive glimpse into the far-flung implications of a moment of historical crisis.

Restrictive as the political interpretation alone would be,

the antagonistic spheres of interest, which a Civil War had clarified and Marvell sought to unite, are sharply outlined by the poem. So too, when discerningly read, the poem will hint that if, like Cleveland, Marvell had wished to be made a "Verser Banneret," the King would not have been in a position to confer the honor.[32] No matter how numerous the historical allusions, however, they were not the motivation for the present reading, though the probable precedence in time of this poem to the more public statement of An Horatian Ode should ensure it a place of interest in any study tracing the development of Marvell's political allegiences. Nor would the taking to task of society seem to have been Marvell's preoccupation, though evidently outrage and the gravity of grievance spurred on the jocosity. For the present study "The unfortunate Lover's" principal attraction is that Marvell directed the moral of his allegory to himself. Sensitive in advance to the probably negative results of the task he undertook, Marvell sought a narrative vehicle conducive to disengagement, the stance of self-protection. Through the use of the Lover as a figure potentially impotent, he risked exploring the improbability that he could, as poet, create a heroid image for the age. Expressed in the terms of paradox elicited by the poem, this supreme instance in the artifice of Marvell's art[33] is a searching consideration of the reasons that led artifice to comply with reality in a conclusion of failure, and therefore a lesson in integrity. Relative values were to be acknowledged, accommodation to be attempted; notwithstanding, honesty to the self, and its unreleasable burden of traditional values, remains unflinching. Expressed in the terms of irony charac-

teristic of Marvell, "The unfortunate Lover," which may not win admiration for itself, commands respect for its poet.

DEATH OF A GARDEN

If a long, circuitous path has been taken to reach the poem's beginning, my critical method, while the result of an expediency enforced by a difficult poem, can claim as its poetic analogue that path which "The unfortunate Lover" was to take in Marvell's attempt to return to the garden he left behind. For the spot of repose aloof from the strains of the outside world, centuries of tradition had set the scene and written the script. Marvell, or so it would seem, had only to select from out of that varied, multifaceted metaphor of the pastoral mode the images required by his poem. A few introductory lines, followed by a single, significant couplet

> Alas, how pleasant are their dayes
> With whom the Infant Love yet playes!
> Sorted by pairs, they still are seen
> By Fountains cool, and Shadows green

and a landscape with figures begins to emerge. Perfection is here the attainment of a poetic expression, within the pastoral's privileged context, of the state of mind that attends love in its first stage. Despite the dissimilarity of theme, the couplet that "Sorted" begins and sense and rhyme together close, echoes lines from Virgil's First Ecloque:

> here among known streams and sacred fountains
> you will find cool shadows 11.51-2[34]

Common to both poets is the deliberate detachment and practiced

naivete by which the ceremonious art of pastoral maintained, along with that offered by its tree and fountain, the "cool" associated with it as mode. Marvell's lines, however, depart from their model by a marked stress on formality. Trochaic tetrameter yields to iambic, but its presence has imaged the diversity this sphere can contain. We can determine that discipline was the predominant pattern Marvell intended from his precise placement of the caesure, in this only instance in the poem, midway within each line of the couplet. By virtue of the power these pauses disclose as within the possession of reason, the latter can check desire and secure innocence within the walls which these half-lines have figuratively created. Balance will prove, therefore, to have been the measure for the ordering of relations between the "pairs" of these lines; and these relations, in turn, to have brought about the harmony that characterizes the couplet of the unified pastoral world.

But if, as symbolized by the couplet, the harmony of Marvell's self-contained idyllic world depends on balance, the balance that will serve as the measure of pastoral is itself dependent on a universe conceived to be an interrelationship of parts in a concentricity of realities. A commonplace, this conception of a universe in which man and nature and nature and man's art exist in harmony, and external reality is at one with man's spiritual state, must nevertheless be actively present if the quasi-geometrical garden image of Marvell's couplet is to be critically appreciated rather than simply passed off with praise.[35] For once the principle of the ease of motion made possible by a sustaining framework is recognized, the

"pairs" can be perceived to glide gently and stately out of their confines. Meeting in formal stance, they then, having bowed to each other, gracefully glide off from the center of the lightly-stressed, single-syllabled "and" of "By Fountains cool, and Shadows green." "By" will therefore designate not only the proximity in space to the source of the "cool" of the garden but also, because it will have become in a continuation of the line preceding, "seen By," the mirror-reflection in the "Fountains" of an aspect of the being of young lovers. Strolling by, the "pairs" are caught, along with their green-minded thoughs, in the shimmering light of the fountains; and, upon passing, the "pairs" cast back across the waters their thoughts as "Shadows green." And the waters of the fountain, themselves the springs of recurring life, respond in kind to these reflections by mirroring back a "green" from out of their own depths. Interpreting these reflections, Marvell has transformed the already highly intellectualized bucolic retreat of Virgil with its half-lighted "cool" into a miniature shaded delicately in the tone of green while respectful of defined contours.

Behind both these renditions of the pastoral landscape lies the idea of a correspondence between another source of the life of nature and the spiritual state of man. Specifically in Marvell, the sun still in its ascension has, in moving from the east, touched with sympathy figures not yet fallen into darkness. Together, man and nature have projected the "Shadows green" as the image of innocence warmed by love but sheltered from lust. With the movement once again of the "pairs" back into their metrical walls of the half-line,

the seeming oxymoron will however require for its meaning a more obvious source in the tree as the high-arched bower. And Marvell's art, in a moment when the poet was at one with the pastoral world, has forseen that this natural need would arise from man's emotional being: the "Shadows" of pastoral do, after all, owe their "green" to a conception in the mind of the poet.[36] Hovering above the idyllic couplet, "Infant Love," who as Cupid has been outfitted with wings, spreads them now to provide the protective canopy of a green shade.

Marvell's "Shadows" project several meanings other than the shelter provided by artifice, the poetic distancer. Cupid's woven wings, as the curtains enhancing the symmetry of the setting, draw attention to the enclosed stage on which the conventional play of love is being enacted. As with several other metaphors in "The unfortunate Lover," this one from the theater winds its way through numerous associations. Taken by itself, "playes" denotes the innocuous activities customarily indulged in by youth. Considered along with "Shadows" as a term of reference to the roof of a theater or the actor and the play in contrast to reality, the verbal play on "seen-scene" having in the interim become apparent, "playes" may presume to mean the borrowing from a life situation solely for the purpose of accepting its pleasureable aspects while avoiding its responsibilities. The social correlative to this somewhat idealized, elegant and urbane performance in the seclusion of the luxury garden is immediately recognized. "Numbers languishing" (H.O.,4) were products of a refined sensibility, the prerogative of gentlemen of leisure who wrote within the genteel context of the cultural world of Court and Cavalier. Compelled to choose by Civil War, the muses had

declared themselves to be on the side of the aristocracy; and poetry, metonymic for the aristocratic world, was to seem, when the king left the garden, to have fled the island. In contributing his commendatory verse to Lucasta, Marvell was to pose a community of values against the social uncertainty brought on by national disorder. His praise was unstinting for the grace and candor, and by extension in "The unfortunate Lover," for the cool splendor of a self-disciplined society which distinguished the culture represented by Lovelace. But of his cognizance that this muse belonged to a fading past, the verse left no doubt, nor of her limited ability to meet the exigencies of reality or to inspire imaginative art.[37] In "The unfortunate Lover" the "play-within-the play" has become the alternative to a surrounding civilization rather than its emblem, while the "shadow" has become the "twice-removed" from the civilization vital to the artist.

The miniature in green no longer had a model outside the mind; and in the mind of the artist it had been modelled as a valedictory to perfection. Having in "Alas, how pleasant are their dayes" opened with the cacophany of "Alas," the "tonal interloper" in Rosalie Colie's fine phrasing,[38] Marvell's pastoral passage was to shatter its own harmony and, in advance, to sing a dirge for its song. But in presenting its credentials as the challenge to this sanctified domain, "Alas" brought the breath, although an ungracious one, of a world of fact existing outside. Judged by the scale of values this emissary introduced, the idyllic realm was to appear narrow in scope, its balance an ambivalence, its "stillpoint" an enforced immobility.

The force of life that was to sweep over the garden could therefore be received by the garden only as a threat to its fragility. As always in pastoral elegy, the genre in which "The unfortunate Lover" had its inception, the central theme is death and the tenuous promise of rebirth. As the elegiac "tear" shed by Marvell for pastoral, "Alas" laps at the contours of his verse paragraph, the walls that frame the timeless realm. Flowing relentlessly over the verdant land, the metaphorical "tear" dissolves the barriers erected before it against the knowledge of vicissitude, and mingles its bitter awareness with the freshness of the fountains. Simultaneity in space is transformed into a happening in time: an irreversible sequence of events redefines the pastoral world of being into process. "Yet," which presumably in "yet playes" described the perpetual state of those under the protection of "Infant Love," becomes a conditional, contingent on time. Related contextually to "yet," the "still" of "still are seen," which would usually have meant in Marvell's period, "always and ever," changes into the "now," the present of a past whose ways the future may spurn.

The hostile realm surrounding the timeless garden has, by declaring itself through "Alas," declared the garden to be the island vulnerable to the sea. But the sea of time can be no more destructive than are human beings to themselves. Emotion disclaims all bounds; and the potentially tragic play of love's madness surpasses the static assumption of a confining norm. Love, while the glow that soared towards the ideal, assured the guarded luminosity of the sun-green day of the pastoral world. Ablaze with desire, it would, as ages of literary experience

had taught, waste scene and self. What the lines to come

> But soon these Flames do lose their light
> Like Meteors of a Summers night

assume to have been understood as well is love's extinction by a wave of passion. Fire and flood, the Petrarchan conjunction, will figure as a dominant pattern of imagery in the poem, though here the "light-flame" cluster preempts the surface. Cupid's dwelling place, the eye, has hitherto been the star whose gleam has, following the spiritual state of love, mounted in gaze toward the subluminary. Adulthood having arrived, and Cupid being by nature fiery, this serene glow kindles into a burning fever and a devouring heat. In a motion complementary to the stream of "alas" downward through the stanza to a conclusion in "Time," the eye drops its gaze to the mundane region that is the spiritual habitat of fallen man. Rhyme conveys the human predicament: "light" is poised against "night." Ominous now with the oncoming end of life's day the "Shadows," deserted by the green shade, can only trail down to darkness. The stars become "Meteors," exhalations which arise from, only to return to, the earth in swift self-destruction.

Therefore of the lovers it can be said,

> Nor can they to that Region climb,
> To make impression upon Time.

Sharing Marvell's delight in paradox, one can read the moral conclusion of the stanza to be: the integrity of man's world having been breached by the tide of passion, life wastes in the arid region of time. "Alas" did not hesitate to "embalm" the jaded mannerisms of courtier love-address. At least an-

other turn of thought is, however, stirred into motion by these lines, and one involving the more serious paradox of Marvell's attitude in accepting the moral of his own conclusion. But a prior allowance is needed if this thought is to win acceptance; negation must be conceived as possessing the power to admit the positive, however obliquely. By his denial that in their "Country" performance in "The Mover to the Glo-Worms" the Comets "presage" any higher end than the "Grasses fall," Marvell affirmed poetically their legendary role in foretelling the death of figures of state. And in the poet's age no differentiation had necessarily to be made between the "meteor" and the comet[39] as the shooting star, the image of declining national glory and witness of civil wars to come. Marvell's wit has, of course, not failed to take advantage of the transition offered by the meaning of meteor, the noun, as "impression."[40] Primarily, however, these terms serve, as first suggested by the directional opposition of their containing metaphors, to reflect the dual response of Marvell's stanza to the process of dying which it presents. From the perspective of paradisical consciousness, the surge towards power is no less alien a measure than is the fall into passion. Yet "To make impression upon Time," prefaced though it may be by the negative as a denial of its possibility, positively asserts the desire to extend human limits, to thrust the image of man upon eternity. Christianity could therefore claim to have provided the closure for an elegy whose last thought is that of ascension.[41] Backed, however, by "impression" meaning "attack," the striving to "climb" could claim to voice here instead an aim consonant with the active world of heroic values, from whose standpoint the intruder is

equally the Edenic mind that is intent on the Divine or otium. In the epic world of the Iliad, the fiery star that shone had shone from the eyes of the hero.[42] "Alas" may mourn the desolation of the land of the unassuming spirit, otherwise to be identified as the social garden of aristocratic England and its culture, poetry. Indications are, however, that Marvell, its poet, did not choose to idle in the gathering gloom among the mourners who, in lieu of ascension, awaited dissolution.

A SHIPWRECKED BIRTH

Between the landscape of the present tense that had to be left behind, and the "'Twas" in the mood of "once upon a time" with which "The unfortunate Lover" seems to begin anew, there stretches that structural chaos that has in past criticism occasioned such disrespect, and at present such interpretative accord. Accord in this instance, however, can verge dangerously close to condescension.[43] For the question of what Marvell was about poetically when he shifted abruptly from a green state of being to a story of unsettling temporal circumstances told amid a locale of adversity, has become a matter for rhetorical "reading around" rather than confrontation. The critical claim of either the stringing of emblems or the yoking by melodramatic conceits should not be overlooked; but these claims answer rather than effect than to cause; and even when held answerable only to effect are an inadequate response to Marvell's careful attention to detail and strength as a structurist. Still, Marvell's rationale for staging this effect

of violent dislocation might conceivably require little commentary if interpretation was to adhere to the standard line. Expulsion from the Edenic milieu, following the loss of innocence, traditionally lands the subject-victim of unworthy desires in one of two symbolic settings, the tangled forest or the lower ocean. Ample precedents sustain Marvell's allegorical choice of the frail vessel of the soul which is shipwrecked when compelled to voyage upon the dark stormy sea of time and sensuality. An informative "Appendix" provided by Miss Berthoff accounts for Marvell's metaphoric convergence of birth and journey by quotations that extend from Plato's Myth of Er through Classical-Christian analogues and well into the poet's own period and beyond.[44] If, however, the discussion of the preceding stanza has been at all persuasive, it may be suspected that in this stanza Marvell's intentions were to stray along metaphoric paths not yet critically established.

An inquiry stemming from these radically detached stanzas into Marvell's intention could be assisted if we regard them within the context of a poetic fundamentally metaphysical, mid=seventeenth century, and Marvellian. Perhaps, that is, the omission of explicit commentary on this sharp juxtaposition of scene was relatively inconsequential. Other patterns might have offset any shock resulting from Marvell's technique: verbal surprises would mitigate this reaction by asserting a counter-claim for attention; simultaneously, relations of a metaphorical nature would serve as mediators. Had even their distance in time and space seemed extreme, both stanzas, the age would assume, had a common underpinning in logic. Verbal and visual connectives would therefore have been sought and

sighted because they were anticipated. And, as inheritors of the great Classical tradition, Marvell's readers would be expected to recognize the analogous nature of this passage between realms of existence to a more famous one and, hence, to appreciate the innovator's wit and his purpose.

Coordination, the prerequisite to movement in any activity, when translated from dictum into terms appropriate to poetry in the seventeenth century, demanded that transitions be supplied. Marvell complied; a multiplicity tries to bridge the wide gap that lies between the first and second stanzas of "The unfortunate Lover." The dark necessity of crossing the sea has burdened this poem that recalled the "pleasant" days in the garden since "Alas," having assessed the acclaimed old world as destitute of light, pursued it down to a spiritual death. Traditionally this "universal human impulse" to renew life by a return to origins is expressed in poetic symbol as a plunge into a sea of woes. "The waters compassed me about, even to the soul," Jonah cried out in the passage to rebirth which assumed the form of a sea journey and ressurrection from the depths of despiar.[45] Answering to the same pattern of thought and emotion, Marvell's lines

> 'Twas in a Shipwrack, when the Seas
> Rul'd, and the Winds did what they please,

by their significant difference in tone, advise that, rather than despair, irony motivated a plunge by which the present entered a factional past. For the "what else but" attitude of irony, prepared if need by in the interest of accommodation to address the rulers of the watery domain who do as they "please"

with mock politeness, Marvell has also provided a transition. Though desiring to "climbe" beyond the confines of a garden which confrontation with the world of reality has marked for doom, the poet has, along with the representatives of love in this garden, been denied the power. Yet his task was that of the pastoral poet in an age when pastoral itself fought for survival. To ensure a future to pastoral, the fountains of otium had to be fused with the mainstream of life and a concession made to the everchanging nature of the demand placed on the virtu of man. That is, love's representative had to be created a hero, who, because actively aspiring to immortality, would stabilize and restore to man, as subjective symbol and objective reality, a landscape of perfection. What choice had Marvell but to venture forth in quest of that hero upon whom depended his return as the "skillful Gard'ner" ("G."65), the poet able to cultivate the myth of pastoral anew?

Overcome by despair at the change in the spiritual state of his love, the first shepherd of Virgil's Eighth Eclogue was moved to leave the center of the idyllic world and, still singing his song, plunge into the destructive sea. Suicide never entered into Marvell's realization of the poet as persona. But then his probable model too had envisioned, despite despair, the possibility of the transformation from lamenting lover to triumphant Arion:

> ---let Tityrus be an Orpheus - an Orpheus in the woods, an Arion among the dolphins!---
> ---Nay let all become mid-ocean!---I will plunge into the waves. 11.55-60[46]

A beautiful myth, the cast-away Arion, whose music charmed the

dolphin of the sea to bear him safely back to shore, was to move many poets into song. In the version of Saint-Amant, L'Arion, almost contemporary with Marvell, the myth symbolized the high courage and commitment of the great poet who in a crisis comparable to the classical was rescued by the intervention of powers sympathetic to his destiny.[47] For a foreshadowing of Marvell's interpretation of the myth, it is necessary to return to the Athens of a glory long ago. There, having admitted the difficulty involved in solving a problem, Socrates went on to reply that, nevertheless:

> ---must we not swim and try to reach the shore, while hoping that Arion's dolphin or some other miraculous help may save us.

As Kierkegaard was to recognize, the passage is a superb example of irony as both an explanation of existence and the mode of conduct that is the disciplined consequence of this understanding.[48] Marvell's Arion, whether or not directly under its influence, was the poet who, in the absence of the gods, assumed responsibility for poetry in the garden of England at a turning point in its history, a moment when the future lay hidden from view, while the actuality perceived was in the process of dying. No doubt, because like the Orlando of Shakespeare, the creator of this Arion had been "inland bred," the green retreat associated with Orpheus, the traditional symbol of human art, was abandoned only with hesitation.[49] But in "The unfortunate Lover" the haunting sorrow of Orpheus is forsaken, and a bravado born of a self-conscious need to accommodate an emerging reality substituted. Willfully setting forth to test fate, Arion, the poet, plunged into the

"ocean of irony" to emerge, at least in anticipation, with senses cleared and vigor renewed.[50]

What Marvell intended, the later-day romantic Keats was in a well-known passage to suggest:

> In Endymion, I leaped headlong into The Sea, and thereby have become better acquainted with the Soundings, the quicksands, and the rocks, than if I had stayed upon the green shore, and piped a silly pipe and took tea and comfortable advice.[51]

No less than Keats, Marvell escaped an oppressive atmosphere by a commitment to an uncharted realm of experience. Essentially a classical poet, however, Marvell bore along, as his transition, the poetic experiences as well as the values of a cultural past. Through verbs of violence, of which "hurl'd" and "split" are only some examples, he voiced, however jocularly, the outrage he felt at the disorder of a world given over to the sea, and to support these verbs he used adjectives and adverbs. Prepared to enclose this welter, however, were poetic patterns answering to an ethos of gracious limitation evolved by a garden world. This order, because it was imposed, prevented the other from being discovered. Couplets rigidly constructed, and blocked into stanzas facetiously end-stopped, configured the resulting distortion. Imprisoned within, the free movement of their thought arbitrarily regularized, lines of verse became aggressively alliterative. Rocking "round the ratling Thunder hurl'd," in a rhythmic raillery reflective of the sea's unwillingness to be contained, the lines mocked their oppressors. Still, allegory, in the figure of tapestry, an image traditional since Homer,[52] was employed to frame the delirium and, by opposing it with an immobile style, to define

it ultimately as "unreality." Readers were to find themselves thrust suddenly amidst a tableau of events come alive. The poet, meanwhile, whatever the involvement of his personal feelings was to stand aside and consciously point to the exaggeration of these events as flourish. The "point" of Marvell's use of allegory, the agreement of its metaphor, was that at the height of violence he might, by reminding himself and his readers of the artifice of creation, dispel whatever disaster his tapestry had woven. In an age of emblems, tapestry itself had often contained these representations, abstract and stylized and, hence, removed from reality.[53] Allegory was but the equivalent, structurally, to a heraldic language by which the figure on the banner was to be made remote from the living being. Events that had been the "cause" of undertaking the voyage were to impose their own design, and death to come as the disaster that could not be dispelled at will.

But at the inception, Marvell's allegory had seemed to hold forth the promise of rebirth:

> 'Twas in a Shipwrack, when the Seas
> Rul'd, and the Winds did what the please,
> That my poor Lover floting lay,
> And, e're brought forth, was cast away;
> Till at the last the master-Wave
> Upon the Rock his Mother drave;
> And there she split against the Stone,
> In a Cesarian Section.

Only heroic issue could be anticipated from a vessel that boldly set forth to meet the presumptuous sea. This expectation was to be confirmed; as announced, the mode of birth is that of a "Cesarian Section." Coming "untimely ripp'd" from his mother's womb and, hence, endowed at birth with an aspect of being that

contradicted human time, the Lover was one who might in the future defy the bounds of human mortality. As if he meant to herald this new birth, Marvell discovered an image that dared to strike through jaded formulas of visual representation in poetry and to challenge the practice of limiting this art to uniplanar focus. The mind of the reader, spiraling down the stanza of the printed text, first perceives the sphere of space in which the future hero lies, and continuing, only then comes upon the surrounding sphere, that of the mother vessel. But directed by the mind, the eye becomes an instrument of insight. By putting itself at a distance as a further step towards abstraction, the mind's eye realizes the stanzas as an open cylinder, and following this conceptualization downward, is privileged to behold at once both worlds: the object contained and the container it is to "Section" as it bursts forth into life.

Specifically, the achievement of Marvell's image begins with "floting," a word normally demanding only brief attention. Vague and drift-like in its motion, "floting," the attribute, defines a body almost dormant in its subservience to the container that dictated "lay." But aided by forces which actively strive to impede its self-fulfillment, this word will move purposefully, though at first hesitantly, to a realization of the powerful motion it can denote. The wave-like motion of the succeeding line, "And e're brought forth, was cast away," by its very meaning, negates the power of "floting," but in its negation this lines resounds the term itself, and propels attribute into substantive. With its change into substantive, and the voyage toward life about to begin, "floting" becomes the

active verb. Overflowing the end-stopped line, leaving behind with the by-passed "lay" the ties to the container, "floting," now an independent verb, sails forth across the horizon of the line just quoted. Flung back, however, by the break that stands guard before the hostile realm of "was cast away," the motion withdraws; but only to an inception point of "and." Through trial, this new entity, this "floting," comes to know the shape of surrounding space, and its encounter with repulsion will lend momentum to its forward thrust. Venturing forth now again, "floting" surpasses the barrier, to discover that motion has mastered the apparent denial of "was cast away" for transport across the horizontal plane. Moving into the realization of birth, "floting" has defined the contours of the containing vessel and located the breach from which, bearing the body of a noun, it will emerge in triumph. Poetry, though one of the "stiller" forms of art had, in sighting the object in its compositional perspective, succeeded in overcoming staticity and capturing motion. And in the flash of an image, Marvell recorded his grasp of what was historical revolution: an operation in which new life, struggling for release, simultaneously shattered the structure of the old world in which it had its inception.

That serious qualifications would necessarily compromise the deliverance promised to the island of England and its poetry by this birth was no less the prediction of Marvell's stanza. "Ship" and "Mother," the vessels traditionally associated, had yielded for Marvell's allegory a metaphoric equation of "Shipwreck," the destructive deliverance of a vessel unto a stormy sea, and "Cesarian," the miscarried birth of one about to embark

on the tides of passion.[54] As summed up in the poetic pronouncement, "And e're brought forth, was cast away," the Caesar who might have emerged the potential restorer of the garden of pastoral had been shipwrecked in his conceptual womb. Only to consider the vantage point from which, by poetic design, the scene of birth had necessarily to be viewed, is to recognize with Marvell one source of these qualifications. Exposure to the new plane of experience has been from the perspective of the world which stands stanzaically above: the old world of the garden, refined by centuries of cultural experience and immured within an unquestioning moral superiority. Perceived sole by the light of understanding which this world would allow to the plane below, the love that succumbed to a sea of sensuality brought the tortures of lust upon itself; while the ship of state that would set sail amid a storm of Civil War was bound to suffer shipwreck. Life had chosen to ride "error's wave" and come, therefore, to split upon the "rock of ignorance,"[55] that is, descended to the elemental and the inherently vulgar. With "'Twas," Marvell's narrative had, in actual fictional time, returned to the epic-heroic world of the Odyssey. A classical heroism of rude splendor was outside the refinement that lyrically graced the garden. Pastoral had even been empowered, by the authority of Puttenham, to proclaim itself the mode that had, by an advance in civilization, gone on to speak of "higher matters."[56] Familiar as they were with Latin, Marvell's readers would also know that any movement directed towards aqua, the sea, might sink into aequo, the "levelling" principle (as was vulgo) motivating the vulgar of their day.

While it has been the assumption of the present discussion,

the political relevance of Marvell's figure of birth has been a subject of vehement denial. In its defense can be cited fifteen hundred years of the significance of "Cesarian," which if tossed aside would lose not only the political implications of the poem but also the key to "my poor Lover" as forerunner to Byron's similarly ironic treatment of the same theme, "I want a hero." Evasion has gone quite far, even to the postulation of "linguistic" as the "purely" of the relationship between the hero and his mother.[57] Perhaps in defense of Marvell's political approach one might begin by insisting that, even within the realm of poetic artifice, the presence of a masculine figure is normally considered essential to conception. Marvell's adherence to this detail of life is evident in his "master-Wave," a phrase which in turn translated the "imperiosus aequor" of the Horatian Ode entitled "To the Ship of State."[58] So commonplace was this analogy between Ship and State that, having become for Latin rhetoricians after Quintilian a standard textbook example, it later served English followers as the illustration for allegory.[59] Almost as persistent in literary tradition was the "wave of war," and the relationship of the two metaphors has never presented a problem. Or, if the "mother" as the "state" should in a scapegoat substitution become the question, then Milton's powerful prose voice would answer: "our deare Mother England, as Poets are wont to give a personal form to what they please."[60] There remains the rock, behind which for the Elizabethans had lurked the hidden enemy, but which was to disclose for Marvell, for all its impregnable nature as the "adamantine" stone of state, the irresistible attraction of aymant, the loving French equivalent of "magnetic."[61] Floating

turbulently into existence, the body of the "unfortunate" symbolized the "fluctus," the drift into civil war of the macrocosmic Corporation of the State.[62] For the birth of the figure who would, as the Lover, be the hero of schismatic times, an overwhelming wave of war had thrown the mother state against her own principle of inviolate durability. Her integrity raped, her unity torn asunder, she gave rise to that progeny, confirmed by a three-syllabled "Section," of numerous, yet ever-multiplying bodies of persuasion known to the dismay of the age as the "Sects."

Whatever the enigmas posed by the poem, Marvell was certainly not indifferent to the upheaval he chose to comment on. But as to the inevitable question of Marvell's compliance with the stance adopted by the aristocratic pastoral world toward the radical change whose potential he chronicled, though "The unfortunate Lover" speaks to this matter, it does so with the obliqueness of poetry. A leap in time and a change to prose will bring the reader to a more readily comprehensible statement. Contained in Marvell's pamphlet The Rehearsal Transpros'd of 1673, is a passage whose images and themes echo in part those present in the opening stanzas of the poem. The danger involved in this manner of explication cannot be minimized. In particular, the select group of images and themes subtly varied, which constitutes the body of Marvell's poetry, imposes, as the condition for a precise reading, the context of its phrasing. Arguing counterwise, the critic can claim that an attempt to approach a poem distanced by an aloof speaker ironically sprouting hyperboles that are at present hidden behind abstruse, if not

inaccessible references, stands in need of every available form of assistance. Opening with "But, alas," the therefore relevant prose passage dwells first in that short-lived "eternal spring," the state of perfection known to innocent man. Falling, it follows after man's subjugation by God to "the dismal influence of comets from above," to "tempests from the middle region," and from "the lower surface...the raging of the seas," to a conclusion in government in disorder as the last of the "calamities" to which human life has been exposed. Marvell's preference that "tranquility" be sought by "all just means" is as explicit as his wording, his only reservation being that, in many instances, war itself is "just."[63] Clarity, rather than relevation, results from phrases conventional to the seventeenth-century consciousness; casus belli could speak of both the cause of and fall into war. These phrases serve here mainly to perform a necessary introduction to Marvell's compelling after-reflection: "if there were a dead calm always, and the winds blew from no corner, there would be no navigation." Undeniably, this statement expresses a mind mature in years following a separation from the frenzy and slau-

. . . . . Nonetheless, it must be allowed that profundity has long roots; and that a Marvell who came to reflect in prose on the theme of change will, in all likelihood, prove relevant to an earlier poetic self. Marvell considered change as ultimately desirable, though he was aware that it involved confrontation with the barbarous sea, the world still outside the control of civilization. Certainly the tenor of this prose passage would seem more sensitively attuned than does the easy

generalization, "Machiavellianism,"[64] to the poetic sensibility, that had in An Horatian Ode accommodated Cromwell the upstart and yet remained appreciative of the "Mold" which centuries of culture had created. Set alongside "The unfortunate Lover," the prose theme will confirm the myth of Arion who, having resolved to leave behind a garden cultivated but dead to further growth, thrust outward into unexplored experience. Elegant lyricist of the garden, who when denied return could move only into satire, Marvell was never to be poet of either a world of infinite Miltonic dimensions or of wild Romantic prospect. But there is indication that an opportunity to exchange the fixed contours of pastoralism, political as well as poetic, for a horizon prophesying change, would not have been unconditionally unwelcome. If significant in no other way, "The unfortunate Lover' would question the judgment passed on Marvell as a poet limited to "withdrawl" and "crystallization."[65]

Ambiguity, discussed by Empson as the precise control of alternative implications,[66] would, with application to Marvell and his poem, find that its emphasis was on the word "alternative." Multiform as a symbol, the confounder in one of its many roles of the neatness of equation intended by the couplet, the sea could never have elicited from Marvell a single-minded reaction. Nor did a change in social structure that was to send him across its waters in search of a Caesar as heroic exemplar. Another approach is necessarily forthcoming, which, since it will lead to almost a parodic qualification of the liberation through change proposed in the one prior, is an unqualified responsibliity of the critic. Involved is the recog-

nition that "The unfortunate Lover," by a concentration of major elements, directs attention back in tradition to a well-known scene of similar staging. There Caesar, in the course of Civil War, was forced to voyage through the Adriatic of a rising storm portending shipwreck. A match to the tempestuous spirit of the storm that represented the fluctuations of Fortune and the upheaval in the Roman world, he dominated it. Disdainful of the dangers which he provoked, but which he acknowledged only as those worthy of his great destiny, and confident that since he was the favored of Fortune, he was her equal, he rode through. At the climax of the storm, and at the height of his arrogance, Caesar was to return, in answer to the pilot of the vessel, the boast that later became the subject of almost compulsive quotation:

> ---the just cause why thou fear'st
> Is this, because thou know'st not whom thou bear'st:
> Him who the gods never forsake---
> ---
> In all these tumults of the seas and skies
> Does fortune strive to please me---.[67]

It was in Pharsalia, Lucan's version, that Marvell would have found the recurrent apparatus of the "literary storm"[68] propped by dolphin and the "mergus" rendered by the seventeenth century as "cormorant." The contempt in which Marvell held this historian for his hyperbole and conceits, he set down in the poem censoring Tom May, Lucan's equally despised English translator. A burlesque of scene was the result of Marvell's own "translation," a literary subversion of what had possibly been to begin with a fictionalization of history. Caesar, who was nevertheless bound to the island of England historically, has again

brought about Civil War. Except that, in this instance, the invincible victor, defender and advancer of the frontiers of Empire, is revealed a hapless babe, a passive voyager sport to the winds of destiny. Fortune, iconographically and poetically the aide of the bold and helmsman of their ship through the sea of life,[69] has, to this caricature, denied guidance.

Transition for Marvell was the "Caesaris astrum," the comet which, when it appeared in the heavens after Julius' end on the pyre, signaled his apotheosis. Become the "meteor," the star with the blazing tail and hence the "stella-comans," the "hairy comet," Marvell's transition has, by the play intended on "comans--commons," denoted downfall as well as death.[70] For the "ascendant" in the horoscope of this descendant of a Caesar favored by Fortune, a garden world, no longer able to make its own "impression upon Time," cast the "impression." Calculating to determine the disposition of the heavenly bodies at his birth, this world came to conclude "unfortunate." Rescue is therefore not anticipated on this horizon. The "decumana," the "tenth wave" that miraculously hurled his ancestor to the safety of the shore, appears to the "unfortunate" as the "master-Wave" that, in bringing him to birth, dispossessed him of not only the life of the mother state but also of parental protection of the patria. Although he has been launched, as tradition demanded, on a stormy sea in an inadequate vessel, this parricida[71] cannot hope to vindicate his innocence. Punishment has been measured to fit the crime. As a result of having been deprived of his "patrimony," by the circumstances of his birth, the Caesar of the age is condemned to wander through life to death as the

"abject Heir."

Parody, turned to satiric purpose, was not to be the only, or even the main agent of, the humor distinguishing the passage of Marvell's "unfortunate" from that of the heroic, if politically problematic, Caesar. Besides providing an exercise in political wit, transitions were the clues necessary to the taking of delight in a deliberately frivolous narrative surface. That is, birth marks the opening scene in the biography of the Lover, because it serves as the occasion for an exhibit of knowledge curious and erudite, one that will be woven into a poetic texture alive with linguistic puns and literary echoes. The "ghost" that came to haunt Brutus and Company upon the murder of Caesar had been, before confusion, the great "daemon" who entered the living man at birth and thus influenced the course of his life. First in Plato, and thereafter in his neo-Platonic followers, the "daemon," the intermediary being between the gods and man might, if hostile to a subject, determine for him a life pattern "unhappy" or "unfortunate."[72] Marvell's knowledge of this conceit is shown by a poetic instance sharply reversing the condition of "unfortunate." Among the emblematic scenes suggested in "The last Instructions to a Painter" was that leap into the flames by Lord Douglas, heroic defender of England as Mistress of the Seas, and hence the "glad Lover";[73] felix, which had an original secondary meaning of "happily," having come to specifically designate in Medieval Latin "favored of the gods."

Obviously a correspondence must link hero and Lover, and "daemon" with both. By correspondence, too, a literary psychology was to be established for the "unfortunate," and for

his poet, who had received this legacy, a ruefully reflective self-image. From Ficino, the physician, comes the knowledge that the medical term used to describe the madness of uncontrollable love was hereos. Marvellian wit would be quick to reply with "hereos--eros--hero." (My wonder was the discovery that behind the play natural to the punster lay centuries of fascinating scholarly confusion.[74]) Error might ride the waves as "wandering," but in the inner world it described mental perturbations, and more particularly that of love. Association with the flame of passion led this deception into an Ovidian equation of Erroque Furorque."[75] Erotic frenzy, in turn, would have clued Marvell's readers to the probable presence of one of the "furors." Four in number, having made their mark in the Phaedrus, the furors had gone into service to Ficino as a theory of therapeutic value, only then, when borrowed by Ronsard and poetic countrymen, to be treated as an independent, light-hearted motif.[76] Love itself, since so designated by Diotama in the Symposium, was a "daemon."[77] Continuing along literary and linguistic lines, it can be understood that the Lover, although heir to all this burning furor, would exhibit inertia. Among the series of symptons that "Hereos," the "loveris maladye," engendered in Chaucer's "Knight's Tale," Marvell would read "like unto humor malencolik."[78] Concupiscible desires in the sensible soul, which adjusted man's humors, were thought to cause changes in his physical nature; and Burton's anatomical conclusion concurred with a long line of commentaries. Respectable Renaissance love affairs had prescribed such "Acts and Scenes" to "heroicall love"[79] as alter-

nated, and simultaneously offered burning and freezing. There is far more fun in the thought that "phlegm," the dominant humor, the cold moist substance determining at birth a listless and watery personality, derives from a Greek word meaning "flame." Complexities of linguistic history, beyond the scope of this thesis and certainly of its writer, were probably unknown to Marvell. The term "Flame," might still be found in the English of 1650; and Marvell would have been acquainted with Ovid's Phlegethon, the river burning in hell.[80] As can be expected, "amors" and "humors" had long ago become partners for a verbal frolic.[81] But surely, in concocting a brain for his Lover by exploiting the words which the birth scene presented, Marvell extended verbal play beyond even the flexible boundaries traditionally enjoyed by poets. From a consideration of the mother's state when driven against the rock, Marvell arrived at the literal fusion from which "dura mater" was to be derived. It was only left for the "wave," with facility mouiller to moisten and mollir to soften, and conceivably as the conceiving agent mouler, to become the soft and mild complement, "pia mater."[82]

Love, the mental property of the Lover, could only have engaged Marvell's attention at one end of the chain of furors. Occupying the other was poetry, that supernatural possession capable of evoking, along with the familiar muse, the figure of a daemon. "Daemon" was available to the poet through its identification with the Latin genius, etymologically connected with words for birth and generation.[83] Neither this figure nor the muse appear to the poet of "The unfortunate Lover." Manifestly, there was the delight of the imp in his nimble manipulation of

language, in the ingenuity with which he summoned up associations from a multitude of spheres which centuries of culture had prepared. For all the sheer fun in the intellectual game, however, the goal was marked "superficial." The wit that borrowed from a complicated web of conventions drew the mind the distance only of a reach after riddles. Doctrines that could be wilfully pilfered for convenient portions were no longer justifiable to the intellect. Ideas which had once been significant, when now wrenched from their theoretical homes and thrown into a strange environment among unrelated fellows, became trivial matter. Artifice here was arch, a synthetic process of analogizing with a capacity comparable to that of its overt counterpart, decoration. "Fancy" is not being defamed as a pejorative; the thought is rather that the pins chosen to join Marvell's compositional chunks were obviously intended to fail him in the pursuit of unity. A spoof aimed against an implausible political situation and an antiquated amatory pose, also included among its victims the cherished concept of poetic inspiration. Antecedent to the poem's poignant ending of a death in defeat was the awareness recorded that "e're brought forth," poetic furor had been, in the accepted sense of wasted wantonly and spent uselessly, "cast away."

Allegory, opening with the scene at sea onto a world resonant with expectations of mighty heroic actions, had taken for its subject a lover known as "my poor," the sobriquet in a return to its derisive origin of "the chuck under the chin." Divorced from its normal community of discourse and misplaced

amid the uncongenial surroundings of seventeenth-century times, epic diction floundered into an absurdity that, by reflection, convicted it of pretentiousness. As bearer of the epic tradition, the term "unfortunate" bore the poet's confession that this heritage was beyond the salvation of his age. Yet, the voyage had to continue; so the logic of its starting point in an ironic conclusion of "what else but" dictated. The terrain to be crossed was still that of an intractable sea. But within its sweep could be cited islands of civilization which constituted the legacy of the ages. Technically, as accomplished forms expressive of man's varying sensibility, they answer to the term "literary modes." To Marvell, however, they were patterns of accomodation to the perception of life available to the present for testing, so "styles" would be the preferred name. "Style," in whose achievement lay the promise of unity, that precondition for the creation of the hero, was to continue to be, therefore, the map to Marvell's search as it was the object of his quest. Stanzas, grounds through which the poet tracked the hero's development, were then, essentially, landfalls upon literary conceptualizations.

Having left behind its experience in epic, "The unfortunate Lover: next lands in a stanza occupied mutually by Petrarchan woe and catastrophic Apocalyptic forebodings:

> The Sea him lent these bitter Tears
> Which at his Eyes he alwaies bears.
> And from the Winds the Sighs he bore,
> Which through his surging Breast do roar.
> No Day he saw but that which breaks,
> Through frighted Clouds in forked streaks.
> While round the ratling Thunder hurl'd,
> As at the Fun'ral of the World.

The anticipated excess is the result; the mimicry of parody, intent on exaggeration, has found subjects already conditioned to overblown preciosities. Even while overstatement proclaimed his awareness of their impotency, Marvell was manipulating these styles and displaying himself as the clever poetic practitioner. Tears turning into bitter seas and sighs blowing world into dark despair were stock properties of love showing off in verse. By witty reversal, Marvell's lines here offer instead to explain the attributes of the Petrarchan Lover by the circumstances of his birth.[84] But these lines cannot be held to such a limited reading. Considering that this interpretation would make the force of emotion in poetry dependent on nature as a force in life, it leaves the daring of these lines far behind. The colossal sea, in condescending to endow the flat figure with the depth of its own tear, and the winds, by surging through to lend him dimension have, after all, proclaimed the Lover to be the concern of cosmic forces and, hence, still the hero.

Jove himself announced the opening of the hero's day by a theatrical flourish of thunderbolts that splits the canvas of a canopy of clouds. Fortunately, for Marvell at least, history has confused "blaze" and "blazon;" and "break" had sufficient semantic stretch to indulge him punning proclivities. As a result, that "cynosure," the Lover who was expected to "flash" with the fervor of passion, whether he was "dazzled" by the bright light of fame turned upon him or just "dazed," was certainly being heraldically proclaimed and properly accoutered in armorial bearings. Unfortunately, however, since to "break

day" meant a breach in the honoring of a contract, all this brilliance becomes only a review before the flame of religious fervor which, having passed sentence on it as lust, promptly sends it toppling down into the flame of hell. Jove, although instrumental in setting the Lover's day ablaze with light, now assumes the responsibility of High Judge and dooms it to the annihilation that will sweep the globe into ashes. Marvell's clash of opposites makes use of the opportunity for the interplay of visual and auditory sensations. Attendance at the "fun'ral of the World" could hardly be counted on without the trumpet's summon. Part of the denotation borne by the intended "blaze" was the "puff up" of a report performed on a musical instrument. "Break" also came to Marvell's assistance, probably through an influence of "le eclattant/De trompette" in Saint-Amant's "Le Contemplateur."[85] Applicable alike to sound and sight, "break" blended the blaze of sunlight into a blast of the final trumpet.

Flood, no less than fire, could end the world; and the "Sea," with which Marvell's stanza began, came to bring the "World" it created to a "fun'ral." Imaged by the ancients as a circle, the sea had sent as its representative a circular "tear." The Lover, with the tear "at his Eyes," reflects on the hero who was the great Lover and heir to Caesar, A hony, the microcosmic "O." But this globe which the sea had generated by its tear, this world which the Lover created, literally,[86] by his reflection, was itself to be overwhelmed in a final dissolution.

THE "FLEET" OF HELL

Deadened metaphors had been given a new burst of life. The "joining" of incompatible poetic traditions was sufficiently clever to justify verbal trumpets. It is just probable that Marvell decided that this now exhausted literary world had best be written off as well lost, and meant his Last Judgment to include his own art in its squint. At least a change of style was called for and, considering the condition in which the world had been left by the last stanza, a change of place. The masque succeeds stanziacally in taking over the center of the poem, but is compelled by the "Fun'ral" just enacted, to spend its time in the underworld:

> While Nature to his Birth presents
> This masque of quarrelling Elements;
> A num'rous fleet of Corm'rants black,
> That sail's insulting o're the Wrack,
> Receiv'd into their cruel Care,
> Th' unfortunate and abject Heir:
> Guardians most fit to entertain
> The Orphan of the Hurricane.
>
> They fed him up with Hopes and Air,
> Which soon digested to Despair.
> And as one Corm'rant fed him, still
> Another on his Heart did bill.
> Thus while they famish him, and feast,
> He both consumed, and increast:
> And languished with doubtful Breath,
> Th' Amphibium of Life and Death.
>
> IV. and V.

The Lover, made "gull" by lust, descends to Acheron. There, torn by desire, he is still prostrate Tityos, prey to the beaks of birds which have, at least since Homer, emblematically told of the devouring anxieties ensuing upon immoderation.[87]

Attended by a vulturous reception committee, the Lover is calculated by his upbringing for a reduction in stature. "Love," whose honor was to have, in Spenser's phrase, "relented their rebellious yre," has returned to these same base elements.[88] Chaos besets the region: the four elements, preserved in "quarrelling," clash in the "quarrelling!" of contention. To use the quotation Marvell himself used in Rehearsal Transposed, in instances of sensuality, "'when the man is divided from the beast, and his reason separated from the inferior and brutish appetites, then arise irregular and unreasonable desires.'"[89] Man, although superior to the animal in the hierarchy of the natural world reaching from spiritual high to physical low, can nevertheless be enslaved to the animal within him. Reason having lost the mastery, the little kingdom of man, by the analogy created between the human body and the public corporation, has suffered the nature of an insurrection. Harmony, which was the quest of the stately masque directed to the desires of genteel lords and ladies, and like the pastoral of the opening stanza of the poem dependent on balance, has been duped by contentious forces that have assumed control. Antimasque, with its low-life elements, is therefore scheduled to play the major scene in Hell. But this stage arrangement in the nether setting will be but the underworld counterpart to the experiences that were being enacted on the soil of Marvell's England. That is, Marvell, man as the wandering mariner, has taken his language, as his sense of the contemporary world and its values, even into hell.

If the satiric pronouncement, "England is hell," which is

found in these stanzas, has been obscured, this is attributable to Marvell's density of reference. That an allusion to the social scene frequently comes into focus only through familiarity with a cultural analogue or referent is guarantee of sufficient difficulty. Just as often, however, the stranger from the twentieth century, if he is to become aware that this social allusion was even intended, must first stumble upon the "clinch": the seventeenth century's graphic designation for the pun, which has only to be realized as the bolt whose point was then turned and driven back into the substance through which it had passed in order to convey sharply Marvell's particular practice in these stanzas. Compounding our problem here is the lack of any main source, literary or emblematic, to which inquiries could be addressed, or orientation established. Perhaps, therefore, the most effective procedure for gaining entry at present is first to concentrate and then to clarify. Attention will be directed toward the physical movement of the opening lines; and the scene these lines present will be transfigured into a pictorial abstraction. The Lover, the "Wrack," now the line in the visualization of a flat pattern, would be seen as a surface that lies on top of a plane. The ground underneath, since conjectured along with the rest of the space surrounding the figure as empty environment, would continue without interruption. Once conceived as the support that "underlies" a structure, this bottom area would be the "Base"; and to "underlie" as the "base," when understood as in Marvell's period, was to be subordinate. When split, the total pattern slips into the depth dimension, an arrangement which is predisposed to dynamic motion and dialectical

relationship. Therefore, instead of passively consenting to be displaced by the figure, this underlying space can suddenly assume an active role and strive to overtake that space which the figure occupies. If we review Marvell's main lines, with this movement just outlined kept in mind,

> A numerous fleet of Corm'rants black,
> That sail'd insulting o're the Wrack,

their message becomes visible: the "underlings" have vaulted in triumph over the ruined representative of a traditionally ordered state. "Pick-a-pack," Marvell's delightful rendition in later years of the nasty state of affairs when the rational in man is obliged to carry the brute, would have here, earlier, extended its dominion into affairs of state.[90]

Although the term "insulting" was to lose the physical impact derived from insultare, "to leap on," for Marvell's line this meaning was crucial. Present usage still retains the vaunt, if not the vault of "insult," the affront to dignity directed by abuse, the assailant who comes accompanied by the contemptous sneer. Testifying that this indignity has been heaped upon the "Wrack" as the descendant of the victor of a prior civil war is the existence of a contrasting boastful tribute to "that proud Insulting Ship/Which Caesar and his fortune bare at once."[91] Hell, defined as contemporary circumstances in England, was a description of distortion. However, since distortion is not in the given shape but arises from the interaction between what now is seen and what the memory traces of what once was, it is likely that Marvell had in mind a passage such as the pictured pageant of the sea that opens The Merchant of Venice, in which the "portly

argosies"

> Do overpeer the petty traffickers,
> That curtsy to them, do them reverence,
> As they fly by them with their woven wings.
> 11. 12-15

In Marvell's "fleet," the sails of Shakespeare might still be expected to "fly" by in that swift and onward motion made by "woven wings." But as the later-day "fleet" that had sunk into the "sewer," its power was instead "transient" and "shallow." For, no longer reverent, the "petty traffickers" had tried to "overpeer" the argosy, the once proud leader in the pageant England across the seapath to wealth and power. Along with the consequent shipwreck of the realm, there had come into being a race of cunning vultures bent on spoils as their prey. During this period of Civil War reference to the sea, its ships and their traffic, could hardly be confined to the metaphoric. Historical events from 1642 to 1649 superimposed their own influential pattern. Possession of the navy meant command of the sea; and for the King, the latter meant a lifeline of communication with the Continent. All the chief ports, however, were in the hands of Parliament whose cruisers, by constantly capturing his vessels, stopped the King's supplies. Meanwhile, flocks of exiles turned privateers had infested the Channel to plunder English merchantmen.[92] The wonder was, "that so firm a fabrick should stand on so fleeting a foundation."[93]

To determine the further significance to Marvell of this "fleet," it will be necessary to track through the manifold layers of the literary tradition. One "clinch" of this tradition was "Corm'rants." Political jargon then, as today, sanc-

tioned animal images as decorous to the lowering metaphor of satire. In order to ridicule them, Marvell reduced to "numerous" those who upheld the principle that would make the "overpeer," that is the mountain, level with the plane. Nonetheless, since "fleet" meant to "skim" the cream off the top, just as vol, the French for "flight," also meant "theft," the Cormorants' naked intention was to draw the wealth to the poor by despoiling the rich. They are obviously akin to Spenser's Gaint, Talus, whose plot for equalization promised destruction to the divine order before his final shipwreck. As for an identifying link, had such been needed, Marvell would elsewhere in the land of the Faerie Queene have encountered that waster, the "great Gyant, called Cormoraunt," and noted that the rebellious mob returns to the sea, the chaotic element.[94] In Shakespeare's dramatic revelations of the monster in the many kingdoms of mankind, the Cormorant was "vanity, insatiate," "devouring Time," and above all the "belly," the "sink o' the body," the greed of the hungry of the state.[95] That "Cormorant" basically assumed, by metaphoric animation, the role which edax discharged in Latin, should become increasingly clear in subsequent discussion. At present, we can say that Marvell shared Shakespeare's concern to transfer onto the plane of society the possibility, voiced by Ovid, that greedy Nature would feel the lack of her own nourishment.[96] Considered as a transfer into English of mergus, the Latin "diver," the Cormorant, though therefore only a literary relation, was nevertheless inherently bound to mergo, and hence to sink into a moral swamp. Or, its origin may instead be conceived as the literal translation from the French

corbeau de mer into "raven of the sea." This bird of dark prophecy, of death and disease, would then bear a relationship to all those other members of the family of "crow," at which the "crow" of "insulting" has already hinted. A tradition reaching back to the Sicilian orator Gorgias, the ravenous vulture as the "living tomb"[97] explains in part how the Lover, who was entrusted to the care of Cormorants, was assigned the role of "Th' Amphibium of Life and Death." Greedy monster and man-eating bird met economic reality most specifically as the parasitic "Stymphalides," about which Sandys, commenting on Ovid and citing Claudian as authority, offered the historical interpretation: "Theeves who forraged that Country."[98]

By alluding to the Stymphalides as "ravenous Lamiae" because they too "devoure the substance, pollute the fame and infect the bodys of their desparate lovers," Sandys hold up to view one fold of the tradition shared by those equally "filthy foule," the Cormorants. For background material to this intimate relationship between the "avarice and filthy converse of Harlots" and the "birds" of spiritual blindness that will lead the Lover into despair, one would turn to the famous "Commentary" of Servius on the Aeneid. For our present purpose, we can begin with his description of the Harpies, fabulous figures who wore the wings of divinity and bore the face of woman, though below they exhibited the parts appropriate to their earthly role as vultures of unappeasable appetite, and foul gorgers on the banquet table of man whom they plundered. Allegorically, they were understood to combine the guilt mirroring the inner

state of the sinner and the punishment meted out by the high judgment of Jove. Fabled to be daughters of Neptune, they inhabited land and sea alike. But their amphibious nature, as Servius pointed out, further allowed them an existence in the underworld.[99] From there, as the vengeful Furies they performed the duties of the Erinyes, Greek Goddesses of vengeance, torturing the guilty with the stings of conscience, executing the curses pronounced on criminals, and inflicting famine or pestilence. As Marvell might have recalled from his reading of the Odyssey, the Erinyes were avengers particularly of offenses against parents.[100]

Condemned for his submission to the furor of lust, Marvell's figure had gone down to the Furies in the depths of retribution. For its treachery to the mother state the "vessel" of England, as the body politic and the carrier of the soul, had become the "Wrack" of its former greatness. "It is an ill Bird," went the proverb on ingratitude, "that plucks out the dam's eye." The "Orphan" having been abandoned to her charge, Nature reveals herself a "harsh Stepdame":[101] one meaning understood by this age for "entertain" was "maintain," and the metaphor of disease will be discussed later. So far in their narrative journey, those shameful birds, the Stymphalides, have left the river in Arcadia they frequented and descended to the Stygian flood. But with the "famous Voyage" of Ben Jonson they returned to the earthly banks of England, though this region, influenced by the infernal world, had changed considerably from the original rustic ideal. There, at least during Marvell's day, they continued to dwell, known as the "Fleet-lane Furies."[102] If the critical

task of mating this tradition and a poetic text that has omitted the unifying term is dismaying, "prostitute" offers itself as the word of redemption. "Prostitute," in turn, held a meaning for Marvell aside from the accepted indulgence in sexual promiscuity for payment. Once given over to infamous practices, the abandoned one in this period would likely wander into political territory and, if he was the base hireling, sell his masculine self to corruption. This misuse of the "prostitute" in practice eventually became misuse of the word itself. Retained to advantage in the line from Samson Agonistes, "By prostituting holy things to Idols,"[103] was the confusion between this word, the surrender to base uses, and "prostrate," to make submissive and humble by laying low. Marvell's Lover, would-be heroic exemplar of an age, has defined himself as the "abject," that is "low-lying," thrall prostrate before a nation made up of minor parasites given over to political prostitution.

For the last of its contributions toward an elucidation of "fleet," "Corm'rant" as the "clinch" will have therefore precisely located the famous prison. Fierce passion has fettered the Lover and shackled the nation to venality. But even stronger ties than these were to affix "Corm'rants" themselves to the meaning fated for "The unfortunate Lover." Before these ends can be revealed one more "clinch" of meaning, that of the oxymoron, "cruel Care," must be explicated; though "clinch," at best a convenient rather than a consistent term, is here to be understood as closer to the sharp repartee that twists or turns about the meaning of a word. Part of Marvell's game involves no more than the fluency in Latin by which he might have read, in etymological depth, the "hot digestion of this cormorant war"

waged for love in Trolius and Cressida (II, 2.6). Stated in other terms, crud as the root of cruel, crude and the nature of cormorants, insists that the "Hopes and Air" these last-named figures had fed to Marvell's own Lover could only have been "digested to Despair." Cruditas denoted repletion by the stomach; but crudelis, prescribed as standard vocabulary for unhappy lovers, meant, in addition to morally rude and naturally crude, not fully digested. "Care" by "Corm'rants" was "cruel" by reason of one meaning of crudelis, from which crud, migrating, entered into the late sixteenth-century Latin attributive, crudivorous, or, of eating raw flesh. Care can, legitimately, claim no connection to the Latin cura; but in Marvell's "care" it can be assumed the term cura still spoke of the specific disquiet of love. The joke, however, awaits the derivation from cura of the adjective curiosus, which, since it has as one meaning "wasted by care," labels "liar" both the parent term and the presumption that opposites could dare to meet in Marvell's oxymoron. Nonetheless, only with the assistance at first of "curious," as the suggestion of elaborate workmanship, can "cruel" begin to prove itself capable of more serious quibbling. For poet and critic alike who follow where Shakespeare has gone before, one subject of that quibble has been made simple. Evidently, Marvell's "abject heir" has been bound by the pun on "cruel-crewel," the thin hairy thread of worsted yarn. Aided into imprisonment by the forces active in the days of his ascendance, the Lover undoubtedly has hung himself there by his own "heir apparent" and "cruel" garters.[104] Brought together in this negative of conjunctions, "cruel" and

"curious" have determined the oxymoron "cruel Care" to be a definite possibility.

According to classical tradition the thread controlling the life of man from birth to the fatal slit had been spun. But the Fates, though daughters of Night and sisters of Death, had themselves become victims of darkened knowledge. Confused with the Harpies, Fate was further doomed to an identification with the weaver: the web of life, the metaphor insisted, was woven on the loom.[105] Such was the Fate of England's history, that for centuries it was bound to the affairs of clothworkers, assimilable under the main heading, "the weaver." A heretic to the medieval mentality, the weaver continued to be, in Renaissance thought, the dissenter. To this image of the virtuous psalm-singer was however joined that of the materialist self-seeker. The fact is that the majority of Puritan supporters were recruited from the industrious textile centers of England, susceptible by both geographical location and trade affiliation to heretical influence from the Continent, mainly the Low Countries. By the time of Marvell's Lover, these ardent reformers, whom we may call Puritans as a catch-all for the sects, had entered the ranks of the revolutionaries. The radical principles voiced by the small masters of the Weavers Company when contending for their rights in the guild allied them to the program of the Levellers.[106] Weaver's Hall was often, during the latter half of the 1640's, the meeting place for the Commissioners responsible for executing Ordinances.[107] Fact and fancy, brought into collision in these stanzas by the energy of Marvell's satiric humor, may to the present seem to have woven so fantastic a garb as to

all but cloak their protest against the Fate that had overtaken England's Lover. But then, as the Lady was later to explain to Butler's Hudibrus, Marvell's age would have divined that:

> Loves passion are like Parables
> By which men still mean something else:
> Though Love be all the world's pretence
> Mony's the Mythologique sence.
> 108

Fate itself, although her presence still lent mythological dimension, had been compelled in "The unfortunate Lover" to don a contemporary version of that allegorical garb, the "masque": one woven of the greed and hypocrisy that motivated the busybodies of the land who were, with zeal, issuing "cruel Care."

Marvell's intention in scheduling the Puritans for a performance in a love masque was to deride the deception these fanatics attempted which only mirrored their self-delusions. Here they were, participants in one of the very "points" of frivolousness and sensuality they would normally have eschewed. "Humble occupation" and "small size"[109] were among the basic characteristics conforming to anti-Puritan satiric expectations. Marvell's treatment of these souls transposed into "corm'rants" was sufficiently belittling to indicate that he had thus conformed. Of one aspect of the "cruel Care' these issuers were themselves traditionally catalogued to receive, there has as as yet been no critical mention. But this quality was one that distinguished the Puritans cum "Corm'rants black" as

> Guardians most fit to entertain
> The Orphan of the Hurricane.

For "Hurricane" referred not only to the violence of winds, but to a "storm of words"; and that list of conventional Puritan mannerisms concluded with "great in noise." "Black" was the obvious reminder that in Marvell's day ink was made of lamp-black. Swarms of black attackers--words--crawled over the printed page as their mouthers did over the Lover. Bred, the implication is, in polemical tracts tained with political back-biting and controversial "crow," the "pricks and quarrels" of religious factions, words that made "impression" had become as corrupted as the "Times." This was an adaptation of a topos whose authority can be traced back as far as Thucydides;[110] the message it intended was that language no longer had the power to divide man from the beast. Wit, in having risen against the heroic image of the poet who was the true guardian of language, had subverted itself. A precursor has been discovered for those vermin, rather than heroes, spawned by Civil War which "infected" the eloquent and honest air of Lovelace's society and confined the poet in censorship.[111] Sheltered within the wood of Upon Appleton House, Nature in a gentler mood would again perform in a "masque." But the past art form imitated by the poet nourished no new art when digested in the atmosphere of the age of "The unfortunate Lover." Allegory, by derivation a compound of allos, the other, plus agoreuen, to speak in public and openly, depended on indirection and courted political inference.[112] Here, in "The unfortunate Lover," Marvell is saying that allegory by fulfilling its extreme potential, had become a confusion of doubleness that subverted the purpose of language.

Language, an object of Marvell's satire, was also its in-

strument. Commenting on the monstrous reversal of natural order, the subversion of law in a social situation that was precarious and perverse, were "quarrelling Elements." Words which had, for the expediency of the latest coalition, entered into unnatural alliances offered "cruel Care." Cut loose into anarchy, words abandoned their inherited meanings as entities to serve only as unstable counters, abstractions in a relative context. Now, in the words of Sir Edward Dering, the "'vulgar mind'" was "'fond with imaginary hopes.'" And though Quarles labelled him who scoffed at the godly who "can live on Ayre and Faith; and eaten up by "zeale," the "Worldly" man,[113] the question remained, "'What will the issue be, when hopes still grown on hopes?;"[114] "Fed on Hopes and Air," Marvell answered, the digestion was to "despair," since a diet of "air promise crammed"[115] led to a condition of being literally "without hope." Catachresis, represented in "Care," mingled indiscriminately with the distortion of meaning that curtness wrought in "Corm'rants" and the needless proliferation of "numerous fleet." Fantastics of balance, gibbering antitheses, periphrasis running rampant are to be heard in famish-feast, consumed-increased, doubtful breath-Life and Death. No wonder that the Lover "languished": besides the apparent meaning of wasting away with desire, the "langue" within prates of its own presence and, in heraldic terminology, "Langued" spoke of a "charge" represented with "a tongue of a specified tincture." As style suggests, culture could feed only on the uncreating word of its own decay. Comic combatants were lined up; troops of depleted words paraded. As poet, Marvell could not have failed to realize that the laughter was partly at his own expense.

High-spirited mockery, by responding in kind, might still cope with pretentious verbiage. "Plebians," who wore the coarse cloth of "fustian" and aped the eloquence of their masters were, after all, expected to affect "fustian," the bombastic rant. "Presents" disposed therefore of the "Gifts" by which the Sectarians voiced their claim to original inspiration; while "black," amid Hell, adequately reversed professions of "New Light." Everyone knew from the Fable of the Raven that the tongue brought damnation; or, for that matter, from the Fable of the Jackdaw decked out with peacock feathers, that knaves and fools were near of kin. Had not this last bird, commonly small and with thievish propensities, continued to torture Morose by an imitation of human jargon even though "Sir" had metamorphosed him into a titled personage? Together with the cormorant, both jackdaw and raven belonged to the family "crow," whose entitling member had contributed in the lighter-keyed Chaucerian Parliament of Fowls a "vois of care."[116] But if only for the flicker of a poetic moment, the procession of faceless figures in Marvell, their gullets greedy and already donned in their funereal dress; are capable of inspiring fear. Comic and grotesque elements having merged in the Middle Ages, devils had become creatures of deformity and acquired the claws of birds of prey.[117] On this one occasion, jackdaws were not to prove amenable to easy taming; and the ravenous multitude, hovering over the spoils, had "cruel Care" in their power. As we have seen, Marvell's conscious misuse of etymology would have licensed "cruel" to summon up curule, once the chair reserved for the highest magistrates of Rome and, by

transference, condescending only to signify any high civic duty. Likewise "care" through cura could invoke the power of the Curia, the senate house intimately connected with Caesar and, by a substitution of the spirit for the body, the Roman senate itself.

With the triumphant mounting into office of these clamorous birds, in what Butler was to name the sharp blowless battle of "Curule Wit,"[118] comes the hint that neither "Quid nutrit, extinquit,"[119] the emblematic source, not a reference to Tityos fully interprets

> And as one Corm'rant fed him, still
> Another on his Heart did bill.

Caution is still necessary; but only through conjecture can these lines be related to what we know in the contemporary situation. Hell-in-England has been determined as a satiric setting for this diminutive emblematic drama. Its masquers were Cormorants as rebellious Puritans turned revellers,[120] and the Lover a representative of the nation's well-being. Effective agent would therefore be the "bill" in an action simultaneously involving "famish" and "feast," and the climax would be, as suggested by the image of food, a resolution in the struggle for the survival of the body politic. A "Quarrel with minc'd Pies" was a matter Parliament digested to feed back to a nation. It was necessary, of course, that these "controverted Points" first be offered. So they were, by a Puritan "bill" whose complaint was against traditional celebrations of festivals. And when by the Ordinance of 1647, Christmas, among other feast days, was declared illegal,[121] Hell could only hope to match England in immoderation.

An even more serious malignancy was being augured for the nation by the flight into power of these birds. For "cruel" and "bill," when brought together in the assembly of "cruel bill," pierce the "Heart" of England's disturbance. The metaphor of disease, stock usage for probing the deviations of the state of love, is equally applicable to purging by verbal abuse the "base," infected, yet multiplying segments of society.[122] "Raven's bill" was used in the England of Marvell as a surgical instrument. To relate this detail to the "cruel bill" and the disease it points at, one must go back to its Latin name, Rostrum corvivum, as it would have been known to Marvell and his contemporaries, at least through Guilleman's volume on surgery. Beginning as the bill of the bird, the name passed on to any object of similar shape, including island but especially the prow of a ship. The destination point was realized in its plural, Rostra, the speaker's platform in the Forum which was adorned with the beaks of captured vessels, and from which the assembled people were addressed. Part of Marvell's statement is obvious: since the "unfortunate" heir to Caesar is no longer capable of acting as pilot, the crew has assumed command of the speaker's stand, that is, the prow of the ship of state. However, for that final twist on the meaning of "cruel," and for diagnostic acuity, we must venture with Marvell into French. Saint-Amant gives the game away in "Caprice": "les ecrouelles," to which the English are inclined, might have choked the throats of France's superior birds had they not been turned into viands.[123] That scrofula ("ecrouelles,") had been in its Latin form associated with sows is probably the source of the Anglophobe's delight. But the basis of English embarrassment was

rather that this disease could prevail because the "gift" of care was in the hands of Cormorants. Scrofula was known as the "King's evil," since the popular belief was that the royal touch, the "gift" bestowed on the realm's anointed, effected its cure. Historical fact lends poignancy to this meaning of Marvell's lines; the high point of the ritual of touch in English history was the Stuart Period

THE IRONIC JOUST

What Marvell's attitude was towards masque, as one of the aesthetic patterns reflecting life, can be gathered only from poetic treatment so diverse as to preclude a final evaluation. Though elsewhere in Marvell masque was an emblem of a past age that mistook illusion for reality, it, when dealing with the reality of the present, clearly intended the destruction of all illusions. From the standpoint, however, of a classical poetic based on clarity and reason, these stanzas may well be regarded as indefensible. By definition allegory aspires to the encipherment in one form of two or more meanings. But to have sustained, with a conventionality of purpose, the myriad of meanings here imposed, allegory, and its representative the masque, would have required as vehicle a sign of an authority never attained by that composite, "Corm'rants." This is not to deny that in this instance, as always, allusion has concentrated a large content into a small space, and even taken steps to actualize its rich potential. Certainly here, at the center of Marvell's poem,

references from the past and the fictional, and from separate traditions that have been brought over and crossed with those of a present, factual and contingent nature, have created a complex relational network. Then too, it is to be conceded that, if rigidity results from stilted phraseology, this is not inconsonant with the customary design of either allegory in the form of masque or the satire it supports. Despite these qualifications, the reader's awareness lingers, in these stanzas, on the distinguishing characteristics of futility of motion and an absence of a depth of perspective. The rapidity with which thoughts have been made to approach each other is responsible for a pattern which, though detailed in texture and of the strongest compression, is nevertheless singularly surface.

Since the responsibility was Marvell's, it is certain that the reader's reaction has been carefully arranged for. A poet who was willing, in his satire on "Fleckno," to have crossed over the linguistic line into Italian to play in "stanzas" as "room," had to be self-consciously aware that a space of two such rooms could not accommodate "a whole apartement"[124] with grace. The substitute offer has the tenseness of drama and the excitement of discord that all those facets of interest, formed by the intersection of diagonal lines of reference, generate. The pledge is that there will be perpetual change; the price to be exacted, however, is an acceptance of accident as the order of a creation whose duration is the fleeting moment. Better than any other feature it is the poem's careful realization, up to this point, of a plot

of structure that assures the reader these stanzas too have been instructed by rigorous control. When the garden, no longer possessed the power to remain the imaginative center, the plunge was into an open space of experience. Caesuras, before the cut in meter for the purpose of balance, were delivered into the violence of "Cesarian Section." But a channel had been prepared to forward the explosive movement of life downward through the "Iron gates." A world was then to encircle itself about a hero. This "round" having concluded, however, a frantic burst of radii contrived to form a center composed of an infinity of angles of intinitessimal intervals. We find here, in this eccentricity of space, Marvell's emblematic image of a new world which has arisen to challenge by its values the absolute validity of a garden determined by the law of the harmonious whole and distinguished by the depth of tradition.

An inversion of values has been literally and boldly enacted. This achievement is based on Marvell's assignment of satire to a major role in the antimasque. Precisely because of technical triumph, however, the danger was that, along with the values of the garden, might be lost the detachment associated with Marvell's stance as Arion, the ironist. Depersonalization, inherent in the conventions of allegory, had in Marvell met with a congenial practitioner, one capable as well of standing apart and, having wrily reflected on the predilections reflected in his own creations, of comprehending a larger meaning. Whatever depth can be claimed for these stanzas of witty surface is involved with a vehemence of emotion

that has refused to be schooled by the irony learned through the ages. That so rich a cultural heritage had fallen into the hands of upstart crows whose very attack was "insulting" (that is, sudden and without formal preparation), was obviously beyond the duplicating consciousness and hence accomodating power of the ironic "Amphibion." For the moment of this Limbo, England and the green future of her poetry must have seemed doomed. It is from out just such a grey dim that would emerge the resolution, now informing "The unfortunate Lover," to carry through with honor the task undertaken though the issue was likely to be mortal. Irony reasserts itself at least temporarily as, the perspective framework stretched to the utmost limit, the persona draws within the range of vision the viewpoint of "Heaven," an "angry" spectator of the disgraceful performance below, but one off in the distance. Rescue of the Lover, as the comic hero, from the disaster of Nature is only preliminary, however, to commending him to the play of that vying allegorical deity, Fortune:[125]

> And now, when angry Heaven wou'd
> Behold a spectacle of Blood,
> Fortune and He are call'e to play
> At sharp before it all the day:
> And Tyrant Love his brest does ply
> With all his wing'd Artillery.
> Whilst He, betwixt the Flames and Waves,
> Like Ajax, the mad Tempest braves.

Extended commentary on the more manifest qualities of this tournamental occasion would be superfluous. But no less, elements strong in interest, though to date neglected, ought to give precedence to the stanza's major message: the hero,

in an emphasized "now," has stood up.

Only to consider the maintenance of size, a matter of symbolic significance, is to recognize how cleverly Marvell has prepared for this rise. Tossed about in a belabored vessel upon a vast expanse to the rhythm of relentless waves, the Lover has been reduced by "poor" and "unfortunate," but never to the minor in dimension. Figured against a titanic Promethean backdrop or helpless amid the land of little figures, the giant child has, in either setting, dominated the space of canvas. Therefore, though in the course of the present agonizing engagement no skill might be exhibited nor any prize be won, the hero bears at least the stature of a knight at arms. Marvell's basic implication is dignity, conferred upon the Lover; but that dignity, attended in the ironic vision by a host of qualifiers, is all but obscured. Return to a multiple consciousness meant that one projection of the poet reflected on the other: the persona, that is, was in a position to observe the forces which in actuality dominated man, the unaware, who thought to dominate Fortune. Stated in the terms relevant to man's position in the cultural cosmos, the "now" of an arrant reality, proud inheritor of the Renaissance triumph over Fortune, was being regarded from a philosophical stance which, in its appeal to authority, was no less than the panoply of the martial sport, medieval in its cast. Should anyone of ironic spirit present in the seventeenth century, however, have inquired as to the relevance of this past position, the French maintenant, pointing to the "barriers" performed by the Elizabethans, could testify that "now" was a

respectful upholder of tradition. Genteel lords, products of a garden world already fading into nostalgia, when clad in the trappings of the Cavalier poet might play across the opposites of love and war with a witty "honour." Or, enlisting by imagination in the illustrious jousts of the past, they might, engaged in a game of honor, mock the battle. Arrayed on the battlefield of Honor, these gallants were however to find the contest for her favor a bloody art.

War, though acclaimed "the royal occupation"[126] by Anthony, past heir to Caesar, had been shown by experience to have extended its license. Marvell's irony notwithstanding, "honour" issued from a world of ceremonious courtesy. As such, for the modern reader it could hardly be expected to withstand the onslaught of "Ajax," the stanza's concluding reference, without further probing. Critical efforts are useful since "Ajax," at the very least, exemplifies Marvell's manifold use of an allusion. A brave warrior, whose mad rage was coupled with a steadfast devotion, Ajax, as the son of Telamon in the Iliad, was a figure whose likeness lends distinction to the Lover. A no less familiar figure was Ajax the Lesser, the ruffian son of Oileus and suitor to Helen, who, on the return voyage met shipwreck, safety and death. By transgressing against the gods he incurred the anger of Poseidon, whose trident then split the rock that would have meant salvation; or, in Virgil's account, Athena's wrath, released as the lightning that impaled him upon a rock.[127] Allusion becomes transition, therefore, to the "Thunder" and "Rock" of the lines to come:

> See how he nak'd and fierce does stand,
> Cuffing the Thunder with one hand;
> While with the other he does lock,
> And grapple, with the stubborn Rock.

Because Ajax's transgression had consisted of a boast, allusion acts too as Marvell's pattern-perfecter. Descended from that other boaster, Caesar, the Lover, despite the tide of affairs, might still be saved if hurled to shore by a miraculous "tenth wave." Similitude to Ajax seals the coming of his doom.

Meanwhile, as the current "tailors of the earth" were tossing the spoils of their thievery into "hell" and framing the state of affairs into a curiously ungodlike fabric, the Lover adhered to the social group that had risen above the lower appetites of the body politic. So a suspension of the imagistic pattern of food to introduce that of sight, when considered together with the transformation from captive into warrior, would indicate. "Nak'd," the Lover now reveals the inner man, but neither merely as the "innocent" of medieval thought nor the wretch stripped by the "pelican" nature of his "kind." Once again he is the peer of the realm intent upon reclaiming, along with its accouterments, the position of authority given over for the revels celebrating the rites of misrule. This was an age, however, in which only by the proof, claimed through fierce battle, could he assert the "nak'd" right to wear the elaborate dress that befits the courtier's "golden blood."[128] Nakedness marks the contrast within the clothes pattern, between Ajax's savagery and Caesar's deceptiveness. But Marvell's further intention is to disclose that basic to their personalities is their naked drive to power. Disguised in the garment

of a common man for his crossing to Italy, Caesar had betrayed his rank by the arrogance of his speech. Sensitivity to Charles' 1646 escape under unfashionable cover, prevalent among gentlemen, may have touched Marvell.[129] But the arrogant boast, common to Caesar and Ajax, is only one of several hints that Marvell was satirically calling attention to the more pertinent matter of the moderation that must temper the heroic upholders of order-in-government. As had Shakespeare before him, Marvell employs images evocative of what King Lear termed the "tempest in the mind," understanding, as did Shakespeare, that if a tempest was the macrocosm of the mind, this mind was the microcosm of the state. Whatever the elevation of soul enjoyed by the Lover, who is the image of the nation's spiritual state, bound as the body of the nation upon a course that steers madly "betwixt the Flames and Waves," he inevitably "rebounds,/Torn into Flames, and ragg'd with Wounds."

Cupid, though claimed by many to be a mere embodiment of the passions of love, had nevertheless, in the interests of his "cause," combined excessive and contrary emotions into the figure of "The unfortunate Lover." True to his contrary nature, Cupid now regresses in aim. Contending bodily passions, which are "gifts" from this god have, in growing with the stature of the Lover, grown into a force of sufficient strength to demand abstraction from their figure. This being so, their figure reverts into an excess of contentious emotions; while they, as the "Flames" and "Waves," presume to act out their own scene of turbulent motion. Metaphors, supposedly employed to translate the idea of mental suffering into scene and drama, usurp

the stage. But the net result is a further contrary; for at least by his poetic, Marvell sought to bound Cupid's aim within his own "cause." At the "Torn" and "ragg'd" pitch of its violent motion, the scene is suddenly stupefied, comically reduced to a pose whose equivalent could be the modern motion picture "still." Understanding of this instance of sophistication in Marvell's style has been among the trophies of criticism since the Misses Bradbrook and Thomas reported having sighted "heraldic cartoons."[130] Caricature, nevertheless, remains occasional with Marvell, while the pun is perpetual. "Flames" having been the selection for verbal play, all this brilliant intensity, which still bears in French the meaning "banners," is persuaded by the motion of "Waves" into a return to material origin. A blazing pennant, the figure becomes a testimonial to Love's power to enkindle with passion even his own "flames." A suffering subject to the literalization of being "Torn" and made "ragg'd," the figure, after delivering his immortal contribution to the fund of love verse:

> And all he saies, a Lover drest
> In his own Blood does relish best

would be a testimonial only to the stillness of his nature as object. Cupid, if he is the cause of this regression, apparently has won.

Technique, however, must not obscure Marvell's theme, but must be used as a passage to exposition. A composition of blazing and wavering emotions which, deserting their subject and master, mislead him into the final abstention from action--this, the existent condition, has been prepared for by the

trials of the Lover even before being pointed to by "Ajax," Marvell's efficient allusion. Subhuman misery, defined as an unnatural submission to Nature accompanied by despair at imprisonment within her confines, was transcended by a movement into the relatively civilized order of the tournament. But for the Lover there to be compelled to confront Fortune, only to be stabbed to the heart, would argue the presence of such acute feelings as are symptomatic of severe illness. Ecrouelles has to be accepted. Hereos, however, though that malady of most "knight melancholy"[131] would rage to a satisfactory madness, no longer fits the poet's conception. Fasts and sighs which pale the complexion and waste the flesh might describe the victim languishing in Nature's care. Emergence into the stature of heroic contender would, on the contrary, prognosticate a dilation, counterpart to the eruption to be expected from an extroversion of inner agitation, and its mate in a heated confluence that would issue into a bloody-toned conclusion. A prelimanary diagnosis might with greater accuracy, therefore, register "inflammation" for the self-destruction, that at present emanates from the character of the body of state and its heroic figure. If introduction was effected through "artillery," a confounding of the arrows of Cupid surrogate for Venus and the "sharp" related to Mars, this inflammation was nonetheless spread through the influence of "Ajax." Battling knights were compared conventionally to the lion, the life of which Ajax's soul was to choose for its lot in Plato's Vision of Er.[132] Now it is the skin of the lion that "nak'd and fierce" Marvell's Lover girds about him in the

effort to draw within him the might of its owner. For confirmation that in man's imagination a perpetual fever burned within the king of beasts there is the literary note of Saint-Amant about the belief of the naturalists,[133] supported by the astrological sign of Leo. As to the kinship of love and lion, Cupid, the god who tamed the beast to ride him in Spenser's pageant, had once, as "December" revealed, dwelled in his house of "raging fire."[134] Narrative, in maintaining pace with his development, has all along been bringing the Lover "to see the lions," the phrase that once denoted involvement in life's experience. Raging and roaring now in "flames" and "Waves," the Lover affirmatively relates himself not only to the lion mad with fury but also to the mighty Ajax who, under hallucination, slaughtered sheep as his target.[135]

Along with its representative, England had caught "wildfire," that contagion alternately endured under the name of "Saint Anthony's" for its legendary healer, and thus, aptly, "holy fire."[136] A merger of this term with another in the period was however to provide opportunity for the talents of a satirist. Identical with the fever of the body, ignis sacer, was the foolish fire, ignis fatuus or will-o-the wisp that led minds astray. No reader had to ponder long Marvell's moral judgment on the wisdom of pursuing a cause through this fiery way. The nation, which like its hero was being devoured by a frenzy of flaming rage, if eventually to recover, had to pacify the golden, and hence royal or aristocratic, lion emblematically featured in the national coat. Probably too, moderation was being sought for the purpose of protecting the "flock" against

the excesses either of severity or ceremony within the capacity of Presbytery and Anglican Church, respectively, if either became an aroused Ajax. To return now to Erysipelas, the Greek and proper medical designation, is to admit that this feverish corruption of the skin had been confused by Chaucer and his age with a malady more socially embarrasing.[137] Since bawdry in Marvell has still not been totally explored by the critics, the Lover's "Flames" may not have been incurred among the "Fleet-lane Furies"; but they can at least partly account for the Lover as "unfortunate" because by them bereft of potency. Not to be denied, however, the "Waves" claim a relatedness to the malady as a consequence of its swollen nature. Replete with "Hopes and Air," the Lover had become "tumefacted." Flatuosities, which were known to abound in the phlegmatic, melancholy person, when they are as they are now the wind blowing adversely across the fire of passion, could only, as Cowley counseled in The Mistresse, magnify the flame.[138] Inflatio, the term derived by Medieval Latin, signals, however, that the swell promoted was that of pride. For those who risk the voyage in the open sea, the chief enemy is Aeolus, god of the winds who sought to wreck Odysseus and Aeneus and fathered Orgoglio, the giant type of pride. To be "lion-sick," as amplified by Ajax, Shakespeare's valient ass whom a Renaissance was to mock merely by the pronunciation Ajakes, was to be "sick of proud heart."[139] Pride was a noxious wind that blasted Lover and the nation he imaged, to render them susceptible matter for emblematic transfiguration into a banner "torn" and "ragg'd."

Marvell, who undertook to present hero and nation, which

were the symbols of his own pride, mocked by poetic style the puffs of pomposity augmenting their wounds. Highblown attempts at "Cuffing" the thunder distended the vanity of an effort to "grapple" with the rock, and added to that previous affectation of grandeur, the "wing'd Artillery." Designed to affirm Marvell's inability to create the unity of style essential to a hero of a heroic island, the poetic of this passage, in this very affirmation, confirmed an artistic triumph. Antitheses, which had been deliberately overblown, were that is, to fulfill their function. Fevered with desperation and tumerous with turgidities, disjointed painfully by affixation into opposing positions, they declare themselves sacrificial victims of a pernicious synthesis. Pride was to further stir the commotion. But England's malignant malady was rather the result of a more radical encounter: a flame of passion had met a wave of war; together as they swept across they threatened to engulf the nation in a flood of fire.[140]

For Marvell the banner symbolizing England, though tattered, still bore a nobility to be defended with honor. Aurea had gone before to lend distinction to flamma when the French counterpart to the banner had begun its tradition. "Say," a cloth of fine texture, was still apparent; though present now in the last "saies" of a mocked hero,it must soon see service as England's pennant of defeat. Attempts at accommodation had woven dark and coarse strands into the silk-and-gold fabric of culture. Or, switching metaphors with Marvell, the "quarrelling Elements," which by their fatal conjunction had "broken consort" for Lover and nation, had destroyed the harmony known to poetry in the

garden. Dreadful notes, "breaks" and "rattling" of Heaven arming for storm, were echoed by the "sharp: shrill clamor of clash in the social world. Interposed, the dismal foreboding notes associated with the raven had tuned the song to sorrow. Querela, the word of pain that conveyed the sense of "complaint" and "Malady," also touched the musician's instrument with "plaintive" notes. England, for the duration of the "Hurricane," was to live under the duress of Horace's "cantu querulae."[141]

On one hand, by his hero's claim to "relish best" when dressed in self-blood, Marvell was responding to that traditional subject for satire, the meager meal, and specifically to its express use by a contemporary poet as a rebellion against a surfeit of pain. An immediate derivation from "assay," "saies" possessed the connoisseur possibilites of "relish,"[142] though moving beyond to the parent term essayer, it as well tries on the garment and draws upon the strength of the venture. Like Cleveland's "anger-quodl'd" Ajax who had mistaken a sheep for his enemy Agememnon, Marvell's hero was doomed by the "roast" he chose to "butcher" to have "relish" in the wrong "host."[143] But upon this final delivery by a Lover versed in the notes heard beyond the garden walls, the gentle song of soothing strains warbled in "Fountains cool" and intimated by the "still" of the poem's opening, passes into the silence of a final "frame." For "relish" was, in a world versed in harmony, the "ornament" played by the Lover on the lute, the archetype of stringed instruments, and emblem for Alciati of political concord. When put on display, a "pride

of lions" had proven to be an inheritance of martial discordance. So Malcolm, feigning an arrogance that would confound all unity, declined to take "relish" in the "King-becoming graces," preferring, in Shakespeare's pun on the descant played on the lute and the partition of state, to "abound/In the division."[144] But the ship of state, humiliated when a defiant "brace of birds" had "trimmed" its sails and stayed its position within their ignoble "brace," had learned the wisdom of Erasmus' adage: "The Jackdaw has nothing to do with stringed music."[145] On the banner that was advancing to defeat, the entire kingdom of England had been marshalled, since another stringed instrument, the harp, was symbolic of Ireland and the red lion, Holinshed confirms, had been the mark of Scotland.

Literary history records that, after Campion, there developed a general concern for the words of song.[146] As it relates to "The unfortunate Lover," the conception of a necessary accompaniment to the simple theme once sung in the garden was to mark the concern of Marvell to accommodate, even while it spoofed this self-same endeavor. Whereas the "plain-song" had been sung extemporaneously, the notes had now to be "pricked," the music written. "Prick-song" was Marvell's concession to the Puritans, who were maligned by the Royalists equally as the "Roundheads" or the "prick-eared." Innocent alike of "elegance of style" and the ability "to relish," the figurative and literal meanings respectively of sapor, as they might well have been of Latin itself, these precise upstarts remained deaf to the grace of beauty. Malvolio's rise therefore foretold that, if music be the "food,"[147] love would have meager fare, and that the end

had come to the music before sounded "in every ear." Counterpoint, Marvell's major movement, was consequently conceived as an adjustment to a social group that, disinclined to music, placed faith in the word. But counterpoint can further reflect the poet's discernment of the tempo of social life. For a world that, having "come to points" proceeded to discharge a battery of antithetical principles, one part of the tune had to be set against the other. The result is that,except for the lyric lines of the garden and its poignant close, "The unfortunate Lover" offers little pleasure to the ear. Searching for a unifying melody, Marvell played divergent strains which could not be arranged into an aesthetic whole.

Since failure was as much Marvell's intention as it was his epxression, the critic should respect the terms by which it was brought about. Among these terms, Machiavelli's political thought would be an unlikely listing. And, in fairness though critics have not hesitated to relate this ideology to An Horatian Ode, no such inference has been entertained about a poem seldom acknowledged to be political allegory. Nor is an identification of this nature here proposed. But though of questionable relevance and in its application necessarily superficial, a comparison of the movements of mind would, in the process of conceding qualities common to both figures, accentuate those peculiar to Marvell. A realistic assessment of social forces, devotion to the practical preservation of the state, efforts spent in the direction of the discovery amid heterogeneity of a principle of order: these characteristics distinguish both Marvell and Machiavelli. Besides, virtu and fortuna remained for the poet

forces with which to reckon; and necessita, whatever its accretions of irony, still exercised causal pressure. Marvell deliberately fails to create the hero and the poem which a war-torn nation needed to build an image of success. That he admits failure can be read as the outcome of a fatal combination of changing circumstances for which no solution had been prepared by past experience. History was to retain its authority as a source of exempla, but no longer within Machiavelli's concept that there exists a definitive body of patterns endlessly repeating themselves. Inseparable from Machiavelli is a singularity of objective alien to a mind like Marvell's whose sophistication indulges, rather constantly, in tenuous qualifiying subtleties. To cite "The unfortunate Lover" as example, Marvell's choice was neither to guard the fortress of the aristocratic garden from breach by outsiders nor, though no doubt aware that green fountains were an illusion, to forego the lyricism of their song. Island was for Marvell the middle which Machiavelli sought to protect from discord. If, however, the movement by which the latter defended the center was essentially the play of antagonistic ends against each other, this definition must fail to respond to either Marvell's goal or the method of its realization. Return to the garden would rather have meant that balance had been reconceived as the harmonious joining to the base melody, for the purpose of consonance, of strains of conflicting value. That is, Marvell' hero in order to have been Caesar rather than Ajax would have had to achieve a mastery amid acknowledged experiences of both Cormorants and Lions.

Marvell,with wit as his rapier, maintained the intellectual detachment of his art while aggressively thrusting out. Attacks had been launched against the image of a heroic nation. Both sides were accused; and though a poet of the garden, predisposed by nostalgia for its music against the opposing voice, Marvell assigned both sides a position within the nation whose image he tried to recreate. It was armed therefore with this concept of a valued heritage, that with the other hand he parried the blows of warring factions. His swordplay was, in accordance with the code of the duello, the "first and second cause,"[148] Recognizing affronts to his honor as Englishman, the gentleman offered verbal challenge to the offenders. For "honour," a term alien to Machiavelli, served as the base melody that gave meaning to Marvell's island, just as its trial in the world outside the garden was the "point" of his poem. A mass of shreds, the Lover was no less, because of the influence of Shakespeare's Ajax, a mass of absurdities. But however preposterous a figure, this hero who was to strive against unappeasable thunder and unyielding rock would, in Marvell's mind, be standing on the "punctilo of honour."[149] Challenged by those who sought "equal rank," the bloodied "peer" of the realm was to arrive at death the "port"; by his last act he had upheld the "pillars" of the state. "Banneret" having become with the King's departure from the battlefield an unavailable honor, the surrogate had to be the tattered ensign won at the expense of a life wounded with shame. Nor could honor, any more than it had in Hotspur's England, set a leg or heal a grief; its destined end was still as the armorial bearing on the banner carried in the funeral procession. But at

the conclusion of the "catechism" conducted while England was the stake in a Civil War, honor was to Marvell no "mere scutcheon."[150]

Although honor was the ideal, Marvell had to ensure that attention be properly directed to what exactly had been "atchiev'd." As discernible from the last variant in spelling quoted from the Rehearsal,[151] "atchievement," the feat, its breath once curtailed and its life form altered, becomes the "hatchment," an escutcheon for the deceased. Involved in the failure of "The unfortunate Lover," as this unvoiced but implied word-play suggests, was the intrusion, into the already difficult task of reconciling honor with accommodation, of a personal note of bitterness. Marvell's persona steps forth, by a direct address "See how nak'd..." to inform the audience as to the moral intended. Thereby, however, he identifies himself and, as the "presenter," unmasks the show. Accommodation its aim, clarity therefore its concern, the spectacle performed has been notably visual. Animal representation, historical figures mingling with those allegorical, and a motto to follow, these were matters familiar from emblems. If Marvell's "presenter" has assumed responsibility for assisting the understanding, one possible explanation is that this entertainment, though not altogether devoid of allegorical refinement, has been devoid of dramatic dialogue. Groundlings of any age would, considering the circumstances, require direction. Particularly would Marvell's contemporaries, the designated Puritan-tailors. And if they were no more to be numbered among the circle of chosen readers than they were as appreciative spectators in the theaters they had

closed, this of course enforces Marvell's ironic meaning. A deliberate deception has been attempted, now to be unveiled by the dramatic gesture of interjecting the human voice. All that has purported itself as a staggering procession of words, contentious, martial, and pompous, the "presenter" by his presence will insist, has been a "dumb-show."[152]

Since the expression "dumb-show" was used occasionally for the "emblem" whose characteristics it shared, this affinity of modes had only to be acknowledged, in a period when it was also normal to employ, simultaneously, various artistic means. In terms of the metaphor of theater, "The unfortunate Lover," discarding the outmoded elegant and private play-within-the-play performed in the garden, moved into the public playhouse, only there to perform for the populace the more primitive pantomime. Following upon a birth as the preliminary to the play, its prologue, trumpets announced the attendance expected at the round "O" brought into view. "Hell" could then be visited as the region beneath the stage from whose trap-door was to arise the infernal vision of a lower order. "Heaven"(s) has quite conventionally extended, as cover, over the stage for partial shelter; but, "angry" at the desertion of "green" thoughts, this "shadow" has darkened appreciably since its appearance in the garden. Life itself, as a play, draws to a close when the "presenter" for his final task informs the audience of the motto, the device on the hero's shield:

> And all he saies, a Lover drest
> In his own Blood does relish best.

Ultimately, it is the tone that conveys the bitterness of the

poetic experience. This reading is supported by Marvell's conscious debasement, in adaptation, of the myth that is major to "The unfortunate Lover." Arms outflung, to press back the thunder with one hand and, in the opposing direction to seize the rock, Marvell's Lover at the completion of the journey remains a parodic realization of that great classical hero, Hercules. At the furthest limit to the known world that would mark the end of a heroic voyage, as strong-armed Hercules he was to divide, and therefore overcome, the obstacle set in his path. There, in place of the mountainous barrier, he would erect the "Pillars" past which man might, in an Age of Discovery, sail on to the achievement of his ambition.[153] Honor and Accommodation, implicated though they were in the reality of his failure, cannot in themselves be assessed unworthy successors to the terms of choice traditionally offered to this hero. Rather, as the result was to verify, placed in time at the crossroads of a contemporary England, this hero would have done well to heed the proverb: "Even Hercules should not have to meet two monsters at once."[154] Romance, and a later influence of French aristocratic values in the court of Henrietta Maria,[155] had merely added love to the already complex mythic pattern in which great deeds jostled with madness to end, possibly, in a fiery apotheosis. However, with the lines of "The unfortunate Lover" last quoted, the motto of its allegory, one of the distinctions the ages had heaped upon this hero was to seem irretrievably lost. For this valiant performer of feats of physical prowess and moral force had been, as well, the warrior who fought with words, a god of inspired eloquence. Only rarely had

classical mythology hinted at the later fusion of Hercules and the Mercury of winged words. But before the fit of rage in which he slew the master with the instrument of instruction, Hercules had been taught to play the lyre by Linus who, in most accounts, was the son of Apollo and the brother of Orpheus. In the Renaissance this duality of power became significant, for then it was related to the question of whether the weak word could, subduing passion, achieve the musical miracle of discordia concors.[156] The Classical, and hence authoritative, source for this Renaissance enthusiasm was Lucian's rendition of a picture supposedly seen in Gaul. Glad in the conventional lion skin, armed with club and bow, the now aged Hercules draws admirers joyously after him, this time, however, by the delicate chords of discourse which, having pierced his tongue, had enchained their ears.[157] Under the guidance of Erasmus, translator of Lucian into Latin, Holbein designed the emblem which Alciati, quite oblivious of Greek irony, was to introduce into his influential Emblemata. Thus the pierced tongue of the Gallic Hercules became a symbol of eloquence, and a "Hercules in words," a familiar humanist figure.[158]

Reduction to the persuasive power of a content prefaced by "all he saies" was, however, only the last in a series of reversals endured by the Herculean hero when posed as "The unfortunate Lover." A glance back through the allegory will confirm the persistence with which Marvell adhered to the myth. Fortune had been set at "sharp" against this hero, both in the literature and philosophy of the Renaissance. But as Valor, Hercules had emerged as the Renaissance conqueror.[159] Known as the

"lion-hearted" since Homer,[160] Hercules, after his Nemean task, had descended to Hades, where he captured and fettered Cerebus, the many-headed monster. For the Sixth of his Labors, Hercules had killed the carniverous Stymphalian birds that had sent destruction from the lake in Arcadia. Sold into slavery to Omphale who stripped him of the manhood of his lion skin and club, Hercules of the mighty arms had turned the distaff of women. Caught within the toils of the Fates, or as Burton phrased it, "the vanities and fopperies of this heroical or Herculean Love,"[161] Marvell's Lover languished. Artegall, similarly beguiled by Radigund, had on the contrary revealed his inner strength. For in English Renaissance courts that frequently heard Hercules claimed among illustrious ancestors, Artegall, as his representative, must remain the hero. Battling heroically, Artegall, the Knight, had vanquished the leveller, Talus, in a contest of words.[162] Before his desertion to become Cleopatra's lover, Anthony had been the "Herculean Roman" who loved this god.[163]

Bitterness, while related to the whole of Marvell's allegorical adaptation of the myth, reserved its note of originality for the opening scene. Perversion must characterize this hero. For in usurping the masculine role, the dura-mater would restrict the "master-Wave" to a performance, through mouiller, as the gentle element. Contempt for a "Water-Hercules," one conceived by Marvell the arrogant nationalist, was to entertain audiences of the future satire, "The Character of Holland" (1.94). At present, asserting its powers as the decumana, the "master-Wave" retaliates, ironically however as denier to the hero of

the possibility of a "Cesarian" birth. The "tenth" that "o'ertops them all" in Tristia (1.2, 49-50) as the wave, and had in Pharsalia delivered Caesar from shipwreck, was "ordinarily taken for great and mighty." So, after translating its appearance in Metamorphosis (XI, 530), Sandys was to comment. Behind this seventeenth-century acknowledgment lies the tradition in which "tenth" (tithe) measured the portion sacrificed to the gods or was surrendered to the secular lord, and helped determine by astronomical considerations the proper time and method for planting. By analogy the beat of the wave was related to the flow of the sap in the vine.[164] Moving on to the process of birth relevant to man, analogy bore out this concept of the "tenth." The "size 10" egg, as Sextius Pompeius Festus had long ago explained, had been selected for preeminence because of its dimension and strength. Erasmus, in echoing him, made certain this version of the "tenth" would be understood by later generations.[165] Enraged at the sexual escapade of Jove with Alcmena, Juno had sent the goddess of childbirth to hinder the delivery by sitting cross-legged over the mother's door; thus Hercules, the hero, was the ten-month child.

When crossed, two traditions, each capable of heroic conception, had cancelled the aspiration of the other. By this fatal conjunction, Marvell announced the "forked" crossroads to which the "cause" would in the course of his poem, as in the world without,bring a nation. From a vessel that hoisted as its banner a "fire-crosse" proclaiming Civil War,[166] issue must be a mock hero. As Marvell has suspected, rebellious virtu poised against aristocratic otium could spell only the devil of

duality for an island in need of the "two-in-one" of union. Nuptials, justice and harmony all were symbolically represented by eight, the number answerable to the "square" that had for Puttenham figured, as the "octave" had figured for Tasso, poetry that had achieved constancy.[167] Octosyllabic lines in eight-line stanzas set within an eight-stanza pattern, the structure of "The unfortunate Lover" scoffed at the resulting failure with a scorn empowered by its creator's awareness of the ideal. It was to the patroness of marriage that eight had been ascribed. But the Juno who should have presided over the union of land and sea into an island of style responsive to a hero, had instead reverted to her barbarous role as inexorable enemy to Hercules. Sitting cross-legged, as was their "style," on this plot the "tailors of the earth," who were in this age to bury "cross-legg'd" the descendants of knights once vowed to the Holy Land,[168] had prevented the "nativity" of Marvell's "intellectual off-spring."[169] Hercules, conceived by a previous century as a potential Orpheus, but then denied conception by the present, was transformed into an Ajax incapable of appreciating art.[170]

The garden, with its green modulations, recedes far back into memory. What dominates the forefront of England's canvas at this seventeenth-century midpoint is a "field" of self-slaughter. The "Perfume" and the "Musick," were they to survive the "story" told by those unfortunate times, would have been altered in their nature. From the blood shed by the Lover who had become "total gules" the sanguine flower might spring, as it had in the past. On its petals, however, would be inscribed "Ai Ai," letters of eternal woe that, in spelling the

beginning of the name Ajax,[171] mourned the failure of a contemporary attempt to create a hero. Had Marvell meant with his "Sable" to look into the sand bank at the verses he had just written, like Sidney's lover, he would have seen there, for all their ingenuity, all his "paynes."[172]

KEEPING TIME TO A "green NIGHT": "BERMUDAS"

Only within recent years has critical inquiry begun to rescue Marvell's "Bermudas" from the unquestioning acceptance its beauty tends to induce. Earlier, the acknowledged beauty and lyric grace of this poem had inhibited serious study of its poetic significance. When critics did begin their investigation, their search was for historical roots, and they thus turned to the accounts of the island's founding fathers. Having studied the documents, however, critics generally concluded that "Bermudas," although indebted to an assimilation of sources, implicated as these sources were with the temporal desires and the religious and political strivings of English colonists, was nevertheless "mythic" rather than historic or geographic, an "invention" rather than any specific island, in brief, a "state of mind."[1] A survey initiated into literary precedents suggested that if, in the main, the poem was a Scriptural paraphrase sung by Mariners who were God's Chosen Shepherds, that paraphrase was itself a synthesis wrought in part out of contemporary secular analogues and pagan strains.[2] More significantly, critics lately have expressed diverse reactions with reference to the tone of the poem. The primary impression had been one of simplicity, and must still be so, since it is based on an awareness of the gracious unity which was Marvell's intention and achievement. But Biblical references in an "all-but hallelujah" psalm by a

poet "devotional upon occasion," may well be insufficient evidence of doctrinal orthodoxy when the poem is read (and it would seem correctly so), as "playful."[3]

A reconsideration on the part of Rosalie Colie, this last-quoted and more perceptive of critics, has opened up many of the major questions with which "Bermudas" is likely to confront future critics. Her prior assumption of a "static"[4] earthly paradise has yielded to a note of honest bewilderment before a poem which, contrary to seventeenth-century conventions, fails to provide a speaker as either the measurer of that island's social and spiritual state, or as the director of the message expected in a poem assumed to be an "exemplum." Miss Colie's final contention is that if "Bermudas" so far has received only "spotty explication," the responsibility can be attributed to Marvell's "elusiveness."[5]

Clearly a poem which, within forty tetrameter lines, has successfully fused such diverse material demands a critical scrutiny beyond the impression of simplicity and lyric beauty that Marvell conveys. On the other hand, complexity, when recognized, is not to be necessarily equated with evasiveness. The absence of a persona, whose task would be to gloss the unfolding action, can be interpreted as a valid poetic devide. The director-poet would only have had to cast as substitute, in the role of major conveyor of meaning, the very structure of his poem. To suppose such an intention is to say that Marvell uses an abstract design itself as the unifying principle determining the selection and arrangement of images, and as the modulator of tone. A compositional scheme of this nature

would offer the basis for the control by which, overarching a multitude of references from various centers of cultural life, simplicity could emerge as the poem's dominant note. But implicit in the ability to make use of this projected hypothesis is the critic's responsibility to describe the structure, a task which in turn presupposes an analysis of the network of verbal meanings and the patterning of imagery upon which the very perception of a poetic structure is, in part, dependent. The effort involved in this critical undertaking is worthwhile; for if the basic compositional scheme were to qualify as the bearer of the central subject, the successful attempt to describe it would in effect define the theme of the poem. And a re-definition of the theme of "Bermudas" would contribute to the assertion of its poetic brilliance.

Whatever the potential interpretive power of this proposed scheme for a "Bermudas" that remains for most critics "oddly unexplained," it does not relate easily to the poem as immediately apprehended. Presented with a delicate "fragment"[6] enclosing a brilliant center, that is, an island of sensuous delight surrounded by opening and closing lines of tranquil beauty, the reader may well deny the abstraction as unrelated to the spirit of the poem. A thorough exploration of the interplay in the work of art betweeen a structure of almost geometric conception and the pulsating images of its emotional life would require efforts beyond those in the following discussion. But an initial recognition of this basic compositional pattern as it moves forth to engage the world of sensory forms is possible, and would be of assistance to the reader. For the reader will

acknowledge that to perceive the island his mind must cross the plane of the opening lines. This movement across the space of the page parallels the line which the ship marks as it crosses the space of the sea. The island then emerges into being, a joyous birth of form out of the blankness of the page no less than out of the waste of the sea. The momentary circle of the island once completed, the straight line reasserts its dominion, extending across the horizon of the page to the close of the poem as the ship moves across the sea of time to the end of man's earthly existence.

With a directness and clarity quite graphic in effect, the lines of motion, i.e., the movements proceeding from and directed by the poem as construct, communicate the central thought of "Bermudas": the voyage of man's life in time. The theme of time, one persistently found in Marvell's poetry, is of course not unexpected. The amplification and refinement of the meaning of man's voyage through time within this specific work, however, awaits the evolvement of the structural and imagistic patterns whose intricacies it will in turn reflect. Here our concern is to note that, if it is motion that shall go forth to discover the world of the poem as it existed in the mind of its creator by granting it shape, the vehicle which bears it is the word. Setting out across space, the word mocks and defies the limitless expanse and, in imposing limitations upon it, changes it into a configuration adequate to the time of man's song. It is the word that will present, in brief, the vast panorama of the tradition it positively asserts; and it is the word that will make negatively present that which, in tradition, it has need to abandon. Having announced the great victory of God,

the word moves on to establish a network of meaningful relationships for the construction of a stage upon which man's life within time is to be newly directed. From this stage, the word will rise to a glimpse of the future that lies outside of time before continuing on its journey to the margin of the vast expanse. The basic unit of a one-dimensional medium, the word will impose upon the space of the page the two and three-dimensional medium of visual imagery. To set forth with "Bermudas" is, from the perspective of language, to embark on the exciting adventures of the word.

Only a close descriptive account of Marvell's poem can sustain an interpretation of this nature; and such a reading is here intended. The "Bermudas" so featured is obviously the creation of Marvell's poetic effort. The focus for critical attention will be the process itself by which this plot of poetic earth emerges into being. Although far from a mere translation of an actual occurrence, Marvell's "Bermudas" was, as a response to it, conditioned by the details of its history. From the writings of its first settlers, Marvell knew that, although "unknown" until the fortuitous but providential shipwreck of the Sea Venture upon their coasts in 1609, the islands had been, as their name alone confessed, the discovery of Spanish navigators. Now occasionally named after their English founder and first governor, Sir George Somers, the "Summer Islands" boasted, along with the exorcism of all demons, the natural bounty associated with regions antipodal to the wintry north, and, as well to religious minds, the pleasure gardens planted by God. As tutor to Cromwell's ward, Marvell resided

at Eton, in the house of John Oxenbridge, a Puritan divine who had on two different occasions voyaged to these islands. "Bermudas" bears witness to Marvell's familiarity with this new-found world, and to his sympathy with the designs an external world visited upon it. The daily wonders observed on these islands, the religious and political aims voiced by their recorders, became the matter that informed the poem. However, "Bermudas" goes far beyond these strands. For Marvell's poem is the result of a structure which sought to reflect upon allusions as it ordered them, to penetrate as it presented particulars. The contribution of the poem to the Bermudas as an entity in cultural history was neither a realistic poetic picture nor an idealized image. Rather, "Bermudas" is itself an interpretation of the meaning of these islands in the journey of man's life.

The point of departure in the poem is the setting:

> Where the remote Bermudas ride
> In th' Oceans Bosome unespy'd,

and "a small Boat row'd along." Across the canvas "ride" the traditional floating islands, far-off, mysteriously distanced from view, nestled in the embrace of the ocean, absorbed in the repose of a reverie and, as always, just beyond the attainment of man. Maintaining equal pace with this island of desire is the "small Boat," the symbol of man's existence in the face of the expanse. Within this setting, in which background and foreground present themselves in the image of plane, a straight line insists upon domination. Over-riding the potential verbal power of "ride" and "row'd," this single line arrests the flow, rendering island and boat parallel dots isolated upon a field of space. A stillness prevails; the scene is static. The even

distribution of energy, the fixed level of intensity, fail to elicit the experience of motion. Nor has a point of stability been located from which to take its measure. The philosophical-scientific basis for the awareness that movements of equal velocity require a fixed object for a perception of their motion had been established by Cusanus. Marvell, whose known acquaintance with Cusanus's[7] works only hints at a possible source, has here confirmed his own understanding of the principle of relative motion. The scene opening his poem, by omitting a stationary object as determinant, or of an observor as determiner, of measure, rests like a mural, motionless in effect.

The word, however, has its place in the literary medium which, moving in time, sets into motion each object it calls into being and, having by means of the motion it has created, awakened some representational or emotional association, turns each object into an element in the composition of a story. As implied by the pun on its past tense equivalent, rode, for the "row'd" used with reference to the boat, "rides," within the still motion of the opening line, had as its meaning the lying at anchor, its goal not yet attained, of a vessel. As the reader flicks his eye across the page, the line begins its journey; island and ship begin to interact. Claiming now its rights as the closing word of the line, "rides" takes on the quality of dynamic action its position warrants. An honored meaning of "ride," the traversing of a boundary for the purpose of gaining or maintaining a clear knowledge of the territory, can therefore be assumed.

Motion in time clarifies the ambiguity supposed in a Bermudas "unespy'd." Distinctly Biblical in its reference

(in the positive of the term), "unespy'd" introduces the analogue, suggested by several critics, of the Exodus.[8] Because he had "another spirit in him" Caleb was one chosen to "espy out the land" of Canaan. And, having brought word and followed the wisdom of the Lord, as voiced by His prophet Moses, Caleb was delivered unto the possession of Hebron for himself and his seed forever.[9] In the same way, moved by the will of God, and empowered by the righteousness of their direction, the seventeenth-century Spiritual Elect go forth to spy out the Chosen Land which lies hidden from the eye of evil. Their path was through the strange land of sea, whose perils as Christian pilgrims of fortitude and patience, they "rode" out. Their weapon in the strategy of search was the spy-boat, the vehicle used in contemporary warfare for the detection of the enemy, chief of whom remained the Black Spy, Satan himself, and over whom the warriors of God "rode," i.e., mastered. Their reward for having set their oars upon the domain of the unknown, for having "row'd" to seek out the shape of God's mercy, was to be a glimpse of an earthly prelude to their entrance into the Heavenly City.[10]

Eye and hand united, the ship of the soul undertakes the journey by which it will earn the material and spiritual state of a New World. The straight road along which Bunyan, the pilgrim, was to walk in his effort to "espy out a word of promise"[11] in a fallen world, was rapidly being absolved of the nonspatial implications of the straight, i.e., strict, limits on man's soul. Marvell's use of "row'd along," in the implied meaning of the arrangement in a straight moral line, situates "Bermudas," however, within the context of a systematic pattern of thought

inherited from the Middle AGes and persisting through the Renaissance. The times were moving past a universe thought of as a network of correspondences which related heaven and earth analogically in a circle of perfection, or as a timeless moment in the mind of God. But time, as a concept, had not yet become the straight-line continuum advancing steadily towards progress. And, if the system of correspondences was diminishing in power, and the earth no longer had an indisputable authority to occupy the center of the world, poetic structure required a theoretical base. For Marvell, as for the Virginia Company, at least in its pious professions, the external path of advancing empire, marked by the boat as the ship of state, was still metaphorically bound to the inward path taken by the soul. Straight was, of course, not necessarily synonymous with narrow. The material horizons within the circumference of God were rapidly expanding and if with them rode the will of God, so too rode the power of the small island of England. The victory is, first, in "Bermudas" to the verb.

The activation of the exquisite stillness of the poem's opening lines into a narrative sequence in which God's spies search out the land lying concealed from the devil and his stratagems, does not immediately heighten the lines' poetic value. At best, this explicatory procedure is prosaic; but it has implied, and can further insist, that "Bermudas" is not a mystery except in the sense that its subject defies ultimate definition just as its poetry ultimately defies prose translation. Not only is the structural pattern which informs the poem exacting, but also all relationships between its words and images

partake of this very rationality with which it has been conceived Any space Marvell left in the poem for the reader to fill with "psychological cadenzas," he prefigured with poetic intention. What is needed to reestablish an "unmistakable point of contact between artist and reader"[12] is some of the clearly defined body of knowledge and understanding shared by the cultural elite of Marvell's poetic suggestiveness, particularly between the "remote" and the "where," the point at which the reader first comes upon "Bermudas," Nevertheless, man needs a somewhere to be, or as Captain John Smith was aware, "History without a Geography wandereth as a Vagrant."[13] A critical accent of Marvell's locating of Bermudas as in the "Oceans bosome," contemporary parallels notwithstanding,[14] can provoke a series of questions the answers to which, if satisfied by the poem, may offer new meaning. At the moment, however, focusing upon the stated ride of Bermudas itself, offers the critic a matter for immediate interpretation. For as a result of the activities which, alongside the boat, the island has been made to engage in, the latter is no longer solely an object within a contemplative vision. The island, like the boat, is transformed into an active, expressive subject with rights of its own, and becomes a means by which that exploration can be realized.

Once objects are set in motion, we can further conclude that the voyage of "Bermudas" has been undertaken in order to investigate the nature of the voyage itself, and that a concern of the poem will be the nature of poetic creation. But it would seem that all motion ceases, and island and boat revert to being still figures in a mural, before the announcement of the following

line: "The listning Winds receiv'd this Song." The wind, the air in movement, the determiner of the endless flow of the sea, the bearer of the tidings of change which come with time and of time itself, the force of propulsion, has, along with the field of sea and the vehicles of poetic expression which have been observed to move upon it, been anchored. An "air," whose breath is of greater power, has apparently converted the wind to one of its manifold meanings, that is, to quote a seventeenth-century authority on seamanship: "'To ride Wind - rode, is when the Wind hath more power over her in her Riding than the Tide hath.'"[15] First, of course, the winds personified, having as agents in the search gotten the "wind" of the crooked, winding ways of the serpent and his domain, will have sought to convey their message. Having learned the lesson, the singers will, in turn, translate what has been disclosed as a cause of the tumultuous times they have endured as "the watry Maze." At present, however, the winds, themselves a destructive force contending against human duration, "wind" up their activities, turn obedient vessels and, enlisting means of "list" and "listen," incline to one side their collective ear for the reception of tidings from another source.

If these tidings impose limits upon the winds, the indication is that they are not unwelcome; "listning," which fosters persuasion, includes the "listing" of desiring as it does the "listing" of binding. The winds are not dupes. Their motion has not been arrested, but persuaded to a transmutation, a shifting in the field of operation. The force which seemed to victimize them has, in reality, humanized them. For that power, by which the winds stir the sea of time, has been transferred to the ocean

of the mind, upon which island and boat now"ride." The transition is a smooth one, and in no way disconcerting because prepared for by the preceding lines. Navigational technique and imagery have been displayed all along in the service, traditional from the Roman poets on, of introducing a poetic composition. A commonplace since late Antiquity, it is the "boat of the mind," unevoked but imaginatively present, that sails through the "straight" of "that Ocean" which Marvell's persona discovers in "The Garden" world. In "Bermudas," it is the "small Boat," the metaphor in miniature, that ventures upon its setting of inner ocean, to voyage on the open sea, a domain conventionally preempted by epic and its great vessel.[16] Marvell, who was intimately versed in the classics, can be accused here of a consciously playful breach in decorum. The fragile vessel has, however, been empowered by the vital breath of motion, by the labor of human hands in the fulfillment of God's will, and by the public nature of its voice. Thus it rides in triumph. Its insignificant size only underlines the magnitude of its song, a song that creates, in an assertion against the deep unknown, the awesome expanse and the relentless flow of the sea of space, a land sufficient unto man's desire.

The "boat of the mind," now that the island, the object of its quest, is within the range of perception, would begin the creation of a "where" for man to be. But the Bermudas which, through description, comes into being, revealing its full dimensions in the measure of the song, is the accomplishment of an observation in depth. This observation, the boat, riding parallel in both plane and velocity to the island, cannot achieve. Parts, properly arranged for a mural, must be reset in a field structured

to accommodate an angle of vision capable of perception in depth: the boat must, in its song, be free to move above and below the plane; the "remote" Bermudas must assume the foreground. As if to make this occurrence possible, the quiet opening lines, confronted with the greater note of intensity heard in the rhetorical question with which the hymn begins--"What should we do but sing his Praise" -- would seem, in agreement with their designation as a "frame," to recede into the background. A closural effect, proper to an internal position and to the three-part structure of "Bermudas," has been secured.[17] Nevertheless, the verbal area designated as "background" remains essential to the foreground both as the alternate ideal which makes possible the conception and, as the space of sea, the comprehensive void from which the island must emerge to claim this position. Witness to the island as it looms up and swing forth to extend itself across the canvas of the page, is the "boat of the mind" in its newly acquired range of vision.

The origin of the island is to be referred, then, to the beginning of movement in space, that is, when the straight line, introduced into the perceptual field, conferred upon it a new existence. Stimulated into shape by this simple structure, the void became the background of sea over which the straight line crossed as a pathway. By means of the pathway the pilgrims have come successfully through the labyrinthine ways of the "watry Maze" to their new-found haven. From this vantage point, which represents an advance in the spiritual and intellectual

state as a result of their having steered a straight course and in this course acquired greater experience, the mind can note indications in the path itself of the curve, the stroke of a new world. As pilgrims journeying across the path, they cast their shadows upon it, thus contributing volume. As the road to revelation, their path, while skirting the "bosome" as the surface of the sea, entered into the "bosome" as the depth of the inner sea, the repository of deep-lying thoughts. It is this curved recess, the "bosome" of the sea as a concave bend, which is the receding plane of Marvell's verbal art. Offering the contrast of depth, the "bosome" has contracted the surrounding space of sea, compelling the flattened surface of the island to emerge with plasticity.

If was God who, having willed that man explore the ocean both of physical reality and of the mind,[18] has now, in the old age of the world, placed within its "bosome" the potential of another green world. The originator of its plan, He would now, through the means of design, release from the bonds of formlessness the form of Bermudas. But, since the Fall of Man, the ocean has also been the cadaverous sea of time, the dark chaotic realm of evil ruled by God's arch-enemy, the crooked serpent who is Satan, and, by but another name, Leviathan. It is therefore defense of His design for mankind that God himself rides forth to battle. With such utmost strategy does He set bounds upon the figure of formlessness, that the enemy himself, like the chaos of Spenser, "supplyes-The substaunces of Nature's fruitful progenyes."[19]

The God extolled in the psalm is the grandmaster of play, who, by outwitting the great Leviathan, the player within His sea,[20] has arrested his wandering, erring ways[21] and converted him into the island of Bermudas. The unique charm of the hymn is to be in great part attributed to Marvell's certain delight in the notion that the harasser of fallen man be made, despite his spite, to yield up a garden of pleasure and delight comparable to the one God originally intended. This fiction would seem wrought out of hints in pictorial and literary precedents. Of the latter, the most directly influential were most likely several lines from Waller's "The Battle of The Summers Islands."[22] Having based the two mock-heroic cantos of his poem on a report of the struggle between the colonizers of the island and a whale, Waller, intent upon soliciting sympathy for the great strength and courage of the female adversary, describes her when surrounded and wounded:

> Their fixed javelins in her side she wears,
> And on her back a grove of pikes appears;
> You would have though, had you the monster seen
> Thus dressed, she had another island been.
> Canto 111, 51-55

In opposition to Waller's rather long-winded if good-hearted championship of this common variety of great dragon, Marvell, as his theme demanded, insisted upon rightful and forthright retribution. But he was not to surpass Waller's poetic effort without having first indulged in an element of its humor; nor would he have refused to concede that the monster might, under duress prove

> This kindness, what the Greeks sung,
> That Love's bright mother from the ocean sprung.[23]
> Canto 111, 65-68

Behind both the mock heroic of Waller and the denunciation by Marvell extends a tradition of confusion between island and whale which is both too lengthy and also too accessible for further comment here. An example should suffice, one undoubtedly known to both, of an episode in Ariosoto's Orlando Furioso, a work the 1591 translation of John Harington was only to make more popular.[24] It is upon the apparently beautiful island Kingdom of Alcina that island and whale are featured in an allegorical representation of life as a bafflement between what seems and what is. For here Ruggiero hears the tale of one Astolfo who had followed Alcina across the stormy seas only to learn that the island upon which they were conveyed and, by inference, upon which they landed, was, in reality, a monstrous whale.

Marvell, at least, had difficulty in resisting the temptation of translating into literal terms the figurative Biblical praise of a God who "brokest the heads of leviathan in pieces, and gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness."[25] The Bible furnishes still another literary clue as to the matter out of which the island in "Bermudas" was to be molded. Immediately proceding the aforementioned reference to the monster at play in the sea, temporarily tolerant as in a psalm praising the wonder of God's bounty, is the image of the ship. The whale's movements, the back extending above the waves, served consistently to identify the monster with the ship. It is this capsizing by God of the vessel Leviathan, as the providential provision for the material wealth of the island, that informs the lines in "Bermudas."

Where he the hugh Sea-Monsters wracks,
That left the deep upon their backs.

"Wracks" is the key word here, in the dual meaning of the overthrow by shipwreck and the remnants of the disabled vessel: the first, a fit ending to the subversive activities of the ancient enemy; the second, the "goods" cast ashore to settle the "where" of a new land. In turn, an understanding of these lines offers witty justification for the glee sensed in the lines, closer to the hymn's conclusion, in which God

--makes the hollow Seas, that roar,
Proclaime the Ambergris on shoar.

By Divine Fiat alone has Bermudas been endowed with the material basis for its early prosperity, the very valuable lump of ambergris historically found on its beach by colonists.[26] Conquered and converted, Leviathan has sacrificed to the Lord and His people; his treasure-chest in the sea is "hollow." However, to note emptiness is, as Marvell knew, to perceive in the blankness something which, though now absent, belongs there. From the "hollow," the earthly island has emerged; but the huge monster asserts himself no less by the "negative." For, as a consequence of Marvell's awareness of his absence, Leviathan must continue to function as a component of the island conceived of as an imaginative possibility. Leviathan, the monster, has been coerced into a design, but he still claims the darkness beneath the brilliant surface of "Bermudas," which lends that island its depth.

The flat plane, present in combination with the personified winds and the whale spouting up a rich land, of course suggests the map. The latter, in Marvell's period still liberally decorated

with these nongeographic features, probably offered the visual model for the background structure of "Bermudas." The fascination in its study no doubt extended beyond the obvious aspects of the wonder and anticipated wealth of strange lands, the ambitions of imperial expansion or of the plantation, upon virgin soil, of the Church of Christ. Particularly to a poetic of such compression as Marvell's a feature of map-study would have been the inference of the vast regions that could be represented in so brief a space.[27] Nevertheless, the space of the map was confined within a framework dictated by the temporal dimension, the time of the sweep across the polarities of east and west. And man's quest, as affirmed by the tradition of earthly paradise to which "Bermudas" belongs, is always for the "where" which, shutting out the reality of movement in time, releases life from its inexorable commitment to death. Between the sacred plot of life that was innocent and timeless in Eden and the time of Marvell's present there stretched, however, the long distance which life had travelled, since the loss of Eden, across the map of a fallen world. To create anew a space in which once again the season's difference might mingle in a moment of the present, the east of life had to be brought to touch the west. Just as the straight line, bowed into depth, had become the curve, and the sinuous serpent of chaos had come to discharge the seed of a new existence, so now the flat plane of the map rounds into the globe. Bursting out of the restrictions of the canvas, overwhelming the dimensions of linear space, seizing, by the vitality of its movement and the plasticity of its moment, the forefront of attention, the globe presents itself as the model for a new world,[28] one created in the image of the

island of Bermudas.

Although based on a model from the enterprising world of man, Marvell's image of a new world, like all other images in "Bermudas," derives ultimately from the absolute authority of God. In this poem, one aim of which is to disclose the nature of creation as the poem discovers it in its voyage through time, an interaction on behalf of a singular prupose rather than any contention will characterize the relationships between the effective agents of that creation. If, therefore, by its movement into song, the "boat of the mind," having "wind-rode" the winds of the sea of time, has made the tide ride with the affairs of man, this movement of man into the creation of man's time was but the fulfillment of God's plan. And if God, as a consequence of the image created of Him within the song of man, was to find Himself disloged from the empyreal realm, His consent was, in this historical period, to an engagement within the temporal. Impelled by a concern for those who have distinguished themselves as His Elect, He has voyaged with them through the chaos of an England tossed upon the "Storms" of evil contention which were intensified by the "rage" of religious passion. As the hymn in His praise reveals, God has sought to reveal that "far kinder" isle which man has physically and spiritually sought, and which he has brought into view by his movement into song.

The haven which God in His goodness has reserved for the Puritans of seventeenth-century England lay in the direction of that nation's expansion; it also lay in the west of the declining time of man's life on earth. The freshness of life known once in the east of Eden, and which God would now bring to bless the

isle had, with the Fall of Man, fallen into profanity, to be swallowed as time by the sea. It is the recovery of that pristine purity and of its echoes heard, though dimly, within the temporal events of man's subsequent life, a recovery necessary for the creation of a "yet green, yet growing" ("App.H." 484) plot, that will now involve God, already the champion of the island as a design against formlessness, and the provisioner of its storehouse out of the enemy "wrack," in an act of resurrection. Once again, it is against Leviathan that He must contend. Descending into the dark subterranean depths, the bottomless pit, the realm of the enemy, God will there bind the old serpent, close is voracious jaw ever-greedy for life fallen into time, and imprison him for the period of the earthly paradise which precedes the eternity of Heaven. Deprived of its prey, the sea of time, the "hollow" mouth of Leviathan, represented from mid-sixteenth century on by the architectural image of the ruined cave of Hell,[29] sends forth its "roar." But God, from His platform upon the island, has successfully begun His part in the work of creative time.

By my deliberate introduction of the term "creative time," I mean, in addition to a separation from the dark confusion of the mundane, to distinguish between time as newly conceived for Marvell's haven of "Bermudas" and the timeless plots which bound at both ends the temporal spectrum of human history. In the region between in which man had his present existence, as Marvell was aware, the oars had for centuries troubled the smooth waters into a field black with bloodshed. Situated metaphorically amid the sea of space which separates Eden and the heavenly paradise,

"Bermudas" would be, by position, vulnerable to assault by the waves of time. In this, its conditional existence in time, the poetic island was not to differ from the island of actuality even as perceived by minds searching the world for the imprint of God's will. Whatever the wonder at a Bermudas which appeared to be the unexpected manifestation of God's bounty, about its visitations by death no historical account was silent. Nor could Marvell, as poetic re-creator of the island, deny the power of the incessant flux of time. Such a denial of the movement of the sea would, in its mockery of motion, have mocked the motion by which alone the boat was empowered to cross the ocean of the mind in its challenge to the sea of reality. Marvell's innovation was a positive one; the moment of Bermudas is the result of poetic strategy. The space which extended between the states of unchanging serenity, that is, the destructive sea, the container of human time, was to be compelled by the force of imagination to yield up, as the source of imagery of the island which rose above it to envision the future, the beauty of the past it had buried.

It is from a stand within a present moment that has, literally, been resurrected from the past, that God now begins those activities which belong to creative time, the characteristic most essential to Marvell's poetic island. Creative time, as God makes evident, is a duration that is experienced as a renewal of life, a unique experience presented to man by the work of art which is itself an active renewal of life. His performance, as He accepts it, will therefore be that of the Great Artist. Producer and director of the play plotted on the earthly paradise, the artisan of its props and the alchemist of its transformations, God also

is aware that the artist's symbol for this time of art, as the experience of a renewal of life, is vernal regrowth. As the setting for His performance, he has therefore designed a "grassy State."

Supported by one meaning, common to both of its terms, of an appointed period of time, the image of the "grassy Stage," evocative of green growth with its sense of repose and its state of hope, would seem to transpose the time of the present to the moment of pastoral existence. Back past its place in the Age of Iron ruled by the Sun, the last of the historical periods in the sequence of the planetary world week, life would run to the Golden Age when, under Saturn, Astraea still dwelt on earth with men and nature poured forth its bounty freely.[30] It is only that the "Stage," constituting as it does a step in a structure, and one which is, as its intimate association with "grassy" has implied, the first, must press forward into time. As the conscious artifact, the "Stage" asserts moreover that the natural bounty of this island has required the care, active in time, of a creative hand. And certainly the very foundation upon which it momentarily rests is that Cave of Hell which God, to build the platform from where He might put into effect the creative time of the island, had first to reduce to ruin. Time does not turn back; man's life rides west. To experience again the pastoral moment, the creative mind must, having by its imaginative motion fetched it from the east and borne it in a journey across the world in which it had fallen, redeem that unfallen moment by a re-creation in the reality of the present. As God, its Great Artist knows, the creative time of the island of Bermudas is a rebirth which, in its corresponding

configuration of the circle, provides a haven for the golden image wronged along the serpentine path that exiles man from his first home.

This new home for a beauty that had been violated in the past, through the descriptions of those who had visited it, contributed a lyrical paragraph to the fertile tradition of earthly paradise. On the other hand, it was man's remembrance of the prodigious nature of such a land that lay in the depths of the ancient literary tradition. A long unbroken line of typology, the heritage bequeathed by an ancestry both classical and Biblical, and cultivated and refined through centuries by followers nostalgicaloy longing for the paradisal land, had predetermined the setting and outlined the script by which Bermudas was to be realized. Of this received tradition, however varied in its strands, the God of Marvell was certain to demonstrate His mastery. Although God, as aesthetic agent, was inclined to favor the Biblical, that is, as interpreted by Christians, God extended his tolerance to the pagan notes which had long ago acquiesced to an assimilation within His triumphant ideology. Nor could any greater tension be present between nature and art than existed within this cultural fusion. Nature, whose beauty and comfort now offered to the motifs of literary art the mercy of a "where" to be that offered a secure existence, was dependent upon that design they could impose for the attainment of its own expression.

Whatever might be His talents for accommodation, the God of Marvell's very sophisticated art is not, however, to be deemed naive. His use of a "Stage," from which to order the design of

Bermudas, presupposes a decision taken among contending attitudes. For this "Stage" found itself situated not solely in the tradition of earthly paradise, but upon those wandering islands rendered by art as representative of seductive and, hence to Christians, debilitating pleasures. That is, while contemporary travellers were, in observing the actual island site as a "halfe Moone, but a little more rounder,"[31] to accept it as a "Stage" whereon was to be acted their "matters of fact,"[32] this "half-Theatre"[33] had been sighted as well in the Spenserian voyage to the Bower of Acrasia. Paradoxically, though "Bermudas" is claimed as a "Puritan canticle,"[34] and can be shown to be protective of maidenhead, as a poem it actually inverts the image of artifice as that art that strives to usurp nature. The exhibition of artifice by God upon its "Stage," exuberant and recognizably emblematic, was above all the sign of His joyous embrace, within the unity of a new world, of elements which had, since the Fall, too long wandered disparate paths.

Such is the artifice of the poem that several standard features of the terrestrial paradise,[35] although present, are not immediately apparent. Where, for instance, is the fragrance that traditionally communicates to this idealized scene its intense sensuous delight? Only when activiated by the reader into process, will the "Ambergis" God has given manking from out of the store of Leviathan acknowledge its perfume. Far more hidden to the casual glance are those high walls which commonly enclose the sacred grove. Yet the ocean journeyer has probably experienced the phenomenon of the island which lies misted behind the watery walls of spray tossed up by the sea.[36] For the visualization of the scene intended, "unespy'd" must, having once again become the

subject in an investigation into cause, stimulate in the mind of the reader the notion of recall. Old motifs, representing a heightened vision of the nature that can be observed, are being worked into a freshly conceived vision of the conventional place. Their emergence from an art of such brevity and cunning demands, however, that the reader become co-creator in order to fulfill these motifs in his imagination.

But the images of earthly paradise, although they are set into motion and evoke further motion in the reader, cannot in isolation further the circular configuration within which "Bermudas" is to release man into creative time. Art is motion, but a motion directed by the mind of the artist into process. This principle is articulated by the God of "Bermudas," who is sung as Creator. The conventional descriptive term He here metamorphoses into the verbal dynamics of "enamells,"[37] an act providing for the "eternal Spring" a vehicle which can encapsulate both natural object and artistic image in the one protective guise of adornment. Process is itself, however, but the servant of the structural scheme ultimately responsible for the unifying of the poem. This compositional pattern, having determined the shape of the circle, must now direct the attempt to plot into words its curves and, by the arrangement of the images which are to follow, permit the metaphor of the island of earthly paradise to emerge.

Daily to this poetic island come, as the symbol of the bounty of God's concern, the wild birds in which the colonists of Bermudas so rejoiced. The lines of present gratitude--

> And sends the Fowl's to us in care,
> On daily Visits through the Air

-- define the day,known in creative time, as the realization of a new creation within the concern of God. They also announce that God has begun to shape the structure of his "care" from the perspective of height. A reading more attuned to the ingenious word-play of Marvell's poetic will offer, in the further disclosure of a pun, one of the stock features of the earthly paradise. Melodious sounds, experienced with pleasure in the unfallen garden, the magically musical airs expressive of man's harmony within nature, comfort man anew as the "air," the tune conveyed by the birds in choir when visiting through its medium. Marvell's image of sound, combining a statement of the movement of the air and the wide suggestivenss of a bounty of delight, has, however, another role to play. For sound, which the ear receives from any direction, favoring no location, acknowledging no external fixed boundary, scorns the measurements demanded by visual space. Always in flux, opening up space by its momentary journeys, sound assumes only the dimensions it has itself temporarily imposed.[38] That is, the "Air" of the birds, reflective of the song of the pilgrims, moves into possession of a world of its own, one outside of unbounded reality but, within, a vast limitless expanse. The garden island of creative time is the "where" sufficient unto the dual desire of man: behind its high walls, within its sphere of auditory space, exists the order of a repose that opens into the immensity of freedom.

It is with the achievement, from out of a fear of the unknown expanse of this sense of secure spaciousness introduced by music into the garden, that the poem proceeds to its next image. Undoubtedly the lines with which the image finds its context

He hangs in shades the Orange bright,
Like golden Lamps in a green Night

are, of Marvell's poetic picture, those most favored critically. Moving towards the poem's very center, they claim for their image the greater space and the more important place proper to the close-up. An acceleration of movement, beyond the expectations previously established, has occurred. As a consequence, the direct impression these lines impart, and one to which the theme of the image, when revealed, will prove to be a self-conscious major contributor, is that of an expansion of the space of a moment, an intensification of its duration, within the flow of time. A component of the excitement that accompanies the leap forward, with its enlargement of space and its suspension of time, is the first, and brilliant, appearance of color within the poem. By this poetic emphasis, Marvell signals the significance of his image, actually several images which re to be best understood as the units composing a metaphor of great complexity and originality.

Originality, when applicable to Marvell, is always wrought out of precedents. The closest lines to these from "Bermudas" in terms of imagery and initial intention are, as Maren-Sofie Røstvig has suggested, Sherburne's

...close-weaved branches a new Heaven present
And to the sight for a green firmament:
In which like fixed stars might espy
Gold-colored apples glitter to the eye.[38]

In the new heaven of a "green firmament" woven by interlacing branches clustered with full growth, golden apples shine like stars. Yet the images, reshaped by Marvell's lines into the illumination of the whole new experience of a metaphor, have been drawn from sources scattered throughout western culture.

No less than the apple from the island-garden of the Hesperides, the orange of Marvell is a golden fruit of art; but the poet's concern here extends to the fruit which, in the "eternal Spring" of the earthly paradise, blooms alongside its blossom. As Winter, Arciboldo's composition, illustrates by the force of deprivation, the correspondent in nature to this mythic fruit is the lemon.[39] To the delight of the colonists and of Waller the poet, both lemons and oranges were to be gathered on the historical island. Why Marvell chooses the orange can only be conjectured by an involved method and by as yet inadequate reference. If therefore I undertake to unravel his reasons, it is only for the promise of answers essential to the meaning of Marvell's metaphor.

Pale in color, acid in flavor, the yellow lemon had become the antagonist to the brilliance and sweetness of the orange. Among its accrued negative associations were envy and melancholy and, as still to be encountered, deceit and cowardness. More than the sour orange known as the Seville, the lemon represented the spiritual state caustically attributed to Claudio by the irrepressible Beatrice: "civill as an Orange, and something of a jealous complexion."[40] Ambiguous, and limited in its poetic potential, the lemon did not deserve the artist's attention in "Bermudas." But the presence in Shakespeare's play of the great Prince of Aragon does offer "fruit" for consideration. Of the Spain whose "Golden Age" had been made possible by great wealth and military might, Aragon, now in the seventeenth century itself threatened by internal revolt and subject to economic decline, had been a popular symbol. The orange and gold

associated with it came together linguistically, the first a derivative from the Latin of the second, aurum, and both to be heard in arancia, the Italian word for the fruit. For Marvell, therefore, who was always alert to etymological and political word-play, the "lovely Orange tree" ("Arangio") in Sannazaro's Arcadia, assumed by one critic to have been an anagram of Aragon,[41] may well have proved an influence. The political, or in a more comprehensive sense, social implications of the orange tree have not, however, been exhausted. On Bermudas itself, the orange tree which had become a favorable omen by virtue of maintaining its stand outside the palace of the Medici throughout the severe winter following the death of Leo X,[42] required for its protection the two hundredth of the "Orders" made public by the island's governing body.[43] Under these "shades" of protection that He now in "Bermudas" extended to the fruit, the God of Marvell would willingly have placed the past heroism of the House of Orange, the leader of the United Provinces in their resistance to Spain. His contrary disposition towards that great enemy, Catholic Spain, the Leviathan of the contemporary scene whose vessels had in actuality been broken on the shores of the island, God might have made apparent in the directive "hangs."

The green shade protecting the fruit was with deeper meaning the manifestation in nature of the grace God granted to fallen man against the sun of His justice.[44] Sun-motivated by the perfection of its golden-toned roundness, the orange itself becomes the sun that lights a new world in the grace of green. The fruit hands, therefore, as Harold Toliver has phrased it, as the "divine light" set upon the stage of Bermudas by the brilliant designer, God, ""for both beauty and guidance." But for insight into the distinction of Marvell's metaphor, Toliver's quotation must be

followed to its conclusion of "against a threatening background."[45] The darkness, experienced by man first as a loss of the sun, had, in Sherburne's poetic setting, been completely translated into the "green" of a heaven alight with glimmering stars. That Marvell meant the power of a "threatening background" to resonate within his lines is made explicit by their "night." Poetic achievement was to result from, and in turn match, the efforts expended here in hedging "without" the darkness so that, as in "Upon Appleton House" (11.503-5), "within" might be knit a night of "green." As one of the vehicles making possible this achievement, "green" had to reach across a distance that can be best measured by its poetic potential. Although primarily interpreted as the symbol of life, of the regeneration into spring and the hope attendant upon it, green has evolved in cultural history a number of contradictory associations which are relevant here. When dark in color, green might, like the sea in Greek theater, convey a sinister meaning; long afterwards, the Atlantic came to be termed "'the green sea of darkness.'"[46] The inscrutable domain that man, since he was harried out of the Golden Age, has had to cross in frail barks, the sea bore witness in the sun-green prophecy of "Bermudas," no less than in Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, that "Yet shall some few traces of olden sin lurk behind."[47] Satan, the archetype of evil, identified metaphorically in "Bermudas" as Leviathan, the sea, had, for his temptation of Christ scene depicted on a window of the Cathedral of Chartres, worn a green skin and peered through green eyes.[48] His is the realm whose relentless door will bar man from the upper light when once, to accept a translation of lines from Castiglione's Alcon, "we have bathed in the black waters of cruel death."[49] It is across

this dark background of waters foretelling a night to life that "green," graced with divine light, must voyage as the pledge of surety to the creative time of "Bermudas."

The vessel bearing green upon its heroic mission is the golden orange of the sun; that is, God, in the death of night, sends his sun across the dark waters. Since, although primarily Biblical in typology, the poem does not aim at any exclusion of the classical, Marvell may in these lines have made use of the basic myth of Hercules they recall. As recorded by Apollodorus of Athens in a work well known to mythographers and interested readers after its printing as the Bibliotheca in 1555, the sun had bestowed upon Hercules, who was to become a type of Christ, the golden goblet that carried him through the ocean all the night to the east where the sun rises.[50] Awaiting this dawn of illumination is the region of fallen night, the west in which man, in discovering Bermudas, was to find himself. The darkness is, in Marvell's lines, washed in a sea of light, the black waters of death flooded with gold as the sun, moving back from the east, completed its journey triumphantly in the west of a "green Night."

"What is Eternity?" Rimbaud, in a future century, was to ask, and to answer, "It is the sea gone with the sun."[51] An understanding of this attempted marriage as a meaning of Marvell's metaphor, though this marriage is now in the earthly paradise only an intimation of immortality, demands, however, that the movement of the sun be visualized. This interpretation would first acknowledge Marvell's mastery of poetic technique and then seek the specific of his success. To begin with, the

motion of the sun experienced in these lines is dependent upon the context of the poetic unit directly preceding:

> And sends the Fowl's to us in care,
> On daily Visits through the Air.
> He hangs in shades the Orange bright,
> Like golden Lamps in a green Night.

The song, which wings across the east-west horizon of the reader, completes in "Air" the round begun in "and." But the rhythm, continuing on past its passengers, dispatches the "Orange" as "Lamps" against the "Night." Motion, the magic wand of revelation, touching the golden thickness of the fruit, discloses it as light condensed. By motion, the transformer of structure, the static "Orange," container of the light, becomes the lantern. In contrast to the "fixed stars" of Sherburne, set now asway by motion, the "Lamps," luminosity re-made corporeal, release their radiance in a stream of fluid gold. Flowing into that amorphous region, timeless and spaceless in dimension, through which, as when underwater, man groped his unknown way, the light, as guide, grants to it the attributes of the known. The darkness, lit by the objectifying energy of light, metamorphoses into the palpable region of temporal and spatial dimensions which are creative of the certain repose promised in a "green Night."

Shaded by God's grace and securely placed within the freedom of the enclosure His harmonious "Air" has created, the "Orange" could venture beyond its own circle, and, advancing through this vastness of space, fill it with light. But to the golden-rinded spherical figures composing the next image, the pledge of "Bermudas" is self-containment. For the "Pomgranates, though the Biblical fruit, brilliantly blossomed, of which King Solomon possessed an Orchard, and themselves possessed of the

cooling comfrot signed for the by children of Israel wandering through the desert,[52] had, in their existence prior to finding themselves in Bermudas, as well experienced severe hardship. Their burden, their name bears. Literally, in the medieval Latin of Pomum granatum, this fruit was the apple of many grains. But these grains, by having once been in bondage to the more rigorous malum of the first term, were further endowed with a potential for evil: the fruit would in Marvell's playful linguistics, become the embodiment of the Edenic misfortune. Nonetheless it was rather by virtue of its experience in the classical world that the fruit was likely to make its most poignant appeal for protection. Doomed as it had been to dwell in the infernal regions of Hades, the Pomegranate had, by the mere provision of the seeds Proserpine was to eat, stolen from man for half of his year "'the vertue of the earth.'"[53] It is in the full attunement to these wrongs which, having been suffered, have led to the fall of the fruit, that the song, attesting to God's "care," here moves into the cadence of "close."

Sympathy alone could not, however, give Proserpine, the ripe maiden outrageously wronged by Pluto's rape and mockingly dignified by title in the nether world, the confinement her shame necessitated. For this, only the enclosure within a sacred precinct, the "cloister" of former days, would seem to suffice. This particular "close" being, of course, outside of the boundaries a Puritan "Bermudas" sought to erect, a substitute had to be found; and fortunately, a natural one was available. With a deep inward motion, the Pomegranate brings to an "official close" the maiden's tribulation by "shutting" within itself the

seeds of the difficulty. Entering into the "seclusion" of these golden walls, the delightfully re-incarnated Proserpine, in Claudian's version of the Rape the "gaudia" of Ceres who was herself the "'joy in crops,'"[54] was to bring a dowry of precious gems. Unlike the "false" gaudies, the "Beads" threaded upon her rosary by the "disjointed" Abbess of "Upon Appleton House," (11.261, 253-4) these "Jewels" which God would in the "Pomgranates close," would give joy, however, for they were "true" (1.262) and, in a further meaning of "close" relevant in this context, properly "set."

Their appearance sanctioned by the authoritative example of the Book of Revelation, precious stones were to adorn the Christian earthly paradise. The elaborate verbal display of these gems in Marvell's lines

> And does in the Pomgranates close
> Jewels more rich than Ormus shows'

probably had, as their linguistic center, the Latin gemma. At once the bud and the jewel, the word proposed the rare beauty of the jewel growing as a plant and, no less important, the perfect fusion of art and nature by which Marvell was, on this island of "Bermudas," to imitate God's creation.[55] On the one hand, as the "seal," gemma, assisted by "close," would bring to a conclusion the plaintive history of the Pomegranate; while, in cooperation with the "gaudia," which Proserpine was once again to be, gemma, as the "literary" gem it often signified, would begin a new tale conceived in joy. But the jewels encased in Pomegranates are, as well, those the mere mention of the fruit specifically names. A linguistic growth out of a shift in words, the "garnet-apple" still paraded the jewel's obvious

derivation from the fruit whose blossoms and seeds it resembled in color. So, an unnamed poet of the century, confident his more subtle garnet would shine through, compared the intimate union of love to "ye pomgranade swels,/wth Rubies bigg in Golden shels."[56] Read with this tangible wealth in mind, Marvell's lines declare in their "close" an agreement to a transaction, and, since "pomme" had depreciated to "pound," one quite commercially advantageous.

Bermudas, in welcoming Proserpine and by her homecoming testifying to the redemption on its soil of past wrongs, is claiming for God a creation superior not only to the England from which its colonists fled, but also one far above other islands. For it was from Sicily, once joined to Italy, but then the "three-cornered" island, Trinacria, which the sea "round/Doth ring-like compasse," [57] that Proserpine had been stolen, Entrusted to its safekeeping by an anxious Ceres, the abducted maiden bore witness to this island's betrayal. Sicily, though therefore to be condemned, had at least once been fertile. But the Ormus, over which "Bermudas" goes on to vaunt its superiority, was, as the "mountain of salt" in whose "bitter soil," as Virgil's Georgics had explained, no crop could grow,[58] the island, barren and uninhabited and, hence, the essence of a fallen world. A part of the Orient, Ormus no doubt represented to Marvell, as it would to Milton, all the despotism, lust and barbarism which existed outside of Christendom. Situated, however, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, at the cross-roads between East and West, Ormus had, until its decay in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, been the world's great mart. To

it such wealth had been brought that, as the proverb familiar in this period stated, "'if the world were a ring, then should Ormus be the gem thereof.'"[59] Bermudas, in the song sung in its praise, is therefore declaring itself to be not only the most valuable, because naturally fruitful and virtuous, island, but thereby also, like the gems enclosed within the center of the poem it occasioned, the new jewel of the terrestrial globe of God.

Marvell is neither ambiguous nor random in the listing of delights. The reader dwelling outside of Marvell's cultural milieu has rather been challenged to an exercise in the subtlety of wit, committed to an engagement with a host of sources, and expected to empathize with an emotive design. Actually, any inquiry into the transitions that exist between images will expose not only a succession carefully ordered, but also one replete with possibilities, so that the critic may not be able to catch them all. Complexity reigns. For example, offering itself as a point of continuity between the poetic units represented by "Orange bright" and "Pomgranates close" is a myth featuring Adonis. Cited in Natales Comes' influential Mythologia as the sun, and thus appearing in Sandys' commentary on his translation of Metamorphoses, Adonis retires for six months of the year into the arms of Proserpine.[60] Plausible as a transition, this mythic reference can constitute an addition to the one previously disclosed: the golden round reaching out to distant parts of man's world to secure virtue and beauty within God's new circle of perfection. Or it can merely have been of assistance in its formulation.

Ultimately, this fine point of relatedness may not be of major significance. At present, however, the suggestion that the critic be sensitively attuned to the nuances in Marvell is worth stressing. Such a sensitivity will cast doubt on the casual critical assumption of the close resemblance (though degrees of sensuous exuberance are normally distinguished), between this "list" and that better-known one of the fifth sataza of "The Garden":

> 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 Nectaren, and curious Peach,
> Into my hands themselves do reach;
> Stumbling on Melons, as I pass,
> Insnar'd with Flow'rs, I fall on Grass.

The relatively simple effects by which this quoted verse achieves its unity have been implied by those critics who spot within it a four-fold reference to the apple.[61] There is no question about their conjecture, first because of Marvell's penchant for word-play, and, second, because of the reader's apprehension of the specific pattern it has here imposed. The stanza's relatively single motion suggests, however, that serving as unifying agent within it, besides this play upon a noun, is a clever turn about several verbs. When investigated as a possible transition to the preceding stanza which, beginning with "run" will "race" and "speed," "curious" does reveal a potential for its cur to "run." So unscholarly an etymology, whose very enticement is to be suspected as a snare, merits critical toleration only because "Peach," if on the one hand the "Persian apple," would also have recalled to Marvell: the late Latin impedicare, to entangle; a successor in the

French empecher, to impede; and, not least, the native result in "peach" or "impeach," whose meaning of "to round upon," as well as to impede, had been well established. Surrounded by examples of this usage in the works of Spenser, Shakespeare and Jonson if nowhere else, Marvell might still not have succumbed to temptation had not le pecher, the French peach tree, been capable in les peches of yielding the playful fruit of sin. Indulgently, the sinful fruits of indolence, for the indulgence in which Marvell's persona is to be indicted, literally run into his hands as he runs to them. Entangling him in pleasure, they impede his way back to worldly responsibility, until "Stumbling," "Insnar'd," he completes his moral race by an indolent "fall" on grass. Even so cursory a reading can emphasize the charm of a stanza composed about the playful paradox of the speed with which fallen man runs to ease. But this "garden" passage,when so read, emphasizes as well, by contrast to its simplicity of motion, and its domination by a major image, the sensitive shifts in movement, and the variation in imagery and, thus necessarily, the complication of connections present in its island counterpart.

This contrast is no sooner established than it is immediately to be qualified by the following passage of "Bermudas":

> He makes the Figs our mouths to meet;
> And throws the Melons at our feet.
> But Apples plants of such a price,
> No Tree could ever bear them twice.

The image of the apple, half-hidden in the "Pomgranates," gradually emerges in these comparatively simple lines into clarity and preeminent position. If the "Figs" seem to deny the image of the apple, they will soon, through Marvell's well-informed wit, be

brought into compliance. First, however, they are in this composite image the "green figs" which, having once come with the singing of birds into the garden of Solomon, now promise an "eternal Spring" to Bermudas. Providing shade along with the fruit beneath the ample leaves ascribed to it by Pliny, the fig tree is a giving one, bending its branches down to man. Literally, the fruit here "fig" to their reception; that is, in an accepted seventeenth-century meaning, they move with high spirits, intent upon redeeming themselves from the contempt with which "fig" as a worthless object was regarded, by satisfying one of man's needs. It is the tree on which they grow that unveils the connection, present to Marvell's mind, of "Figs" and the apple of the fatal Fall. For, as reported by Ralegh in The History of the World, numerous scholars, seeking to find the prototype for the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, had fastened onto the Indian fig-tree which the New World was reputed to count among its riches.[62] Appearing now in this catalogue of nature' bounties, the "Melons" undoubtedly were a welcome fruit in a Bermudas where Captain John Smith feared a lack of fresh water. Once they had been the watermelons which the then Chosen People, in exile and wandering in the desert for forty years, had remembered with longing.[63] Removed from amidst the fleshpots of Egypt, and redeemed by their growth in the soil of a Promised Land, they are now God's gift, lavishly given, to a new Elect. Nevertheless, in Marvell's "Bermudas," these "Melons," though unlike those which morally trip man, in "The Garden," nonetheless allude to the fatal fruit. For, the Latin malum, derived from the Greek for melon, propagated the apple before

having been replaced by melum, it became the melon.

These many fruits "Bermudas" was prepared to accommodate. But the actual apple to which they have, by inference, led, had, if it would claim a place in this Eden regained, to undergo a transformation. "Twice" the tree in Virgil's home of eternal spring had served man with "pomis," the collective fruit when correctly translated, but too close to the pomme not to have suggested to Marvell the specific of apple. For the tree of a Christian earthly paradise to repeat this generosity of gesture was, however, to court the danger of a second Fall. "Such a price" was to be avoided at any cost. Fortunately, by the valuation given to it by God, the apple born of the tree in "Bermudas" was golden, like that other of a western island of earthly paradise long ago. Now no dragons need guard it; of its wealth all men may freely partake. Productive of no seed of evil omen, yet with capacity for regrowth in its crown, the pineapple,[64] indigenous to the New World, was the apple granted a new golden life by the redeeming artifice of God.

Its reference muted in this golden fruit, yet the evergreen glory of Lebanon, it is this tree of "pine" that announces the next of God's activities:

> With Cedars, chosen by his hand,
> From Lebanon, he stores the Land.

The Cedar was the tree under whose branches of shelter against the wind had grown the golden crop of Bermudas and from whose beams had been built the funeral ship upon which Sir George Somers, its founding father, had departed to discover yet another unknown land.[65] But as "stores" intimates, and "Lebanon" makes explicit, the sacred Cedar had been reserved by God for this

future since the Biblical past. It had been in a time of peace that King Solomon, having heard the word of God

> ...if thou wilt walk in my statutes, and execute my judgements, and keep all my commandments...Then will I perform my word...and I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will not forsake my people...
> 66

ordered cedars be brought from Lebanon down to the sea and from thence conveyed to the appropriate place. There he built a sanctuary unto the Lord, whose beams were of cedar, and whose rafters were of pine, and set within the ark of His convenant. Dwelling now amongst the newly begotten of His children who have walked in His ways, God delivers to them for the construction of His house, in the appointed place of Bermudas, the cedars from out of the east of Lebanon upon which He set great "store."

Beginning from the height of air, the earthly zone closest to heaven, God has, by carrying downward the curve of His circle, molded the center of His island into a roundness. With a case of simple, sensuous figures of nature, God has enacted within this center the play bringing back to life the scene of earthly paradise. Burdened symbolically with man's traditional desires, defeated and weary from the past, these artifacts have, as they enter upon the stage enclosed within God's space of creative time, experienced regrowth into an existence of pleasure and ease -- and with them, man. Workmanlike, God would now, in the stroke that constructs the temple from which man's voice can rise into joy to a vision of Heaven, compleete His circle. In the post-lapsarian world, however, it is in Hell that the roots of Heaven lie. Provisioned with man's loss and thus became man's "crypt," only the Cave of Leviathan, the cellar-

hoard from which God "stores the Land," can, in a final yielding, furnish the treasure of "Heavens Vault." The stroke which is to complete the structure of God's concern for man is, therefore, one of ascent. Starting from the "hollow" of the vanquished foe, it rises above the "grassy State" of earth into the temple of His worship. Rounding from there unto the firmament, it completes, in this overarching curve, the perfect circle of God's island of Bermudas.

God is the Architect responsible for the temple that, from a "frame" amid the bare "rocks" of the island ascends to Heaven. But this temple of nature[67] has its realization only in the perception of man who, in singing the praise of the Divine Will, sanctifies the island of Bermudas as the House of God. Aware that man must advance in spiritual understanding in order to enter conceptually into this sanctuary, God has, as the Puritans in self-conscious pride assert, "cast" upon Bermudas' shores His "Gospels Pearl." Biblical in resonance, "cast" leads depth to Marvell's lines as, joining with "Pearl," it plays within many of its diverse meaning. A "turn" in the nature of events has been announced. For this last climactic act, God, the director of the play of earthly paradise, has reserved the "Pearl," the jewel "of great price" which the parable of Matthew revealed as the promise of the Heavenly Kingdom[68] and, therefore, the most significant of the jewelled images His "grassy Stage" can present. The "inclination" of Divinity has been made manifest. As Gardener of the Promised Land, God has "sown" across its soil the "seed" of purity implied in his "Pearl." His Fortune He has "staked" upon the Puritans. The Supreme Fisherman, His net challenging the

abyss, God has brought forth His Testament. The charge of maintaining "union," the most profound meaning of His gift of the "Pearl," God has, however, laid upon His People. Preaching peace among righteous men, the "union" of the "Pearl" symbolizes as well the presence within matter of the spirit that must aspire to Heaven. Already secure in His bounty, and comforted now by His "Gospel," the Pilgrims, God's children who have wandered through the world, experience a return to the land where the spirit of the Lord dwells. This advance in understanding is reflected in their song. The island first sung of in the distanced tone of "far kinder than our own," they, with the direct manifestation of God's Word, now sing of as "our Coast." By their prayer,

> Oh let our Voice his Praise exalt,
> Till it arrive at Heavens Vault

they acknowledge further in the leap forth (the verbal "vault") from earth to the eternal home of Heaven, God's thrust upon them of the burden of mortality, the price to be paid for the reward of union. Bermudas, the island of lost paradise resurrected from the realm of Leviathan, has been, by the prayer and praise of man who, in his acceptance of the Divine Will, lifts his voice to Heaven, consecrated as the temple in nature, the home of God on earth.

The crown of God's circle of perfection, the height to which the temple of "Bermudas" aspires, is, as continuous Christian tradition asserts, the Eternal City of New Jerusalem. But of this future home of man, Marvell's poem presents no vision. The detail of its concern remains man's life on earth, his voyage through time. The hymn, in the inevitable happy ending to man's

spiritual saga, touches "Heavens Vault." Its concluding desire, voiced modestly since contextually qualified by a parenthesized "perhaps," is, however, of a "rebounding" that "may/Eccho beyond the Mexique Bay." Armed with the greater power attained past the firmament, where, having inherited heaven the saints were to sit at the right hand of God, their world would, in springing back to earth, spread the light (received from the east once by Europe and now by the New World) to that extreme west where Leviathan, as Catholic Spain, still reigns in darkness. One dimension of Bermudas, the island which God had rescued from the demon only to safeguard it for his Puritan Elect of England, and of the inspired "An holy and a chearful Note" its experience afforded, is the epxression of the will to bring about both religious conversion and political domination.

If only upon this note, the psalm of the Puritans has ended. Confronted by the movement into measure of man's mind, "the force of a divine breath" in Sidney's eloquent statement, the winds that stir the restless sea of time had ceased their motion. And man had discovered, by the poetic pattern created for his song, a temple amidst the tempest, an island in nature "far surpassing her dooings,"[69] alive in the joy of a present moment, yet blessed with repose. This rest, Revelation had promised. But, coming only at the end of man's pilgrimage, rest was the equivalent of eternity. Man, who wanted to know this joy, but who existed in time, would have to labor towards it through meaningful activity. Abandoning its concern with "Heavens Vault," the point at which time would pass into the timelessness of eternity, Marvell's poem continues on:

And all the way, to guide their Chime,
With falling Oars they kept the time.

Exiled, for the duration of his life, from the Zion of Heaven, man still wanders through the desert of the world marked by the forty lines of the poem.[70] The winds, once again the breath of Divine Will in a fallen world, sweep into motion the sea of reality, the domain of darkness ruled by Leviathan. With his journey bound to the sombre measure of time, man goes, as the "falling Oars" foretell, to an inevitable death in the west.

From his stance outside the quiet lines which frame the self-contained cosmos of Bermudas, Marvell has played the deus occasionatus, the contingent god of Cusanus, empowered to create, by analogy to God's universe, an image of the sensuous world. By completely controlling his image, by clearly defining his position through structure, and by denying by the play of his wit the potential sentimentality of his theme, Marvell was able to achieve detachment and thus to attain his aesthetic goal. Traversing its own realm of created forms, his art became a medium by which to simultaneously understand and reveal the movement of life itself.[71] This distancing of vision bows, however, before its own image. All the grief the poet felt at the human situation, was expressed by the elegiac "all"[72] of "all the way." Bermudas, the green island so vivid in its creative moment, was but a "Stage" in life's journey, an "Inn" from whose refuge man must depart. The object of desire, Bermudas rested in the bosom of the ocean; only the field on which it was set moved on, and with the sea moved time's traveller, man. As "Thus sung they" insists, the island of earthly paradise was to be perceived only by man who, bound to the law of fallen nature, journeys along

with the sun to a destined setting in the west.

To his "ride" which, crossing the space of sea and the flat plane of the page, terminates in a blankness of death, man returns. But, although having once again taken up the burden of his mortality, man rows now, as several critics hav sensitively noted, for the purpose of keeping time to his song.[73] In response to the "Chime" of Bermudas, to whose harmony he has joined his song, man has entered into a harmony with time. Time on earth, having passed into the new dimension of a "green Night," man has overcome his fear before the darkness of death. And God's time having been rendered possible by man's "falling Oars" activated by, and responsive to, a world of poetic design, the long duration of a life of labor, sounded in the "ing" of "falling" has acquired purpose. In the past the winds have accorded man's song a "listning," and "rebounding" promises that the future shall heed its "Eccho."

Beyond the west of the "Mexique Bay," the "small Boat" of man must échouer, that is, in the French of Marvell's period, come to ground. What remains is "Bermudas," the presentation of a vision of beauty in the ever-to-be-renewed tense of the present. An "eternal Spring" to man's dream of the earthly paradise, the island is the "where" of that dream's realization. Still "remote," the myth upon whose shores no man lands,[74] "Bermudas" awaits to be discovered only by him who will, as had Marvell and the Mariners whose song he honored, voyage to it in the "boat of the mind."

NOTES

I. HOUSE: MAN AS GOD'S ESTATE

1

Introducing their edition of Marvell's Poems (New York, 1969), James Reeves and Martin Seymour-Smith deny the possibility of a full exegsis of "one of the most learned poems in the language" (p. 7).

2

For a brief survey of critical attitudes toward the poem's structure and tone, see David Evett, "'Paradice's Only Map': The Topos of the Locus Amoenus and the Structure of Marvell's Upon Appleton House," PMLA, 85(1970)504. I cite only the more significant critics, many of whom Evett excludes because of publication date: Don Cameron Allen, Image and Meaning: Metaphoric Traditions in Renaissance Poetry (Baltimore, rev. ed. 1968), Chap. 11, "Upon Appleton House," reads in "a sequence of dramatic poems, skillfully divided," all of which "celebrate the 'house,'" a political allegory with careful attention to sources; Ann E. Berthoff, The Resolved Soul: A Study of Marvell's Major Poems (Princeton, 1970, p. 163f, stresses the unity at the expense of reading "masque"; Rosalie L. Colie, "My Ecchoing Song": Andrew Marvell's Poetry of Criticism (Princeton, 1970, Part IV, p. 181 f., notes the "seams" and questions "what is 'this Frame,' and what does it 'frame'?" (p. 228); Donald M. Friedman, Marvell's Pastoral Art (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), Chapt. 5 "The Country House Pastoral," (pp. 199-252), records his bafflement, "it would be hazardous to suggest one theme, one motif, or one dominant idea, that can be described as

central -- There is no narrative or rhetorical device that holds these sections together in any very obvious way" (p. 214); Maren-Sofie Røstvig, The Happy Man; Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Ideal (Oslo, revised ed. 1962, Vol. I, p. 172 f) and "'Upon Appleton House' and the Universal History of Man," English Studies, Vol. 42 (1961), 337-51, reads typologically the theme of purification; Harold E. Toliver, Marvell's Ironic Vision (New Haven and London, 1965), finds that the woodland section succeeds in unifying a poem of "structural looseness" (p. 114); John M. Wallace, Destiny His Choice: The Loyalism of Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, 1968), Chapt. 6, "'Destiny their Choice,'" pp. 232-57, interprets the poem as a Christian epic that answers D'Avenant's Gondibert. Two unpublished dissertations are of interest: Louis Anthony Celluci, "The Pomegranate's Close: Theme and Form in the Non-Satiric Poetry of Andrew Marvell," Columbia University, 1968, reads the poem in terms of a unifying central figure, namely Fairfax; Michael N. Holohan, "The Civick Crown," Yale University, 1967, pp. 106-64, struggles honestly between private and public concerns, but hesitates as to "the ultimate purpose of this rambling, metamorphic structure, the teleology of its diverse parts" (p. 116). As the final critic, I cite Frank Kermiode, the influential editor of The Selected Poetry of Andrew Marvell (New York, Toronto and London, Signet 1967), pp. XXII-XXIV), who emphasizes the poem's fantastic modern "wit," its variety that "defeats attempts to prove -- real uniformity, whether ideological or rhetorical."

3

Georgics, Bk. I, 231f.; work is quoted throughout from Vol. I of 2 vol. Loeb, trans. H. Rushington Fairclough (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1967).

4

Reference is to Archibald MacLeish's well-known "You, Andrew Marvell."

5

Marvell's poetry is quoted from Vol. I of 2 vol. The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, 3rd ed., H.M. Margoliouth as rev. by Pierre Legouis with collaboration of E.E. Duncan-Jones (Oxford, 1971).

6

For the closing topos, "We must stop because night is coming on," see Ernst Robert Curtius' European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1963 paperb, pp. 90-91).

7

T.S. Eliot expressed disapproval of "Images -- which support nothing but their own mis-shapen bodies" in "Andrew Marvell," first printed in TLS, Mar. 31, 1921, pp. 201-2. Essay available in Andrew Marvell, Twentieth Century Views, ed. George de F. Lord (Englewood Cliffs, 1968), pp. 18-28); see p. 22 for quotation.

8

Translated from the German in Hermann Diels' bilingual Die Fragmente Der Vorsokratiker, 3 vols. (Dublin and Zurich, 8th ed. 1971), I, p. 215.2: "Die Menschen vergehen darum, weil sie nicht die Kraft haben, den Anfang an das Ende anzuknupfen."

9

Harry Berger, Jr., in "Marvell's 'Appleton House': an Interpretation," Southern Review (Australia), I (1965), 71. A distinguished

critic, Berger analyzes the poem in terns of "the lyric experience of withdrawaland return," Marvell's "real subject" (12).

10

See Marjorie Hope Nicolson's The Breaking of the Circle: Studies in the Effect of the New Science on Seventeenth-Century Poetry (New York, rev. ed. paperb., 1960).

11

Vitruvius is available in Morris Hickey Morgan's trans., The Ten Books on Architecture (New York, rep. 1960). But like most Marvell critics, I depend on Rudolph Wittkower's Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism (New York, Norton ed., 1971).

12

For Cleveland's influence, see J.B. Leishman, The Art of Marvell (New York, 2nd ed. 1968), p. 306f; for Saint Amant's influence see Ruth Wallerstein, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic (Madison and Milwaukee, 1965), pp. 306-31; 267-77.

13

"My Ecchoing Song," p. 189f.; Kitty W. Scoular, Natural Magic (Oxford, 1965), "Commentary," pp. 163-190 (notes to ed. of poem available, pp. 118-151).

14

My "field" owes a debt to Michel Foucault's trans. of his Les Mots et les choses as The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences (New York, 1970), pp. 17-77.

15

See George Poulet's The Metamorphoses of the Circle, trans. Carley Dawson and Elliot Coleman in collaboration with author (Baltimore, 1966), pp. 24-26.

16

Joyce's remarks are reported by Frank Budgen's James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses (Indiana, 1960), p. 21.

17

Commonplace discussed in John Wallace's 1960 Johns Hopkins dissertation, "Andrew Marvell: Three Commonwealth Poems," p. 180f.

18

A Priest to the Temple or the Countrey Parson: George Herbert cited from The Works, ed. F.S. Hutchinson (Oxford, 1941). The Sermons of John Donne, ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, in 10 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962), VII: 302. Unless otherwise noted, all of Donne's Sermons are cited from this edition; but considering the vast body of writing, I have sought the assistance of critics whose works are later referred to.

19

Actually, the second Nun Appleton was begun by the first Lord Fairfax in 1637 or 1638, and delayed by the war, was first completed at about the time General Fairfax retired in 1650; see Legouis' comments p. 279.

20

Image and Meaning, p. 189. Theme has not been developed, but in Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode (Ithaca, 3rd printing,

1967), p. 210, ftn. 35), Angus Fletcher suggests the "temple of the body" as informing "Upon Appleton House."

21

Hebrews 11.13; Donne's "co-heirs" is a variation on Ephesians 2:13, "fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God."

22

See Ernst Kris, Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art (New York, 3rd printing paperb. 1971), p. 190.

23

King John III.IV. 25-35, Constance's elaborate personification of death. Unless reference is to a particular edition, Shakespeare quotations match A Complete Concordance of the Dramatic Works of Shakespeare, With a Supplementary Concordance to the Poems by John Bartlett (London, Melbourne, Toronto and New York, 1966).

24

Wallace's dissertation, "Andrew Marvell: Three Commonwealth Poems," p. 187, discusses marble as a symbol of pride and luxury; cited are Pliny's History Bk. XXXVI and Alciati's Emblem, "Superbia."

Where I cite no reference, the reader may assume that the OED or an appropriate language dictionary has been consulted.

25

Friedman (p. 213) notes the Protestant revival of this ethic; Biblical text for the idea of stewardship is Matt. 25, "The Parable of the Talents," that one will be called to account.

26

For architectural changes in the country house, see G.R. Hibbard's "The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. XIX (1956), 159f. Holohan's opening remarks are of interest, not least for the delightful idea that Marvell wittily summarizes Vitruvius' history of architecture.

27

The "levelling" of forests belongs to a later discussion on enclosure. For the traditional bias against mining, as signifying the dislocating or perverting of nature, see Kester Svendsen's Milton and Science (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 117-22.

28

For "use" as the traditional value, see Charles Molesworth's "Property and Virtue: The Genre of the Country-House Poem in the Seventeenth Century," Genre, Vol. I. No. 2 (April, 1968), 141f. Against Hibbard's stress on architectural changes, Molesworth argues that changes in genre mirror changes in the country houses themselves. Earlier, Holohan (p. 117) suggested that Marvell attacks not only a style of art but also a new kind of ethics, religion and politics.

29

Horace's Epistles 1.X, cited by Scoular, pp. 179-180.

30

Merritt Y. Hughes, "Milton's Limbo of Vanity," in Th' Upright Heart and Pure, ed. Amadeux P. Fiore (Pittsburgh, 1967), pp. 7-24), discusses the builders of Milton's Babel as victims of overweeming pride rather than a violation of conscience. His debt is to E. L.

Marilla's "Milton's Paradise of Fools," English Studies, Vol. XLII (1961), 159-64.

31

Montaigne, Essais de Montaigne (Paris, ed. augmentee, 1962), Tome 1, Livre 11, Chapitre XLL, p. 496: "La presomption --- dernier estage du logis ---."

32

The Russe Commonwealth, Chapt. 18, St. 1, 11. 46-50. At the completion of the castle built at Narue to subjugate the town and country, Ivan Vasilowich blinded its architect Polonian, "to make him unable to build the like again." Text cited, Lloyd E. Berry's ed of The English Works of Giles Fletcher, the Elder (Madison, 1964).

33

In Contrary Music: The Prose Style of John Donne (Madison, 1963), Joan Webber speaks of Donne's love of "edify." For him it became a metaphor describing the spiritual and physical building as if they were the same; that is, "edify" suggested both the outward building and the inward raising of spirit (pp. 85, 183).

34

Colie's "perhaps" (p. 186) about "Appleton" being written for the opening of the house must be denied if that opening took place in 1650, the date of Fairfax's retirement. In several instances, Marvell comments on events from 1650 through late 1651. Even more definitively, he alludes to a line from Gondibert (1651) and probably refers to Izaak Walton's The Complete Angler (1653).

Fairfax's lines on his "Inne" has been persistently quoted. The poem is part of a 1656-page manuscript. For a sampling of and commentary on poems, see Edward Bliss Reed, "The Poems of Thomas Third Lord Fairfax," Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 14 (July 1909), 237-70; earlier Clements R. Markham's biography, A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax (London, 1870), included three poems within its text and ten others in an "Appendix."

35

Vol. VI of edition by C.H. Herford and Percy Simpson of The Works (Oxford, 1965); this edition is referred to throughout. Jonson's play (1628) still puzzles critics. Marvell, however, may have discerned its center as the metaphor "house," uniting the kingdoms of England (Charles came to the throne in 1625), man's dwelling, and man himself.

36

T.B. Tomlinson, A Study of Elizabethan and Jacobean Tragedy (Cambridge, Melbourne, 1964), p. 280f., astutely concludes that while Marvell's achievement is "dramatic" in some ways, in a "more central and real sense," it represents and relies on an elegance and sophistication inimical to drama.

37

Ultimately, Marvell's reference is Zechariah 2:8, about Jehovah's Zion, "the apple of his eye." To the ancient Hebrews, the pupil was an important structure of the eye. Fortunately, Latin pupilla (as had the corresponding Greek) denoted both the pupil of the eye and the female child. John Davies of Hereford puns on "pupil," in "To my deere Scholler, Master John Hales": "Thine eyes is in mine eye," as cited from Rev. Alexander B. Grosart's edition of The Complete Works (New York, 1967, "Memorial Introduction," p. XII).

38

See Stephen Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque (Cambridge, Mass., 1965, pp. 6-7) on the masque as destroying barriers between spectators and actors. Marvell adapts many techniques of this mode of entertainment, but I hesitate as to whether he writes "masque" as Berthoff contends. First, there is no ideal spectator. "Visual," though characterizing "masque," is the metaphoric vehicle of Marvell's "plot." As to his mixing of genres, neither masque nor drama had witnessed the like, but both made the attempt. Perhaps Berthoff delays discussion of "The Nunnery," Part II (see p. 167), because this romance spectacle cannot be brought into a "masque of nature." Too many images are slighted and others confused. But the door need not be shut to another "masque" reading.

39

Donne, VIII.220; Seneca's Ad Marciam de Consolatione, XXI.I cited by John Erskine Hankins in Shakespeare's Derived Imagery (New York, reprint 1967), p. 216, ftn. 6; Augustine cited by Winfried Schleiner in The Imagery of John Donne's Sermons (Providence, 1970), p. 86; Donne, IV. No. 10, 1. 57f.

40

See Legouis' note in his ed. of Marvell (p. 281): "undoubtedly Protestant but Christian only in a superficial way." Friedman, p. 213: "But Marvell's poem is never overburdened by religious reference; the country-house poem was essentially a secular form." By his great catalogue of classical models for Marvell's "House," Allen implies the same nonreligious base. Yet Marvell's poem consistently refers to Scripture, and for this reason I have slighted the phenomenological

approach made possible by the insights of Gaston Bachelard's The Poetics of Space, trans. Etienne Gilson (New York, 1970).

41

To the King at his entrance into Saxham, by Master Io Crofts, pp. 30-31, in The Poems of Thomas Carew with His Masque Coelum Britannicum, ed. Rhodes Dunlap (Oxford, corrected reprint 1964).

42

IV. No. 10, 11. 25f.

43

Psalms 39:12; 119:54.

44

John Davies of Hereford, "Epitaph Lady Leigh," Vol. II, p. 67.

45

Information taken from A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, ed. James Hastings et al. (New York, Edinburgh, 1912), Vol. II, p. 115.

46

II, No. 4, pp. 137-39.

47

See OED 1604 citation: "ruins and remainders" for "Edifices and Buildings"; Hankins (p. 84) quotes La Primaudaye's description of man's body as "an old ruinous house" (The French Academie).

48

Donne VI. No. 8. p. 175 "The Basis of the highest building is but the earth; "Empyreal Mansion" and "fleshly nook" belong to "Il Penseros

49

John Davies of Hereford, Mirum in modum, I, p. 5. Awareness of this metaphor's meaning for Shakespeare is crucial to the interpreting of Sonnet CXLVI. So in A Window to Criticism: Shakespeare's Sonnets and Modern Poetics (Princeton, 1964), p. 126, ftn. 3), Murray Krieger judges it "not altogether helpful in its relation to the vehicles of the other images." Hankins (pp. 210-11) recognizes that the waste of an individual is being mataphorically associated with a ruined house, as does Albert S. Gerard, "Iconic Organization in Shakespeare's Sonnet CXLVI," English Studies (June 1961), 157-59.

50

OED cites Tindal 2 Co. V: 1 "erthy mancion" and 1596 Edw III, II.11 "little mansion"; see John Davies, Mirum, Vol. I, p. 5 for "Glorious Ghest"; Spenser's "An Hymne in Honour of Beauty" (1. 134) is cited from Spenser's Minor Poems, ed. Ernest de Selincourt (Oxford, corrected reprint, second ed 1966).

51

Vol. V, Silent Woman, V. 1: "My very house turns round with the tumult! I dwell in a windmill ---."

52

See David G. Hale, The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature (The Hague and Paris, 1971).

53

See OED for the conjecture that "mansionry" is a misprint for masonry in Macbeth I., 6.4; last phrase refers to the Elizabethan belief in astrology: a planet's ascendant and its lord were supposed

to exercise a special influence on the life of the child: OED cites Marvell's 1672 The Rehearsal Transpros'd, Part 1, 302: "Having gained this ascendant upon him." Work is available in Vol. III of The Complete Works of Andrew Marvell, ed. with intro. and notes by Rev. Alexander B. Grosart (New York, 1966).

54

Davies, "Epitaph Lady Leigh" (Vol. II, p. 67); in The Muses Sacrifice (Vol. II, p. 31) he speaks of the blessed day "wherein that Ghest did make my Soule his Inne." OED cites Erasmus: "The bodie is the dwelling house of the soul and the soul is the Inne of God." Webber, in Contrary Music (p. 133) speaks of the house as the spiritual edifice of the heart. The scriptural texts are 1 Cor. 3:16, 1 Cor. 6:19.

55

Monarchy available in Donald Nicholl and Colin Hardie's edition of Monarchy and Three Political Letters (New York, 1954), pp. 3-94; for specific reference to "house," see p. 10.

56

Several models of foreign pleasure palaces have been suggested. But the ultimate "baroque" view of the world was first published in 1654. Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin's Délices de l'Esprit had Christ himself as the architect, master mechanic, magician, and mystic ruler of a palace likely modeled on that of the Duc de Richelieu. The poet, a fanatic who regarded himself as "the political agent of the Holy Ghost," had a trick of sending opponents to death after telling them of his own mystical experiences. Information is available in Frederick Heer's The Intellectual History of Europe, trans. Jonathan Steinberg (London, 1966), pp. 384-85).

57

Luther, Sermons on the Gospel of St. John, Chapters 14-16, p. 26: "here the devil rules, here he resides, here he is lord." Quotation is from Vol. 24 of the 54 vol. Works, general eds., Helmut T. Lehmann and Harold J. Grimm et al (St. Louis, 1955-1972); Vol. 24 ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, assisted by Daniel E. Poellet (1961).

In All's Well, 1V. 5.52, Shakespeare's Clown speaks of the prince of darkness, "But, sure, he is the prince of the world --- I am for the house with the narrow gate ---."

58

Playing on the word "mansion," Shakespeare made it a rich metaphor. So a downward-gazing monster, never turning his face to the "marbled mansion all above" (Timon, 1V. 3.191) "remains a beast with the beasts" (1V. 31326) and has "his everlasting mansion/Upon the bleached verge" (V1. 218); Juliet's poignant cry, "O! I have bought the mansion of a love/But not posses'd it" (Romeo and Juliet, 111. 2.26) is met by Romeo's despair in the tomb, "here will I remain/With worms --- O' here/Will I set up my everlasting rest" (V.111.08). Marvell had a great precedent; moreover, both were trained to memorize not only the usual meanings of Latin words but also the derivations. (See John R. Mulder, The Temple of the Mind: Education and Literary Taste in Seventeenth-Century England (New York, 1969), p. 71). On "marble mansion" there is the "Vision of Cymbeline" (V.487).

59

See J. Max Patrick's gloss on "Frontispices" in Areopagitica, p. 294, ftn. 188 of his ed. of The Prose of John Milton (Garden City, Anchor 1967). Unless otherwise indicated, Milton's prose is cited

from this edition.

60

Matt. 7:12.

61

"The Church-floore," ll. 10-11. Joseph H. Summers in George Herbert: His Religion and Art (Cambridge, Mass., ed. 1964), pp. 124-26 interprets the poem's institution as a hieroglyph of the personal; p. 89 considers Herbert's imagery as characteristically concerning the creator and the architect; p. 85 recognizes the temple as a hieroglyph of the body in the service of God and the divine body of Christ. Mary Ellen Rickey agrees that the object of examination in "The Church-floore" is the heart (Utmost Art: Complexity in the Verse of George Herbert (Louisville, 1966) p. 118). In "Sion," Herbert acclaimed that the glory of old was not God's aim, for "Thy frame and fabrick is within" (l. 12).

62

Same sermon as cited in ftn. 48: Vl. 8; Herbert, "Man."

63

Donne VIII, No. 2, l. 284.

64

Friedman, p. 218; interestingly, Colie reads a "pregnancy-image" (p. 229).

65

Faerie Queene, ll. 111. 40-41; Genesis 3:19.

66

See Hankins, p. 149 for the contemning of the body; he cites 3 Henry VI. 11.1.74: "My souls's palace is become a prison."

67

Phrases are quoted from Annibale Romei's "Of Universal Beauty," From the Courtiers Academy, trans. J. Kepers, 1598, a portion of which is reprinted in The Frame of Order: An Outline of Elizabethan Belief Taken from Treatises of the Late Sixteenth Century, ed. James Winny (London, 1957), p. 211.

68

See Don Cameron Allen's Doubt's Boundless Sea: Skepticism and Faith in the Renaissance (Baltimore, 1964), p. 153) for Ficino's description of the immortal soul, based on the metaphors of St. Augustine and St. Thomas.

69

See Samuel Purchas, Purchas his Pilgrim. Microcosmus or the Historie of Man. (London, 1619), Chapt. VII: Tower, the head, "an Epitome of this Epitome, --- stately residence of the Soule."

70

"Romulus" in Plutarch's Lives, Loeb, Vol. I, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, Mass. and London, reprint 1967), IX.4 Quadrata; XI.1 circular.

71

See William G. Riggs. The Christian Poet in Paradise Lost (Berkeley and London, 1972), pp. 42-43.

72

Wittkower, p. 29 et passim and Appendix II, pp. 158-61. Evelyn Simpson offers a succinct statement linking the reviving belief in the importance of mathematics with Renaissance neo-Platonism/A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne (Oxford, second ed. revised 1962) p. 130 f.

73

E.W. Hobson's "Squaring The Circle": A History of the Problem (Cambridge, 1913), p. 31) advises that as early as 1544 Michael Stifel, in Arithmetic integra, emphasized the difference between a theoretical and a practical construction and expressed the opinion that this construction was impossible.

74

Two "civil wars" have been reduced to "Civil War" for convenience. On the growing consciousness of the gentry ranged on both sides of the dangerous social radicals, see Hugh Kearney's Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-Industrial Britain, 1500-1700 (Ithaca, 1970), pp. 92, 109.

75

J. Max Patrick in a note to Areopagitica (p. 318, ftn. 336) defines the Golden Rule as "the process whereby if three qualities are known, a fourth may be found which is to the third as the second is to the first."

76

For general discussion of "circle-squaring," see Rosalie Colie's Paradoxia Epidemica: The Renaissance Tradition of Paradox (Princeton,

1966), p. 321 f. My specifics are indebted to Hobson, p. 25 for 15th and 16th C. figures; p. 14 for Anaxagoras.

77

Berger conjectures in ftn. 24 (p. 32) on Fairfax: fair fas. Bartholemew Fair, IV. 111.62, Win: "Why that's but equall," Vol. VI of The Collected Works.

78

V11. No. 12, 1. 250 f. Donne ends this passage with the thought that "Antipodes meet in one God" (1. 257).

79

Kermode, "Intro.," XXIV.

80

Fairfax's house was called Nun Appleton; my distinction is solely for the purpose of emphasis.

81

Likely the combination of cloister and "quarry" had a particular 17th century meaning; there is the passage in The Alchemist, IV., "A cloister had done wel --- than in a quarry?" (Vol. V).

82

See Friedman (p. 223) for praise of Marvell's dramatic portrait of the nun. Actually, her ancestress seems to be the "mischievously subtle" Cecropia, who in Bk III of Sidney's Arcadia insists on the good effects of virtue, is "cruel, because ambitious," but practices "great flatteries" and "wicked eloquence," thus "sweetning her fierceness with faire promises." Text used is Albert Feuillerat's ed. of The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia in his 4 vol. The Prose

Works of Sir Philip Sidney (Cambridge, 1965).

For detailed discussion of the sensuous cloister, see Holohan, p. 124 f.

83

In editing The Poems of John Hall (Liverpool, corrected and amended ed. 1969), Arnold Davenport advises with reference to Virgidemiarium IV. 1, that a wooden statue of Venus was used as the sign of a brothel; he refers to Much Ado, 1.1.232 and 1 Henry IV, 11.8 (p. 199).

84

Cited in "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century" Journal of The History of Ideas (Part I), Vol. III, No. 1 (Jan., 1942), 57 by Walter E. Houghton Jr. from John Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence, ed. William Bray (1859), 111.84; letter is dated Jan. 10, 1656/57. Part II of Houghton's discussion appears in Vol. III, No. 2 (April, 1942), 190-219.

85

See E.M. Leonard, "The Inclosure of Common Fields in the Seventeenth Century," reprinted in Essays in Economic History, ed. for the Economic History Society by E. Carus-Wilson (London, 1966), Vol. II, p. 255 for a general statement that seventeenth century England grew many of the hedges making possible the development of agriculture in the next century; p. 232, to make the division, the jury presented how much land and how many cattle "gates" every man possessed.

In The Conceit (London, 1969), p. 43) K.K. Ruthven advises

that the Virgin Mary was identified with the shut gate in Ezekiel 44.2. If Marvell knew this tradition, his parody is obvious.

86

Christopher Hill, in The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution (London, 1972), p. 81 discusses one of the three things Philip Henry did not like about the Independent way, "they pluck up the hedge of parish order" (Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, ed. M.H. Lee, 1882, p. 277). Gerrard Winstanley equated the Independent congregations with private property: "all your particular churches are like the enclosures of land, which hedges in some to be heirs of life and hedges out others." Hill cites Sabine's ed. of Winstanley, pp. 445-46.

87

Vol. I, p. 481, A.R. Shilleto's ed. (London and New York, 1893). Talking about "enforced temperance," Burton relates a tale of frequent aborting and murder of infants by "fornicating" nuns. Evidently a reference to "nunnery" might mean "house" as well as "religious house." Besides Hamlet, there is Donne's The First Anniversary (1. 424): "Some nunneries some graines of chastitie." Donne's verse is cited from The Complete Poetry of John Donne, ed. John T. Shawcross (Garden City, Anchor ed. 1967).

88

Ireland's savagery against the "plantation" owners earned the pledge of "king Pym" to treat Catholics "like mad dogs" (Heer, p. 362). Eight years later, Cromwell retaliated, smashing skulls and setting fires at Drogheda and Wexford.

For the King's execution as the first phase of Papist triumph,

see William M. Lamont's Marginal Prynne (London and Toronto, 1963), p. 138. Of course, the "second phase" was the Jesuit control of the Army (p. 139).

89

Janel M. Mueller, ed. of Donne's Prebend Sermons (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), p. 319) discusses the Gunpowder Plot in a commentary on Donne's "Fifth" Prebend Sermon, p. 173, 11. 464-5. For the opportunity Nov. 5 offered Puritan preachers to rehearse Papist perfidy, see John F. Wilson's Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism during the English Civil Wars 1640-1648 (Princeton, 1969), pp. 54, 178. See Hugh Ross Williamson, The Gunpowder Plot (London, 1951) for a dissenting opinion on who plotted "Guy Fawkes."

90

The New Inne, Act III; Sandys quoted in OED; Donne, IV. No. 1: 188f.

91

Quoted phrase is the triumph of Holohan, p. 125. In Allegory (p. 116, ftn. 74), Fletcher cites Marignac, Imagination et dialectique (Paris, 1951) pp. 99-102), for the kinship. OED reports "semster" as the use of quills, twisted to a sharp point, for taking out the bastings by which garments were tacked together.

92

See particularly Ruth Wallerstein, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic (Madison and Milwaukee, rep. 1965), pp. 297-98: "bitter anti-Catholic statement -- speaks informedly, at least as to the use of Catholic art in ritual."

93

For detailed information about Monasticon and Fairfax's sponsorship, see David C. Douglas, English Scholars 1660-1730 (London, 2nd ed. rev. 1951), pp. 34-37, 47. About St. Mary's Tower and Fairfax' reward to soldiers for picking up the "leaves," see Douglas, p. 262 and Markham, p. 142. Both suggest that Fairfax donated Dodsworth's collection to the Bodleian; but article on "Charles Fairfax" in the Dictionary of National Biography, 1968 ed, claims that manuscript was donated by son of Charles, who had engaged with Dodsworth in the search.

94

In "My Ecchoing Song" (p. 222 and ftn. 13), Colie refers briefly to Monasticon and Fairfax's antiquarian interests as a possible influence on Marvell's nunnery episode. However, a report on monastic rules would hardly sustain Marvell's puns; they have not been detected.

95

1 John 2:15-16. See Donald R. Howard, The Three Temptations: Medieval Man In Search of the World (Princeton, 1966), p. 66 f. for the "Monastery not of the World" but as distinct by virtue of its higher spiritual quality; p. 75 discusses the three temptations as the battleground upon which men fought over the worth of secular things. Morton W. Bloomfield, Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-century Apocalypse (New Brusnwick, 1962), p. 198, ftn. 13) suggests root of this idea of the cloister as a paradise derives probably from the oriental and ancient Hebrew idea that the earthly temple is a copy or reflection of the heavenly temple.

96

See Morton W. Bloomfield, "Some Reflections on the Medieval Idea of Perfection," Essay 3, p. 49 in Essays and Explorations: Studies in Ideas, Language and Literature (Cambridge, Mass. 1970. (Originally in Franciscan Studies, XVII (1957), 213-37.

Both Howard and Bloomfield acknowledge a debt to Dom Jean Leclercq, La vie parfaite, points de vue sur l'essence de l'état religieux (Turnhout and Paris, 1948).

97

For the body as a hortus conclusus closing off entrance by contagic see Fletcher's Allegory, pp. 199-200, ftn. 23; in turn, he cites Owsei Tempkin, "An Historical Analysis of the Concept of Infection," Studies in Intellectual History (Baltimore, 1951) for the concept of infection as impurity. See Allen G. Debus, The English Paraclesians (New York, reprint 1966), Plate 5 opposite p. 144, "Disease pictured as an invasion of man's castle of health" from the frontispiece of Fludd's Integrum Morborum Mysterum (Frankfort, 1631).

98

Matthew 21:13; Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46.

99

Matthew 21:43-44.

100

Ephesians 6:11.

101

See Don Cameron Allen, Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance

(Baltimore and London, 1970), pp. 184, 196.

102

Debus (p. 52) cites Arnoldus de Villanova's Here is a new boke called the defence of age and recovery of youth (1540), London, trans. J. Drummond; p. 143 cites Thomas Rawlin about the fruits of alchemy being obtained both by the "sweatings" of body and mind and by the gift of God; p. 101f. advises that printing of Alchemists were almost nonexistent in England, but works were honored on continent.

Marvell may have been of two minds about alchemy, as Svendsen in Milton and Science (p. 122f.) suggests of seventeenth-century man generally.

103

See William R. Mueller, John Donne: Preacher (Princeton, 1962), pp. 118-19; reference is to Sermons III. 152-53.

104

In their note (Vol. X) to The New Inne, 1.111.74-75: "and for a leape/O' the vaulting horse, to ply the vaulting house," Herford and Simpson cite Dekker's The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London as an instance of "brothel"; besides, Henry V, wooing Katherine, says "If I could win a lady -- by vaulting into my saddle with my armour on my back -- I should quickly leap into a wife." For sexual play on "vault" in period, and as applied to politics, see Joseph A. Moldenhauer, "Three Voices of Seduction in 'To his Coy Mistress': A Rhetorical Analysis," reprinted in Rhetorical Analysis of Literary Works, ed. Edward P.J. Corbett (New York, London, and Toronto, 1969),

p. 30. The reader should not miss the reference to "Horse" in stanza XXXI of "Appleton."

105

"Commendatory Poem to Thomas Coryat," l. 67.

106

See Arnold Davenport's note (p. 165) on Joseph Hall's Satire II Virgidemiarium (ll. 35-36). This is the same figure as the "apple-John" of Bartholemew Fair, I; OED cites additional references.

107

The English anti-Papist flavor of the term can be demonstrated by the odd work discussed in Dale B.J. Randall's The Golden Tapestry: A Critical Survey of Non-chivalric Spanish Fiction in English Translation 1543-1657 (Durham, 1963), pp. 195-96. Pretending to be the original author, Richard Crashaw translated Quevedo's Suenos based on M. de la Geneste's French version of 1633. But Visions, or Hels Kingdome, his version 1640, was a different work. Fortifying its undistinguished prose are anti-Catholic barbs. A bookstore, fraught with "obscene, scurrilous, profane, railing, and popish Pamphlets," is called "a very Storehouse of Sedition" and a "Stewes of licentiousnesse" (pp. 170-71).

108

Hill, The World Turned, p. 37 cites Prof. A. Everitt, Change in the Provinces of the Seventeenth Century (Leicester, 1969), (p. 42), on the inn as billeting soldiers and as noted centers of news.

109

Hale, The Body Politic, p. 96 for "tongue" as disturber and,

specifically, Papist.

110

Marvell's passage still puzzles. Perhaps he draws on the proverb "As like as an oyster to an apple," employed by Shakespeare in The Taming of the Shrew, IV.2. 100-01. Burton's Anatomy, Vol. II, 11, V, 111, 1, speaks of using apples in curing splenetick, a kind of melancholy known as Lambswool.

111

Holohan (p. 124; ftn. 30) traces Marvell's passage to Jerusalem Delivered XVI, LXVIII-LXIX. The Dictionary of National Biography (1968) suggests an explanation for Marvell's emphasis on witchcraft. Edward Fairfax's daughters were supposedly bewitched, and he drew up an account of the affair under the title, "A Discourse of Witchcraft."

112

Romans 13:12,"The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness and let us put on the armour of light."

113

George Ferguson, Signs and Symbols in Christian Art (New York Hesperides ed. 1961), p. 12.

114

See Julius S. Held's "Flora, Goddess and Courtesan" in De Artibus Opuscula XL; Essays on Honor of Erwin Panofsky, ed. Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), Vol. I, pp. 201-18.

115

Stanza 5:

> No Rosary this Votress needs,
> Her very syllables are beads.
> No sooner 'twixt those Rubies born:
> But Jewels are in Ear-rings worn.

Clevand's poems cited from The Poems, ed. Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington (Oxford, 1967). See Scoular's note to Marvell's lines for a more scientific explanation.

116

As for example seems to mark two essays reprinted in Andrew Marvell, Twentieth Century Views (Englewood Cliffs, 1968): editor George deF. Lord, in his essay "From Contemplation to Action" (p. 62), insists that Marvell judges Fairfax's "puttering among make-believe forts and flowery bastions" as a "little silly" in the context of an "exalted opportunity" to guide England; the more sensitive M.J.K. O'Loughlin, "This Sober Frame: A Reading of 'Upon Appleton House,'" (p. 127) hears "the delicate accent of reproof." As do many other critics, both assume that Marvell's concern for England stops with the current scene, whereas more likely the poet knows his nation needs time in the garden before emerging to confront the future.

117

Biographia Literaria, ed. J. Shawcross (London, reprint from corrected ed. 1967), Vol. 11, p. 261). Margoliouth conjectured as to the fortress design of Fairfax's garden; however, no trace of this plan remains, as Legouis notes (p. 280).

118

In "A speaking picture: some ways of proceeding in literature and the fine arts in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centures,' Encounters: Essays on literature and the visual arts, Ed. John Dixon Hunt (New York, 1971), Douglas Chambers speaks of the five-angled badge of Arcadia as a living sign of the struggle for virtue (p. 36) and of its reappearance in "Appleton" (p. 49).

To scholarly citings of the Cinque Ports as the five senses, I add only this comic variation from The Alchemist, III, 11: "Dol, our castle, our cinque-port -- our what thou wilt."

119

Bk. I, Chapt. 13, which is in Vol. I, p. 91 of Albert Feuillerat's ed. of The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia, 4 Vols. (Cambridge, 1965

120

For "meteorological freak," see Kermode, "Intro" to ed. Marvell, p. XXXIV; but for Marvell's meaning see Stella, loved by Astrophel. The tradition of the star-soul, the gift of Plato shall be discussed towards the close of this essay.

121

See Joseph H. Summers, "Andrew Marvell: Private Taste and Public Judgement," in Metaphysical Poetry (New York, 1970), p. 187 for "ventriloquist" and The Heirs of Donne and Jonson (New York and London, 1970), Chapt. V, "The Alchemical Ventriloquist: Andrew Marvell," pp. 130-155 for both.

122

Quoted phrases are from Richard II with the exception of

"A world by itself" (Cymbeline 111.1.13); Leishman (p. 286) hears the same echoes.

123

See Josephine Waters Bennet's "Britain Among the Fortunate Isles," Studies in Philology, L111, No. 2 (April, 1956), 114-40.

124

Eclogue I, 66; Love Freed from Ignorace and Folly, 1. 161, in Vol. V11, p. 364. For the paradox see Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance (New York, Norton revised and enlarged ed. 1968), p. 226.

125

Cymbeline, 111.1.20; Giles Fletcher's Christ's Victorie and Triumphs in Heaven, and Earth, over, and after death (V, stanza 21). Text used is The Poetical Works of Giles and Phineas Fletcher, ed. Frederick S. Boas (Cambridge, reprint 1970), Vol. I.

126

See G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (Oxford, 1966), p. 81.

127

See Christopher Hill, Puritanism and Revolution (New York paperb. reprint, 1967), pp. 139-141: one of the leaders of constitutional struggle in Hamburg, Germany (1649) called for a "league of free commonwealths" to be composed of England, the Netherlands, and the Swiss Cantons.

128

Two quotations from Davies' Microcosmos assist with Marvell's meaning: "sow-low, to be mired in the ditch" (Vol. 1, p. 65); "For Law is Reason, Keeping all in Ray, --- Law gives light" (Vol. I. p. 50).

129

"My Ecchoing Song,"p. 225.

130

Louis L. Martz's The Paradise Within (New York and London, 1964), p. 103) cites Peter Sterry's answer in "A Catechism" to "What is Paradise?", and Herbert's "Miserie," l. 70.

131

Cited by Joseph E. Duncan's Milton's Earthly Paradise: A Historical Study of Eden (Minneapolis, 1972), p. 260. The parable of the Sower, which appeared in 3 gospels (Matt. 13:1-23, Mark 4 and Luke 8:4-15), provided a popular text.

132

See Stanley Stewart's The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and Image in Seventeenth-Century Poetry (Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1966), p. 51: "spiritual Adam (adamah, or earth) became the 'Paradise' in which God Himself took pleasure."

133

Owst, pp. 79-81.

134

In a letter to the Times Literary Supplement (11 Nov. 1955), E.E. Duncan-Jones noted that Fairfax held this power by virtue of his

being a member of the Council of State. During his retirement at Appleton, that power went unattended.

Bitter irony would mark Marvell's image had he known of a custom peculiar in England to the ancient community of the Cinque Ports. If a member of one of these towns was elected to serve on a governing body and refused the office, his house was publicly demolished by the community; see J.H. Round, Feudal England (London, reprint 1909), p. 552).

135

Milton's "Sonnet" will serve: "Fairfax, whose name in armes through Europe rings."

136

Lucrece, 1. 723 for quoted phrase; and see Owst, sermon quoted p. 79.

137

As a member of the Council of State, Fairfax had also shared in the powers once belonging to the Lord High Admiral (Duncan-Jones): see Legouis' note to 1. 349.

138

1 Henry IV, 1.1.5-7:

> No more the thirsty entrance of this soil
> Shall daub her lips with her own children's blood
> No more shall trenching war channel her fields.

139

Henry VIII, III.2.140.

140

As Marvell was aware, Queen Elizabeth "rechristened" Sir Walter Ralegh by calling him "Water," and it was he who asked for a "staffe of Faith to walke upon." But Marvell approaches this Shepherd of the Ocean by way of another, for it was Noah who "walked with God" (Genesis 6:9).

II ISLAND: SIX-DAY CREATION

1

Other authorities will be cited, but the reader is initially referred to : Richard Held, "Object and Effigy," Structure in Art and in Science, ed. Gyorgy Kepes (New York, 1965), pp. 42-54, a graceful essay with illustrations and bibliography; Marjorie Hope Nicholson, Newton Demands the Muse (Hamden and London, Archon 1963), focuses on the growing consciousness in the eighteenth century of the structure and function of the eye, but returns occasionally to the earlier period, as for instance, to note that Bacon (pp. 75-76) found it strange that the form and origin of light had been so little inquired into; Stephen Polyak, The Vertebrate Visual System, ed. Heinrich Kluver (Chicago and London, reprint 1968), Part I, pp. 9-72) comments perceptively on societal attitudes while offering a history of the growing knowledge of the eye; Vasco Ronchi, The Nature of Light, trans. V. Barocas (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), places the historical figures involved in the development of optics, traces the decline of lux and the triumph of lumen (see p. 279 for summary statement); V.P. Zubov, Leonardo da Vinci, trans. David H. Kraus (Harvard, 1968), Chapt. 4, "The Eye, Sovereign of the Senses" (pp. 124-68), provides the background for this great artist's preoccupation with the eye and light.

For the reader's convenience, I cite what authorities agree are the most important classical sources:

Plato: Meno, 76
Timaeus, 45-8; 67-8
Theatitus, 153

Aristotle: De Anima, Pt. II
Meteorologica

Plotinus: Ennead 2, Bk. 8
Ennead 4, Bk. 5 and 6

Lucretuis: Natura, Bk. 4

Seneca: Quaestiones Naturales, 1-6, 29

2

Of the many works available, perhaps Alexander Koyre's From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe (Baltimore, paperb. reprint 1968) most clearly outlines the effects on the microscope and telescope on 17th century thought.

3

Wallace, Destiny His Choice, p. 234.

4

See Ernest Cassirer The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy, trans. Mario Domandi (Philadelphia, paperb. reprint 1972), p. 177f. with reference to Nicholas Cusanus.

5

For an outline of these problems confronting scientists and metaphysicians alike, see Elsie C. Graham's 1929 unpublished Columbia University Dissertation, "Optics and Vision: The Background of the Metaphysics of Berkeley."

6

For the difficulties in interpretation caused by Marvell's shifting between "we" and "I" see Colie's "My Ecchoing Song," pp. 267-68. Joan Webber's The Eloquent "I": Style and Self in Seventeenth-Century Prose (Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1968), p. 162), discusses Browne's slipping back from "I" to "we" as 17th century man's hesitation to think of himself as an isolated individual.

7

See Colie's "My Ecchoing Song" (p. 205) for pictorial analogues. Postulating another "little lower layer" or "destructive element," O'Loughlin (p. 129) challenges A. Alvarez's concept in The School of Donne (New York, 1961), p. 120) that wit in the manner of Lewis Carroll amuses a child. Science caught up with Marvell's image when developing the "fish lens."

8

That Numbers 13:32-33 serves as the Biblical source for Marvell's giant grasshoppers is evident. Joan Grundy proposed this source and demonstrated its relevance to the experience on the meadow in "Marvell's Grasshoppers," Notes & Queries, n.s. Vol. IV. (1957), 142. But Legouis claimed his earlier recognition, stating so in Notes & Queries (n.s.) Vol. V. (1958), 108-109) and still does in textual note to his Oxford edition.

9

Lucian. Vol. I of Loeb Lucian, trans A.M. Harmon (Cambridge, Mass. and London, reprint 1961), p. 373. "Apologetical Dialogue" of Poetaster, 11. 113-14, Vol. IV of The Collected Works: editors, in commentary, (Vol. X) cite Volpone, 111.1V.55: "I have tane a grassehopper by the wing." Cicadas and grasshoppers come together because the Greeks did not distinguish clearly between singing insects.

10

See Don Cameron Allen's "The Grasse-Hopper," Chapt. 9, pp. 152-64, Image and Meaning. In "Green Ice and a Breast of Proof," College English, Vol. XXV1, No. 7 (April 1965), 511-15) Bruce King claims instead that the Cavalier reveals a desperation extending beyond Royalist defeat to

the mutability of life; therefore, subjective reality replaces the actual world in "The Grass-Hopper."

11

Davenport, in note p. 227 to Hall's Satire 6, Virgidemiarum, advises that the grasshopper was the crest of the founder, Sir Thomas Gresham.

12

See Antonia Fraser, Cromwell The Lord Protector (New York, 1973), p. 313. According to David W. Petgorsky, Left-Wing Democracy in the English Civil War: A Study of the Social Philosophy of Gerrard Winstanley (London, 1940), p. 163, ftn. 1), Saltmarsh acted similarly in the presence of Fairfax in 1647. Petegorsky's source is Reverend Alexander Gordon's article on Saltmarsh in The Dictionary of National Biography.

13

Undoubtedly, Marvell knew Gondibert, upheld Christian moderation, and delighted in epic echoes. Nonetheless, Wallace's contention (p. 244) that "Without Davenant, however, the idea of such a poem would probably never have occurred to Marvell, and the structure of a poem called Upon Appleton House would have been very different," seems unfounded. Colie answers with Part IV, section of "Sylvae, or a Miscellany of Modes and Kinds," but the answer is perhaps simpler, Gondibert lacks the imaginative stretch necessary to stimulate a grand opposition.

14

Colie, Paradoxia Epidemica, p. 284 comments on Marvell as internalizing the function of optical instruments. See Gordon Worth O'Brien, Renaissance Optics and the Problem of Power (Chicago, 1956), for the

mirror as representing a knowledge that brings divine power into the hands of virtuous man. Webber, in The Eloquent "I", p. 241f. discusses Traherne's play upon admire and mirror, "I" and "eye."

15

Paradise Lost 7.619.

16

Paradise Lost 6.482; Sonnet 60, 1.5.

17

In The Wars of Truth (Cambridge, Mass., 1952) Herschel Baker quotes Henry Power's Experimental Philosophy, in Three Books (1664): "This is the Age wherein (me-thinks) Philosophy comes in with a Springtide: and with the Peripateticks may as well hope to stop the current of the Tide, or (with Xerxes) to fetter the Ocean, as to hinder the overflowing of free Philosophy." Robert K. Merton, in On the Shoulders of Giants: A Shandean Postscript (New York and London, 1965), p. 206, ftn.), quotes Joseph Glanville's Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion (London, Printed at the Three Pidgeons and the Phoenix, 1676), p. 32): "And now when I look back at the main subject of these Papers it appears so vast to my thoughts that me-thinks I have drawn but a Cockle-shell of Water from the Ocean: Whatever I look upon, within the Amplitude of Heaven and Earth, is evidence of Humane Ignorance." Merton comments on this feeling of oceanic ignorance, but it could as well turn to omniscience. By 1668 in Deus Justificatus, attributed to Henry Hallywell, God's love was "that immense/Ocean of Love, which knows no bounds." The writer attacks Marvell's own enemy Samuel Parker, and in the course of doing so, comes

close to asserting universal salvation. My reference is D.P. Walker, The Decline of Hell: Seventeenth-Century Discussions of Eternal Torment (London, 1964), pp. 154-55).

18

See Blossom Feinstein's "The Faerie Queene and Cosmogonies of the Near East," Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. XXlX, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec., 1968), p. 531-50) for England's interest in the theory of creation from preexisting chaos and in disharmony, as stimulated by the infiltration of Near Eastern cultures. See Colie's Paradoxia Epidemica (p. 95) for the preoccupation with chaos in the interest of self-revelation.

19

Carol L. Marks as the general editor and George Robert Griffey as the textual editor of Thomas Traherne, Christian Ethics (Ithaca, 1968), p. 360), quote Cudworth's Sermon Preached before the House of Commons, March 31, 1647. Cudworth refers to the "Greek Epigramme," undoubtedly that of Heraclitus, the way up is the way down.

See Webber, Contrary Music, p. 132 for Donne's interest in the paradox "surge and descende."

20

The Theogony, l. 175f., Loeb Hesiod, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge, Mass. and London, reprint of new revised ed. 1967): De Rerum Natura, I, 7-9, Loeb, trans. W.H.D. Rouse (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 3rd ed. revised, 1966). In uncovering Marvell's mythic allusions, I am aware of disagreement with the "occasional" and "not fully representative of his powers" that Douglas Bush concludes in Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry (New York,

reprinted and revised Norton ed. 1963), p. 236

21

Svendsen (p. 102) notes the submerged poetic theory, citing Batman and Maples in A Greene Forest and La Primaudaye's The French Academie as Renaissance references. But see Pliny, Natural History IX, 54, for the information that oysters by eating dew produce pearls.

22

Quoted by Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance (New York, revised and enlarged papb. ed. 1968), pp. 232-33. See also Appendix 5 "Aphrodite's Shell," pp. 263-64.

23

See Peter Burke, The Renaissance Sense of the Past (New York, reissue 1970), p. 71) for Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Giants. For Fairfax's extensive and careful reading and his possession of medieval texts, see Markham, p. 369.

24

See Wallace, Destiny His Choice, p. 247 for "tawny" as related to the Egyptians.

25

Allen, "Upon Appleton House" (p. 202f) traces the warrior-reaper figure to Apollonious of Rhodes' Argonautica and cites classical instances of "war as harvest"; Holohan (p. 162, ftn. 36) extends the figure back to the Iliad, Xl. 67-70. Berthoff protests, arguing instead that the metaphor grows out of a witty response to language, specifically to metre, meaning both "to mow" and "to cut down." The theoretical underpinning to her argument merits further discussion, but

when interpreting the scene, she seems to wrench the metaphor out of its context. What evolves is a "thin" reading; Marvell deprived of his context, his literary forebears and his contemporaries, has little to sharpen his wit on. Perhaps it is unreasonable to insist that in rediscovering the experience from which a metaphor grows, the poet closed his mind to literary echoes. Etymology and source complement each other.

26

Geoffrey H. Hartman, "Marvell, St. Paul, and the Body of Hope," Andrew Marvell, Twentieth Century Views, p. 115: "turn this green sea red"; Scoular (p. 169), recognizes that an astute 17th century reader would be aware of a negation in the "green Sea" of the Red Sea.

27

Representatives are: Allen (p. 206), "what a bitter pastoralism this is," echoed by Toliver (p. 17), "nightmarish discord -- pastoral idealism distorted by violence"; Berthoff (p. 175) contends instead that "The actions are rapid and confusing, senseless until they are read as parts of a whole," and that whole the "varied scene" of harvest, and Friedman (p. 234) complements her with the Kaleidoscope; Hill (Society and Andrew Marvell", Puritanism and Revolution) hears the Civil War; Røstvig, "'Upon Appleton House'" and the Universal History of Man," English Studies, Vol. 42 (1961), 337-51. David Evett, in an all-too brief paragraph (p. 510) reads historic sequence.

28

See. E. Catherine Dunn, "The Medieval 'Cycle' as History Play: an Approach to the Wakefield Plays," Studies in the Renaissance, Vol. V11 (1960), 76-89; and Steven N. Zwicker, Dryden's Political Poetry:

The Typology of King and Nation (Providence, 1972), p. 34 for England's transformation into Israel.

29

See M. M. Reese, "Origin of the History Play, "Shakespeare, the Histories, Twentieth Century Views, ed. Eugene M. Waith (Englewood Cliffs, 1965), pp. 42-54.

30

See A.S. Woodhouse, Puritanism and Liberty (London, reprint 1951), p. 234) for selection from A Glimpse of Sion's Glbry (1641).

31

See Allen, pp. 208-09; Colie, "My Ecchoing Song," p. 279.

32

See Rosemond Tuve, Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery: Renaissance Poetic and Twentieth-Century Critics (Chicago and London, Phoenix fifth impression, 1963), p. 135 and p. 62 ftn); George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie, ed. Gladys Dodge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge, reprint 1970), p. 183); Sister Miriam Joseph, Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language (New York and London, third printing 1966), p. 336) suggests that metalepsis relates cause and effect productively rather than temporally.

33

Puttenham, p. 186.

34

See Francis A. Yates, The Theatre of the World (Chicago, 1969), p. 174.

35

Louis Martz, The Wit of Love (Notre Dame, 1969), p. 183), notes that, in the language of Marvell's time, "traverse" could mean a curtain or a barrier in a fortification.

36

Revelation 9:4 "And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth."

37

Wallace, "Andrew Marvell," p. 196 and Destiny His Choice, p. 247 distinguishes well between the quails sent to the Israelites in Exodus (XVl:13) and the birds on which they choked in Numbers Xl:31-32. For Marvell's concept of "sacred dew" in "On a Drop of Dew," see Harry Berger Jr., "Andrew Marvell: The Poem as Green World," Forum, Vol. 3 (1967), 299; For the heavenly "dew manna" of Milton, see Svendsen, p. 102. John Davies, in Microcosmos, Vol. I, p. 51, speaks of the state deprived of laws and lords as "the State from ruine raines/In storms of trouble," and in Mirum, Vol. I, p. 22, offers "Crosse we both, when we in Crosses quaile."

38

Anatomy, Vol. I, p. 64, ftn. refers us to wise Seneca's Nat., quaest. lib. 3 Praefs . I cite Burton's translation of "vox iniquissima & stultissima."

39

With reference to "traverse" as a legal denial or indictment and "raught": reached as a homophone for wrought, see James H. McDonald and Nancy Pollard Brown's note to l. 788 of Robert Southwell's

"Saint Peter's Complaint," in their edition of The Complete Poems. (Oxford, 1967).

40

Dr. Faustus, 1V.V.; Midsummer Night's Dream, 1V.1.38: "I have a great desire to a bundle of hay." Marvell comments ironically on the peaceful scene in "L'Allegro," 1. 90, the "tann'd Haycock in the Mead." John Davies (Microcosmos, Vol. I, p. 48) played the pun, the senses misinforming "th'Intelligence/Which haynously procures the Soule's offence." But Marvell refers to that arrant drunkard, Alexander. Even during the early years of exegitical commentary, Alexander was regarded as an example of abominable pride and as a type of Antichrist; see George Cary, "Alexander the Great in Medieval Theology," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. XV11 (1954), 98-114.

41

"The Nativitie of Christ," 11. 20, 24.

42

For the tradition of the Isle of Apples, see I. Rathbone, The Meaning of Spenser's Fairyland (New York, 1937), p. 182f.; Howard Rollin Patch, The Other World (New York, reprint 1970), p. 284f.; J. Erskine Hankins' Source and Meaning in Spenser's Allegory (Oxford, 1971), pp. 201-02.

43

Revelation 4:6. See Hankins, Source and Meaning, p. 203 for Glastonbury's relation to "Chrystal." In The Gothic Cathedral (New York, second ed. revised 1962), p. 11, ftn. 27), Otto von Simpson traces the Gothic predilection for walls of glass to the influence of the Book of Enoch in which the heavenly city is depicted as a palace

built of crystal.

44

King Lear, IV.6: "yound tall anchoring bark,/Diminish'd to her cock; her cock, a buoy/Almost too small for sight." Surely wonder-gazing is the major manner in which man wanders in "U.A.H."

45

Alistair Fowler, Triumphal Forms: Structural patterns in Elizabethan poetry, (Cambridge, 1970), p. 191), for the temporal significance of the pyramid: "paradoxically it stood both for time and immortality. Its temporal significance sprang only in part from the antiquity of the Egyptian pyramids: "---the pyramid was used in actual practice as a means of measuring time." Pliny discusses the horological application in Hist. Nat. XXXVl; XV, 72. In ftn. p. 190 Fowler refers to the 17th century's interest in the esoteric meanings of pyramids, as witnessed by Kircher's Obeliscus pamphilus (Rome 1650). Further, he quotes Spenser's Ruines of Time, 11. 407-08:

> In vaine doo earthly Princes then, in vaine
> Seeke with Pyramides, to heaven aspired.

As Marvell knew, Memphis was the old capital of Egypt.

46

Curtius traces the topos "theatrum mundi," pp. 138-41. Additional works have been consulted: Harold Fisch, "Shakespeare and 'The Theatre of the World,'" The Morality of Art: Essays Presented to G. Wilson Knight, ed. D.W. Jefferson (New York, reprint 1969), pp. 76-86); Anne Richter, Shakespeare and The Idea of the Play (Middlesex, Penguin reprint 1967), Part I, "Mystery and Moralities: The Audience as Actor," pp. 15-78); Thomas B. Stroup, Microcosmos: The Shape of the Elizabethar

Play (Lexington, 1965); Frank J. Warnke's Chapt., "The World as Theatre,' pp. 66-89 of Versions of Baroque: European Literature in the Seventeenth Century (New Haven and London, 1972), specifically refers to "U.A.H.," p. 75 "The poem prominently employs the traditional theatre-topos to communicate its recognition that the world is theatre, as theatre is the world."

47

See Murray Roston's Biblical Drama in England: From the Middle Ages to the Present Day (Evanston, 1968), p. 140.

48

See Henry Carrington Lancaster, A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century (New York, reprint 1966), Vol. I, Part II, XVIII, p. 656.

49

Edward M. Wilson and Duncan Moir discuss Calderon's auto sacramental among other such works performed on the Feast of Corpus Christi; see The Golden Age: Drama 1492-1700, in A Literary History of Spain, ed. R.O. Jones (London and New York, 1971), pp. 114-15.

50

For the rise of and emphasis on explanation, see Burke, The Renaissance Sense of the Past.

51

Ibid., p. 76; and see Stephen Toulmin and June Goodfield, The Discovery of Time (New York, Harper Torchbooks reprint 1966), p. 104), for a discussion of Cusanus' memorandum to the Council of Basle regarding the forgery involved in the Donation of Constantine on which

the Pope based a political claim.

52

The subject of Pyrrhonism is beyond the capacity of this essay, except to suggest that J.G.A. Pocock's The Ancient Constitution and The Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, 1947), pp. 6-8, discusses the importance of the Pyrrhonist revolt for the history of historiography in England. Montaigne is the exemplary figure, but see Charles Schmidt's Gianfrancesco Pico Della Mirandola (1469-1533) and His Critique of Aristotle (The Hague, 1967), pp. 92-93 on the younger Pico's attempts to prove the variability of visual perception based on physiology within the framework of Artistotle.

53

Though Marvell thinks in terms of relationships, likely both he and Fairfax were familiar with Fludd's series of memory rooms ("theatres") in association with the heavens; see Frances A. Yates, The Art of Memory (London, 1966), Chapt. XV, p. 320f.).

54

King Lear, I.2.146; for French "jeu de illusions," see T.J. Reiss, Toward Dramatic Illusion: Theatrical Technique from Hardy to Horace (New Haven, London, 1971).

55

Richter, p. 16.

56

For methods in producing medieval drama, see Vincent F. Hopper

and Gerald B. Lahey's Introductory Commentary to The Second Shepherds' Play in their edition of Medieval Mystery Plays, Morality Plays and Interludes (Woodbury, 1962), pp. 7-44. For successful summary statement on the multiple setting stage, see Angus Fletcher's The Transcendental Masque: An Essay on Milton's Comus (Ithaca and London, 1971), pp. 79-81.

57

See Richter, p. 77.

58

See Erich Auerbach, Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature, trans. Willard Trask (Garden City, Anchor ed. 1957), pp. 64-65 on figural interpretation in the conception of history; also, Russel Fraser, The Dark Ages & the Age of Gold (Princeton, 1973), C.A. Patrides, The Grand Design of God (London, 1972), Rudolph Bultmann, History and Eschatology: The Presence of Eternity (New York and Evanston, Harper Torchbooks 1957). But for the most moving expression of this concept, there is the opening of T.S. Eliot's "Burnt Norton": "Time present and time past...;" and, in "Little Gidding": "history is a pattern of timeless moments."

59

With reference to the great simile of Paradise Lost, Bk. I, 301f., J.B. Broadbent, "Milton's Hell," E.L.H., Vol. XXl, No. 3 (Sept., 1954), 181, points out that the sedge was thought to give the sea Red its color; thus the pun introduces the host of Pharoah. David Daiches, Milton (New York, Norton ed. 1966), p. 162 tells us that its Hebrew name is Yam Suph, "Sea of Sedge."

60

Reference is to Milton's Letter of 21 Feb. 1653 to John Bradshaw, president of the Council of State, recommending "Mr. Marvile" as a man whose travels abroad taught him Dutch, French, Italian and Spanish, and who, moreover, is a proficient reader in Latin and Greek. Letter reprinted (pp. 616-17 of Patrick's ed. The Prose) as edited by John T. Shawcross.

61

For the poet as historian, see F. Smith Fussner, The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought 1580-1640 (New York, London, 1962), pp. 46-7 on the "literary" idea of history and Selden's contempt for histories with no regard for the new scholarship, expressed in his Intro., "To The Reader," of Michael Drayton's Works; Jerrold E. Seigel, Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism (Princeton, 1968), p. 260, for the blurring of poetry and history; and Charles Molesworth's "Property and Virtue," for history as a poet's and, specifically, Marvell's concern.

62

For the Medieval to Renaissance background of the "mirror," see Sister Ritamary Bradley, "Backgrounds of the Title Speculum in Medieval Literature," Speculum, Vol. XXIX (1954), 100-15, particularly concerned with the mirror in the titles of the compendia of knowledge and works of moral judgment throughout both periods; Emile Male, The Gothic Image: Religious Art of the Thirteenth Century, trans. Dora Nussey (New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1958), particularly p. 23f. on the four books of Vincent Beauvois' Mirror that furnish the framework of four divisions in many works entitled Speculum or Imago Mundi: the

Mirror of Nature, Instruction, Morals, and of History; James I. Wimsatt, Allegory and Mirror: Tradition and Instruction in Middle English Literature (New York, 1970), on the literary mirror as designed to be an image of truth and, simultaneously, how things should be; Louis R. Zocca, Elizabethan Narrative Poetry (New York, reprint 1970), Part I, The Historical Material, on the elasticity of the term mirror, in the Middle Ages the equivalent of the Latin speculum and chiefly applied to religious writings, but in Boccaccio's influential Latin treatise, De Casibus Virorum Illustrium (comp. 1363) we see mirror altering its character from the devotional to the historical; history was prized learning in Tudor England since it seemed useful. Wilson's Pulpit in Parliament (p. 55) discusses Edward Calamy's sermon, appropriately entitled England's Looking-Glasse (1642) because it analogized God's ways with the kingdoms of men; sermon went through 5 editions. The McAlpin Collection contains, among others, Lazarus Seaman's A Glasse for the Times (1650), Nathan Culverwell's Spiritual Opticks: Or a Glasse Discovery (1651), William Fenner's The (Souls) Looking Glass (1651).

63

Though Oceana first appeared in 1656, its author, a historian who wrote of political power in terms of land, and advocated an agrarian law, was James Harrington friend to Marvell; see Pocock, The Ancient Constitution, p. 143f.

64

Plotinus, Enneads, p. 22 of ed. cited.

65

De Oratore, III, 203, Loeb, Together with De Fato, Paradoxa

Stoicorum, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass. and London, reprinted ed. 1960), Vol. II).

66

Curtius, p. 433.

67

Eclogue II, Thestylis begging to have the two fawns whose foster mother was an ewe.

68

The "rallus crex" was known to the Italians as "re di quaglie" and to the French as "roi de cailles": Allen, p. 209. To which Legouis replies "To me the rail is just a rail."

69

Roston (pp. 42-3) informs us of E. Kolbing's discovery of the similarity betwen this play and the ballad entitled Archie Armstrong's Aith and consequently suggests that the Mak episode is a clever engrafting onto a New Testament scene. Norman Berline, The Base String: The Underworld in Elizabethan Drama (Rutherford, Madison and Teaneck, 1968), pp. 44-5) discusses the introduction of Mak as looking ahead to the use of the underworld in the moralities and in the Elizabethan drama.

70

See J. Huizinga's Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play - Element in Culture (Boston, third printing Beacon, 1962), pp. 180-82), for word-play as characterizing the 15th century elite and the "Baroque" poets of the seventeenth century.

71

Robert K. Merton delightfully "proves" there is no satisfactory substitute for going directly to the sources. As his source for "Pigmaei gigantum humeris impositi plusquam ipsi gigantes," Burton claimed "didacus Stella" Luc 10. tom. 2. Bartlett's Quotations amplified the reference to Lucan, De Bello Civili 10, II. Finding no such line there, Merton takes a scholarly voyage to discover that Bernard of Chartres originated the phrase and the Luc reference is close to Burton in time. For Ross, see p. 103; for Goodman and Hakevill, pp. 43, 92; Herbert's Jaculum Prudentium is quoted on p. 13.

Though Merton's work seems definitive, preliminary remarks on the simile are available in Russell Fraser, p. 17; Erwin Panofsky, "Renaissances and Renascences," Kenyon Review, Vol. Vl (Spring 1944), 226); Hans Baron, "The Querelle of the Ancients and the Moderns as a Problem for Renaissance Scholarship," Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. XX. No. 1 (January 1959), 3-22); Richard Foster Jones, "The Background of 'The Battle of the Books,'" in his edition of The Seventeenth Century (Stamford and London, reprint 1969), p. 22, ftn. 5).

72

For Giordano's opposition to Humanism see John Owens' The Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance (Port Washington and New York, reissue 1970), pp. 321-22. Bruno perceived the despotic threat of classical learning and urged philosophers to turn their faces to new worlds and expand their energies on new objects. But the major work consulted on the Renaissance's change in consciousness is Nancy S. Streuver, The Language of History in the Renaissance (Princeton, 1970).

73

Panofsky (p. 228) considers the consciousness of distance: only after distancing themselves from antiquity could Renaissance men "imitate" those in the past; and therefore the implication is that concepts of temporality and individuality are bound together. Philip Damon's essay, "History and Idea in Renaissance Criticism," in volume he edited, Literary Criticism and Historical Understanding (New York and London, 1967), p. 36) notes Ficino's insistence in Theologica Platonica that in measuring time, that is, in seeing the course of history as sequence, man masters time and understands the transcendent nature of his soul. See Toulmin (p. 104) for Cusanus' argument against the Donation of Constantine as grasping the organic unity of an age.

74

See Cassirer (p. 176f.) and Toulmin (p. 21) with reference to Cusanus and the principle of relativity: place and movement are determined by the individual within a uniform cosmos.

75

See Streuver for the correspondence between objective measurement and subjective freedom with the unlimited interpretation of rhetorical tropes. Specifically, Bruni (p. 79) claimed that each language has its own perfection, for each has its own perspective. The "giant and dwarf" simile takes on a new perspective when Emerson R. Marks related Ascham's position that the ancients could only be imitated, not surpassed, while there were stirrings about him of the theory "a variety of ways" Relativist and Absolutist: The Early Neoclassical Debate in England. (New Brunswick, 1955), p. 10.

76

See Damon, p. 35.

77

See John White, "Development in Renaissance Perspective I," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. X11 (1949), 58f.

78

Streuver, p. 66 cites as authority K. Borinski, Die Antike in Poetik, Vol. 1, p. 149.

79

See Cassirer (p. 182f.) for the task of Renaissance philosophers and mathematicians as the creation of a new concept of space, that is, to replace space conceived of as a fixed entity with space conceived of as a function, a homogeneity of movements.

80

Bacon's Aphorism LXXXIV in Novum Organum: "Recte enim Veritas filia Temporis dicitur, non Auctoritatis." Bacon's Works cited from James Spedding's 15 vol. ed. (Boston, 1860-64), Vol. I, p. 191. Fritz Saxl, "Veritas Filia Temporis," in Philosophy & History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer, ed. Raymond Klibansky and H.J. Paton (New York, Evanston, and London, Torchbooks ed. 1963), p. 218) traces the idea to Bruno and discusses its role in the championing of modern times vs. antiquity. Aulus Gellius, The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius, trans. John C. Rolfe, Loeb (Cambridge, Mass. and London, reprint 1960), Vol. II Bk. X11.X1.2-X11.1: "Another one of the old poets, whose name has escaped my memory at present, called truth the daughter of Time." A future Merton might check Francois Rabelais, The Histories of Gargantua and Pantagruel, Bk. V. Chapt. 48, p. 710 in trans. J.M. Cohen (Baltimore

Penguin ed. reprint 1969).

81

See Streuver (pp. 66-7) for rhetoric as an instrument of judging, (p. 91) for Alberti on measurement.

82

Donald J. Wilcox, The Development of Florentine Humanist Historiography in the Fifteenth Century (Cambridge, Mass. 1969), in the course of focusing on historical writers among the Florentine Humanists, discusses Bruni's critical analysis of sources (pp. 101-102) and Scala's concern to establish the veracity of tangible events and things (p. 182f). See also Burke (p. 76) for the new "sense of history" as including the awareness of evidence.

83

See a representative essay by Hans Baron, the historian par excellence of civic humanism, "Leonardo Bruni: 'Professional Rhetorician' or Civic Huamnist?", Past and Present, Vol. 36 (1967), 21-37 on the political and social situation of Florence in the early Quattrocento as mobilizing a new set of attitudes among its intellectuals: the rational analysis of politics; the concern for republican commitment and for moral and spiritual vigor.

84

Streuver (pp. 44-5) discusses the exaltation of man as "creator" and quotes Cusanus' De beryllo.

85

Ibid. (p. 88) on the recognition of the complexity of discourse as reflecting the complexity of phenomena; (p. 176) on ludus and thea-

trum, particularly associated with Poggio; (p. 90) on the omnipresent consciousness of audience.

86

See Wilcox for psychological considerations (p. 45f.) as important to Bruni (p. 135f.) for Poggio's deeper penetration but use against Florentine's enemies; (p. 190f.) for Scala's treatment of internal discord.

87

Streuver (p. 95) on the "Ancients" as the party of renewal and illumination being imitated by the "Moderns" and (p. 91) history as the story of liberty; Wilcox (pp. 202-04) on these historians presenting new perceptions of historical reality and new areas of moral insight; Seigel's summary statement (p. 261), the love of language as a spur to clearer and more objective understanding.

88

Bruno represents an extreme point of view; though to Humanists truth is social veracity and belongs under the rubric of "usage," as Streuver suggests (p. 140), the critical impulse of rhetorical historiography was relativization rather than secularization.

89

Anatomy, Vol. III, p. 381 in cited edition.

90

See Yates (p. 163, ftn.7) for the bull-baiting and bear-baiting rings of London as the earliest amphitheaters; and Appendix C, p. 205, for extract from L. B. Alberti's Ten Books on Architecture (De Re Aedifatoria (Bk. Vlll, Chapt. Vlll: "For the circus is indeed nothing else

but a theatre with its Horns stretched further on in Lines equidistant from one another." The force of this identification between "bull" and "theatre" is still evident in 1653 as Sir Aston Cokaine in A Praeludium to Mr. Richard Brome's Plays, speaks of that time when "Wee'l change our faded Broom, to deathlesse Baies,"

> The Bull takes courage from Applause given,
> To Eccho to the Taurus in the Heaven.

Reference is The Jonson Allusion-Book, collected by Jesse Franklin Bradley and Joseph Quincey Adams (New Haven, London, and Oxford, 1922), p. 302).

91

Hill, The World Turned, (p. 27) quotes Sir Edward Dering (Collection of Speeches (London, ed. 1941,), p. 162) on accusation as evidence of popish intentions; see also his reference to Samuel Butler's "ye have a Turk, as well as a Pope, in your Bellies."

92

I cite as sources both The Reader's Encyclopedia, ed. William Rose Benet (New York, supplemented ed. 1956), p. 634) and William Walsh's Handy-Book of Literary Curiosities (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 637). For an attemped reproduction of the song of 1688, see Colin O'Lochlainn's Collection of Irish Street Ballads (Dublin and London, 1939), No. 36, pp. 72-3; notes pp. 221-22.

93

See C.V. Wedgwood, The King's Peace 1637-1641 (New York, 1956), p. 478.

94

See Christopher Hill's "The Many-Headed Monster in Late Tudor

and Early Stuart Political Thinkers," From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation: Essays in Honor of Garrett Mattingly, ed. Charles H. Carter (New York, 1965), pp. 296-324), p. 298 quotes Arcadia where the "gentle" Sidney, a "liberal constitutionalist" speaks of "unruly clowns" and "enraged beasts."

95

O.E.D. cites North's translation (1580), 1. 358: "The bellowing of such a multitude of beastly people." From "bellowing" as the roaring of fiery passion ("bull" might refer to any large animal), Marvell proceeds to a play on ab ovo and be-low.

96

See James Reeves and Martin Seymour-Smith's note (p. 173) to "The Garden" in their The Poems of Andrew Marvell.

97

Vl. 60: "Then strait an universal Herd appears," in ed. by David F. Gladish (Oxford, 1971).

98

Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium (New York, revised and expanded ed. 1961), p. 80) notes the shift from the belief that Antichrist would be a Jew [as in Cowley's Davideis, III, 401-08 comparing Jews to Cattle] to the expectation that he would be a Catholic, the son of a bishop and a nun.

99

"Ruminate upon it, and then be wise---," Prynne admonished the men who brought Charles to trial, quoting Romans 13:1-2 in his Declaration of January 5, 1649; passage is cited by Merritt Y. Hughes

in a ftn. ref. to Milton's Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, in his ed. of Complete Prose Works (New Haven and London, 1962, Vol. III), p. 209, ftn. 75). Hill, The World Turned (p. 48) cites Edward Bowles, chaplain to Fairfax, "I am far from the monster of a democracy" (Plaine English (1643), p. 25).

100

Friedman (p. 234): "Apart from the contemporary interest in experimental optics, nothing justifies this spate of far-fetched analogies except Marvell's determination to create the power of the meadow to change and be changed as compellingly as possible; "Berthoff speaks of "panorama" (p. 176) or "masque" with the same intention.

101

Colie, "My Ecchoing Song" (p. 208): "the cattle seem to be elements of a picture drawn on backed glass, so that when someone uses it as a looking glass, he sees the cattle on his own reflection." And her conclusion is, "the poet refers deliberately to anamorphoses." Margoliouth noted that the reflection in the mirror appears to the eye to be smaller than the landscape.

102

Ovid's Metamorphosis. Englished, Mythologized, and Represented in Figures, ed. Karl K. Hulley and Stanley T. Vandersall (Lincoln, 1970), p. 75.

103

Debt is to Webber's Contrary Music (pp. 138-39) for calling attention to Dennis Quinn's interesting article, "Donne's Christian Eloquence," E.L.H., Vol. XXVII (1960), 276-97. Quinn analyzes Donne's

technique in sermons on Psalm 38: "Every word becomes a metaphor" (p. 290). Metaphor, thus understood, is at least as pertinent to Marvell as the prolepsis suggested by Hartman (p. 113), whose eschatalogical aspect has been amended by Berthoff's discussion, "Note 1" of Appendix, "Prolepsis and the Allegorical Imagination," pp. 201-04.

104

Jonson's The New Inne, I.1.25f.: "drawing fleas/Or pouring through a multiplying glasse,---Speculations/that doe become the age---.'

105

Pericles, 11.1.156.

106

J.G.A. Pocock's Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History (New York, 1971), p. 125) cites Marvell's own Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government (1677) as part of a discussion on the beginnings of the "Country" vision of English politics, that is, the country consists of men of independent property who regard all others as servants.

107

See M.A. Gibb, The Lord General: A Life of Thomas Fairfax (London, 1938), p. 149) for the significance of the battle. Sprigge's Anglia Rediva. Englands Recovery (1647) is available in a Facsimile Reproduction (Gainesville, 1960); I refer to p. 249 for quoted phrase and p. 272f. for inundation next discussed.

108

Christopher Hill's God's Englishman (New York, 1970), p. 261) reveals that though earlier Cromwell defended the commoners against

the Court-supported fen drainers, in power, he issued an ordinance supporting the latter, and received 200 acres of the drained land. For the scene at Oxford, see Hill (p. 110), and for the information that Harrison and Courtney were the Fifth Monarchists involved, B. S. Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism (Totowa, 1972), pp. 91-2.

109

Hill, The World Turned, p. 86.

110

Critic referred to is Don Cameron Allen, p. 211; Howard Shaw, The Levellers (New York, Evanston, San Francisco and London, 1968), p. 100) judges the Levellers as having "never accepted the full consequences of the cry that men 'are by nature all equal'---party denied the franchise to wage earners, servants, and paupers"; how cautious Overton was is suggested by a remark cited in Capp (p.92): "if a leveller be one who bears affection to anarchy, destroying property or government, then I am none."

111

Shaw (p. 71) notes that at Rainborough's funeral his color green became the color of the parrty. But more is involved, since Antonia Fraser (p. 313) reports that at the funeral of the ringleader against fighting in Ireland men paraded with sea-green ribbons: "Shades of the colour green were then the acknowledged colours of the revolutionaries." Further, she cites the Perfect Diurnal (14 May 1649) calling the Army "Sea-green men" (p. 315).

112

Shaw (p. 61) quotes Petty as also demanding an equal voice in elections as man's "birthright." For information on Walwyn (what amounts to a tribute), see pp. 31-3.

113

I have used Charles Molesworth's terms in "Property and Virtue" (p. 148f.), an argument for Marvell's awareness of the change from a household economy to a business footing.

114

Winstanley's first Digger manifesto was entitled The True Levellers Standard Advanced, as Hill, The World Turned (p. 91) advises. For the story of St. George's Hill, see Shaw (pp. 100-101) and Antonia Fraser (p. 312); the latter acknowledges that though Cromwell possibly allowed some poor soldiers to dig up common land, the activities of the Diggers threatened the existing rights of freeholders since their theories menaced the whole foundation of property. Hill (p. 90) has Winstanley herding cows at Walton-on-Thames in 1649.

115

See Hill, The World Turned p. 44 for events up to Lincolnshire and p. 31 for Winstanley's contribution to the theme of building England as a house for Christ (passage is quoted from Sabine's ed. pp. 473-74).

116

Ibid., pp. 75 and 16 for excerpts from Dell's The Building, Beauty, Teaching and Establishment of the Truly Christian and Spiritual Church (1646) from his Several Sermons and Discourses (ed. 1709), pp. 144, 109). Winstanley's statement appeared in A Watch-Word to the City

of London (1649); pp. 316-17 in Sabine's ed. and quoted by Hill, p. 86.

117

See Curtius for tabula rasa (p. 305), but also for the tabula rasa in opposition to the thesaurus (p. 394).

118

Hill, The World Turned (p. 93) quotes Winstanley's Of the Breaking of the Day of God (1648): "the Beast will have a whole parish, a while kingdom, and so the world to be his church."

119

Curtius (pp. 94-98) illuminates the topos of "the world upside down," but Marvell had in mind the current discussion of the Antipodes. Petegorsky (pp. 100-101) speaks of an eloquent and powerful pamphlet, The Antipodes, condemning the Long Parliament for betraying its trust, and of The Antipodes of Reformation with The Heeles Upward (July 1647).

III. ISLAND: SON-DAY WONDER

1

de F. Lord (p. 64), "the tone has grown increasingly bizarre---. The protagonist's attention is increasingly obsessed by his own activities in a way that verges on narcissistic buffoonery; "O'Loughlin (p. 137), "If there is a hint of infantile self-satisfaction and Narcissism in the characterization of the meadows and the rivers---."

2

See George Whalley, Poetic Process (Cleveland and New York, Meridian ed. 1967), pp. 48, 75-76.

3

So, in the course of objecting to the univalent reading of the poem as a hermetic or other allegory of the soul, Evett (p. 510), "And he is idle."

4

See Webber, The Eloquent "I", pp. 241-44.

5

Likely Thomas' "Fern Hill" owes the same debt as does "Appleton" to Shakespeare's "Sermons in stones," As You Like It, 11.1.7.

6

Traced by David L. Miller, in Gods and Games: toward a theology of play (New York and Cleveland, 1969), p. 92.

7

Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origin of Radical Politics (New York, reprint 1965), p. 150.

8

For Adam's extraordinary endowments, see Duncan p. 150. Andrewes explained that Adam's knowledge of divinity and all natural things was transmitted to the house of Seth, and from him to Noah. Andrewes Apospasmatia Sacra is quoted p. 305, ftn. 32.

9

Curtius treats of these topoi, pp. 202, 192.

10

See George H. Williams, Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought (New York, 1962) and William Colin, The Epic Quest: Studies in Four Old French Chansons de Geste (Baltimore, 1966), pp. 192-93.

11

For the theme in Dante, see John Freccero, "The River of Death: Inferno 11, 108," The World of Dante: Six Studies in Language and Thought, ed. S. Bernard Chandler and J.A. Molinaro (Toronto, 1966), pp. 25-42); for the theme in Milton, see John T. Shawcross, "Paradise Lost and the Theme of Exodus," Milton Studies II, ed. James D. Simmonds (Pittsburgh, 1970), pp. 3-26.

12

Freccero (p. 39) explains that though the figure of baptism in general was the Red Sea, baptism in the special sense of a sacrament which brought with it grace came to be figured by the River Jordan.

13

See Williams, p. 73 et passim.

14

Phaedo 85C.

15

"Upon the Discoverie of the little World by Master Charles Fitz-Jeffrey," in Microcosmos, Vol. I, p. 82.

16

In a discussion of trees as a traditional emblem of organic growth and, conversely, a radical break with the past, Alistair M. Duckworth, The Improvement of the Estate: A Study of Jane Austen's Novels (Baltimore and London, 1971), p. 45) quotes Donne's "Satire II,"

> Where are those spred woods which cloth's heretofore
> Those bought lands?

See also the discussion of Edmund Burke's employment of house and estate metaphors in Reflections.

17

Colie, "My Ecchoing Song," p. 224 and ftn. 17.

18

Scoular (p. 139) footnotes "shoot" as used for trees in Faerie Queene, 11.V.31.20; "shooting" occurs V11. V11.8.7.

19

Reading in the context of Hermetic doctrine, Røstvig (The Happy Man, p. 182) interprets the rejection of creatures "in Paires" as a reference to the androgynous creation. Having entered the Ark, men shed their sexuality with their mortality.

20

See Thomas M. Greene's "Roger Ascham: The Perfect End of Shooting,

E.L.H., Vol. 36, No. 4 (December 1969), 609-625.

21

See Williams' summary (pp. 156-57) of the venerable themes and theories about the university that had been transplanted to America's shores.

22

See Ruth M. Ames, The Fulfillment of the Scriptures: Abraham, Moses, and Piers. (Evanston, 1970), p. 160.

23

See Walzer: (p. 179) Adam's Sermon and the Puritan emphasis on the "progress" of the Christian pilgrim; (p. 187f.) the traditional argument, "our fathers, our rulers, our ancients"; (p. 156) Puritan "calling and office" as opposed to birth and status.

24

John Creaser, "Marvell's Effortless Superiority," Essays in Criticism, Vol. XX, No. 4 (Oct. 1970), 416); Robin Grove, "Marvell p. 295 in Andrew Marvell, ed. John Carey.

25

Autumn Sequel (1953), the close of the poem, p. 439 of The Collected Poems of Louis MacNeice, ed. E.R. Dodds (New York, 1967).

26

Ames, p. 160.

27

"Corinthean Porticoes" might represent the complexities of Marvellian art for the critic who must relate poetic method to source

and involve the poet's multiple associations. As Colie suggests ("My Ecchoing Song," p. 230) the image is an instance of "unmetaphoring," since such columns were designed to remind one of a tree or plant. Which plant Rabelais may be revealing when inscribing "In wine lies truth" over his temple entrance, a door "like Corinthian scrolls of vine tendrils in relief" (Bk. V, Chapt. 37, p. 688). That with Marvell we stroll through Plato's island of academe will become apparent. But John Bunyan's A Discourse on The House of the Forest of Lebanon, posthumously published in Charles Doe's Folio of 1692, has a porch of pillars in a forest, like a bosom in the wilderness, in contrast to the Temple as a figure of the Church under the Gospel a figure of that Church as she is assaulted and persecuted and attempts to plant Zion's waste place with Christians. The Rev. Henry Stebbing, editor of The Complete Works of John Bunyan (Hildesheim, New York reprint 1970), in "Prefatory Remarks" (Vol. IV, pp. 107-08) alleges that there being no scriptural authority that God ever intended it to be a type, speculation moved Bunyan to look upon this house as a mystical edifice. Bunyan himself only cites 1 Kings Vl:37-38; Vll:1-2. Williams (Wilderness and Paradise, p. 84) contends that in Bunyan for the first time the biblical term wilderness absorbed the coloration of The Forest of Lebanon. Since, however, there is "Appleton House," and Marvell's "Bermudas" (l. 26) begins a Temple such as Bunyan may have recognized, the image should be explored in the works of others.

28

The History of the World, Vol. IV, Part 1, Bk. 2, Chapt. XXlll, Sect. 4, in Vol. II of The Works of Sir Walter Ralegh (New York, reprint 1829 ed), p. 684).

29

Quotations are from Henry James' notes for the continuation of his late work, The Ivory Tower, as reproduced and discussed by Toby Tanner, The Reign of Wonder: Novelty and Reality in American Literature (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 307-08.

30

See W. B. Stanford, The Ulysses Theme (Oxford, reprint 1963), Chapt. XlV, "The Wanderer," pp. 175-210; for Du Bellay specifically pp. 176-77.

31

Colie, "My Ecchoing Song" (p. 208) cites the "one eye" as evidence of detachment and disjunction. Instead, Marvell's image may be a conversion into nature of Cusanus' Icon of God, the Eye omnipresent in His solicitude for man ("Preface" to The Vision of God, De visione Dei).

32

Iona and Peter Opie, The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes (Oxford, reprinted and corrected 2nd ed. 1960), p. 284, n. 318), report that James Orchard Halliwell found this rhyme in a manuscript of the seventeenth century in the Sloane collection, "but he had mislaid the reference." The Opies give a version preserved on a broadsheet of the reign of James II. O.E.D. testifies to the popularity of "red herring."

33

Vl. 265f.

34

See Elizabeth Sewell's discussion of "Nature as a Temple" in The Human Metaphor (Notre Dame, 1964), pp. 61-62.

35

Though Scoular (p. 183) claims that Marvell's debt for "winged Quires" is to Benlowe's "choristae," both poets likely knew the "Bare rn'wd quiers" of Shakespeare's Sonnet 73 as it appeared in the 1609 edition. Actually, the Book of Common Prayer still retains "quires." Carew's "Elegie upon the Death of the Deane of Pauls, Dr. John Donne" contains suggestive lines: "So the fire/That fills with spirit and heat the Delphic quire," followed by the tribute, "The Muses garden with Pedantique weedes/Orspred, was purg'd by thee."

36

From this commonplace image of lyric and religious poetry, see: Robert Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, ed. Daniel Seltzer (Lincoln, 1963), p. 74, 11. 60-61 and ed's note; John Hall's The Court of Virtue (1565), ed. Russell A. Fraser (New Brunswick, 1961), 11. p. 313 and ed's note p. 389 that quotes sources; James E. Harting, The Birds of Shakespeare (Chicago, revised title reprint 1965), pp. 123-30 for discussion of the image in The Passionate Pilgrim and Lucrece.

37

Perhaps Marvell refers to the Puritan attack in 1651 on the use of the wedding ring; see M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism (Chicago and London, second impression

Phoenix ed. 1965), p. 461, ftn.).

38

Phaedo, 85 A/B.

39

See Allen, pp. 216-17 on the myth of "picus."

40

Apologie. See Leo Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony: Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the World "Stimmung," ed. Anna Granville Hatcher (Baltimore, 1963), Chapt. II, pp. 34-63 on the necessary relationship between grace, nature and musical harmony; pp. 176-77, ftn. 30 on Isidore, Etym. 111,20 putting on one plane the voices of men and birds, and on the survival in the Renaissance of the medeival pattern of "scholarly birds."

41

Berger (pp. 21-2) has the poet turn his world into "an animated cartoon" and become the "arm-flapping conductor of his own Silly Symphony."

42

No doubt Marvell merged Milton's "worme of conscience," itself identified with the thorn of the rose (see Of Reformation, p. 42 and note) with the "again bite of inwit," but only to make amends. Birds and trees intend domestic instruction, Allen contends (p. 216); the reference to Presbyterian Elders is obvious, but the reader should know that elder-bushes are musical, for which see Rabelais, Bk. 4, Chapt. 62, p. 584 of cited edition.

43

Walzer, p. 177.

44

Traditionally, a symbol of the king, undoubtedly, the oak represents Charles I, as among others Scoular (p. 142) and Allen (p. 218) claim. Allen further suggests that Strafford or Laud may be the worm, but O.E.D. cites Marvell's Gr. Popery (1678), IV.322, "If a House of Parliament shall once be felon of itself and stop its own breath." Appleton's correspondence between tree and body ("Sin" corrupting "Flesh") should direct readers to Ernst H. Kantorowicz's The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology (Princeton 1957), p. 12f.; a quotation from Blackstone (p. 13, ftn. 13) clarifies what a king's demise signified, "a Removal of the Body politic---from one Body natural to another."

John Shawcross (note 4, p. 617) editing Milton's Letter of 12 Feb. 1653 remarks on a letter advising that Marvell helped his friend finish Eikonklastes, but the evidence of the verse points to a significant difference in political attitude. As Wallace (Destiny His Choice, p. 89) wisely phrases it, "Marvell was never a republican, but his later association with Harrington and the Rota would suggest that he was sympathetic with some of their ideas."

45

Angus Fletcher, The Prophetic Moment (Chicago and London, 1971), p. 125.

46

Virgil, Georgics, Bk. II, 295: "multa virum volvens durando

saecula vincit."

47

A.B. Chambers provides philosophical analogues for Marvell's figure in Studies in the Renaissance, Vol. V111 (1961), 291-99. Basic is Plato's Timaeus 90A, which agrees with ancient plant physiology, according to which the root of the plant is its "head"; man's head is thus the root which directs the body. In Marvell's figure, from the tree's point of view, the roots are correctly placed, and therefore, as Berthoff "Note 12 "(p. 235) suggests, Marvell has "discovered that a tree is an upside-down man." But Isaac de Stella compared Christ with the root of a tree, a tree having the roots above while branching down to earth, and others called this mystic body the "inverted tree," a meaning important for where Marvell's figure leads; see Kantorowicz, p. 200, ftn. 20.

48

Chapt. V1, "The Heart."

49

See Berthoff, Appendix, Note 12, "The easie Philosopher," pp. 234-37.

50

Francis Petrarch, The Life of Solitude, trans. Jacob Zeitlin (Urbana, 1924), p. 151.

51

See Robert J. O'Connell, St. Augustine's Early Theory of Man, AD. 386-391 (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p. 71f. for a discussion of Fovisti Caput Nescientes.

52

Enneads 1.6.8 (p. 63).

53

See Martz, The Paradise Within, p. 37.

54

"To Lysimachus, the Author being with him in London," l. 32, p. 380 in French Fogle's edition of The Complete Poetry of Henry Vaughan (Garden City, Anchor ed. 1964).

55

Translation cited is H. Rushton Fairclough's of 1.60 "ut silvae folas pronos mutantur in annos," Horace, Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica, Loeb (Cambridge, Mass. and London, revised and reprinted ed. 1947); Chapman's Homer, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (Princeton, 2nd ed. 1967), Vol. I, The Iliad, Bk. XXI, ll. 426-27.

56

Aeneid, Bk. III, 441f.

57

Vaughan's "broken letters scarce remembered" is from "Vanity of Spirit" (p. 418). Biblical passage is Revelation 22:2. Sir George Clark (War and Society in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, 1958), Chapt. 1, "War As an Institution") argues, however, that seventeenth century drama and poetry show that war was taken for granted as a fixed necessity of life. Among the proof texts he cites is Joseph Hall's Resolutions which followed Augustine's thesis of "a necessary evil" (Civitas Deo).

58

Allen, Mysteriously Meant, p. 97.

59

See Røstvig, "Ars Aeterna: Renaissance Poetics and Theories of Divine Creation," Mosaic, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Winter 1970), 57-58.

60

Russell Fraser (p. 231) quotes Erigena, "the sense of divine utterance is manifold, and like a peacock's feather"; that is, as Cassidorus clarifies, it "glows with many colors." More likely, Marvell had in mind Spenser's line in "An Hymne of Heavenly Beauty": "Thence gathering plumes of perfect spectulation" (1. 134), to which he added vainglory's strut.

61

See Robert Ralston Cawley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama (Boston and Lond, 1938), pp. 336-37; included among examples of Mexico connoting "distance" is Marlowe's phrase, "from Persepolis to Mexico"; see also "Bermudas," 1. 36.

62

See Allen, The Legend of Noah (Urbana, reprint 1963), Chapt. Six, "The Migrations of Men and the Plantation of America," pp. 113-137.

63

Preceding details about the tradition of the rainbow are drawn from Charles B. Boyer's The Rainbow: From Myth to Mathematics (New York and London, 1959: Jean Leurechon, pp. 63-64; Anaxagoras and Thaumas, p. 31; sacred number, p. 48. See Colie, Paradoxia Epidemica (p. 317, ftn. 44) for publishing history of Les Recreations Mathematique

64

Purchas, Chapt. IX.

65

O.E.D. 1643 Herle, Answ. Ferne 2. "It sees everything coloured as the distemper of the aqueous humor---gives it tincture; All's Well, 1.3.157.

66

Purchas' delightful Chapt. V111 and 1X; in The Unfortunate Traveler/Or the Life of Jack Walton, ed. John Berryman (New York, Capricorn ed., 1960), p. 38), Thomas Nashe claims for his persona such weeping as "My eyes have been drunk -- with giving but ordinary intercourse through their sea-circled islands," followed by, "Change not your colour---."

67

"Whets" prepares for higher flight even as it preens in Marvell's "Garden" and follows the "Fountains sliding foot." Marlowe, Tamburlaine I played the pun to bloody purpose: "Whet thy winged sword" (11.2.51), and swords "thirst to drink---blood" (111.3.164-65) (The Plays,ed. Leo Kirschbaum (Cleveland and New York, Meridian 1962). But to have imaged the Christian soul as a strutting peacock would be outrageous, Renato Poggioli contends in "The Pastoral of the Self" (Pastoral and Romance, Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. Eleanor Terry Lincoln (Englewood Cliffs, 1969), p. 57). Besides, Poggioli asserts the tree cannot accommodate the large bird, the bird can hardly fly, and cannot sing. Surely Marvell's lines have a kinship with Shelley's "Life, like a dome---," but the pun on "whets" would initiate "soul-sol," that by the last stanza

becomes the "milder Sun," a procedure denying hiatus and enjoying "The Garden" beyond its eschatological meaning.

68

See in System of Opthalmology, ed. Sir Stewart Duke-Elder (London, 1968), the "Bible" of the science, proposed as 15 volumes, The Anatomy of the Visual System, Vol. II, p. 38, eds. Sir Duke-Elder and Kenneth C. Wybar.

69

Daniel J. Weintraub and Edward L. Walker, Perception (Belmont, 3rd printing 1968), pp. 29-30) quote R.S. Woodworth (Experimental Psychology (New York, 1938). But Edwin G. Boring, Sensation and Perception in the History of Experimental Psychology (New York, 1942), pp. 283-84), denies Leonardo's achievement in phenomenological observation, arguing that his "interest lays in the accurate reproduction of the appearance of nature in painting." See Zubov for a fuller discussion of the Notebooks, unavailable to Marvell, however. Both Alhazen and Witelo, scientists of the Middle Ages, worked on questions of the psychology of visual perception along with geometrical optics (p. 130). DaVinci himself pointed out that perception of relief is based on binocular vision, insisted that the artist know "how" to see, and realized in optics an instrument to "know thyself."

70

For the "antick" as an instance of "magic lantern" or catoptric device, see Colie, "My Ecchoing Song," p. 201f.

71

The Rehearsal Transpros'd (Vol. III, p. 158) records "palliated,"

glossed by Grossart as cloaked or shrouded, and in debt to Latin pallium.

72

O.E.D. clarifies; this term often used to mock, depends on Latimer's condemnation of occasional, or once-a-year, preachers in Sermons.

73

"Sabbatarianism," the title of Knappen's Chapt. XXIV (pp. 442-50) was a trumpet call to the period. Against the theoretical rationalization of a strict observation, such as was associated with Lancelet Andrewes, others claimed that Sabbath was made for man, that any superstitious observation of days was a "Jewish motion" as Calvin phrased it. See Petegorsky (p. 224) for Winstanley's suggestion that this weekly day of rest be dedicated to public instruction. As to Marvell, in The Rehearsal Transpros'd (III, p. 139) he claimed that sacredness adheres in Sunday itself.

74

Particularly Scoular (p. 186) stresses the importance of Druidism, assuming its source and the figure of the "great Prelate" to be Howell's Dodona's Grove (the rustling of oak leaves at Dodona was interpreted as oracles from Zeus in Odyssey, XIV, 328). Though I defer discussion of Marvell's "Appleton" interest in Druidism, his possible sources were many. See, for instance, Hirst (p. 73) on the Hermeticists assuming the Druid priesthood of the Gauls to have been the fount of ancient Greek and Jewish wisdom; or, as Yates relates (Theatre of the World, p. 178), Inigo Jones assembled bits of classical writers on these people to deny their skill in architecture (Stonehedge was Roman design).

75

O.E.D. 1678 Marv. Gr. Popery 23.

76

Proverbs which follow are recorded in the standard texts: The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs (Oxford, 3rd edition revised, 1970); Morris Palmer Tilley, A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Ann Arbor, 1950).

77

Since both allege moral and emotional advantages, the Horation praise of the country house (and its gentleman) and the pastoral are capable of satire; see Hallett Smith, "Elizabethan Pastoral," Pastoral and Romance, ed. cited, p. 19. Marvell seldom misses an opportunity to score off Catholic Spain.

78

In text cited, p. 41; in the original edition, p. 2.

79

S. Sambursky, The Physical World of the Greeks, trans. Merton Dagut (New York, Collier ed., 1962), pp. 40-41.

80

Purchas, Chapt. V11.

81

See Michael Hattaway's "Paradoxes of Solomon: Learning in the English Renaissance," Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. XX1X, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec. 1968), 499-530 for the vast literature available on the "wise" Solomon (his mistakes overlooked), the magician who possessed knowledge of natural philosophy. John Davies' "An Extasy" in Mirum (Vol. I, p. 92) speaks of Solomon as "The Source of humane

82

Religio Medici, I, XXlV: "could I with a few others recover the perished leaves of Solomon." Edition used is L.C. Martin's Religio Medici and Other Works (Oxford, 1969). Biblical text is 1 Kings 4:32-33: "And he spake of trees---."

83

1 Henry IV, 11.4.481.

84

Purchas, Chapt. Vll.

85

For "hares palays" see O.E.D. Both Geoffrey Walton (Metaphysical To Augustan: Studies in Tone and Sensibility in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1955), Chapt. 16, "The Poetry of Andrew Marvell," p. 125, ftn. 4) and Wallace (Destiny His Choice, pp. 161-63) note Marvell's familiarity with The Canterbury Tales, the former with reference to The Rehearsa Trasnpros'd (Vol. III, p. 364 "Chaucer's word"), the latter with referer to The Last Instructions.

86

Purchas, Chapt. IX: besides the known proverb, Marvell had Shakespeare's comment in Commedy of Errors, 11.2.82: „What he hath scanted men in hair he hath given them in wit"; "Une poule a plumer, une dupe a faire."

87

Proverbs 8:30.

88

Revelation 9:7; Allen glosses Marvell's horsemen as "the apocalyptic cavalrymen of the world" (p. 215), which Holohan picks up as the "Wanton Troopers" of the "Nymph" (p. 163, ftn. 52); Røstvig, "'Upon Appleton House'" (p. 347) aligns them with the cavalrymen of Pharoah and hence relates them to the meadow section.

89

For camping and sailing as two adult forms of play analogous to the "my house" pretences of a child, see John Summerson, Heavenly Mansions: and other essays on architecture (New York, 1948) p. 2.

90

Psalm 109:29, "Let mine adversaries be clothed with shame, and let them cover themselves with their own confusion, as with a mantle."

91

Charles' Delcaration of Sports (or Book of Sports, as it was known) of Oct. 18, 1633 reproduced James I's Declaration in 1618 along with its famous rebuke and renewed its encouragement of dancing and games as lawful recreation for Sunday.

92

See Odette de Mourgues, Metaphysical, Baroque, and Précieux Poetry (Oxford, 1953).

93

Man plays that he may be serious; in the play metaphor man dramatizes symbolically the complexity of selfhood and performs such

magic as effects the coincidentia oppositorum: Miller, Gods and Games, p. 60 et passim. For an implied opposition to retirement as indolence, see Frank J. Warnke's "Sacred Play: Baroque Poetic Style," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Summer 1964), 455-64.

94

Plato's Sixth Letter, as cited by Miller (p. 104).

95

See Elizabeth Sewell, The Fields of Nonsense (London, 1952), p. 122.

96

Røstvig's "Happy Man," aristocratic, already pious, and classically trained, when fleeing from public life to private joy, weds Stoicism to neo-Platonism and emerges the "Hortulan Saint."

97

Two Gentlemen from Verona, 111.11.

98

So O'Loughlin (p. 137): "the very desperation of its almost masochistic insistence would seem to expose the incompleteness of the solitary state from which it arises"; Friedman (p. 239) "'shocking' not simply because Marvell seems to be alluding to the Crucifixion, but because any such reference is beside the point here."

99

M.C. Bradbrook, in "Marvell and the Poetry of Rural Solitude," Review of English Studies, Vol. XV11 (1941) (39-40) explores Marvell's

use of French libertine poetry, especially that of Saint-Amant; Robin Grove (p. 301) calls the Crucifixion passage "a decorative pantomime" and concludes that "instead of passion, agony or transcencence there is only artifice"; Toliver, Marvell's Ironic Vision (p. 123): "When we have seen the grove as a paysage moralisé whose spiritual authority is clinched by brambles and briars, this will perhaps seem less an eccentric and unmotivated outbreak of masochism and dendro-eroticism"; more interestingly Holohan (pp. 145-46) argues that the passage is not blasphemous for Marvell transforms the sacrifice of Christ into a poetic emblem that offers himself as living sacrifice for Appleton's fallen history.

100

My reference is to John Ashton's illustrated collection, Humor, Wit, & Satire of the Seventeenth Century (Detroit, reissue 1968): for Prynne, see p. 56, ftn. 1; "A Dialogue concerning Hair," pp. 56-57; "Of finding a hare," pp. 96-97; comments on the extravagance of male attire (pp. 94-95) are accompanied by a "Picture" of the "Antick," p. 95.

101

Charles' prayer in Eikon Basilike: The Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in His Solitudes and Sufferings paraphrases the curse of David upon his enemies in Psalm 109:29. For Charles' "alleged" work, I refer to Philip A. Knachel's edition (Ithaca, 1966), No. 22. Milton's work (1648-49) is edited by Merritt Y. Hughes in Vol. III of The Complete Prose Works (New Haven and London, 1962); see ftn. 17, p. 543. Actually, the crown of thorns which figures so promptly in the frontispiece of many of the later editions of Eikon Basilike

is represented as being submissively received by the King in exchange for his crown of gold. In the minds of Charles' sympathizers, this crown of thorns symbolically paralleled him with Christ. For the King as a type of David, see Steven N. Zwicker, Dryden's Political Poetry: The Typology of King and Nation (Providence, 1972), p. 43f.

102

See Elizabeth Sewell, The Orphic Voice: Poetry and Natural History (London, 1960): "Preface"; pp. 3-169.

103

For the harp as the most influential medieval symbol of the Crucifixion, see F.P. Pickering, Literature and Art in the Middle Ages, trans. by author (Coral Gables, 1970), p. 301 et passim, Herbert's "Easter" concludes a survey of texts in which the Crucifixion is treated as the music of the harp (lute). Pickering acknowledges his debt to Rosemund Tuve, A Reading of George Herbert (London, 1952), p. 145. In the O.T., the harp betokened suffering, eg. Job "my harp is turned to mourning"; St. Augustine's linking of the harp with Christ's Suffering may attempt to dissociate the harp from Orpheus and Apollo and invest it with Christian associations; see Pickering (284f).

104

1 Corintheans 4:9-10: "we are made a spectacle unto the world ---We are fools for Christ's sake." See Lynda Gregorian Christian's "The Metamorphoses of Erasmus' 'Folly,'" Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. XXXll. No. 2 (April-June 1971), 293) for Folly's praise of Pauline folly; (p. 294, ftn. 23) for Erasmus' defense of his

reference to the happiness of Christians as "a kind of madness and folly." Hattaway (p. 508) quotes Erasmus' Moriae Ecomium on Solomon the wise man who claimed "I am moste foole of all men," and thereby opposed the childlike simplicity of Christ to the sophisticated wisdom of the schoolmen.

105

Miller (p. 124) outlines the three stages of child play as discussed by George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self, and Society (Chicago, 1934), pp. 152-63):1) plays at make-believe of society's roles to discover what it means to be a self different than others. 2) ability to assume the attitude of all others who participate in the game. 3) consciousness of the organization of all selves into a community. Biblical text I cite is Genesis 3:8.

106

1 Timothy 2:7; Ephesians 4:14-16, 3: 1, and 4:1 and Philemon; Galatians 3:24. Though as Ruth Wallerstein observed (p. 31) "Symbolic mysticism is thus rooted in the epistles of Paul, the theme of the one body that is not one member, but many, has an Orphite tradition: see Max Pulver, "Jesus Round Dance and Crucifixion According to the Acts of St. John," trans. Ralph Manheim for reprint in The Mysteries: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks, ed. Joseph Campbell (New York, 1955), pp. 169-193.

107

Edward William Tayler's Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature (New York and London, 1964), p. 73) related the medieval concept of Nature as separate and opposed to Grace, indeed, as the kingdom of the devil.

108

These are Romans 1:20 and V111.19, as Hartman advises (p. 104). His conception of Marvell's eschatological meaning seems more pertinent to "Appleton House" than to "The Garden," but certainly there too must be counterpointed with the commentary of Tayler.

109

Toliver, Marvell's Ironic Vision (p. 17) argued that "self-definition is almost exclusively for Marvell a product of combat against exterior nature. Hence art rather than grace tends to become his chief mode of realizing the souls's self-sufficiency and of imposing order upon nature." Countering this sense of the issues engaging Marvell, William H. Halewood argues in The Poetry of Grace (London, 1970), p. 119. ftn. 9): "This suggestion is scarcely intelligible in the perspective of Augustinian attitudes concerning grace and the self." As implied, Halewood proposed Marvell's time as a period of Augustinian revival, and certainly the great churchman is heard particularly in the writings of "Puritans." Patrick Cullen suggests in Spenser, Marvell and Renaissance Pastoral (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), p. 182) that pastoral accepted the premise that closeness to nature encourages moral and spiritual perfection in man. Hartman cites Augustine himself as the authority for contact with creatures as kindling man's inner light. More than a series of seeming pseudo-contradictory statements are involved, however, for Toliver's "almost exclusively" allows for grace in the woods of "Appleton"; Cullen never considers this poem; Halewood appears more concerned with grace than Marvell; and Augustine's intellectual presence among Protestants has been inadequately studied. Neo-Platonic influences complicate nature's eschatological aspect further, as I will later suggest.

Above all, in the necessary future studies of Marvell's attitude toward seventeenth-century considerations, first consideration should be given to the body of metaphor he inherited, in which philosophical and religious principles had already been deliberated, and whose implications he then reconsiders.

110

Of Reformation, p. 76 in ed. cited; p. 64 in original.

111

Colossians 2:7; Ephesians 2:20. Possibly Appleton's "trees" encorse Cromwell's "root and branch" policy in regulating the Church and the Army.

112

Galatians 2:20.

113

For parallel act, see Williams, Wilderness and Paradise (p.14, ftn. 9); O'Connell (pp. 73-74) notes that "flight" in Augustine represents the soul's winging across the sea and that happiness is the "arrival" after stormy voyaging. Gale H. Carrithers Jr, in Donne at Sermons: A Christian Existential World (Albany, 1972), p. 135), reflects on the journey of life to a promised land as a wayfaring that shifts into terms of another mode than that of the solitary walk: "Donne, with a naturalness both of contemporary Britain and Christian tradition, shifted to notions of pilgrimage as voyage." Biblical, patristic, medieval, Anglican and Puritan, as well as secular, journeying was a metaphor for living, ever capable of new turns (p. 21). B.G. Koonce, Chaucer and the Tradition

of Fame (Princeton, 1966), p. 251, ftn. 138), advises that in medieval cathedrals, "the labyrinth was frequently represented on the floor of the nave and used by penitents, who followed the maze on their knees to the center -- a figure for the soul's pilgrimage through the maze of Babylon to the heavenly Jerusalem." Williams (ftn. 16, p. 74) speaks of the 17th century's formal garden setting aside a section as "wilderness," a labyrinth of plantings designed to bewilder the stroller pleasantly. Rabelais would recognize the pattern (see Bk. I, Chapt. 55).

114

Philippians 1:23.

115

See John Herman Randall Jr., Hellenistic Ways of Deliverance And the Making of the Christian Synthesis (New York and London, 1970), pp. 104-05), for the Son or Messenger in Mysteries who becomes man, suffers and dies as a sacrifice. Mithraism, the chief rival of Christianity for a time, offered moral salvation, influenced Christianity, and led to the adoption of Sun-day as the Holy Day; it also introduced the festival of the winter solstice.

116

A likely pun in "The Garden":

The mind, that Ocean where each kind
Does streight its own resemblance find.

117

Nicholson, Newton Demands the Muse (p. 40) conceives of the eighteenth-century excursion as denoting interest in this world.

118

See George Sarton, Six Wings: Man of Science in the Renaissance (Bloomington, 1957), pp. 86-87); Ronchi, p. 82.

119

See O'Loughlin for the image of the flood as potentially creative, that in Carmina, 1.11.29-40, Horace uses it to celebrate the order brought by Augustus in expiating the sins of the community in the past. (p. 131 and ftn. 8).

120

Hebrews 6:7.

IV. VISION: "DOMESTICK HEAVEN"

1

My sharp division is for the convenience of writer and reader. Marvell's "Chrystal Mirrour" belongs in part to the woodland spectacle.

2

Toulmin and Goodfield (pp. 76-77) remark on Luther's calculation of the sixth and last age of the universe and on the seventeenth century commonplace that the shadow of extinction lay over man's life.

3

"The First Anniversary of the Government under O.C.," l. 139; see concluding line of "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings," the concept accounts for the urgency of "To his Coy Mistress."

4

Friedman (p. 245) interprets "only" similarly; see John Vernon's The Garden and the Map: Schizophrenia in Twentieth-Century Literature and Culture (Urbana, 1973) for an extreme but stimulating point of view.

5

Romans 1:20.

6

Faerie Queene, III.XI.28f. (in the House of Busyrane):

> Like a discoloured Snake, whose hidden snares
> Through a green gras his long bright burnisht backe declares.

7

Lawrence W. Hyman, Andrew Marvell (New York, 1964), p. 48.

8

See Rowland Beryl, Blind Beasts: Chaucer's Animal World (Kent State, 1971), p. 91 for the origin of the expression, "As mad as a March hare"; the copulating hare associated with Dionysus and Venus was hunted as a prelude to orgies in Ovid's Fasti (V.372). Held (pp. 203-04) entertains us with Flora's reputation.

Milton's 1642 Apol. Smect. (cited O.E.D.) suggests that Marvell's composition of "Corinthean Porticoes," the "Prelate," and the ladies on the lawn might be read as the purification rite Prof. Røstvig expressed: "At the bordellos --- raps up without pitty the sage and rheumatick old Prelatesse with all her young Corinthian Laity---."

9

See Peter J. French, John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus (London, 1972) and Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (New York, Vintage ed. 1969).

10

Busy surrounding Fairfax with a world of books, Marvell would include a reference to Bruno's Spaccio della besta trionfonte (1584), which seeks to illuminate the relationships of the inner world by employing figures of the visual cosmos; work has been consulted in the trans. and ed. Arthur D. Imerti (New Brunswick, 1964): The Expulsion of the Trimphant Beast.

11

A general survey is available in Wallerstein, Chapt. 8," Intellectual Backgrounds and Currents," p. 181f. For a systematic reading of Marvell's woodland spectacle in the light of Hermetic philosophy, see Rostvig, "'Upon Appleton House'"; Charles Molesworth, in "Marvell's

'Upon Appleton House': The Persona as Historian, Philosopher, and Priest," Studies in English Literature 1500-1900, Vol. XII, No. 1 (Winter 1973), 149-62), follows her lead, but adds several roles to Marvell's persona, and insists on the poem as "action" rather than statement.

12

For brief statements of the meaning of Prisca theologia, see articles by D.P. Walker in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes: "Orpheus the Theologian and Renaissance Platonists," Vol. XVI (1953), 103; "The Prisca Theologia in France," Vol. XVII (1954), 207. Further comment on the revelation of God in symbol is available in this Journal, Vol. XI (1948), 163-192, E.H. Gomrich's "Icones Symbolicae: The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic thought."

13

See, for instance, Friedman's "Introduction" (pp.21-33), a discussion of the intermingling of Renaissance neo-Platonic doctrines with orthodox Christianity for "An Idea of Pastoral" and Berthoff's Appendix, "Note 10, Marvell and Cusanus." If we follow Evett (p. 504, ftn. 2), we conclude that working typographically, Prof. Røstvig disengages "an account of the soul's struggle to free itself from earth," only at the expense of "concentrating on a handful of especially bizarre passages." The more just criticism of Røstvig would turn on her failure to empathize with Marvell's humorous recognition of diverse patterns at play in man's world. It should, however, be recognized that neither Evett nor other detractors have analyzed the "Chrystal Mirrour."

14

See Cleanth Brooks' own witty and serious comments in "Wit and High Seriousness." in Modern Poetry and the Tradition (Chapel Hill, 1939), pp. 18-38.

15

Phrase is quoted from Herbert's "The Pilgrimage."

16

The Enneads, V. 8, pp. 429-30 in Stephen MacKenna's translation (London, 3rd ed. revised 1962); this edition cited throughout.

17

See Hirst (p. 123); Plotinus attacked in the Ninth Tractate, "Against The Gnostics."

18

See Paul Oskar Kristeller, Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance (Stanford, reprint 1966), p. 43; Ernst Cassirer, The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy, trans. Mario Domandi (Philadelphia, Paperback reprint 1972), p. 64.

19

Pico della Mirandola, Oratio de Dignitate Hominis, trans. Elizabeth L. Forbes in The Renaissance Philosophy of Man, ed. Cassirer, Kristeller, and Randall (Chicago, 1948), p. 242: "ranged through all the masters of philosophy, investigated all the books, and come to know all schools. And surely it is the part of a narrow mind to have confined itself within a single Porch or Academy--"; see also Cassirer, p. 84f.

20

See Walker's summary of beliefs resulting from an acquaintance with the prisca theologia, "Orpheus the Theologian" (pp. 19-20).

21

Cassirer, pp. 40, 90, 130f.

22

Pico (p. 224): "neither a fixed abode nor a form possess"; Cassirer, The Platonic Renaissance in England, trans. James P. Pettegrove (New York, 1970, p. 103), such is the soul's privelege, that it "looks upward with faith and downward with care"; Cassirer, The Individual and the Cosmos (p. 144).

23

Cassirer, The Individual and the Cosmos (p. 171).

24

Merton, P. 68.

25

Ralph Cudworth's The True Intellectual System of the Universe has been consulted in the 3 Volume ed. annotated Dr. J.L. Mosheim and annotations trans. John Harrison (London, ed. 1845); for the syncretistic tradition, and in Marvell, see Røstvig, "Images of Perfection" in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, ed. Earl Miner (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1971), pp. 14-15.

26

This medley of quotations depends on The Cambridge Platonists, ed. C.A. Patrides (Cambridge, Mass., 1970): "Gayety" (p. 36) is cited from Cudworth's True Intellectual System I, 111.28 and ftn.3

(p. 36) offers More's God of "gaiety"; "Intro." (p.11) quotes Peter Sterry's rendition of the neo-Platonic "Candle"; (p. 223) "jogg'd" is cited from More's An Antidote against Atheism: "Intro," (p. 21) quotes Bacon (Advancement of Learning, Bk. 1) and More on the "Theatre."

27

Agrippa's Of Occult Philosophy, as cited by Hirst (p. 56).

28

Enneads 111.6.8.

29

Both are cited by Frederick Golden, The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyrics (Ithaca, 1967), p. 7.

30

See Cassirer, The Individual and the Cosmos, p. 67f.

31

Cited by Streuver (p. 93).

32

Oratio, Thesis No. 11: "ne a scalis tamquam profani pollutique reiiciamur, morali philosophia quasi vivo flumine abluamus." Original available in the Latin and Deutsch ed. of De Dignitate Hominis, trans. von Eugenia Garin (Hamburg, 1968), p. 38.

33

As cited by Pulver (p. 190).

34

From Sterry's Discourse as cited by Stanley Stewart, The Expanded Voice (San Marino, 1970), p. 191): "As that above, like the living Face before the glass, appears at the brink of the waters, ---So the Soul beneath appears looking up --- like the God of the River, answering and meeting it self above."

35

See M. Oldfield Howey, The Encircled Serpent (Philadelphia, n.d.), pp. 224-26.

36

See Hirst, pp. 132-33.

37

On Abraham, Loeb 10 vol. and 2 suppl. vol. ed., trans F.H. Colson (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1959 reprint), Vol. V1, p. 103.

38

See Bernard Knox's discussion, "The Serpent and The Flame: the Imagery of the Second Book of the Aeneid," In Virgil, Twentieth Century Views, ed. Steele Commager (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), p. 124-42; but he concludes that "in this complexity of a great poet's imagery we recognize a mystery which lies beyond the frontiers of conscious art."

39

Robert Hughes, Heaven and Hell in Western Art (New York, 1968), p. 175) with reference to Job 41:1.

40

See Baker (p. 243).

41

See Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton, 1957), pp. 191-92.

42

As Berger recalls for us (p. 15), Izaak Walton understood that angling is like poetry, a source of revelation; but The Complete Angler was first published in 1653.

43

Pickering (p. 261) refers to Bishop Isidore of Seville's 7thc encyclopedia, Etymologies, X11.1V.4.

44

In a discussion of the river barrier, Patch (p. 292) quotes Paien de Maisieres' La Mule sanz Frain.

45

See Howey, Chapt. X111, "Apollo and the Python," pp. 134-53 and p. 229. Athanasius Kircher's studies in Egyptian history, religion and culture appeared together with translations of all known Egyptian documents in magnificently printed and illustrated folios in 1650, 1652, as Allen informs us, Mysteriously Meant, (pp. 120-27).

46

Pickering, p. 117.

47

Christ's prophetic words in John 111:14, "And as Moses lifted up the serpent --- the Son of man must be lifted up," refers back to Numbers XX1:8-9 where a "fiery" (or "brazen") serpent is set up by Moses on a pole. "The Coronet" outlines Christ's figure from the Crown of Thorns to the feet.

48

Pickering, p. 269.

49

Eugene M. Waith, The Herculean Hero (New York and London, second printing 1967), p. 57), cites Tasso's comment on Rinaldo's relationship to Goffredo in Jerusalem Delivered: "The soule is of the campe both mind and life"; see p. 41 for reference to Conti and Cartori.

50

Phaedrus 229-230.

51

See Samuel Laeuchli, The Serpent and The Dove: Five Essays on Early Christianity (Nashville and New York, 1966), p. 47.

52

However, in support of Berger's recognition that Marvell consistently concerns himself with the "Thinking reed and thinking Reed," the imagination as the center of reality, I cite a more judicious passage from M.H. Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition (New York, Norton ed. 1953):

> The Copernican revolution in epistemology--if we do not restrict this to Kant's specific doctrine that the mind imposes the forms of time, space, and the categories on the 'sensitive manifold,' but apply it to the general concept that the perceiving mind discovers what it has itself partly made--was effected in England by poets and critics before it manifested itself in academic philosophy (p. 58).

53

See Edwin Honig, Dark Conceit: The Making of Allegory (Cambridge, reprint 1960), p. 62) for the oppositional relationship in allegory as reflecting the original polarities, illustrated by the cross.

54

H.M. Richmond, Renaissance Landscapes: English Lyrics in a European Tradition (The Hague & Paris, 1973), p. 126) cites Le Contemplateur with reference to "The Garden."

55

Lucan, The Civil War Books 1-X (Pharsalia) Loeb, trans. J.D. Duff (Cambridge, Mass. and London, reprint 1962), Bk. X, l. 249f.: "Et te terrarum nescit cui debeat orbis."

56

Timaeus 62-63; thus "above" and "below" become relative terms.

57

Enneads 1V.3, 32 (p. 287).

58

Ibid., 1, 2, 4.

59

See Hirst (pp. 74-75) for du Feu et du Sel.

60

"On Court-Worme," Vol. V111, p. 31-32.

61

Howey (p. 226) notes that the Orphites derived their name from the doctrine that Eve's serpent was no devil but the impersonation of Divine Wisdom.

62

See Evangelos P. Papanoutsos, The Foundations of Knowledge, ed. John P. Anton and transl Basil Coukis and John P. Anton (Albany, 1968), Chapt. X1, "Faith and Knowledge," pp. 276-96; and Rudolph Bultmann, History and Eschatology: The Presence of Eternity (New York and Evanston, Harper ed. 1957).

63

See Foucault (p. 33) on the spatialization of acquired knowledge in accordance with the mortal tree, and thus the suggestion that in recapturing the fallen leaves, man reconstitutes the very order of the universe.

64

Enneads V1.9: "There the soul is Aphrodite of the heavens; here, turned harlot, Aphrodite of the public ways: yet the soul is always an Aphrodite."

65

"Communitie," pp. 119-20 of cited edition.

66

A countryman, Fairfax caught the joke: bulrush (cattail) is of the sedge family. Nor would the irony escape him: Moses, the leader fo God's Chosen People, was saved from the waters of Old Nile by the same plant.

67

O.E.D. 1603 Holland, Plutarch's Moralia 1251, "The Poets that composed the songs of victorie --- named Paean"; 1611 Chapman, Iliad 1.457, "That day was --- spent in paeans to the King"; see also Henry Reynolds' "the excellent Io: Picus," in Mythomystes, as reprinted in Vol. I, p. 158 of J.E. Spingarn's 3 vol. ed. Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century (Bloomington and London, third printing 1968).

During the Middle Ages witches invoked and worshipped the infernal Bacchus in the figure of Satan with a bull's face. Bacchus with a bull's face appears in the 29th Orphic Hymn. (see Note 4, p. 117 of Edouard Schure, The Mysteries of Ancient Greece. Orpheus/Plato (Blauvelt, 1971).

Odyssey 12.260-425. But the 20th century's debt is to Joyce's Ulysses and its "Oxen of the Sun" episode: the home of Horne where men speak of cattle and the Bull or Ireland while Mrs. Purefoy gives birth to a joy that may exempt men from the curse of the murdered oxen.

68

Isaiah 30:26.

69

On Abraham, 47f.: Israel is the name for perfection, for it

means seeing God, "He who sees God." Two traditions come together to explain Marvell's Temple. Purchas, Chapt. IX, would have man learned and holy "by his Eare," for Moses began the Law with "Heare, Israel" (Deut.5:1), Christ enters at the ear (Eph. 3:17), and the Eye sees "only things present," while the Ear receives "the wisedome of our Fore-fathers."

70

Tourner's drama is cited from John Webster and Cyril Tourneur (New York, Mermaid ed. sixth printing 1965), III, 1V. (p. 347); Comus, 11. 715-16; see also Othello 111.4.73, "The worms were hallow'd that did breed the silk."

71

Ezekiel 43:5; Acts 7:44-48.

72

O.E.D.: Oxford and Cambridge were known as the two "eyes" of the nation.

73

Description of Greece, Loeb, trans. W.H.S. Jones (Cambridge, Mass. and London, reprint 1964), Vol. 4,XXX1.6-9.

74

Røstvig, The Happy Man, p. 188.

75

For hieros gamos in Rabelais' Cinquiesme Livre see G. Mallary Masters' Rabelaisian Dialectic and the Platonic-Hermetic Tradition (Albany, 1969), p. 83f; for the Androgyna, p. 19f. and p. 87.

Aristophanes tells his myth in Symposium, 190f., but with what intent is still being disputed. Wind (p. 201) assumes it a "comic fable" as its tone suggests. Considering its effect on the Symposium as a total work, the myth may be read as an instance of irony achieved through context. Karl Stern employs this myth as a corrective to an overtly masculine world; see The Flight from Woman (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1965). Assuming Rabelais totally serious, Masters uncovers the neo-Platonic Hermetic skeleton of the work, but at the expense of diminishing other themes and the all-import tone; the Frenchman stresses the fun. Whether or not Rabelais completed the Fifth Book is besides the point with reference to its influence on Marvell, though of interest to scholars.

76

Accepting Milton's contribution to "gadding Vines," Marvell seemingly kept his thoughts on ideas such as the Cinquiesme Livre unfolds. Whether or not Rabelais completed this book, a knowledge of it would exempt the 17th century poet from searching after more obscure sources. See Masters' discussion of Noah's wine (p. 84) "joye" and "ecstasis" (p. 85), and, in particular, see Chapt. 46 of Rabelais' C.L. for the Bacchic power of wine and the great "drinking song" that climaxes in "Io Paean."

For the influence of the Cabala, important with reference to Pico, see Joseph Leon Blau, The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance (Port Washington, New York, reissue 1965). Blau claims no Christian interpretor knew much of this knowledge, but Sarton (p. 263, ftn. 180) speaks of three Jewish scholars assisting Pico and his collection of 107 Hebrew manuscripts.

77

Ezekiel 43:4, "And the glory of the Lord came into the house by the way of the gate whose prospect is toward the east."

78

See Wind (pp. 228-9, ftn. 35).

79

Cited by Marjorie Hope Nicholson, Newton Demands the Muse (p. 68) from Universal Beauty (1734-1736), II 33f.; Chalmers, XVII.34.

80

See Hirst, p. 122.

81

Bachelard, The Poetics of Space contributes "little human sun"; quoted phrases (from Met. IV.228 ("mundi oculus") and Hymn of Apollo, (l. 31) are among others cited by C.S. Lewis, The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 26-27.

82

Even in denying that Marvell's wood is like the hule of confusing experience, Colie, ("My Ecchoing Song," p. 233, ftn. 34) lists references for hule as material: Timaeus, and Dante, Spenser, Milton. As sources for my contention, I have relied on Hankins, Source and Meaning in Spenser's Allegory, pp. 65-67, including Servius' commentary on Virgil; and Earl R. Wasserman, Shelley's Prometheus Unbound (Baltimore, 1965), pp. 123-24, ftn. 15) who notes that nearly every Latin dictionary recorded this information and offers it as Bacon's reason for entitling his study of natural history Sylva sylvarum.

83

Confessions, Bk. Vll, Chapt. 16, in standard translations, "phantasms," one meaning of Marvell's "Toyes." Augustine's phrase occurs in the context, "by degrees passing from bodies to the soul."

84

Cited by Sambursky (p. 41).

85

See Robert Graces, The Greek Myths (New York, Penguin ed. 1959), Vol. I, p. 85.

86

Ibid., Vol. I, p. 26: Pan, content to live in rural Arcadia, is the god who dies in time, by the authority of Plutarch's Why Oracles are Silent. But Rabelais (lV. Chapt 28) knows that Pan is not dead, "that most good and might Pan, our Savior." For Christians, Pan is "the very God of all Shepherds," Christ, as E.K.'s Gloose to Spenser's "May" ecloque also explains.

87

Herbert Marcuse, in Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud (New York, Vintage ed. 1962), p. 191) cites L'Eau et les Rêves (Paris: Jose Corti 1942), pp. 34-35) as part of his own portrait of Narcissus the player.

88

For Ovid's tale, see Metamorphoses, Bk. III, 1. 451f. Bush (p. 177) quotes the Browne passage (Bk. I, Song 2, 1. 411f.), having earlier discussed (p. 66) this same variation in William Warner's Albion's England.

89

Wind (p. 196) and see Richard Cody, The Landscape of the Mind (Oxford, 1969).

90

For the name Proteus as meaning "the first being," see C.G. Jung and C. Kerenyi, Essays on a Science of Mythology: The Myths of the Divine Child and the Divine Maiden, trans. R.F.C. Hull (New York and Evanston, Harper Torchbooks ed. 1963), p. 49.

91

See A. Bartlett Giammatti, "Prometheus Unbound: Some Versions of the Sea God in the Renaissance," The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays in Literary Theory, Interpretation, and History, ed. Peter Demetz, Thomas Greene, and Lowry Nelson Jr. (New Haven and London, 1968), p. 443.

92

Ibid (p. 443 ftn. 19) cites, and notes that Bacon's source is Natali Comes.

93

Wind, p. 202.

94

Giammatti (p. 453) cites Euthyphro 15.

95

Ibid., p. 445f.

96

M. M. Mahood, Shakespeare's Wordplay (London, 1957) pp. 23-24) outlines the problem: if we accept Theobald's "most brilliant" elucidation, we see life as Dr. Johnson, a "narrow bank in the ocean of eternity"; "reject it, and the image shrinks to the limits of a dusty classroom." She herself thinks the shoal "the momentous instant of choice in the flux of time." Keith Muir, as the editor of the Arden Macbeth (London and Cambridge, Mass., 9th ed. reprint 1966), p. 38, ftn. 6) cites Bethell: "Time is thus seen as the period of judgment, testing, or 'crisis,' and as a school." He himself (p. 39) thinks it likely that Shakespeare intended "shoal," but, by an unconscious pun, "bank" suggested "judgment" and "schoole" suggested "teach --- instructions."

97

Quotations are all from O.E.D.: 1624 Bishop Hall Contempl. N.T. "What is this divine trade of ours, then, but a spirituall Piscation?"; Spenser, Colin Clout (251) and Shepherds Cal. May (20) with E.K. Glosse; Ovid reference appears in 1627 Drayton Agincourt 207; for Sireniacals, the listing is 1616 Coryat Trav. Eng. Wits. 32 and 37.

98

Areopagitica, p. 300 (p. 20, original text).

99

See Thomas Greene, "The Flexibility of the Self in Renaissance Literature," in The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays in Literary Theory, Interpretation, and History, ed. Peter Demetz, Thomas Greene, and Lowry Nelson, Jr. (New Haven and London, 1968), pp. 241-64).

100

Johnson, who edited Gerald's Herball in 1634 and 1636, had been commanded to prepare a new edition. See Charles E. Raven, English Naturalists from Neckam to Ray: A Study of the Making of the Modern World (Cambridge, 1947), Chapt. XV1, "Thomas Johnson and His Friends," pp. 273-97.

101

See Louise Vinge, The Narcissus Theme in Western European Literature up to the Early 19th Century, trans. Robert Dewsnap in collaboraiton with Lisbeth Gronlund (Lund, 1967), pp. 174-77; notes pp. 378-79.

102

Wind, p. 200f.

103

The Necessary Angel: Essays on Reality and the Imagination (New York, Vintage ed. 1951), p. 79.

104

Cited by Streuver, p. 93 from Alberti's On Painting: the subject of art is man himself, and the only image of an autonomous mind is liberty.

105

Markham, p. 364; actual date is October 15, 1651.

106

Above information on the Druids depends on: A.L. Owen, The Famous Druids: A Survey of three centuries of English literature

(Oxford, 1962), pp. 29-71; Stuart Piggott, The Druids (New York and Washington, 1968); J.M.S. Tompkins, "'In Yonder Grave a Druid Lies,'" The Review of English Studies, Vol. XX11, No. 85 (January 1946), 1-16; for classical references, see Thomas Morgan, "The Druids According to Greek and Roman Writers," The Journal of the British Archaelogical Association, Vol. XXX (1874), 136-46; Boece's Scotorum Historical ex prima gentis origine was published in Paris 1526, but translated 1536 by John Bellenden. Llwyd appears in other texts as Lhuyd; for Theatrum orbis terrarum as the first great atlas, see Sarton (p. 100); Orthelis's friends included John Dee and Hakluyt.

107

For Annius of Viterbo specifically, see Piggott (p. 133) and Owen (pp. 36-37); an outline of Britain's "tradition" is available in Owen (pp. 39-67), and pp. 70-71 discusses the support lent by comparative etymologists.

108

For Milton's changing attitude toward the "old Philosophy of this Iland," see Patrick's ftn. 339 to Areopagitica (p. 319); Owen (pp. 54-58) discusses, further, Milton's cognizance of the Hyperborean associations.

109

Diodorus Siculus, The Library of History, Vol. II of 12 vol. Loeb, trans. C.H. Oldfather (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1967 reprint), Bk. II. 47.1-5; see also Piggott (p. 96).

110

Piggott, p. 95. Cawley, Unpathed Waters (pp. 84-85) cites Heywood's Silver Age as an example of hyperbolic reference to the Hyperboreans.

111

Appolodorus, The Library, Vol. II of 2 vol. Loeb, trans. James George Frazer (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1967 reprint), Bk. 11.V.11 and ftn. 2 (p. 221).

112

Duke-Elder and Wynbar cover most of the important tradition of the crystalline. But they begin with a delightful conjecture (p.38) that pupilla, a little girl, was so named from the diminutive image seen reflected from the cornea standing out on the bla background of the pupil. The old German Kindlein designated both pupil and little gir as did the Greek Kopn. References are scattered, but section beginning p.309 covers th Alexandrian and Arab schools; for DaVinci, see pp. 33,55 and Fig. 45; divine oculi occurs on p. 16; Bacon and Vesalius are discussed on p. 309. Ronchi p. 42 covers th same tradition.

113

Francesco Maurolycus' Photismi de lumine (published 1611) has been translated by Henry Drew (New York, 1940). Introduction (p.XVll) contends that Maurolycus represent the best thought in optics at the time when spectacles had come into wide use but were imperfectly understood. Book III,"Concerning the Structure of the Eye and Certain For of Lens" (p. 106) proposes the crystalline humor's position and power. See Ronchi (p. 105) for Maurolycus' importance; and the same in Sarton (p. 84), who suggests that spectacles were regarded as symbols of learning, even of sanctity (p.88).O.E.D. cites W.Rand's 1657 trans. of Pierre Gassendi's Life of Peiresc II. 97:"The image which was inverted in the Retina was---received by the Chrystalline in its right posture;"Lowe's Chirurg (1597 and 1634) 142):"The second and chiefe principall instrument of the sight is called cristalline."

114

For example, see Friedman (p. 249).

115

See Legouis' note to ll. 733-4 for parallel references in Marvell's period; Owst offers the medieval background for the cosmetic "vanity," image; but closest to "Appleton" is Brome's Queen 1V.111, "How black and fowl your Sin/Is rendered by my Chrystal innocence" (a.1652).

116

Wallerstein, p. 340.

117

See Ruthven for the literary convention (pp. 38-41).

118

See O.E.D. under Balsam and Marvellous, but see also Marvell's own referencce to the "Balsam-tree" in "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings" (1.54).

119

Natural History, 10 Vol. Loeb: Vol. 1V, trans R. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1960 reprint), X11-XV1; Vol. V11, trans W.H.S. Jones (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1966 reprint), XX1V-XXV11.

120

Information about Anne Bradstreet's Tenth Muse Lately Sprung up in America available in The Reader's Encyclopedia, p. 399; other "Four" poems were included.

121

O.E.D. cites examples of this use of term, and Marvell's "On a Drop of Dew," l. 24 uses "recollecting" in the same sense.

122

Possibly, Marvell alludes to Mary Stuart's train of the four Maries, familiar to us through the 18th century ballad; for their sixteenth century story, see Antonia Fraser's Mary Queen of Scots (New York, Dell, 1971). In the course of castigating these "whores," John Knox speaks of the age's ballads as witness to their immodesty, History of the Reformation in Scotland, Vol. II of 2 vol. ed. William Croft Dickinson (New York, 1950), pp. 102-03. Since his patron's family contributed the famous Fayrfax Manuscript, Marvell would be alert to song reference: see John Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court (London, 1961), "Appendix A," pp. 351-85. However, Knox's editor Dickinson advises that no extant copy of these ballads is known (p. 102, ftn. 6) and questions Knox's other libels. Bertrand Harris Bronson, The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads (Princeton, 1966), Vol. III, p. 150, in discussing "Mary Hamilton," reviews the possibilities of its sixteenth-century origin.

123

Cawley, Unpathed Waters (pp. 48, 84) suggests how popular the concept of "quintessence," was by its geographic extension to the Terra incognita.

124

See D.P. Walker, "The Astral Body in Renaissance Medicine," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. 21 (1958), 122. As for the relation to Maria, the "crystalline," O.E.D.

cites 1682 Sir Thomas Browne Christian Morals. 100, "Behold thy self by inward optics and the crystalline of the soul."

125

For a detailed account of "The Start" see John Lingard and Hilaire Belloc's Vol. 8 of their 11 vol. The History of England (New York, 1912), pp. 299-300. Though Maurice Ashley, The Greatness of Oliver Cromwell (New York, 1958) skips over the painful capture, he details the crowning of Charles II (p. 252) and the battle of Worcester (pp. 254-58).

126

One reason why Fairfax resigned was that he opposed the invading of Scotland; Marvell disagreed. For both positions, see Wallace, Destiny His Choice, pp. 94-8.

The Irish Embassy confirms the pronunciation of "bonagh" (like Armagh). "Forth" probably alludes to Scotland's important river, as "bull" represented the northern flat region, the small island and breakwater to Dublin harbor. Twenty years later in Rehearsal I, Marvell still refers to the Irish Massacre (Vol. III, p. 23).

127

Eikon Basilike: The Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in His Solitudes and Sufferings, 27 "To the Prince of Wales" (p. 159). In the "Introduction" (p. XlV) to his edition of Gondibert, Gladish finds a parallel to the King's supposed text in Ulfin's advice to his departing son Ulfinor (111.Vl.4).

128

"Ode to Himself."

129

For the first concept, see E. Cobham Brewer, The Reader's Handbook (Detroit reprint of rev. and enlarged Phila. ed. 1966), Vol. I, p. 197; for the second concept, see Brewer again, in Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable (New York, 9th ed. revised 1965), p. 194.

130

Allen, pp. 222-25.

131

Milton's "Il Penseroso" (l. 87) leads to the "Palladian oyl" of Areopagitica and Patrick's note (p. 301, ftn. 228).

132

The ancients named all the constellations cited except Chamaeleon, which was added by Bayer in his catalogue of 1603; see James S. Pickering, 1001 Questions Answered About Astronomy, fully revised Patrick Moore (New York, additional material ed. reprint 1972), #639 (p. 220).

133

Alvarez (p. 118) thought "Leathern Boats" suggested "boots" and prepared for "shoes" Holohan advised about the Yorkshire dialect. Colie (pp. 203-04, ftn.) notes both contributions, but she does not associate the combination with the constellation.

134

My debt continues to Walker, "The Astral Body in Renaissance Medicine"; the Plato passages accepted as authority are Timaeus, 41D-42D and Phaedrus, 246 A-B, 247B; Ficino's Theologia Platonica,

XVIII.IV is referred to p. 123.

135

"Lucasta's World and "To Amarantha, that She Would Dishevell Her Haire."

136

For the "scientific" meanings Marvell's contemporaries attached to this passage, see Scoular, p. 175f. and ftn. refs. to analogous usage.

137

Quoted phrase is l. 2 of "Sunday." Though the first record of the familiar lines,

> And the child that is born on the Sabbath day
> Is bonny and blithe, and good and gay,

appears centuries later, Opie (p. 310) advises that "the predilection for 'Sunday's child' is a favorable one, reflecting a belief which is as old as the Middle Ages."

138

O'Loughlin most positively states the opposing interpretation: the metamorphosis of the virgin to wife enacts the liberation in death of Christ on the cross in more secular terms (p. 140); and thus, he implies, this act fulfills Marvell's vision of "married," the "governing metaphor" embodying his sense of history (p. 124). But the closer analogue to such a cutting of the timeless bud, that is, for service, would seem to be the Medieval and Renaissance lament for the death of virgins which, in his discussion of Rilke, Hartman analyzes as "the wish to present a human being whose maturation did not depend on man"; see The Unmediated Vision (New York, Harbinger ed. 1966), p. 85.

139

Cleveland's "The Antipodes weare their shoes on their heads" ("Square-Cap," 1. 19) derives most directly from Richard Brome's lines in The Antipodes, 11.1.12-14:

> The comedy being a world turn'd upside down,
> That the presenter wear the capital beaver
> Upon his feet, and on his head show leather.

Text consulted is Ann Haaker's edition (Lincoln, 1966). But Legouis' ed. Marvell notes Martial X11.XLV: "As you cover with a kid's skin your temples---." Mandeville's line from The Voyages and Travailes is cited by Haaker in note to 1.V1.95, as Chapt. C1V, "How Prester John land lyeth foote againe foot to England." See also Donaldson, Chapt. Four, "'Living Backward': The Antipodes," and Cawley, Unpathed Waters for their position on maps (pp.82-83).

140

O.E.D. cites refs to both the bear-leader and to play the bear; and see Walsh, Handy-Book, pp. 83-84. Likely, Marvell was most cognizant of Humphrey Waspe and his charge, the gingerbread buyer of Bartholomew Fair.

141

See Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs (1643) Folk Rhymes of Devon, 97; the context is the battle of Bristol.

142

Bartholomew Fair, II, 1, about Ursula: "thou shalt sit in thy chair, and give directions, and shine Ursa major"; earlier, there is a reference to her bower as "mansion."

143

The fifth section of "The First Anniversary," a defense of Cromwell against charges that he exercised arbitrary power, ends with a reference to "Alcorand." Readers will recall the tyrannical Morose's admiration for the Turk (The Silent Woman, II, 1). The enemy could have a "Turk in his belly" as well as a Pope. Sarton (p. 262, ftn. 176) notes that superstitious fears caused by the comet, a symbol of evil and a presage of more evil, were in 1456 combined with the fear of Turkish invasions; the Turks were then threatening, as they remained. Quoted phrases, from the opening of Act II Othello, follow a reference to the Turkish fleet.

144

Ashley (p. 269) gives a graphic account of Cromwell's dismissal of the Long Parliament April 20, 1653. The previous March, the Royalists were told that both Fairfax and Major-General Lambert were "disgusted" by Cromwell (p. 268).

145

Norman A. Jeffares, "The Byzantine Poems of Yeats," Review of English Studies (Vol. 22 (1946), 47, in discussing the hero Cuchulain as renowned for his 'salmon leap', notes that in Celtic legendary the salmon is used as a symbol of strength.

146

Bartholomew Fair, V, 111.

147

Book Five, Chapt. 33.

148

Aeneid, 1V, 243; Georgics, Book I, 242f.

149

The Gallic War, Loeb, trans. H.J. Edwards (Cambridge, Mass. and London, reprint 1966), Book V1, 18, affirms the report that the Druids, descended from Dis, determine all period of time by the number of nights; The True Intellectual System, Vol. I (p. 398), "divine theogonists amongst---make Chaos and the Ocean senior to the gods, and Night the mother of them." Here Orpheus is invoked in the gloomy night; see ftn. 339 for reference to Argonaut.

150

My debt is to Hans Leisegang, "The Mysteries of the Serpent," trans. Ralph Manheim, in reprint The Mysteries: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks, ed. Joseph Campbell (New York, 1955), p. 255. Leisegang cites Orphic Humn XXXIV, in Thomas Taylor's 18thC trans. Mystical Hymns of Orpheus (1896 ed., p. 77). At least 13 editions of the Hymns were published during the Renaissance. However, my search through such obvious studies as D.P. Walker (The Ancient Theology) and Frances A. Yates (The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century) reveals no interest among the French in the Isle of Man or Hyperborean tradition, and no English interest has been uncovered.

151

"To P. Rupert," 11. 5-6.

152

Henry V, 1V.V11. Ironic Marvell would enjoy converting Shakespeare's parody of the kind of reasoning that ignores all differences into a perfect instance of likeness. For us, the irony is that "sal-

mons in both" has been used to mock the theme of poetry as "really about poetry itself;" see Richard Levin, "On Fluellen's Figures, Christ Figures, and James Figures," PMLA, Vol. 89, No. 2 (March 1974), 302-311.

153

Reference is to the second edition of James Howell's Instructions for Forreine Travell, first published in 1642; text is available in Edward Arber's edition (London, 1869), Section III, p. 20. See Walsh, Handy-Book (p. 84) for the "very common" usage of this expression in the seventeenth century.

154

Brome The Antipodes, 1. Vl. 95.

155

Scoular (p. 172, ftn 3) and Colie (p. 203) cite "We are become our own Antipodes" from Parnassus Biceps published in 1656. Since Marvell tends to be the innovative magpie, likely the expression appeared earlier in some variant.

156

Discussion of the self-sufficient tortoise has been omitted only because both Colie (pp. 197, 228) and Scoular (p. 171) refer to the Arabian tortoise, both house and boat, in Pliny, History of the World IX.10. As to the beaver that became the bear, expectedly we turn to French literature. The difficulty is that La Fontaine plays the pun, and The Fables are published after "Appleton House"; see Henri Regnier's Lexique De La Langue de J. De La Fontaine 2 vols. (New York, reprint of

1892 ed. vols. 10-11 of Oeuvres), Vol. II, p. 127 [Ours] .

157

Phrase is part of the closing line of Marvell's "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings."

158

For confirmation that no mathematician used the notion until Marvell's period, see Carl B. Boyer, A History of Mathematics (New York, London and Sydney, 1968), p. 40.

For details of Oughtred's 1646 contribution, though the Clavis was published in 1631, see Florian Cajori, A History of Mathematical Notations, 2 vols. (Chicago, 3rd printing 1952), Vol. II, pp. 8-9; and David Eugene Smith, History of Mathematics, 2 vols. (Boston, reprint 1953), Vol. II, p. 312.

159

For the original mathematical creation, Projective Geometry, as an outgrowth of Girard Demargues' exploring of perspectives, see Morris Kline, Mathematics in Western Culture (London, Oxford and New York, Oxford paperb. reprint 1971), p. 146; for Kepler's "elimination" of the crystal spheres, see Herbert Butterfield, The Origins of Modern Science, (New York, revised Collier ed. 1962), pp. 76-77.

160

For the reputed inscription over Plato's door and his concept of mathematics, see Ernest Barker, Greek Political Thought (London and New York, Univ. paperb. reprint 1968), p. 127.

161

First quoted phrase is from Giorgio's De harmonia mundi. For Digby's commentary and the theory of "grades" that follows, I am completely dependent on Alistair Fowler, Spenser And The Numbers of Time (New York, 1964), "Appendix I," pp. 268-70. Two difficulties must be noted: my inability in mathematics and the obscurity of Digby's text.

162

Of interest is Virgil C. Aldrich's "Art and the Human Form," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Spring 1971), 295-302.

163

The Encyclopedia Britannica (the 1967 ed., for example) mentions this contribution, though it omits $\frac{\delta}{\pi}$.

164

My debt is to Joyce's Ulysses and its keyless inhabitant of 7 Eccles Street. In the Oxen of the Sun episode (pp. 385-87), the reader notes the nurse marking the child with Christ's rood, the reference to Mona Island, Dixon inviting the traveller Leopold to join the crowd in the manner of Mandeville. Once the pattern is detected, many works assist: Brewer's Dictionary (pp. 603-04, 1111), the Encyclopedia Britannica, O.E.D..

165

O.E.D. cites 1654 Whitelocke Jrnl. Swed. Emb. (1772) 1. 196: "The bodyes of great trees squared and---keyed togither by other great pieces of timber."

NOTES

THE PLUNGE OF PASTORAL: "The unfortunate Lover"

1

The absence of the poem from most anthologies of seventeenth-century or even metaphysical verse provides the major comment. Several critics have been cited by Berthoff, p. 76. To these need be added only the turn-of-the-century appraisal by H.C. Beeching, a critic who credited Marvell with the "artist's love of making experiments," but thought "The unfortunate Lover": "probably the worst love poem ever written by a man of genius," ("The Lyrical Poems of Andrew Marvell," National Review 37 [July, 1901] 754). M.C. Bradbrook and Lloyd Thomas' remark on the clash between the vigor of language and the stiffness of heraldic design in their Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, 1940), p.29, was to be echoed years later by Harold E. Toliver in Marvell's Ironic Vision (New Haven, 1965), p.166.

2

Leishman's statement is explicit: "I have called this poem unprecedented--Nevertheless, I think it may be regarded as extraordinary in degree rather than in kind, and as simply carrying to an unprecedented extreme": The Art of Marvell's Poetry (New York, reprint 1968), p.34.

3

The two significant analyses of the poem are those of Rosalie L. Colie and Ann E. Berthoff. The first emphasizes emblematic technique and psychological interest ("My Ecchoing Song": Andrew Marvell's Poetry of Criticism (Princeton, 1970),

pp.50-51, 110-11, 172 et passim). The second is centered in an allegory whose theme is the soul's journey through time (The Resolved Soul: A Study of Marvell's Major Poems (Princeton, 1970), pp.75-88, pp.214-16: "Appendix: Note 5: Shipwreck, Storm, and the Birth into Time," et passim).

4

Although based on the suggestions of several critics who had either located a source or given an example, Colie's discussion of the emblems available to Marvell has, by its amplification, become the significant account. For background and influences, see Rosalie Freeman's English Emblem Books (New York, reprint 1966) and Mario Praz's Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery (Rome, rev. reprint 1964). Considering the controversy among critics as to the nature of the emblem, I quote Joseph D. Mazzeo to clarify the position adopted in this chapter: "The very grotesquesness of many of the emblems is testimony to the fact that the conceit preceded—and was therefore independent of—its graphic expression." ("A Critique of Some Modern Theories of Metaphysical Poetry," in Seventeenth Century English Poetry," ed. William R. Keast (New York, 1962), p.71).

5

Jean H. Hagstrum, The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray (Chicago and London, 1968), p.118. A footnote traces the conceit back to Niobe in Ovid's Metamorphoses, VI. 298 ff.

6

Sympathy has been credited by Pierre Legouis, Andrew Marvell:

Poet. Puritan. Patriot (Oxford, 1968), p.32.

7

Capitalization is meant to emphasize Marvell's substitution of the deities for the impersonal forces of inevitability. Possibly, as suggested by G.F. Sensabough, The Tragic Muse of John Ford (Stanford and London, 1944), p.109, in another context, influence was through the classically-minded coterie of Queen Henrietta Maria. Marvell, however, needed little introduction to pagan literature.

8

The influence of Marvell's heraldic colors on the last line of The Scarlet Letter, the suggestion of Robert L. Brant, "Hawthorne and Melville," American Literature, Vol. XXX, No. 3 (November, 1958), 366, has been cited by both Legois, P. 236 n. and Berthoff, P. 87n. For the fuller information provided at present, source has been, as it will continue to be for heraldic terms, Boutell's Heraldry, rev. ed. J.P. Brooke Little (London and New York, 1970).

9

Toliver, p. 167.

10

Legouis, in the revised edition of Margoliouth's Poems and Letters of Marvell, I, p.256, notes this meaning, only however to conclude in a confirmation of the heraldic character of the poem.

11

In Margoliouth's text, the basis for all critical analyses here discussed, this stanza presented three colons. Neither the copy in the British Museum nor the Bodleian Library could confirm this punctuation. Legouis' revised edition had therefore to be chosen as the authoritative text, with the subsequent loss of poetic suggestibility.

12

"The sterres, covered with blakes cloudes, nē mowen yeten adoun no lyght": Chaucer's Boece, Book I, Metrum 7, quoted from F.N. Robinson's edition of The Works (Boston and Cambridge, Mass., 1957).

"Yet" has often been the sigh of regret in poetry, as in Spenser's "And yet alas!/ Yet dewed with teares they han be": ("December," 11-12). But in the "melodious" elegiac "Tear" that is "Lycidas," "Yet," although primarily it notes man's existence in time, might, as its secondary meaning, be asking that nature, the "Laurels" and the "Myrtes" now "brown," join in the symphony of sorrow by shedding their "tears."

13

George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie, 11. IV. as quoted in O. E. D.; Joseph H. Summers, "Introduction," (p.26) of his edition of Marvell for the Laurel Poetry Series (New York, 1961). Ben Jonson, The English Grammar, Vol. VIII, p. 555 of edition by C.H. Herford and Percy Simpson of The Works (Oxford, 1965): O. E. D. quotes as well Bullokar: "Colon, A mark of a sentence not fully ended which is made with two prickes."

14

Epigram, in translation, as quoted by Paul Nixon in Martial And The Modern Epigram (New York, 1963), p. 64.

15

"But, o malignant and ill-boding stars." Quotation is from 1 Henry VI. IV.5.6, although a brief survey conducted among present-day Shakespeare readers confirmed the suspicion that Romeo and Juliet would be offered as source.

16

Ancient belief was noted by J.A.K. Thomson, Shakespeare and the Classics (London, 1952), p. 152. After the seventeenth-century Fall in Paradise Lost, the planets became bodies of "noxious efficacy," and the stars learned "influence malignant when to show'r" (X. 657 ff).

17

Colin himself makes the point:

> A comett stird up that unkindly heate,
> That reigned (as men sayd) in Venus seate (59-60)

18

O. E. D. devotes a section to the use, politically, of the term during this period in English history. But Clarendon, that contemporary observor, reports that Charles I, in 1642, answered that Parliament ought to: "inquire after and avoid the malignant party under the character of persons disaffected to the peace and government of the kingdom, and such who, neglecting and despising the land..." The History of the Rebellion and Civil War in England, re-edited by W. Dunn Macray (Oxford, 1888).

Book V. 99. Aristocratic arrogance extended however beyond the shores of England, as can be heard from Saint-Amant's "ces malignes Testes-rondes," in "L'Albion: Caprice Hero-Comique." Text used was Ouevres Completes, ed. Ch. L. Livet (Paris, 1855), Vol. II, pp. 437-471; phrase quoted appears on p. 441.

19

Information as to the pamphlet, The Character of a Right Malignant (1644) was presented by Michael Norris Holohan in his 1967 unpublished Yale University Dissertation, "The Poet and the Civic Crown: The Theme of Political Participation in the Poetry of Andrew Marvell," p.45 n. 37. "Malignant poet and historian both" appears as l. 41 of "Tom May's Death."

20

Quoted line is from "To P. Ruppert" (8). Text used was The Poems of John Cleveland, ed. Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington (Oxford, 1967), p.33.

21

Lines appeared as 15-16 of Dialogue-Lucasta-Alexis in the Lucasta of 1649. Lovelace's volume was however, as Leishman advises (pp.32-33 n), licensed prior to this date and probably available to Marvell for reading before he was to contribute commendatory verses.

22

George de F. Lord, in his edition of Marvell's Complete Poetry for Random House (New York, 1968), informs about Edgehill. That this honor may have been rewarded to Sir John Smith for

rescuing the Royal Standard was the contribution of Sir Nicholas Harris Nicholas' History of the Orders of Knighthood of the British Empire (London, 1842), Vol. I, "Intro.," p.XLII. By asserting the 1612 claim of the Baronets against the Bannerets, this latter source would however indicate that this Order had a prior history. At present the terms seem shrouded in ambiguity. Considering its use by Marvell, Lovelace and, as will shortly be disclosed, Cleveland, it held significance for the age, unless poetic influence alone be conjectured.

23

Nicholas A. Salerno, "Marvell's 'The Unfortunate Lover,'" VIII," The Explicator, Vol. XVIII. No. 7 (April, 1962), Item 65.

24

The phrase "track the times" appeared as 1. 6 of "To R. Ruppert"; the phrase from "The Mixt Assembly," 1. 40.

25

Mrs. Duncan-Jones collaborator of Legouis in the revised Marvell, has noted the same passage in Hamlet, 11. 2. 437-42.

of Frames: An Inquiry into the Enhancement of Paintings (New York, 1963), pp. 66-8. The provisional stretcher is discussed by Rutherford J. Gittens and George L. Stout in Painting Materials: A Short Encyclopedia, intro. Edward W. Forbes (New York, 1942), "Tools and Equipment," pp. 312-13.

27

The "Glosse" to Spenser's "November" explains the "Beare" as a "frame whereon they use to lay the dead corse."

28

Heydenryk describes the "plain black" frame (p. 68).

29

William D'Avenant, Gondibert: An Heroick Poem, "Argument to the Seventh Canto of the Third Book, Verse 2." Text consulted was the Scolar Reprint, 1970, of the 1651 edition. Bradbrook and Lloyd Thomas offer a succinct comment on the mediocrity of English poetry in the period: "It was a dull time; most writing was elaborate and exhausted..." (p. 28).

30

John Wardroper, in the "Introduction" to his Love and Drollery (New York, 1969), speaks of the books of witty verse that flourished as amusement during the bitter years of the Civil War and Commonwealth and continued on into the Restoration, before presenting the collection that sustains his argument. Marvell's poem, expressive of so many aspects of life in the mid-seventeenth century, can be in particular understood as a forerunner to the coarser "drolleries" of the mid 1650's.

31

Miss Syfret's comment appeared as a footnote to p. 29 of Bradbrook and Lloyd Thomas. Retraction followed however, again as a footnote, p. 32 of Legouis' study of the poet.

32

"To P. Ruppert," l. 40. Leishman's suggestion of 1647-49 as the limits within which to date "The unfortunate Lover" seems acceptable, particularly since Charles conferred no titles of knighthood after 1646 and had met death by 1649.

33

Bradbrook and Lloyd Thomas "The 'masque of quarrelling Elements' is the only purely artificial scene in all Marvell's poetry" (p. 29).

34

hic inter flumina nota
et fontis sacros frigis captabis opacum.

Latin analogue was chosen before coming upon Bush's suggestion of Virgil's Ninth Eclogue, 20 "'aut viridi fontis induceret umbra,'" as noted in Legouis' text, p. 269 (with reference to the "green Shade" of "The Garden"). Since, it has been self-consciously maintained. "Opacum" most closely suggests Marvell's "Shadows," as "frigis" the "cool." A composite was however the likelihood, and the "shade" will soon become a part of the discussion. That Donne anticipated Marvell is evident from Duncan-Jones' quotation from his letter to Goodyear: "'our shadows upon clay will be dirty, and in a garden green!'"

35

A notable exception is the sensitive comment by L.N. Wall: "suggesting a painting by Watteau," in "Some Notes on Marvell's Sources," Notes and Queries. New Series, Vol. 4. No. 4 (April, 1957), 171.

36

In Milton's Comus, l. 207, the "shadows" as "dire" are the image produced by the imagination. But no contradiction is intended to Legouis' note: "it was possibly left for Marvell to discover that the shadow cast by the foliage also had a greenish hue" (p. 269, n. re: "green Shade" of "The Garden").

37

Holohan begins his dissertation with an interesting discussion of "To his Noble Friend, Mr. Richard Lovelace."

38

Phrase appears on p. 49.

39

The assumption is that Marvell felt free to draw on the concept of the previous century, as for example presented by William Fulke in A Goodly Gallery, a portion of which is reprinted in The Frame of Order: An Outline of Elizabethan Belief Taken from Treatises of the Late Sixteenth Century (London, 1957).

40

Noted by Berthoff, p. 79. Disagreements with this analysis are many; however, it is the most thorough reading to date, correctly emphasizes allegory, and indicates some

awareness of Marvell's extraordinary sensitivity to words.

41

Donald M. Friedman, in discussing this poem (pp. 42-3) links these lines to the philosophy of the Cambridge Platonists: light is equated with intellectual purity and inspiration, and the inevitable demise of infant passion is made to coincide with the death of the spirit and the clouding of the mind; "what separates the meteors from the background against which we see them is the same distance that separates eternity from the phenomena of the world of becoming." (Marvell's Pastoral Art. London, 1970).

42

XIX 17-18 re: Achilles "From his eyes (as if the day-starre rose)/ A radiance terrifying men did all the state enclose." And the description is comparable to that of Jove, XX 24-5: "His meere looks threw darts enou t' impresse/Their powres with trembling..." (Chapman's Homer, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (Princeton, New Jersey, 1967, Vol. I).

43

One qualification presents itself as voiced by Charles L. Sanford in The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the American Moral Imagination (Urbana, 1963), p. 12 n. 42: "Paradise as an image of power is frequently encountered in world literature."

44

Considering the host of passages available to Marvell, as was suggested by Berthoff's "Appendix," there seems no

reason to credit the passage from Lucreti De Rerum Natura, V. 222-5, singled out by Legouis (p. 225 n.) as Marvell's particular source.

45

Concept is that of Sanford, p. 33. Biblical passage quoted is Jonah 2:5.

46

Translation is from the Loeb edition; the Latin: "...sit Tityrus Orpheus/Orpheus in silvas, inter delphinas Arion. --/omnia vel medium fiat mare. --in undas/defarar--."

47

Poem is to be found in Livet's edition, I, 73-82. Samuel L. Borton discussed it as a tribute to the plight of Theophile de Viau, in "The Epic Poet: L'Arion," Chapter VII of Six Modes of Sensibility in Saint-Amant (The Hague. Paris, 1966) pp. 99-112.

48

Passage, from Plato's Republic, "Book V," appeared as the frontispiece of Soren Kierkegaard's The Concept of Irony: With Constant Reference to Socrates. It has here been presented in the translation provided by Lee M. Capel who was responsible for translation of, introduction and notes to Kierkegaard's volume (New York, 1965). Further discussion of the acceptance of irony as pervasive of life, as for example in Quintilian, is available in Norman Knox, The Word Irony and its Context, 1500-1755 (Durham, 1961).

The ironic voyage of "the unfortunate," if it belongs

to the literary tradition that extends from Byron's Don Juan to Steven's "The Comedian as the Letter C," can as well claim antecedents in those imaginary ones taken by Lucian in A True Story and Menippus or The Descent into Hades.

49

For a perceptive, succint comment on the myth of Orpheus, the poet, see Northrop Frye, A Natural Perspective (New York and London, 1967), p. 147.

50

Kierkegaard, p. 339.

51

"Letter to James Hessey, October 9, 1818," The Selected Letters of John Keats (New York, 1951), p. 150.

52

Reference is to the Iliad, "Book III," 11.124 ff. in which Helen of Troy weaves into her tapestry the battles and disasters of the Trojan War even then in progress. Chapman in his translation (11. 132 ff.) terms Helen's tapestry a "weed," a term interchangeable with the garment.

53

Examples testifying to the persistence of tapestry as the metaphor for allegory are provided by the "Dedication" that accompanied Digges' translation of Claudian's The Rape of Prosperine: "It was intended to you, as a Patterne for a piece of Needle-work--"; and by the passage in Saint-Amant's Moyse sauve, "Troisieme Partie," Vol II, pp. 190-91 of Livet's edition, in which Jocabel depicts in tapestry the moment when

the fatal deluge shall engulf the universe. Debt is to Alain Seznec, for pointing to this last mentioned work in "Saint-Amant, Le Poete Sauve Des Eaux," Studies in Seventeenth-Century French Literature (Ithaca, 1964), pp. 60-64.

For the relationship between emblems and tapestry see Freeman, between conceit and emblem, Praz, and of both emblem and conceit to allegory, Frances Yates, "The Emblematic Conceit in Giordano Bruno's De Gli Eroici Furori and in the Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. 5 (1942), 101-121.

54

Berthoff discusses the theme of miscarriage, suggesting analogues in the realm of the political, but refusing the relationship (pp. 84-5). To the 16th and 17th centuries Caesar was, however, a symbol of power. Interpretations ranged from Plutarch's arrogant superman, whose ambition in Cymbeline "swell'd so much that it did almost stretch/The sides o' the world," (111. 1. 47-8) to Bacon's figure of sufficient greatness to be "the care of the higher powers," "Of Fortune," Essays or Counsels: Civil and Moral. Text used was The Works of Francis Bacon, collected and ed. by James Spedding et al (Boston, Brown and Taggard, 1860-4), Vol. Xii, p. 217.

55

Quotation is from the opening of Torquato Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered in the Edward Fairfax translation newly introduced by Roberto Weiss (Carbondale, Illinois, 1962). "Introduction" quotes the brief discourse accompanying Fairfax

Gent's translation, properly stressing the "Imitation" and "Allegorie" which "allureth" and "instructeth" in "Heroicall Poetrie."

56

Puttenham, Book I, Chapt. XVIII, selection as reprinted in Milton's Lycidas, pp. 112-13.

57

Berthoff, p. 84.

58

Horace, C. 1. 14 in The Odes and Epodes, trans. C.E. Bennett (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1927).

59

Information was made available by Angus Fletcher, Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode (Ithaca, 1964), n.p. 77. Steele Commager in The Odes of Horace (Bloomington and London, 1964), p. 164, traces the metaphor back to the time of Theogones. With reference to the subsequent discussion of the "wave of war," see no. 3, and specifically Horace, C. 11. 7. 15-16.

60

Of Reformation, "The Second Book" (1642) as read in The Prose of John Milton, selected and ed. under J. Max Patrick (New York, 1967), p. 72.

61

A fertile confusion of ideas had ascribed to the load-

stone the properties of both impregnability and attraction. Therefore the "Load-star" of love might become the "Adamantine Rock," the possession of which meant control over the "wild Empire of the Ocean." For a discussion of "The Mask of Proteus and the Adamantine Rock," see Stephen Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 8-18.

62

"And as it fareth in a Realme or Kingdome, in a Commonwealth, in a civill Policy, or Corporation,--so likewise in the body of man--": quoted from The Touchstone of Complexions by Levinus Lemnius (1565) in excerpt translated by T. Newton appearing (p. 39) in The Frame of Order, ed. James Winney.

63

The Rehearsal Transpros'd, Part II, Vol. III, pp. 369-69 of The Complete Works of Andrew Marvell, ed. with introduction and notes by Rev. Alexander B. Grosart (New York, 1966).

Berthoff's "Appendix" (p. 214) cites the passage, minus the reference to government, leaving out "But alas," and drawing no political inference.

64

The major discussion of Machiavellianism in Marvell has been the contribution of Joseph Anthony Mazzeo, "Crowmwell as Machiavellian Prince in Marvell's An Horatian Ode," Chapt. VIII of Renaissance and Seventeenth-Century Studies (New York/London, 1964), pp. 166-82.

65

Concept and its expression often appear, but conveniently in J.B. Broadbent's Poetic Love (New York/London, 1964), p. 248.

66

Reference is to Seven Types of Ambiguity, Third Edition Reprinted (London, 1963).

67

Quotation is actually from Thomas May's translation of Lucan's Pharsalia or The Civill Warres of Rome, Book V, 11. 580-82, 592-93. Meaning concurs with J.D. Duff's translation for Loeb Classics edition of Lucan's The Civil War (Pharsalia), Books I-X. Passage had, of course, appeared in North's translation of Plutarch's Lives (XXXVIII. 3) from Amyot's French version; but as well in Jonson's "Of Fortune."

68

Background material was obtained from M.P.O. Morford's The Poet Lucan: Studies in Rhetorical Epic (New York, 1967), Chapt. 111 "The Literary Background to Lucan's Storms," pp. 20-36: Chapt IV "Lucan's Storms: An Analysis and Discussion," pp. 37-56.

69

The tradition is presented in Harold R. Patch's The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature (New York, 1967 reprint), pp. 83-107.

70

The star of Caesar appears in Virgil's Ninth Eclogue, 1. 47. For background, see Michael C.J. Putnam's Virgil's Pastoral Art (Princeton, 1970) p. 188. The comet appeared

in 43 B.C. during games in honor of Octavian's adopted father. To Suetonius (Caesar, 99) the comet signified the elevation of Caesar's soul to heaven.

The line "& Comon Law, by Comon Law outlaw'd" from the song, "England! once Europe envye now her scorne," reprinted in Seventeenth Century Songs and Lyrics, pp. 94-5, will testify to the manner of contemporary spelling. Song refers as well to "Malignant Humors" lurking in the body of a state "selfe by selfe torne."

71

Morford, p. 30, presents the tradition of the parricida, which extended to Caesar, the murderer, if only indirectly, of his son-in-law. Editors of John Cleveland have noted that Clarendon's word for the execution of Charles I was "parricida." (p. 161 n).

72

Shakespeare's confusion, a popular one, is part of Thomson's discussion on daemons, pp. 196-202. Additional information is available in Platonism in French Renaissance Poetry, by Robert Valentine Merrill with Robert J. Clements (New York, 1957). Ronsard's "Hyme des daimons" (1955) was probably known to Marvell, claimed to have been influenced by the French poet: see H.M. Richmond, "Ronsard and the English Renaissance," Comparative Literature Studies, Vol. VII. No. 2 (June, 1970), 141-60, although neither poem is mentioned, and emphasis is on subjective awareness.

73

The passage from which lines have been quoted appeared as 11. 676 ff. in the poem the date for which has been conjectured as 1653. Earlier, lines had appeared in "The Loyall Scot," 42 ff.

74

Ficino's reference to hereos has been noted by Erwin Panofsky in Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (New York, 1967), Chapt. V., p. 144, n. 51. For a detailed account of the long and curious history of hereos, replete with linguistic distortion, see John Livingston Lowes' "The Loveres Maladye of Hereos," Modern Philogy, Vol. XI (1914), 491-546.

75

Ovid's The Amores 1. 11. 35: "blanditiae comites tibi erunt Erroque Furorque."

76

Discussed by Merrill (p. 121) who has as well advised that Ronsard's play with the equation "erreur-fureur" (p. 132) had as its source, rather than the Phaedrus, Ficino's Commentarium in Convivium, source book for neo-Platonists. (p. 123)

77

Plato's Symposium, pars. 202-3.

78

Quotation is from 11. 1373-75. Lowes' article, which this passage occasioned, advises that Hereos appearing in

Speght's 1598 edition of Chaucer, became Eros in the 1602 edition.

79

The phrases are those of Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, included in Lowes' account though the term hereos never appears. The symptons of "Heroicall love," discussed in the "Third Partition" agree however with those detailed by Chaucer, and Chaucer, "our English Homer" was the English poet Burton knew and liked best.

80

Metamorphoses, XV. 532; Cleveland "On the Pouder Plot," l. 48: "--Thames had turned to Phlegethon."

Marvell may however have been aware that from the French flamme had come "flame" and "fleam," the surgical instrument "Torn into Flames" would so hint.

81

Word play is from Plautus, Miles Gloriosus or The Braggart Warrior, l. 640; et ego amoris aliguantum habeo umorisque in corpore." Loeb Classics Edition, Vol. III, trans. Paul Nixon (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1963).

82

O. E. D., under "mother," offers several quotations from works of anatomy which, in this period, used these terms to describe the structure in the brain.

83

Phaedrus, par. 265A, listed the poetic as a subdivision of divine madness. See Merrill (p. 54) for the idea of super-

natural possession as evocative of the daemon along with the figure of the Muse. Debt for the identification of daemon with genius, is to Thomson, p. 196.

84

The circumstances of birth as the explanation for the attributes of the Petrarchan lover was the interpretation offered by Frank Kermode in notes to his edition of Andrew Marvell for Signet Classics (New York, Toronto and London, 1967), and since adopted by Legouis for his text.

85

My debt for realization of this word-play is to Imbrie Buffum, Studies in the Baroque from Montaigne to Routrou (New Haven, 1957), Chapt. 4, "Three Poems by a Libertin: Saint-Amant," p. 158.

86

Jorges Luis Borges with Margarita Guerrero, The Book of Imaginary Beings, rev. and trans. by Norman Thomas di Giovanni in collaboration with the author (New York, 1970), under "Uroborus," presents the tradition from the Greeks of the ocean as a circular river that ringed the land mass.

Marvell has, in several instances, employed a variation on the conceit in Donne's "A Valediction: Of Weeping" of the "tear" of the loved one as a world reflective of the lover: see "Mourning" and its "infants"; also Rehearsal Transpros'd. 1. p. 66: "Only to speculate his own Baby in their Eyes." One further note of information may be of meaning here: Marvell would have been aware that Tom May's Cleopatra, acted in 1626, was in print by 1639.

87

The allusion to Lucretus' Tityos has been noted by Legouis (p. 255). The absence of Hell from the tradition of the pagan, while it compelled an allegorical interpretation, provided Marvell with an opportunity to further return allegory to history. Conjectures as to the Odyssey, or Burton's comments on the same, as the source for the two birds, which the contradictory activities of Stanza V are supposed to reveal, never consider the "fleet" of "quarrelling Elements" of teh stanza that precedes.

88

"An Hymne in Honour of Love," l. 84.

89

Rehearsal Transpos'd, p. 241.

Mrs. Duncan-Jones has, for Legouis' edition, noted that "quarrelling Elements" often figured in masques. For a discussion of the "therapeutic masque" to which Marvell might well have been indebted, see Ingra-Stina Ewbank's "'These Pretty Devices': A Study of Masques in Plays," in A Book of Masques (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 407-48.

90

Rehearsal Transpros'd, p. 241. Notes (p. 562) have defined phrase as "over-riding him, and governing him." But the tradition of "pick-a-back" goes back to Aeneid 11. 721 ff. where Aeneas carries Anchises out of Troy. Renaissance interpretation of this image is available in Ian Donaldson's The World Upside-Down: Comedy from Jonson to Fielding (Oxford, 1970),

Chapt. Three, "'Days of Privelege': Bartholomew Fair," pp. 53-4, and note. Humphrey Wasp, in carrying Cokes about the Fair on his back, parodies the emblematic illustration of the virtue of filial piety contained in Geoffrey Whitney's "A Choice of Emblems," published in Leyden, 1586, but available in edition by Henry Green, with introduction by Frank Fieler (New York, 1957), p. 163.

91

1 Henry VI. 1.2. 138-9.

92

Information was made available by Sir Charles Firth, Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England, "Intro." by G.M. Young (London, reprint 1966).

93

O. E. D. quotes Fuller's Pisgah (1650), 1. 429. Milton's Areopagitica (1644) has "fram'd and fabric'd," which J. Max Patrick has glossed as "composed and constructed." (p. 327).

94

Faerie Queene, Book V, Canto 11 for episode of Talus; "great Gyant"...VI. Iv. 29. 6; the "grand leveller," as the proverb told, was, however, "death."

95

Richard II, II, 1.38: Love's Labour's Lost, I, 1.4; Coriolanus, I, 1.125. "Insuls" meant, for Milton, stupid and lacking in taste (see The Prose), p. 289 n.

96

Key passage is in Metamorphoses XV. 342-43 354-55:

nam sive est animal tellus et vivet habetque
spirameneta locis flammen exhalantia movetur
---
naturesque suum nutrimen deerit edaci,
non feret illa famen desertaque deseret

More famous, as a quotation, is "tempus edax rerum" (Met, XV, 234). The "curas edaces," of Horace's C. II. XI. 18, became the "eating cares" of "L'Allegro" (1. 135).

97

Debt for awareness of tradition is to Thomson, p.123; Faerie Queene, II. VIII. 16: "entombed in the raven."

98

Sandys, pp. 430-31; comments to follow are from this same passage.

99

Servi Grammatici qui Feruntur in Vergili Carmina Commentari, recensverent Georgius Thilo et Hermannus Hagen (Hildensheim, 1961). Key passages are Vol. I, p. 383 re: Aeneid III. 233; pp. 379, 384 re: Aeneid III. 241. For the significance to the Renaissance of Servius' Commentary see Edgar Wind, "Hercules' and "Orpheus': Two Mock-Heroic Designs by Durer," Journal of the Warburg Institute. Vol. II (January, 1939), 207. Of interest are II. 437-8 from "The Second Book" of The Odyssey in Chapman's Homer: "how blacke above their heads/Fate hovers, holding Death."

100

With reference to "Blood-vengence" and the Erinyes,

see "Appendix #14," p. 405 of William Chase Greene's Moira: Fate, God, and Evil in Greek Thought (New York, 1944).

101

Debt for phrase is to Maud Bodkin, Archetypal Patterns in Poetry: Psychological Studies of Imagination (London, 1951), p. 110.

102

Vol. VIII of Ben Jonson, l. 143.

103

Samson Agonistes, l. 1358. Milton, in Of Reformation, wrote about the "Courts": "What a Masse of Money is drawne from the Veines into the Ulcers of the Kindgome this way; their Extortions, their open Corruptions, the multitude of hungry and ravenous Harpies that swarme about their offices declare sufficiently." (p. 75) Clarendon, Book X, #149, spoke to those who "had not prostituted themselves to Cromwell and his party."

104

I Henry IV, II.2.43 for "heir apparent" and King Lear, II.4.7 for "cruel garters" provided the matter for Marvell's word-play. Anyone who doubts Marvell's intense awareness of Shakespeare would do well to note, among many other Shakespearean references and echoes in Rehearsal, the one of "mobled" (p. 428).

105

Henry V. V. 1.20: "me fold up in Parca's fatal web." Servius had identified the Fates with both Furies and Harpies.

106

For the medieval and Renaissance conception of the weaver, see Russell Fraser, The War Against Poetry (Princeton, New Jersey, 1970), pp. 174-5. For information concerning the location of Puritanism in England and the relation of the Weavers Company to Puritanism, see Perez Zagorin, The Court and the Country (London, 1967), pp. 186-87, 351; it should however be added that Zagorin in no way discovers a class conflict to underline the origins of the English Revolution or to be its cause. But Christopher Hill, citing Bernard Capp's study, The Fifth Monarchists: A Study in Seventeenth-century Millenarianism (1972), which showed the strength of the movement in the 1650's was among cloth workers and other craftsmen, agrees with his stress on their class consciousness, their hostility to aristocracy. (The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution (London, 1972), p. 78). Hill (p. 19) quotes E. Warburton (Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers, 1849, II. pp. 104-5) for the assumption that "'the clothiers through the whole kingdom were rebels by their trade.'"

107

Great Britain Statutes/Acts and Ordinances, collected and edited C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait (London, 1911), Vol. I. 5th March 1642 to 30th January 1649. Cleveland, "The Hue and Cry after Sir John Presbyter," l. 50: "A Deane and Chapter out of Weavers Hall"; eds. Morris and Withington explain that reference is to the new Presbyterian order of Elderships elected according to the Ordinance of 9 June 1649. Cleveland's "Square Cap" l. 24: "Next comes the Puritan in a wrought-Cap"; eds.

note Strode's "The Capp," ll. 78-9:

> The cruell Cappe is knitt, like hose
> For them whose zeale takes cold i' th' nose.

John Lilburne was apprenticed to a clothe-merchant, as was Gerrard Winstanley.

108

Samuel Butler, Hudibras, ed. with intro. and commentary by John Wilders (Oxford, 1968), Second Part, Canto I, ll. 441-46.

109

List of traditional Puritan mannerisms appears in William P. Holden, Anti-Puritan Satire 1592-1642 (Hamden, Conn., 1968), p. 120.

110

For the tradition of "newspeak" see Angus Fletcher, Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode (Ithaca, 1964), pp. 2-3 n.20.

111

"To his Noble Friend, Mr. Richard Lovelace, upon his Poems": "Our wits have drawn th' infection of our times... The air's already tainted with the swarms/of insects..." Hudibras 111.2. 9-10: "Petulant Capricious Sects,/The Maggots of Corrupted Texts," that preceded the "Storm" of war.

112

See Fletcher, Allegory, p. 2., n. 1; see Knox, The Word Irony...p. 35 for Sherry, Puttenham and Fraunce re: Allegoria: "our wordes and our meanings meete not."

113

Francis Quarles, The Complete Works, col., ed. with intro. notes by Rev. Alexander Grosart, (New York, 1967), Vol.I: Prose, Judgement and Mercy for Afflicted Souls, Part I, Meditation XIII, "The wordly man's Verdour." (p. 87)

114

Dering's phrases, which frame that of Quarles, were quoted by Zagorin, p. 345.

115

Hamlet III. 2.99. Hobbes Leviathan, reprint of edition of 1651 (Oxford, 1965), is quoteworthy:

> For Appetite with an opinion of attaining is called Hope
> The same, without such opinion, Despaire
> 1.6 (p.43)

116

The Fable of the Jackdaw, with important literary repercussions in Greene's Groatsworth of Wit, was available, as Thomson suggests (p. 159), from the first book of Horace's Epistles.

Reference is to the archfool of Epicoene or The Silent Woman (Vol. V). Marvell's extensive debt to Jonson may have included, from this play, the theme of a reversal of relationship, as it may have meant to play the verbal game on "in taile" from The Alchemist II. VI. 85-9 with reference to the meteor's casualty, the "abject Heir."

Phrase quoted from Chaucer is 1. 363.

Debt for the reminder that terms of new light, vessel,

malignant and incendiaries were part of Puritan cant is to Wilders, ed. of Hudibras (p. 354).

117

Willard Farnham, The Shakespearean Grotesque: Its Genesis and Transformations (Oxford, 1971), p. 38; in turn, Farnham's debt is to G.C. Coulton, ed. of A Medieval Garner (London, 1910), p. 482.

118

Hudibras, Second Part, Canto II, 733-39.

119

Colie, n. p. 111, cites Veen's emblem.

120

Marvell's precedent for the rather obvious pun intended would be Bartholemew Fair, V.V. 18-19 (Vol. VI).

121

Quoted phrases are from Hudibras, First Part, Canto I, l. 233 and Second Part, Canto II, l. 796. Wilders, in his excellent commentary (pp. 237-8) discusses Puritan condemnation and, citing Firth and Rait, I, 954 as authority, subsequent legislation. Legouis, in a note to his text of Marvell, concedes that with reference to "bill" as peck, O. E. D. quotes no other instances after 1440. Each a "Digest," both the Justinian code of laws and the Bible were being "digested to Despaire." Joan Webber in The Eloquent "I": Style and Self in Seventeenth-Century Prose (Madison, 1968), discusses the relationship between eating and talking in Burton's Anatomy, and in n.14, p. 279,

cites sources for this medieval tradition.

An alternative does however suggest itself as the meaning for "bill," particularly since "quarrelling" occurs in the preceding stanza. Toward the close of 1647 Charles I rejected the "four bills" presented by Parliament and in the course of rejection, he fused Levellers with Cromwellians. For fuller information, see Clarendon, Book X. 141 (Vol. IV, pp. 276-7), W. Dunn Macray's redition (Oxford, 1888), and Ivan Roots, The Great Rebellion 1642-1660 (London, 1966), pp. 124-25.

122

Even if Marvell had not known classical sources, or remained untuned to the pamphlet war about him, Coriolanus would have provided sufficient examples.

123

"La Rome Ridicule," Vol. II, p. 423, stanza XCVI:

> Les goitres et les ecrouelles
> Apres que des Anglois guouez
> Nos corbeaux furent engouez
> Ont ete mise par rouelles.

"Quouez" has been accepted as a variation of quoquer, to incline towards.

124

"Fleckno, an English Priest at Rome," l. 18: "He'd stanzas for a whole appartement." By "Rome," Marvell probably intended a pun on "room."

125

Marvell's debt may have been to the dramatic juxta-

position of the two goddesses, as in Chaucer; see Barbara Bartholemew, Fortuna and Natura: A Reading of Three Chaucer Narratives (London, 1966), "Intro.," pp. 9-45. For Marvell's familiarity with Chaucer see The Rehearsal Transpros'd, Part II, pp. 169 and 349.

126

Anthony and Cleopatra, IV. 4.17.

127

Although among critics the conflict still wages as to which Ajax Marvell had in mind, sensibly the question ought to be which of several Ajax's present to the mind of Marvell have not yet been entered into critical discussion.

128

Quotation is first from King Lear; for the legend of the "pelican," only obliquely related to Marvell's "Corm'rants," see Borges, pp. 180-81. Macbeth II. 111. 114-15: "Here lies Duncan/His silver skin lac'd with his golden blood."

129

Cleveland's "The Kings Disguise" is of interest. But, of course, The Prince of Wales too endured disguise in this period.

130

Bradbrook and Lloyd Thomas, p. 29.

131

Anatomy of Melancholy I, I. 111. IV. Hereos was, traditionally, associated with the "gentleman."

132

Republic X, par. 620. Love's Labour's Lost V. s. 581: "Your lion, that holds his pollaxe sitting on a close-stool, will be given to Ajax."

133

Saint-Amant's own note (Vol. II, p. 433),: "Quelques naturalistes disent que les lions ont-toujour la fievre," to stanza 96 of'La Rome Ridicule."

134

Faerie Queene 111. 12. 22, 1. IV. 33; The Shepheardes Calender, "December," 1. 57.

135

Morris and Withington, in a note to their edition of Cleveland (p. 97), advise that this accretion to the tale, not in the Iliad, was best known from Sophocles' Ajax, 51-73.

136

"Saint Anthony's" was however known in The Faerie Queene as "Saint Fraunces fire" (1. IV. 35.8).

137

I Henry IV 111.3.45: "If I did not think thou hadst been an ignis fatuus or a ball of wildfire." "The Parson's Tale," 11. 426-7: "...half the partie of hire privee membres were corrupt by the fir of Seint Antony." Sir John Harington's "Prologue" to his derisive "The Metamorphosis of Ajax (Chiswick, 1814 reprint), p. 4, suggests his hero was stricken in his posteriors with St. Anthony's fire.

For the use of medical imagery by English satirists of the Renaissance in their equation of the physical and moral, see Mary Claire Randolph, "The Medical Concept in English Renaissance Satiric Theory," Studies in Philology, Vol. XXXVIII (April, 1941), pp. 125-57.

The satirist's most common metaphorical pose was that of the barber-surgeon; his ink the metaphorical remedy. Venereal diseases were prevalent, and "holy fire" reached the proportion of a pestilence.

138

Abraham Cowley, The Complete Works, collected, ed. with intro. and notes by Alexander B. Grosart (New York, 1967), Vol I, The Mistresse (1647), "Councell, " stanza 2:

> A little puffe of breath we find
> Small fires can quench and kill;
> But when they're great, the adverse wind
> Does make them greater still.

139

Orgoglio, the offspring of Earth and Aeolus (Faerie Queene 1. 7. 9) was "Puft up with Emptie wind." "Troilus and Cressida, 11. 111. 93 ff.

140

The "flood of fire" is to be realized as the completion of the image of Phlegethon. Claudio's terror of death in Measure for Measure, III. is expressed as: "the delighted spirit/To bathe in fiery floods." But D.H. Lawrence's "Love on the Farm" offers a positive variant, the verbal play turning about the Renaissance "die":

> ...his lips met mine, and a flood
> Of sweet fire sweeps across me, so I drown

Against him, die, and find death good.

141

"Broken consort" has been borrowed from George Herbert's "Dooms-day"; 2 Henry VI, 111.2.40-1: "A raven's note,/Whose dismal tune bereft all vital powers"; Horace's phrase is from C. 111.7.29.

142

Debt for so much is to Berthoff, n. p. 81, who once again has indicated awareness of Marvell's sensitivity to words.

143

"Upon a Miser that made a great Feast," 11. 29-32. Editors of Cleveland include a note (p. 96) on the feast as theme for satire in Lucian, Horace, and Martial among classical writers, and, as the meager meal, a theme for Renaissance satire.

144

Macbeth, IV. 111.96 ff. Lines from Gondibert would when quoted, support the interpretation of "Lions" and "Corm'rants":

> You Statesman sleep, who State tame Lyons be
> Sleep you Oppressors, Monsters quickly bred

(Verses 17 and 18 of 7th Canto to 3rd Book)

145

Desiderius Erasmus, Adagiorum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, Joannis Ferrerii, Pedemontani---adagia collecta, indices necessarii (Colonial Allobrogum, 1612), p. 167: "Nihil graculo cum fidibus." Proverb is, however, an ancient one.

146

Reflecting on this turn in English poetry, Wardroper choses to add "often at the expense of musical subtlety," in his Intro.," p. XII to Love and Drollery.

147

Reference is to Twelfth Night and specifically to opening. Marvell, no more than Shakespeare, hesitated to mock the supposed voracity of tailors. See also Bartholemew Fair V. III. 2: "eate 'him."

148

Had Marvell these terms in mind, as is likely,he had only to turn to Love's Labour's Lost, I. 2. 185 and Romeo and Juliet, II.4.25. But the play on "points," as lace and the thrust of the sword, revolves around Poins of the 1 Henry IV, a reference which Marvell had in mind when mentioning Falstaff, the robber in Rehearsal.

149

Significantly, phrase comes from Harington's "Prologue" to The Metamorphosis of Ajax (p. 13): "...I took not this quarrel upon me voluntarily, but rather in my own defence: and standing upon the punctilio of honour, having been challenged."

150

Reference is, of course, to Falstaff's consideration, 1 Henry IV, V. 1.13. ff.

151

Vol. III, Second Part, p. 417.

152

Background information on the "dumb show" is available, among numerous studies, in Dieter Mehl, The Elizabethan Dumb Show: The History of a Dramatic Convention (Cambridge, Mass., 1966).

153

The "Pillars," said to have been parted by the arms of Hercules, were later identified as two mountains which stand opposite each other at the Straits of Gibralter. Reference, at present, is to the frontispiece of Bacon's Instauratio magna, in which the gallant ship, straining under full sail, sails through the pillars of the known into the limitless beyond. Ronsard's humorous "Voyage d'Hercueil" (1552) has been discussed as an example of the poet's mockery of mythology and his own inspired task: see D.B. Wilson, Descriptive Poetry in France from blason to baroque (Manchester/New York, 1967), p. 233. But to read Bacon;s De Sapientia Veterum Of the Wisdom of the Ancients (Vol. XIII, p. 154) is to realize the significance of the voyage of Hercules, exemplar of fortitude and constancy of mind, across the "inconstancy and fluctuations of human life, which is as the navigation of the ocean." Beyond the Pillars of Hercules lie the Fortunate Islands in Jerusalem Liberated (Canto XVI. x-xi) as J.B. Leishman points out (p. 280).

154

Erasmus, Adagiorum, p. 195: "Ne Hercules quidem adversus duos"; proverb is available in Tilley (H. 436).

155

For the influence of love and preciosite on the Hercules legend in the court of Charles I, see Eugene M. Waith, The

Herculean Hero (New York, 1962).

156

For the identification of Hercules with eloquence, see Robert E. Hallowell, "Ronsard and the Gallic Hercules Myth," Studies in the Renaissance, Vol. IX (1962), 242-55. Discussion of Hercules' relationship to discordia concors was however presented before by Edgar Wind, "'Hercules' and 'Orpheus': Two Mock-Heroic Designs by Durer," Journal of the Warburg Institute, Vol. II. No. 3 (January, 1939), 211.

157

Lucian, Hercules: An Introduction, Vol. I of Loeb Classics Edition of Lucian, trans. A.M. Harmon (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1961), pp. 62-71.

158

Wind, pp. 209-11.

159

Cassirer, pp. 73-5.

160

Odyssey, XI. 266 ff.

161

Burton, III. 1.1.1; Love's Labour's Lost, IV. 3.340: "For valour, is not Love a Hercules."

162

Debt for information as to this Renaissance role of

Hercules is to Maurice Evans, Spenser's Anatomy of Heroism: Commentary on the Faerie Queene (Cambridge, 1970), p. 7. The poem itself offers, V.11. XLIV.9: "The winged words out of his ballaunce flew."

163

Anthony and Cleopatra, I. 111.84; IV. 3.16.

164

Sextius Pompeius Festus, the grammarian, wrote in his De Verborum Significations Quae Supersunt Cum Pauli Epitome, emendata et annotata Carola Odofredo Muellero (Lipsaie, 1839), Liber IV, p. 71: "Decima quaeque veteres diis suis offerebant." Pliny, Natural History, Loeb Classics, Vol. 5, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1950, Book XVIII.LXXVII, discusses time for planting and in Book XVII.169 the method. The analogy has been discerned by Harrison Boyd, trans.Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, On Agriculture, Loeb Classics, Vol. I (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1948). With reference to Book IV.XX. 2-3, "non aequaliter alliduntur," Boyd advises that he attempted in his translation to preserve the figure of flow of sap in vine compared to the beating of waves on shore.

165

Festus, pp. 4, 71; Adagiorum, p. 1086: "Olim decumanum ouum dicebant & fluctum decumanum pro magno: quod a rusticis ac observatum sit, decimum quodque ouum nasci seceteris maius & decimum quenque fluctum caeteris esse vehementiorum." A quotation from Ovid follows.

166

A contemporary use of "fire-crosse" is available in Milton's Of Reformation, p. 76 of J. Max Patrick's edition: "...proclaime a fire-crosse to a hereditary, and perpetuall civill warre."

167

Maren-Sofie Røstvig, quotes More's "foul duality" of the devil as opposed to the Hermetic Ogdoad, the External Form, that is, the One represented by 8, in The Hidden Sense: "5 Henry More" (Oslo/New York, 1963), pp. 102-4. For the phrase "two-in-one" and the numerological applications of 8, debt is to Fowler, Triumphal Form, pp. 151-53. Discussion uses Hymenaei, annotated by Jonson himself, as the authority for assuming the nuptial significance of the number. The ideas of Puttenham and Tasso are cited, and in context, in n.#17, p. 84 of Annabel M. Patterson's Hermogenes and the Renaissance: Seven Ideas of Style (Princeton, New Jersey, 1970). Milton wrote of "a square and constant mind" in Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce (p. 138); Fowler (p. 99) discusses the eight-stanza pattern as representing an octave.

168

Wilder's Commentary to Hudibras (p. 331) with reference to l. 476 of the First Part, Canto I, offers the tradition that figures on the tombs of Crusaders were always depicted with their legs crossed, and reminds that tailors used to sit crossed-legged at work.

169

Reference is, of course, to Milton's Areopagitica, p. 281 of text consulted.

170

For Hercules as an emerging Orpheus, see Wind, p. 217. It is Ovid who presents Ajax as untuned to art in Metamorphoses XIII, 290 ff.

171

Metamorphosis XIII, 394 ff. Sandy's comment is of interest: "This self-slaughter of Ajax, exemplifies the fraility of human virtue-preceeding from a faintnesse of spirit, and disability to suffer." The argument against this interpretation would be Mrs. Duncan-Jones' suggestion that, in 11. 61-2 of his poem, Marvell recalled Ecclus. 49:1: "'The remembrance of Josias is like the composition of a perfume that is made by the art of the apothecary--and--as music at a banque of wine.'" (p. 256) Undoubtedly Marvell recalled these lines; the suggestion is an excellent one. All that need be added is the savage irony of interpretation.

172

Reference is to the twenty-second Poem from The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, last stanza, 11. 12-18 as contained in Sir Philip Sidney's The Poems of (Oxford, 1962).

NOTES

Keeping Time to a "green Night"

1

The major historical study, represented by the third of the quoted phrases, is the work of Rosalie L. Colie, "Marvell's 'Bermudas' and the Puritan Paradise," Renaissance News, No. 1 (Spring, 1957), 77. Represented by the first of the quoted phrases is Harold E. Toliver's Marvell's Ironic Vision, p. 101; by the second, Anne E. Berthoff's The Resolved Soul, p. 52.

2

Patrick Cullen, in Spenser, Marvell and Renaissance Pastoral (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), II "Andrew Marvell," Chapt. 3, "The Christian Lyrics: Pastoral and Anti-Pastoral," p. 163, has considered the possibility of pagan involvement; J.B. Leishman, The Art of Marvell's Poetry, has suggested sources from contemporary secular literature.

3

Countering Miriam K. Starkman's contention in the "Introduction" to Vol. 2 of Seventeenth-Century English Poetry (New York, 1967), p. 24, is Rosalie Colie's "My Ecchoing Song," p. 296.

4

Colie, "Marvell's 'Bermudas' and the Puritan Paradise," 79.

5

Colie, My Ecchoing Song, pp. 22, 142 specifically. "Index" of the work lists pages of scattered references to the poem. In "The Difficulty of Marvell's 'Bermudas,'" Modern Philology, Vol. LXVII (May 1970), 331-40, R.M. Cummings takes exception to this

poem that verges on the absurd, summons up more associations than its organization can contain, is, in fact, a caricature of Horace's Epode XVI. Seldom has an article deserved less note.

6

Ibid., p. 141, for first of quoted phrases; Berthoff, p. 53, for second.

7

For Marvell's acquaintance with Cusanus' De docta ignorantia, see Isabel G. MacCaffrey, "Some Notes on Marvell's Poetry, Suggested by a Reading of His Prose," Modern Philology, LXI (May, 1964), 261-68: p. 269: "That the poet knew at least the name and chapter headings --- is made clear by one of the quibbles of The Rehearsal Transpos'd." For Cusanus' theory of relativity, see Ernst Cassirer, The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy, transl. and intro. by Mario Domandi (New York and Evanston, 1964), pp. 180-83. Instead, Marvell may have observed of a river, as had Rabelais of the Loire, that "The trees on the banks appear to be moving. Yet it is not they that move but we, with the movement of the boat," Gargantua and Pantagruel, Book V Chapt. 26, as cited from J.M. Cohen's trans. (Baltimore, Penguin reprint 1969).

8

Here, and elsewhere, all meanings referred to, unless otherwise specified, are available in The Oxford English Dictionary or the obvious volumes of linguistic explication appropriate to the word or phrase discussed.

9

Colie,"My Ecchoing Song,"p. 22; Cullen, p. 163.

10

Joshua 14:7-13.

11

Background information on Puritanism has been the contribution of William Haller's The Rise of Puritanism (New York, 1938).

12

Quotation is from Grace Abounding, as cited in O.E.D. as an example of the use of "espy."

13

Colie,"My Ecchoing Song,"p. 142.

14

The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles. Ann Arbor Univ. Microfilms, Inc. of 1624 ed., "The Fifth Book; The General Historie of the Bermudas--," p. 169.

15

Examples are quoted in Cawley's Unpathed Waters.

16

O.E.D., in a quotation from Captain N. Bofeler, Dial. Sea Services, 1685, p. 136, c. 1635.

17

For the theme of the "boat of the mind" see Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, pp. 128-30.

18

For the major work on closure, see Barbara Herrnstein Smith, Poetic Closure: A Study on How Poems End (Chicago/ London, 1968).

19

Harry Berger Jr., "The Renaissance Imagination: Second World and Green World," Centennial Review 9 (1965), 43: "God expects the mind to explore itself as well as the appearances presented to it--."

20

Faerie Queene, 111, Vii, 36. Text used was J.C. Smith's ed. of The Poetical Works (Oxford, 1964), vol. I.

21

Psalm 104:26. "There go the ships: there is that leviathan, whom thou hast made to play therin."

M.C. Bradbrook and M.G. Lloyd Thomas, Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, 1940) p. 65 cite psalm as a possible influence on "Bermudas" but with no detail and, hence, no suggestion of Marvell's interest in the sea monster.

22

For the idea of the linking of error and wandering through the encounter with the dragon, see Angus Fletcher, The Prophetic Moment (Chicago/London, 1971), p. 26.

23

For Waller's poem as the direct source of "Bermudas," see Warren L. Cherniak, The Poetry of Limitation: A Study of Edmund

Waller (New Haven and London, 1968), pp. 179-80; Leishman, p. 279, among others.

Text used for Waller's Poems is the ed. of G. Thorn Drury (New York, 1968).

24

The reader is reminded of Rilke's poem, "Geburt der Venus," in which the maiden (in myth, the island) arises from the sacrificed dolphin.

Of interest is the passage from the "Fift Song" of Michael Drayton's Poly-Olbion:

> Such relish I may give in my delicious layes,
> That all the armed Arks of Neptunes grisly Band,
> With musicke of my verse, amaz'd may listning stand.
> As when his Trytons trumps doe them to battell call
> Within his surging lists to combat with the whale.
> (11. 96-100)

Text used was Poems of Michael Drayton, ed. with an intro. by John Buxton, Vol. 1 of 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1967), first publ. 1950 by Harvard Univ. Press.

25

Reader is referred to Harold Rollin Patch's The Other World (New York, 1970), Copyright 1950 by Harvard Univ. Press.

Text referred to is Sir Thomas Harington's Translation of Orlando Furioso, ed. and intro. by Graham Hough (Carbondale and Wakefield, 1962). Incident to the cited takes place in the "Sixth Book," but the monster "Orke" appears in the "Tenth Book" in similes characterizing him as the ship and as the hungry maw.

26

Psalm 74:14

27

J.H. Parry, The Age of Reconnaissance (New York, 1964), p. 235. Marvell could not, however, remain unaware from the account of Captain Smith of the powers of ambergris to reveal the monster greed of man.

28

Information about maps was made available by Cawley, pp. 85-99. Fletcher, ftn. p. 111, cites authority in a discussion of Dr. John Dee's geographical writings as a "'probing for the heart of all knowledge, for the Infinite, for the Unknowable.'"

29

The globe was, of course, an inheritance from classical antiquity, but to Renaissance writers it could be the "new fangled": Cawley.

30

Robert Hughes, Heaven and Hell in Western Art (New York 1968), "The Map of the Pit," pp. 159-214, provides illustrations to his discussion.

31

See Gerhart B. Ladner, The Idea of Reform (New York, Evanston and London, 1967), p. 213 for a discussion of the concept inclusive of: "Since Saturn was the first and the Sun the last in the sequence, the Golden Age could be conceived of as the return of the age of Saturn, heralded by the still present age of the sun god. Thus Virgil could say in the Fourth Ecologue: "redeunt Saturnia regna cam ragnat Apollo"

32

A Plaine Description of the Bermudas (London, 1613), p. 13.

33

John Smith, p. 169.

34

Faerie Queene, 11, XII, 30. A. Bartlett Giamatti, The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic (Princeton, 1966), p. 267, offers Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, XIX, 64 as Spenser's source. In Harington's translation, however, neither the exact nor a comparable phrase appears.

35

Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (New York, 1952), p. 161.

36

A full discussion of the features of Earthly Paradise has been made available by Giamatti in work cited.

37

Giamatti, ftn. p. 140, has discerned Marvell's innovation.

38

Of assistance in the formulation of this concept of "auditory" space" has been a source which, if odd in this context, is nonetheless a worthy one: Edmund Carpenter, "Image Making in Artic Art," Sign, Image and Symbol, ed. Gyorgy Kepes (New York, 1966), pp. 206-225.

39

Røstvig's The Happy Man, vol. II, p. 470 "Footnotes" to Chapt. IV: lines from Sir Edward Sherburne's translation of Salmacis in his Poems and Translations (1651). Frank Kermode, in notes to "Bermudas," in his Signet Classics Edition of Marvell, has quoted the lines as a possible "borrowing."

40

Available in Mario Praz, Mnemosyne: the Parallel Between Literature and Visual Arts (Princeton, 1967), Illustration 55, p. 58 (1563).

41

Discussion of color symbolism is in debt to Sergei Eisenstein's The Film Sense, trans. and ed. Jay Leyda (New York, 1947), Chapter 111, "Color and Meaning," specifically pp. 122-38.

Much Ado About Nothing, II, 1, 280-81

42

Jacopo Sannazaro, Arcadia and Pastoral Eclogues trans. and intro. by Robert Nash (Detroit, 1966): text, p. 134; "Intro," p. 22; "Index of Proper Names," p. 213.

43

Reported in Gerhard B. Ladner, "Vegetable Symbolism and the Concept of Renaissance," De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, ed. Millard Meiss, Vol. I (New York, 1961), p. 306, ftn. 15. Ladner's information was gathered from Valeriano's Hieroglyphica (1556), a work Colie, in My Ecchoing Song, p. 174,

has asserted Marvell's familiarity with.

44

G. Thorn Drury records this information in the "Notes" to "The Battle of the Summer Islands," pp. 308-9 of his ed. of Waller. The rules and regulations of the Company chartered to colonize and govern the Bermudas were published in 1621.

45

See Stanley Stewart, The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and The Image in Seventeenth-Century Poetry (Madison, 1966), Chapter III, "Shade," pp. 60-96.

46

Marvell's Ironic Vision, p. 102.

47

Einsenstein, p. 137; Parry, p. 21, quotes the account of the great Arab traveller, Masudi.

48

Translation by H. Rushton Fairclough of 1. 31: "pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis."

49

Eisenstein, p. 138

50

Contained in The Pastoral Elegy, ed. with Intro., Commentary, and Notes by Thomas Perris Harrison; English trans. by Harry Joshua Leon (New York, 1968), p. 114. Original text reads: "Ast ubi nigra semel durae nos flumina mortis/Lavere."

51

Text used was The Loeb Classics of The Library, trans. by Sir James George Fraser, (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), Vol. I, p. 213; ftn. cites other instances of myth.

Don Cameron Allen's Mysteriously Meant (Baltimore and London, 1970) was consulted for the reaction of the work in England; information presented on pp. 203 and 191, 201, 230.

52

Text used for "L'Eternite" (Mai 1872) was Ouevres Completes D'Arthur Rimbaud, texte établi et annoté par Rolland de Reneville et Jules Moquet, 1963, pp. 133-34. Editorial note, p. 770, provides the variation "C'est la mer alliée" to"C'est la mer allée/Avec le soleil."

53

Song of Sol. 4:13; see Numbers 13;23 for the relief at coming once again upon the grapes, the figs and the pomegranates.

54

Allen, p. 189, quotes from Abraham Fraunce's The Third Part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch (1592): Prosperine from prospero.

55

Claudian's work was read in the Loeb Classics Edition, trans. by Maurice Platnauer, Vol. I (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1963), pp. 293-377. Phrase quoted: 1. 139.

Phrase re: Ceres is from Fulgentuis, Opera, as quoted in Allen, p. 211.

56

Louis Anthony Cellucci's brief discussion of the poem recognizes the natural scene as the Art of God but this in opposition to the "threatening background" of Toliver: dissertation presented to Columbia Univ., 1968: "The Pomegranate's Close: Theme and Form in the Non-Satiric Poetry of Andrew Marvell," pp. 271-75.

57

"Noe Folce, noe Faithless Lindamor" is one among the music manuscripts collected and edited by John P. Cutts in Seventeenth Century Songs and Lyrics (Columbia, Missouri, 1959), p. 239.

58

Quoted phrases are from Maurice Platnauer's trans. of Claudian, 1. 147; Leonard Digges' rendition, by translation of Claudian's The Rape of Prosperine, originally published 1617 (Liverpool, 1959), 11. 387-88.

59

Such was the reference to Ormus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as noted by Allen H. Gilbert's A Geographical Dictionary of Milton (New York, 1968), pp. 220-21.

Georgics, Book 11, 11. 238-39 in Fairchild's transl. for the Loeb Classic Edition.

60

Reference is first to Book XI of Paradise Lost, 11.834-35

--- an Island salt and bare
The haunt of Seals and Orcs ---

and then to the opening of Book II in which Satan, in Hell, sat

> High on a Throne of Royal State, which far
> Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of ---

Text used was the edition of Merritt Y. Hughes (New York, 1962).

The proverb about Ormus, Robert Ralston Cowley, Milton and the Literature of Travel (New York, 1970), p. 79, quotes from Coryat.

61

Comes' reference is cited in Wiliam Nelson's The Poetry of Edmund Spenser (New York and London, 1965), p. 219; Sandys, in his commentary on the Tenth Book of Metamorphoses, p. 492, speaks of Venus as "the lower Prosperina" with whom the sun retires for six months.

62

As examples of the distinction: Ruth Wallerstein's Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetry (Madison, 1950), p. 325; Bradbrook and Lloyd Thomas, p. 65.

Many of the controversial offerings about the "apple" of this "Garden" passage have fortunately been gathered in John Carey's critical anthology, Andrew Marvell (Baltimore, 1969), pp. 235-72. The highlights remain the contributions of Empson and McChesney on the positive side, and Keister and Legouis in attack.

63

Pliny's contribution (marked an erroneous one by John Shawcross' ftn. 62 re: l. 1111 of Book IX of his ed. of Paradise Lost) and the identification of the tree, in The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt., Book I of Vol. II, p. 131.

64

"The Generall Historie of the Bermudas," p. 169; Numbers 11:5. Many critics have followed Alexander Grosart's gloss (Vol. I, p. 84) on apples: pineapples; for example, in "Some Notes on Marvell's 'Bermudas,'" Notes and Queries, n.s. Vol. 15, No. 3 (March 1968), 102), J.B. Winterton recognized Eden's mortal fruit transformed. But pineapples do not grow on trees, and Marvell would be as specific as Waller had he meant this fruit, Michael Wilding counters in "'Apples' in Marvell's 'Bermudas'" English Language Notes, Vol. VI, No. 4 (June 1969), 254-57.

65

As it has been in Fairchild's trans. of Georg II, 11. 149-50.

66

From Drury's Notes to Waller's poem, pp. 308-9 comes the information that Ceders had protected the orange crop; from Captain Smith, p. 176, that the Cedar ship bore Somer's body to England.

67

1 Kings 6: 12-13.

68

Cullen has understood Bermudas to be a natural temple of worship (p. 164).

69

Matthew 13: 45-46.

70

Quoted phrases are from Sidney's "An Apology for Poetry" (1595). Text used was Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. G. Gregory Smith (Oxford, 1904), I. p. 157.

See Fletcher p. 21 for the growth of "temple" out of the root templum, and p. 127 for the temple as the shrine coming into being in the mental process.

71

For the effecting of numerological patterns in poetry, see Alastair Fowler's Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry (Cambridge, 1970). "Bermudas" is omitted from consideration but an interesting discussion of the "central accent" of "The Horation Ode" is presented (pp. 79-81).

72

See Cassirer p. 43 re: Cusanus, and pp.157-61 re: Leonardo's understanding of art and science as equal organs for the grasp and revelation of reality itself.

73

Fletcher, in ftn. on p. 299, expands on the study of "all" in Empson's The Structure of Complex Words (Ann Arbor, 1967) pp. 101-04: "---almost synonymous with the elegiac mode."

74

Bradbrook and Lloyd Thomas, p. 65; Christopher Ricks, Milton's Grand Style (London, Oxford, New York, 1967), pp. 142-43, as summing the paradox of pre-lapsarian labor.

75

Two critical approaches are of interest here: Colie, "My Ecchoing Song," p. 141: "What we do not know, though, is what is going on in this poem. What are the people up to, in that 'small Boat that row'd along'?"; Berthoff, p. 55: "-as in a medieval painting (in that style called 'continuous narration'), two scenes are being presented simultaneously: the approach to the shore and the discovery there of the abundant comforts and pleasures which the Lord had provided."

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, Don Cameron. Image and Meaning: Metaphorical Traditions in Renaissance Poetry. 1960; rev. ed. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968, Chapts. 9 and 11.

Mysteriously Meant. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970.

Apollodorus***

Ariosto, Lodovico. Sir Thomas Harington's Translation of Orlando Furios Ed. Graham Hough. Carbondale: South Illinois University Pres Wakefield, England: Centour Press, 1962.

Ashton, John. Humour, Wit and Satire of the Seventeenth Century. 1883; reissue Detroit, Michigan: Singing Tree Press, 1968.

Bacon, Frances. The Works. 15 vols. Ed. James Spedding et al. Boston: Brown and Taggard, 1860-64, Vols. X11, X111.

Berger, Harry Jr. "Marvell's 'Appleton House': an Interpretation." Southern Review (Australia), I (1965), 7-32.

Berthoff, Ann E. The Resolved Soul: A Study of Marvell's Major Poems. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Boutell's Heraldry. 1950; rev. ed. J.P. Brooke-Little. London and New York: Frederick Warne and Company, 1970.

Boyer, Carl B. The Rainbow: From Myth to Mathematics. New York and London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959.

Bradbrook, M.C. and Lloyd Thomas, M.G. Andrew Marvell. Cambridge: University Press, 1940.

Bradley, Sister Ritamary. "Backgrounds of the Title Speculum, 24(1954), 100-15.

Brome, Richard. The Antipodes. Ed. Ann Haaker. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966.

***All classical authors are cited from the Loeb edition.

Burke, Peter. The Renaissance Sense of the Past. 1969; rpt. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970.

Burton, Robert. The Anatomy of Melancholy. Ed. A. R. Shilleto; intro. A.H. Bullen. 3 vols. London: George Bell and Sons, 1893.

Butler, Samuel. Hudibras. Ed. John Wilders. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

The Cambridge Platonists. Ed. Gerald R. Craff. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

The Cambridge Platonists. Ed. C.A. Patrides. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Cassirer, Ernst. The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy. Trans. Mario Domandi. 1963; rpt. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973.

Cawley, Robert Ralston. Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyagers on Elizabethan Literature. New York: Octagon Books, 1967.

Cellucci, Louis Anthony. "The Pomegranate's Close: Theme and Form on the Non-Satiric Poetry of Andrew Marvell." Unpublished Columbia University Dissertation, 1968.

Chambers, Douglas. "A speaking picture:some ways of proceeding in liter ture and the fine arts in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centures," in Encounters: Essays on literature and the visual arts. Ed. John Dixon Hunt. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1971, pp. 28-57.

Chapman's Homer. Ed. Allardyce Nicoll. 2 vols. 1956; rpt. Princeton: University Press, 1967

Chaucer, Geoffrey. The Works, Ed. F.N. Robinson. 1933; 2nd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company; Cambridge, Mass: The Riverside Press, 1957.

Christian, Lynda Gregorian. "The Metamorphoses of Erasmus' 'Folly.'" Journal of History of Ideas, 32 (1971), 289-94.

Clarendon, Edward, Earl of. The History of the Rebellion and Civil War in England. Redit. W. Dunn Macray. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1888.

Cleveland, John. The Poems. Ed. Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

Colie, Rosalie L. "My Ecchoing Song": Andrew Marvell's Poetry of Criticism. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970

Paradoxia Epidemica: The Renaissance Tradition of Paradox. Princeton: Princeton University Presss, 1966.

A Complete Concordance of the Dramatic Works of Shakespeare, With a Supplementary Concordance to the Poems, Ed. John Bartlett, Melbourne, Toronto and New York, 1966.

Cowley, Abraham. The Complete Works in Verse and Prose. 2 vols. Ed. Alexander B. Grosart. New York: AMS Press, 1967, Vol. I.

Creaser, John. "Marvell's Effortless Superiority." Essays in Criticism 20 (1970), 403-23.

Cullen, Patrick. Spenser, Marvell and Renaissance Pastoral. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Curtius, Ernst Robert. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages. Trans. Willard R. Trask. New York and Evanston: Harper Torchbooks, 1963.

Damon, Phillip. "History and Idea in Renaissance Criticism." Literary Criticism and Historical Understanding. English Institute

Papers Ed. Philip Damon. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1967, pp. 25-51

Dante. Monarchy and Three Political Letters. Ed. Donald Nicholl and Colin Hardie. New York: Noonday Press, 1954, Monarchy.

Davenant, Sir William. Gondibert. Ed. David F. Gladish. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

Davies, John of Hereford. The Complete Works. Ed. Alexander B. Grosart. 2 vols. New York: AMS Press, 1967.

A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels. Ed. James Hastings et al. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Edinberg: T. and T. Clarke, 1911, Vol. I.

Donaldson, Ian. The World Upside-Down: Comedy from Jonson to Fielding. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970, Chapt. 4.

Donne, John. The Sermons. Ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson. 10 vols. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962.

Douglas, David C. English Scholars 1660-1730. 1939; 2nd ed. rev. London Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1951.

Duke-Elder, Sir Steward and Wybar, Kenneth C. The Anatomy of the Visual System. London: Henry Kimpton, 1961. Vol. II o[illegible]roposed 15 vols. System of Opthamology. Ed. Sir Stewart [illegible]e-Elder.

Duncan, Joseph E. Milton's Earthly Paradise: A Historical Study of Eden. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972.

Dunn, E. Catherine. "The Medieval 'Cycle' as History Play: an Approach to the Wakefield Plays," Studies in the Renaissance, 7 (1960) 76-89.

Erasmus. Desiderius. Adagiorum Des Erasmi Roterdami. Coloniae Allobrogu Petrus Aubertus, 1612.

Evett, David. "'Paradice's Only Map': the Topos of the Locus Amoenus and the Structure of Marvell's Upon Appleton House." PMLA, 85 (1970), 504-13.

Farnham, Willard. The Shakespearean Grotesque: Its Genesis and Transformations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, Chapt. I.

Festi, Sexti Pompei. De Verborum Significatione Quae Supersunt Cum Pauli Epitome. Lipsiae: Libraria Weismanniani, 1839, Liber IV.

Firth, Sir Charles. Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England. 1900; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Fletcher, Angus. Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode. 3rd print. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967.

The Prophetic Moment. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1971.

Fletcher, Giles and Phineas. The Poetical Works, 2 vols. 1908 ed. Frederick S. Boas; rpt. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1970.

The Frame of Order: An Outline of Elizabethan Belief Taken From Treatises of the Late Sixteenth Century. Ed. James Winny. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1957

Fowler, Alastair. Spenser and the Numbers of Time. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1964.

Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Fraser, Antonia. Cromwell the Lord Protector. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973.

Fraser, Russell. The Dark Ages and the Age of Gold. Princeton: Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.

The War Against Poetry. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970

Freeman, Rosemary. English Emblem Books. 1948; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1966.

Freccero, John. "The River of Death: Inferno 11,108." The World of Dante Six Studies in Language and Thought. Ed. S. Bernard Chandler and J.A. Molinaro. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 196(pp. 25-42.

Friedman, Donald M. Marvell's Pastoral Art. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970.

Fussner, F. Smith. The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writi and Thought 1580-1640. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.

Giamatti, A. Bartlett. The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.

"Prometheus Unbound: Some Versions of the Sea God in the Renaissance." The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays in Literary Theory Interpretation and History. Ed. Peter Demetz, Thomas Greene, and Lowry Nelson, Jr. New Haven and Lon.'on: Yale University Press, 1968, pp. 437-75.

Graham, Elsie. C. "Optics and Vision: The Background of the Metaphysics of Berkeley." Unpublished Columbia University Dissertation, 1929.

Graves, Robert. The Greek Myths. 2 vols. 1955; rpt. New York: George Braziller, 1959, Vol. I.

Great Britain Statutes/Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-1660 3 vols. London: Wynam and Rous, 1911, Vol. I.

Greene, Thomas. "The Flexibility of the Self in Renaissance Literature." The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays in Literary Theory, Interpretation, and History. Ed. Peter Demetz, Thomas Greene, and Lowry Nelson Jr. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968, pp. 241 - 64.

"Roger Ascham: The Perfect End of Shooting." ELH, 36 (1969), 609-25.

Hale, David G. The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature. The Hague and Paris: Mouton and Company, 1971.

Halewood, William H. The Poetry of Grace. London: Yale University Press, 1970.

Hall, John. The Poems. Ed. Arnold Davenport; corrected and amended. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1969.

Hankins, John Erskine. Shakespeare's Derived Imagery. 1953; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1967.

Source and Meaning in Spenser's Allegory. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

Hartman, Geoffrey H. "Marvell, St. Paul, and the Body of Hope." Andrew Marvell: Twentieth Century Views. Ed. George de F. Lord. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968, pp. 101-19. Originally ELH 31 (1964), 175-94.

Hattaway, Michael. "Paradoxes of Solomon: Learning in the English Renaissance." Journal of History of Ideas, 29(1968), 499-530.

Held, Julius S. "Flora, Goddess and Courtesan." De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky. 2 vols. ed: Millard Meiss. New York: New York University Press, 1961, Vol. I, pp. 201-18.

Herbert, George. The Works, Ed. F.E. Hutchinson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941.

Heydenryk, Henry. The Art and History of Frames: An Inquiry into the Enhancement of Paintings. New York: James H. Heineman, 1963.

Hibbard, G.R. "The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century." Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 19 (1956), 159-7

Hill, Christopher. "The Many-Headed Monster in Late Tudor and Early Stuart Political Thinking." From the Renaissance to the Counte Reformation: Essays in Honor of Garrett Mattingly. Ed. Charle H. Carter. New York: Random House, 1965, pp. 296-324.

The World Turned Upside-Down: Radical Ideas during the Englis Revolution. London: Temple Smith, 1972.

Hirst, Désirée. Hidden Riches: Traditional Symbolism from the Renaissance to Blake. New York: Barnes and Noble. Covent Gardens: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1964.

Holden, William P. Anti-Puritan Satire 1572-1642. 1954; rpt. Hamden Conn: Archon Books, 1968.

Holohan, Michael Norris. "The Poet and the Civic Crown: The Theme of Political Participation in the Poetry of Andrew Marvell." Unpublished Yale Unviersity Dissertation, 1967.

Howard, Donald R. The Three Temptations: Medieval Man in Search of the World. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

Hughes, Robert. Heaven and Hell in Western Art. New York: Stein and Day Publishers, 1968.

Jonson, Ben. The Collected Works. Ed. C.H. Herford and Percy Simpson 11 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925-1965.

Joyce, James. Ulysses. 1914; rpt. corrected New York: Modern Library, 1961.

Kantorowicz, Ernest H. The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957

Kierkegaard, S.A. The Concept of Irony: With Constant Reference to Socrates. Trans. Lee M. Capel. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

Ladner, Gerhart B. "Vegetable Symbolism and the Concept of Renaissance." De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky. Ed. Millard Meiss. 2 vols. New York: New York University Press, 1961, Vol. 1, pp. 303-22.

Leishman, J.B. The Art of Marvell's Poetry. 1966; 2nd ed. New York: Funk and Wagnall, 1968.

Lowes, John Livingston. "The Loveres Maladye of Hereos," Modern Philology 11 (1914), 491-546.

MacCaffrey, Isabel G. "Some Notes on Marvell's Poetry, Suggested by a Reading of HIs Prose," Modern Philology, 61 (1964), 261-68.

Marcuse, Herbert. Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud. 1955; rpt. New York: Vingage Books, 1962.

Markham, Clements R. A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax. London: Macmillan, 1870.

Marvell, Andrew. The Poems and Letters. Ed. H.M. Margoliouth. 2 vols. 3rd ed. rev. Pierre Legouis with E. E. Duncan-Jones. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971

The Complete Works. Ed. Alexander B. Grosart. 4 vols. 1873; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1966.

The Poems, Ed. James Reeves and Martin Seymour-Smith. New York Barnes and Noble, 1969.

The Selected Poetry. Ed. Frank Kermode. New York; Toronto, London: Signet Classic, 1967.

Masters, G. Mallary. Rabelaisian Dialectic and the Platonic-Hermetic Tradition. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1969.

Martz, Louis L. The Paradise Within. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964.

The Wit of Love. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1969, Chapt. IV.

Maurolycus, Francesco. Photismic de Lumine. 1611. Trans. Henry Crew. New York: Macmillan, 1940.

Mehl, Dieter. The Elizabethan Dumb Show: The History of a Dramatic Convention. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Unviersity Press, 1966.

Merrill, Robert Valentine and Clements, Robert J. Platonism in French Renaissance Poetry. New York: New York University Press, 1957.

Miller, David L. Gods and Games: toward a theology of play. New York: The World Publishing Company, 1969.

Milton, John.The Prose of. Ed. J. Max Patrick. Garden City: Anchor Books 1967.

Molesworth, Charles "Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House': The Persona as Historian, Philosopher, and Priest." Studies in English Litera ture 1500-1900, 12 (1973), 149-62.

"Property and Virtue: The Genre of the Country-House Poem in the Seventeenth Century." Genre, 1 (1968), 141-57.

Montaigne. Essais. Ed. Maurice Rat. Paris: Editions Garnier Freres, 196

Morford, M. P.O. The Poet Lucian: Studies in Rhetorical Epic. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967.

Mueller, William R. John Donne: Preacher. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.

Nicholson, Marjorie Hope. Newton Demands the Muse. Hamden, Conn. and London: Archon Books, 1963.

O'Connell, Robert J. St. Augustine's Early Theory of Man, AD. 386-391. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968.

O'Loughlin, M.J.K. "This Sober Frame: A Reading of 'Upon Appleton House.' Andrew Marvell: Twentieth Century Views Ed. George de F. Lord. Englewood Cliffs; Prentice-Hall, 1968, pp. 120-42.

Orgel, Stephen. The Jonsonian Masque. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Ovid's Metamorphosis. Englished, Mythologized, and Represented in Figures George Sandys. Ed. Karl K. Hulley and Stanley T. Vandersall. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970.

Owen, A.L. The Famous Druids: A Survey of Three Centuries of English Literature. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

Owst, G.R. Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966.

The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes. Ed. Iona and Peter Opie, 1951. 2nd ed. cor. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.

Panofsky, Erwin. "Renaissances and Renascences." The Kenyon Review, 7 (1944), 201-35.

Patch, Howard Rollin. The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature. 1927; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1967.

The Other World. 1950; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1970.

Petrarch, Francis. The Life of Solitude. Trans. Jacob Zeitlin. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1924.

Pickering, F.P. Literature and Art in the Middle Ages. 1966; Trans. rpt. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1970.

Pico della, Mirandola. Oratio de Dignitate Hominis. Trans. Elizabeth L. Forbes. The Renaissance Philosophy of Man. Ed. Cassirer, Kristeller, and Randall. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1948, pp. 223-54.

Plato. The Dialogues. Trans. Benjamin Jowett. 2 vols. 1892; rpt. New York: Random House, 1937.

Pocock. J.G.A. The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century. Cambridg University Press, 1947.

Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History. New York: Antheneum, 1971.

Praz, Mario. Mnemosyne: The Parallel Between Literature and the Visual Arts. Bollingen Series XXXV.16. Princeton: Princeton Universit Press, 1970.

Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery. 1939. 2nd ed. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1964.

Pulver, Max "Jesus' Round Dance and Crucifixion According to the Acts of St. John." Trans. Ralph Manheim. The Mysteries: Papers From the Eranos Yearbooks. Ed. Joseph Campbell. Bollingen Series XXX.2. New York: Pantheon Books, 1955, pp. 169-93.

Purchas, Samuel. Purchas His Pilgrim. Microcosmus or the Historie of Man. London: Henry Fetherstone, 1619.

Puttenham, George. The Arte of English Poesie. Ed. Gladys D. Willcock and Alice Walker. 1589; rpt. Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Rabelais, François. The Histories of Gargantua and Pantagruel. Trans. J.M. Cohen; rpt. Baltimore: Penguin, 1969.

Ralegh, Sir Walter Kt. The Works. 8 vols. 1829; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.

Randall, John Herman Jr. Hellenistic Ways of Deliverance and the Making of the Christian Synthesis. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970.

Randolph, Mary Claire. "The Medical Concept in English Renaissance Satiric Theory." Studies in Philology, 38 (1941), 125-57.

Rathborne, Isabel E. The Meaning of Spenser's Fairyland. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937.

Raven, Charles E. English Naturalists From Neckam to Ray: a Study of the Making of the Modern World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947. Chapt. XVI.

The Reader's Encyclopedia. Ed. William Rose Benet. 1948; rpt. suppl. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1956.

Richter, Anne. Shakespeare and The Idea of the Play. 1962. rpt. Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1968.

Roston, Murray. Biblical Drama in England: From the Middle Ages to the Present Day. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968, pp. 15-142.

Røstvig, Maren-Sofie. "Ars Aeterna: Renaissance Poetics and Theories of Divine Creation." Mosaic, 3 (1970), 40-61.

The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Ideal.1954.2 vols.; rev.. Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, Vol. I.

"'Upon Appleton House' and the Universal History of Man." English Studies, 42 (1961), 337-51.

Ruthven, K.K. The Conceit. London: Methuen, 1969.

Saint-Amant, Marc-Antoine Gerard. Ouevres Completes. Ed. Charles Louis Livet. 2 vols. Paris: P. Jannet, 1855.

Salerno, Nicholas A. "Marvell's 'The Unfortunate Lover,' V111." The Explicator, 17. 7 (1960), Item 42.

Sarton, George. Six Wings: Men of Science in the Renaissance. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957, "Third Wing," Part I.

Saxl, Fritz. "Veritas Fila Temporis," Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer. Ed. Raymond Klibansky and H.J. Paton. 1963. rpt. New York, Evanston, and London: Harper and Row/Torchbooks, 1963, pp. 197-222.

Schleiner, Winfried. The Imagery of John Donne's Sermons. Providence: Brown University Press, 1970.

Scoular, Kitty M. Natural Magic. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965. Chapt. 3 and notes.

Servius. Grammatici Qui Feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii. Ed. Georgius Thilo and Hermannus Hagen 1881. 3 vols; rpt. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961, Vols. I and II.

Seventeenth Century Songs and Lyrics. Ed. John P. Cutts. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1959.

Sidney, Sir Philip. The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia. Ed. Albert Feuillerat. 4 vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1965.

Smith, Barbara Hernstein. Poetic Closure: A Study of How Poems End. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Smith, John. The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Ilses. 1624; rpt. Anne Arbor University Microfilms, "The Fifth Booke," pp. 169-201.

Southwell, Robert. The Poems. Ed. James H. McDonald and Nancy Pollard Brown. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

Spenser, Edmund. The Poetical Works. Ed. J.C. Smith. 1909. 3 vols; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.

Sprigge, Joshua. Anglia Redivia. England's Recovery. 1647; rpt.Gainesvill Florida: Scholar's Fascimiles, 1960.

Stewart, Stanley. The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and the Image in Seventeenth Century Poetry. Madison, Milwaukee and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1966.

The Expanded Voice. San Marino, California 1970.

Streuver, Nancy S. The Language of History in the Renaissance. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Summers, Joseph H. The Heirs of Donne and Jonson. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1970, Chapt. 5.

George Herbert: His Religion and Art. 1954; rpt. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Svendsen, Kester. Milton and Science. Cambirdge: Harvard University Press, 1956.

Tayler, Edward William. Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1964.

Toliver,Harold E. Marvell's Ironic Vision. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965.

Pastoral Forms and Attitudes. Berkeley. Los Angeles. London: University of California Press, 1971. Chapt. 6.

Traherne, Thomas. Christian Ethics, Ed. Carol L. Marks and George Robert Griffey. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968.

Tuve, Rosemond. Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery. 1947; 5th impress. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press/Phoenix Books, 1963.

Vaughan, Henry. The Complete Poetry. Ed. French Fogle. Garden City: Doubleday/Anchor Books, 1964.

Vinge, Louise. The Narcissus Theme in Western European Literature up to the Early 19th Century. Trans. Robert Dewsnap and Lisbeth Gronlund. Lund: Gleerups, 1967.

Waith, Eugene M. The Herculean Hero. 1962; rpt. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Chatto and Windus, 1967

Walker, D.P. "The Astral Body in Renaissance Medicine." Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 21 (1958), 119-33.

"Orpheus the Theologian and Renaissance Platonists." Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 16 (1953), 100-20.

Wall, L.N. "Some Notes on Marvell's Sources," Notes and Queries. n.s. 4 (1957), 1970-73.

Wallace, John M. Destiny His Choice: The Loyalism of Andrew Marvell. Cambridge: University Press, 1968.

Walker, Edmund. The Poems, Ed. G. Thorn Drury 1893; rpt. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.

Wallerstein, Ruth. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic. Madision and Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965. Part II.

Walsh, William S. Handy-Book of Literary Curiosities. 1892; rpt. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1925.

Walzer, Michael. The Revolution of the Saints; A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics. 1963; rpt. New York: Atheneum, 1965.

Warnke, Frank J. "Play and Metamorphosis in Marvell's Poetry." Studies in English Literature, 5 (1965), 23-30.

Versions of Baroque European Literature in the Seventeenth Century. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972, Chapt. 4.

Webber, Joan. Contrary Music: The Prose Style of John Donne. Madision: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963.

The Eloquent 'I': Style and Self in Seventeenth Century Prose. Madison, Milwaukee, and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968.

Williams, George H. Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962.

Wind, Edgar. "'Hercules' and 'Orpheus': Two Mock-Heroic Designs by Durer." Journal of the Warburg Institute, II (1939), 206-18.

Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance. 1958; rev. New York: W.W. Norton/Norton Library, 1968.

Wittkower, Rudolph. Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism. New York: W.W. Norton/Norton Library, 1971.

Yates, Frances A. Theatre of the World. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Zubov, V.P. Leonardo da Vinci. Trans. David H. Kraus. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962, Chapts. 4 and 5.