

The Rhetoric of Nature: Marvell and the Longinian Sublime
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Adam Strömbergsson-DeNora
Supervised by Dr. Nicholas von Maltzahn

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Abstract

This thesis examines Andrew Marvell's politics through the lens of his competitive ethos, which I propose draws on values expressed in *Peri hypsous*, a third-century Greek treatise on rhetoric. The investigation reads Marvell's early lyrics in order to demonstrate this ethos at work long before he openly enters politics. Marvell's later political writings may instead be viewed as a logical conclusion to a long quest for the kind of High style that *Peri hypsous* recommends. This progression begins just after Marvell returns from his tour of the continent in 1648, with two poems that associate him with the Stanley Circle and, especially, John Hall, who produces a translation of *Peri hypsous* in 1652. Marvell's association with Hall is reflected in the poems that both produce. The similarities between Marvell's poetry and Longinian thought are further adduced. I contend that Marvell's quest works through Plato's "Ladder of Love" as this is expressed first in his Mower poems, then in his consideration of love, and finally in his view of statesmen's households. The poetry displays a critical mind ready to deploy its knowledge of great writers that have come before. I argue that Marvell's later confidence in his political prose stems from this earlier poetry, which reveals an intense curiosity about the languages of social interaction (of which politics is but a part). His poems thus viewed are more fundamentally political than has been understood and form an essential prologue to the political prose that so coloured his later fame.

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List of Abbreviations

<i>Chronology</i>	N. von Maltzahn, <i>An Andrew Marvell Chronology</i> (New York, 2005).
Eng. Rep.	English Reports
<i>P&L</i>	<i>The poems and letters of Andrew Marvell</i> . eds. H.M. Margoliouth and P. Legouis (Oxford, 1971).
'ME' or Modern Edition	Longinus, 'On the sublime', in W.H. Fyfe (trans.), <i>Aristotle, 'Longinus', Demetrius</i> , Loeb Classical Library 199 (Cambridge, MA, 1982), pp. 119–254.
<i>Peri hypsous</i>	J. Hall (trans.), <i>Peri hypsous, or Dionysius Longinus of the Height of eloquence.</i> , EEBO Thomason / 174:E.1294[2] (London, 1652).
Prose Works	<i>The Prose Works of Andrew Marvell</i> . Eds. A. Patterson, M. Dzelzainis, N. von Maltzahn, N. Keeble (New Haven, 2003).
<i>Smith</i>	N. Smith (ed.), <i>The Poems of Andrew Marvell</i> (London, 2003).

*Quotations and citations of Marvell's poems are drawn from *Smith*.

*All biblical references refer to the King James' Version.

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Introduction

Andrew Marvell's private life is so obscure that Edmund Hiceringill, in his attack on Marvell's *Rehearsal Transpros'd*, branded the poet and satyrist "begot by some Proteus of a Camelion".¹ This phrase gestures at that contemporary's view -- and our inheritance -- of a subtle writer working in turbulent times. Marvell's political affiliations are notoriously difficult to pin down. Discovering the poet's politics seems inevitably teleological because his Restoration satires in verse and prose seem to promote a range of political beliefs within a proto-whig / proto-Lockean spectrum.² The strength of recent Marvell scholarship has been to rejoin his political writings to the lyrics from which those had been estranged. This correction, however, may introduce a weakness in turn: the historicist investigation of his partisanship has overlooked the degree to which the lyrics already possessed a politics of their own. It has done so, in part, because "social, political and intellectual histories" have been kept apart in a wider historical analysis.³ These histories, however, form "part of a wider cultural history" that helps to define a nation, in part through the rhetoric used to explain exercises of power.⁴ Studying Marvell's partisanship folds too neatly into a tendency to divide historical narratives into anachronistic

¹ Hiceringill, *Gregory, Father-Greybeard, with His Vizard Off*, sigs. I4v-I5r.

² For a range of scholarship on this spectrum, see Chernaik, *The Poet's Time*; Patterson, *Marvell and the Civic Crown*; Maltzahn, "Liberalism or Apocalypse? John Milton and Andrew Marvell"; Wallace, *Destiny His Choice: The Loyalism of Andrew Marvell*; von Maltzahn supplies a useful summary of these whig political readings of Marvell in "Andrew Marvell and the Prehistory of Whiggism."

³ Braddick, *State Formation*, 431.

⁴ I wholly adopt Michael Braddick's suggestion for further study on this point at 433, 431.

themes, themes that as often reveal modern scholarly preoccupations rather than concerns contemporary with Marvell.⁵ Some of those preoccupations have been explained as errors because they overlook how "the Marvellian text" operates "as the ineluctable expression of a single psychology".⁶ Even this psychoanalytic approach to Marvell's texts, however, superimposes an anachronistic theoretical apparatus upon Marvell that does not suit the literary-critical project.

Rather, multiple psychologies, a "manyness", must be sought in order to understand Marvell's twisting career through English literary, political, and social circles.⁷ Even "psychology" as we understand it is a term anachronistic to the early modern period.⁸ Bridging what might be scholars' single psychologies, the "politics/literature dialectic"⁹ that has been seen as hampering Marvell scholarship invites a more nuanced understanding of his writing because Marvell reveals various *personae* in the various official capacities in which he worked. He was a poet, a tutor, a civil servant to Cromwell's protectorate, a Burgess *in absentia* for the Corporation of Kingston-upon-Hull, a member of Parliament, and a critic of the Restoration government. In each of these capacities, Marvell fulfilled and made a "presupposition of office" by embodying a "persona" that met or that expressed a series of ethico-moral expectations that were, ultimately, the expression of his and his community's will.¹⁰ Depending on the office, of course, the scope of "community" changed. As a Burgess, Marvell was bound to respect his fellow Burgesses and to

⁵ Condren, *The Status and Appraisal of Classic Texts*, 35–36.

⁶ Hirst and Zwicker, "Andrew Marvell and the Toils of Patriarchy," 649; see also Hirst and Zwicker, *Andrew Marvell, Orphan of the Hurricane*.

⁷ Hall, "The Manyess of Andrew Marvell."

⁸ "Psychology, N."

⁹ Annabel Patterson re-works her earlier text, *Marvell and the Civic Crown* (1978), in this updated version, Patterson, *Marvell*, 3.

¹⁰ Condren, *Argument and Authority*, 2, 105; see also Braddick, *State Formation*, 428.

submit to their justice;¹¹ *in absentia*, however, Marvell the M.P. was removed to the House of Commons in London. Here he submitted to the rules of that House, as we see in the aftermath of his altercation with Thomas Clifford on the floor of the House on March 18, 1662.¹² That lapse in decorum shows the imperfect man behind the persona of office. It shows also the rough-and-tumble nature of early-modern local politics flashing onto a larger stage: burgesses were known to sometimes mistreat their city officials, with words and sometimes with violence.¹³

Understanding Marvell's various official *personae* allows scholars to better link the political events that he witnessed to his literary output.¹⁴ A reading of Marvell's earlier poems as a competition between himself and other poets, perhaps even more generally with ideas of society, shows that Marvell builds an ethics upon which his overt Restoration partisanship as an M.P. is based.

Marvell's literary output is more specifically conditioned by the "almost feudal" network of personal and corporate relationships that Marvell fostered throughout his life.¹⁵ These networks often drew legal authority from the crown.¹⁶ They were also conditioned by the debate that flourished in early-modern English towns, like Hull, amongst the burgesses with whom Marvell grew up and for whom he later worked. This debate has been lately viewed as inspired by local rhetorical traditions rising from the medieval incorporation of English towns rather than by a classical rhetorical tradition.¹⁷ Classical rhetoric, central to civic humanism, proves more of

¹¹ Braddick, *State Formation*, 172.

¹² *Chronology*, 69.

¹³ e.g. Bagg's Case, 77 Eng. Rep.

¹⁴ Condren, *Argument and Authority*, 350–51.

¹⁵ Maltzahn, "Andrew Marvell and the Prehistory of Whiggism," 47.

¹⁶ Braddick, *State Formation*, 427.

¹⁷ Liddy, "'Sir Ye Be Not Kyng': Citizenship and Speech in Late Medieval and Early Modern England"; Liddy expands on Phil Withington's suggestion that the burgesses of incorporated cities mediated

a centrifugal force in England even into the early seventeenth century.¹⁸ It is promoted by universities and the royal government; local households--especially Northern households far from London--instead delivered an education in social graces through "exemplary myth and tale".¹⁹ These differing educations informed the networks to which Marvell was exposed throughout his life, even if his evident talent lies in that Latin humanism that he learned at home from an educated father and then at Cambridge. His loyalty to these networks is obscured if Marvell's texts are read too narrowly as historical artefacts arguing his partisan allegiances.²⁰

Instead of thus searching for the best, or most documented, of his preferences, I aim, with special reference to his lyrics, to elucidate the roots of Marvell's politics by examining the kinds of rhetoric he employs to define offices and relationships. Such a study explains the evolution of Marvell as chameleon while establishing a perspective from which Marvell's later politics may be better understood as the product of his education and experiences.

Hence my present examination of Marvell's politics explores their foundation in personal moral principles much revealed already in his ostensibly pre-political lyrics. These lyrics evince elements of the active and the contemplative life. Though poetry is conventionally considered a contemplative exercise, it is also a speech-act that translates Marvell's expectations of officeholders and of relationships into forms the literary historian may discern. We may thus draw from Marvell's earlier lyrics an ethics that I shall argue finds theorization in the rhetorical treatise *Peri hypsous*, a text believed by Marvell's contemporaries to have been written by the

between their local political cultures and the central political culture that the Crown wished to impose (*The Politics of Commonwealth*, 65–66).

¹⁸ Boutcher, "Pilgrimage to Parnassus," 144–46; Withington relies heavily on this point in his analysis of English society generally and Marvell's place in it more specifically (*The Politics of Commonwealth*, 51–52; see also "Andrew Marvell's Citizenship," 103).

¹⁹ Boutcher, "Pilgrimage to Parnassus," 112.

²⁰ See Loxley, "The Prospect of History: Marvell's Landscapes in Contemporary Criticism."

Greek Cassius Longinus (c. 213-273). The protestant humanist drive to be a citizen even under the Crown placed moral importance on "reciprocal relationships"²¹ that Longinus speaks to. His theory of rhetoric evokes a competitive ethics where authors draw upon the past as at once critic and judge in order to outdo it:

To speak generally, you should consider that to be truly beautiful and sublime which pleases all people at all times. For when men who differ in their habits, their lives, their tastes, their ages, their dates, all agree together in holding one and the same view about the same writings, then the unanimous verdict, as it were, of such discordant judges makes our faith in the admired passage strong and indisputable.²²

Legal and literary adjudication take similar forms in Longinus's view.²³ The task of the rhetorician draws on collective memory that requires rhetoricians to compete one with another and against the standard set by past speakers as it is remembered by their societies. That standard maps neatly onto the way in which Roman, medieval and early-modern law was propagated as the *ius commune* or Common law.²⁴ A series of precedents, whether practices viewed as binding or legal rules viewed as binding, are expressed as speeches and writings used by "judges" to deliver "verdicts". Thus, the practice of advocacy (always closely linked to rhetoric) requires speakers to delve into precedents to argue their present cases.

The language of law that Longinus deploys in the third century finds equal expression in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sir Philip Sidney (1554-86) describes the same literary project as Longinus in a single phrase in *A Defence of Poetry*: "the senate of poets".²⁵ That august

²¹ Condren, *Argument and Authority*, 348.

²² Longinus, "ME," chap. 7.

²³ And they have since: examples from recent times are Posner, *Law and Literature*; and White, *When Words Lose Their Meaning: Constitutions and Reconstitutions of Language, Character, and Community*.

²⁴ For those similarities, see Gordley, *The Jurists*, 21–27, 32–33.

²⁵ Duncan-Jones and Dorsten, *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, 81–82.

body is composed of past poets like Homer, Dante, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Gower, and Petrarch.²⁶ The senate must be composed, however, as a function of the poet's survival in the present writer's memory. Sidney therefore creates the senate to which he alludes. He does so, however, because his faith in their excellence is "strong and indisputable". That faith allows past authors to legislate the literary standards of the present. Marvell gestures also to the legislative function of a collection of great authors in "Tom May's Death" (1650~1661). Marvell excoriates May, poet and historian of the Short Parliament (1640), by having him judged by a "Chorus of old Poets" led by Ben Jonson's ghost (14). Jonson closes the poem as again critic and judge by passing "irrevocable Sentence" against May that sends him to hell through the "Cloud of pitch, / Such as unto the Sabbath bears the Witch" (97, 99-100). May is firmly rejected from the memory of the assembled poets: they have the privilege to control their own membership. Marvell knew of this privilege. He was later a member of the Commons' committee of elections and privileges throughout his parliamentary career.²⁷ The competitive ethics to which Marvell ascribes is conditioned by a need to satisfy the example of past authors in order to endure in the esteem of his contemporaries and of future readers.

A comparison between Marvell and Longinus is also fitting because of the interest in Longinus just as Marvell takes up his pen. John Hall, a member of the royalist Stanley circle with which Marvell was associated, translates *Peri hypsous* into English in 1651. It is likely that Hall's translation was mooted several years earlier, around 1648, when Marvell first makes contact with him. Hall was also employed in the same Protectoral office as John Milton, and not long after Hall's death, Marvell came to join Milton there himself. These connections suggest

²⁶ See Duncan-Jones and Dorsten, 74, for a more complete list of authors.

²⁷ See the *Chronology*, 65, 81, 87, 90, 92, 110, 140, 208; for a description of the history of the Commons' privilege to control its membership, see May, *A Treatise on the Law, Privileges, Proceedings and Usage of Parliament*, 50–56.

that Marvell came into contact with *Peri hypsous* through either Hall or Milton long before the treatise became popular in England after Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux's 1674 French translation of the ancient Greek text.²⁸

Authors can achieve Height in Longinus's view especially through their fuller insight into nature. *Peri hypsous* thus also speaks to what fascinates Marvell as poet with nature, God's earthly creation that surrounds mankind and over which man is supposed the steward, with a pursuit of Height. "Height" in Hall's translation is defined as "astonish[ing its] hearers" with an "irresistible violence [that] orepell[s] the hearer".²⁹ This language of violence Longinus soon translates to images of violent nature: "Height wheresoever it seasonably breaks forth, bears down all before it like a whirlwind, and presently evidences the strength and ability of the speaker."³⁰ A sublime author is akin to such natural force. This analogy is owing to the sublime author's use of "method" to order Nature's "first elements and materials of everything".³¹ Rather than the author himself being just one of these elements, he operates as a second cause. Indeed, all humans are second causes "naturally aim[ing] at high things, [...] beyond their due bounds".³² Those bounds are created and perceived with reference to natural forces. Marvell gestures toward this view in his poems.

Marvell's early poems, pastoral and otherwise, aim to enact this Longinian impulse toward Height by studying especially our competition for love. That competition is framed in terms of Plato's "Ladder of Love", where young men are enjoined to learn first about

²⁸ Joad Raymond suggests that Marvell echoes Hall's introduction to "Peri hypsous" in "The First Anniversary of the Government under his Highness the Lord Protector: "Framing Liberty," 347–48.

²⁹ Hall, *Peri hypsous*, chap. 1.

³⁰ *chap. 1.*

³¹ *chap. 2.*

³² *chap. 2.*

interpersonal relationships and then about wider relationships until they attain an ideal knowledge of society as a whole. As the individual works toward this knowledge, he competes against himself and others for a more perfect understanding. Marvell represents this competition in his poems through moral distinctions tied closely to "presuppositions of office" and, more widely, presuppositions of relationships. Marvell's early poems often thus evaluate human motivation in social interactions.³³

Marvell's moral concerns encourage his acceptance of some poetic limits, notably in his restricting himself to a classical Virgilian progression from pastoral in his earlier years to an ever higher reach that, however, rather than ending with a great epic, arrives at the mock-epic of his political satires in the Restoration. In this Virgilian vein, Marvell applies the ethics evident in his earlier lyrics to later, more elaborate poems during the Cromwellian Protectorate (1653-1659) and Restoration (1660-). An early focus on erotic pastoral scenes gives way to a consideration of eroticism's material issue: the family. The "natural" government of the family might be thought to enjoy an existential eminence over those "civil compacts" that follow: the "Monarchical, [... or] Aristocratical, [... or] Democratical".³⁴ So proposed Marvell's contemporary, the eminent jurist Matthew Hale (1609-1676). Marvell, in accord with Hale, moves from lyrics describing individual relationships to an estate poetry that describes relationships within the family, obviously so in his Fairfax poetry but also, I shall argue, in his poetry for the House of Cromwell. This expands further into politics during the Protectorate, when Marvell comes to celebrate the Protector by taking a stance on public events, such as the Second Anglo-Dutch War and the Protector's death. The Restoration (1660) sees Marvell, now a public political actor in

³³ Loxley, "The Social Modes of Marvell's Poetry."

³⁴ Hale, *Hale's Prerogatives of the King*, vol. XCII, chaps. 1-3.

Parliament, criticizing the Crown and its ministers in satire. His poetry moves from private concerns to ever-more public subjects in the 1650s, extending to its criticism of the Restoration monarchy in the 1660s-70s. Marvell moves along that Virgilian *cursus honorum*³⁵, working through pastoral themes to increasingly public matters. Scholars have, to be sure, touched upon Marvell's engagement with these public matters, and my inquiry works in this vein. I differ, however, from previous views of Marvell as merely engaging with the trouble that beset his society.³⁶ I instead read Marvell's poems as an exploration of the composition and ordering of society through legal and social norms that are expressed in his early lyrics.³⁷

Longinus's *Peri hypsous*, a treatise on Height that profoundly informed eighteenth-century notions of a sublime aesthetics, already informs Marvell's ethics. *Peri hypsous* lays down a classical framework for style that promotes competition between writers past and present. This framework was familiar to seventeenth-century readers from the works of Cicero and Quintilian.³⁸ Longinus may be distinguished, however, from these more august figures in his focus on poetry rather than rhetoric.³⁹ Longinus thus speaks more specifically to poets, whose rhetorical practise brings them into competition with other poets in an effort to sway their audience to their social or moral position. This contest is found wherever Marvell seeks to outdo his literary and political competition. From the poems that Hall and Marvell write to Marvell's single late mention of "sublime" in his 1674 praise of *Paradise Lost*, Marvell moves through genres and subjects that allow him to compete with higher and higher things. Hence the literary *cursus honorum* that can be discerned in his literary career, where he comes to critique higher

³⁵ [course of offices]

³⁶ See McDowell, "Introduction", and see the ensuing articles on Marvell in this volume.

³⁷ McDowell, 5.

³⁸ For this view, see Goyet, "Le Pseudo-Sublime de Longin."

³⁹ Condren, *Argument and Authority*, 114.

and higher things. These critiques consistently maintain humanist values of prudence, the informed and rational conduct of one's affairs, and civility, one's ability to navigate social contexts effectively while "accord[ing] respect and recognition to other parties".⁴⁰ These values allow a very significant augmentation of Marvell's ethics. He endorses "decorum and service, or subordination to something greater".⁴¹ Doing so allows Marvell better to occupy a position of moral legitimacy as a poet. Marvell thus uses a well-marked and conventional path towards his ultimate criticism of that pre-eminent father of public men, Charles II (r. 1660-1685), in poetry and prose. His growth as a poet analyzes human relationships in categories that underlie civility: the individual, the family, and the public man.

One seventeenth-century edition of *Peri hypsous* recognized the same kinds of relationships that Marvell attempts to lay out. The frontispiece of Gerard Langbaine's 1636 Greek and Latin edition of Longinus's work depicts Phaeton's chariot falling from the sky, which indicates the danger he faced, but also, when John Hall's 1652 translation is consulted, the danger that authors face when they reach for Height:

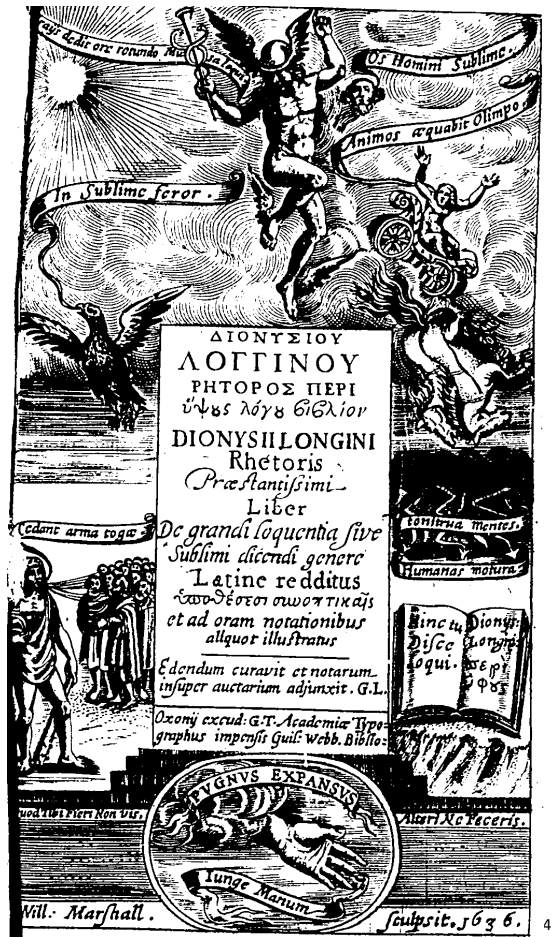
Would not any man say the soul of Euripides hath taken coach with Phaeton, and with like danger was hurried along by the horses? for it had been impossible for him to have figur'd such things, had not his thoughts been mightily elevated in the contemplation of what was done in heaven.⁴²

Flying close to the proverbial sun is a risk that authors must take when they contemplate the divine and attempt to communicate it to the masses represented below on a desert floor (which also recalls Longinus's role as senior minister in Palmyra).

⁴⁰ Withington, "Andrew Marvell's Citizenship," 108–9.

⁴¹ Condren, *Argument and Authority*, 114.

⁴² *Peri hypsous*, chap. 13; McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, 251, n. 99 is also instructive on this point.



The words above the people, "*Cedant arma togae*"⁴⁴, suggest Longinus's political purpose. Arms yield to the gown worn by citizens, who are able to engage in rhetoric in Roman assemblies. That purpose is further confirmed by the shading: lines flow from the speaker's mouth in the foreground to the people assembled slightly back from him. The words appearing to the left suggest a divine inspiration for the speaker's rhetoric, "*tonitrua Mentis. Humanas motura*"⁴⁵. Thunder is a manifestation of divine inspiration where it appears in the human mind; it has the power to influence other minds. The speaker's words, represented by the phoenix rising on the left of the page rising from the people below it, are thus represented with the text "*In Sublime*

⁴³ Langbaine, *Dionysiou Longinou*.

⁴⁴ [Arms cede before the toga]

⁴⁵ [Thunder in the mind. Humans move]

feror"⁴⁶. The immortal bird carries speech worth remembering to the sun; the speaker's immortality is confirmed when his words are carried aloft by the phoenix.

This representation of rhetoric as in some wise divine is not unique to Longinus, nor is it what he is remembered for. At a time before Nicolas Boileau's 1674 translation of Longinus from Greek to French, the Greek rhetorician's text did not attract so much interest. The Renaissance and early-modern reception of Longinus is stunted because his effort does not bring much that was new to the Classical or the Renaissance understanding of high speech.⁴⁷ Rather, Longinus incorporates elements of Platonist, Ciceronian, and Quintilian's rhetoric that are already more popular in the Renaissance, thus obviating the need for his text.⁴⁸

While translations of Longinus in Latin, English and French existed before Boileau's translation, Longinus's failure to capture the Renaissance imagination begs the question: Why does John Hall translate Longinus in 1652, a time of political instability in English politics? And further, why does Hall or his bookseller, Francis Eglesfield, suppose that Longinus will find a better reception in England?

Plato and Quintilian, both predating Longinus, suggest that rhetoric plays a role in the expression of human and divine will that culminates in the state. Their approaches, however, are different. As Quintilian acknowledges, "Rome is as strong in examples as Greece is in precepts; and examples are more important".⁴⁹ Plato creates a discourse on ideal government led by

⁴⁶ [carried aloft]

⁴⁷ Goyet, "Le Pseudo-Sublime de Longin," 105–6 Goyet, however, is not precise in his dating. We do not know when *Peri hypsous* was written. Two dominant theories exist, and Goyet gestures toward them. If Cassius Longinus wrote the work, as Renaissance scholars believed, he writes after Quintilian and Cicero and may thus be compared with them. If the text was written by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (60 BCE - 7 BCE), then Goyet's comparison does not apply.

⁴⁸ Goyet suggests these categories in 106.

⁴⁹ Quintilian, *The Orator's Education, Volume V: Books 11-12*, chap. XII.2.29-31: "Quantum enim Graeci praeceptis valent, tantum Romani, quod est maius, exemplis."

philosopher-kings who are wise and thus able to effectively lead. This is in keeping with Glaucon's exhortation in *The Republic*: "To those with any sense, Socrates, the whole of their life would be a reasonable amount of time to listen to such discussions [of the ideal state]".⁵⁰ The aristocratic philosopher-king moves a theory of the ideal state into practice. Quintilian, however, is of the view that Greek history does not much reveal this movement. Rather, Romans use Greek philosophy in Quintilian's view to achieve action through speeches in the forum: "all these [philosophical] topics have to be developed by Invention and Elocution: how then can there be any doubt that wherever intellectual power and fullness of diction are required, the orator has the leading role?"⁵¹ The orator's art is the manipulation of these precepts through examples to exhort people to action. Even the 1638 frontispiece to *Peri hypsous* thus does not evoke anything especially new in Classical or Renaissance rhetoric. Rather, the speaker draws upon ideals laid down in older texts that, as precepts rather than examples, are closer to God. He does so in order to convince those assembled before him of a thing. If his use of precept is good, he may ascend to join those noteworthy texts in a form of immortality. If not, he remains among the people to try again.

As we lose scholarly depth in attempts too simply to categorize Marvell's politics, so too do we lose the richness of a Longinian theory of the sublime by adopting a distinction between rhetorical and aesthetic interpretations of sublimity. The seventeenth-century reception of Longinian ethics predates the Enlightenment view of the sublime as an emotional response. It instead views sublimity as a quest for high speech. The dominant scholarly narrative of the

⁵⁰ Plato, *Republic, Volume I: Books 1-5*, col. 450 C.

⁵¹ Quintilian, *The Orator's Education, Volume I: Books 1-2*, chap. I.1.10-13: "adeo ut vix ulla possit causa reperiri in quam non aliqua ex his incidat quaestio, eaque omnia inventione atque elocutione sunt explicanda, dubitabitur, ubicumque vis ingenii et copia dicendi postulatur, ibi partes oratoris esse praecipuas?"

Longinian sublime frames it as a treatise where Classical rhetoric frames an Enlightened shift from poetics to aesthetics.⁵² In so framing the sublime, scholarship hews to a disciplinary divide that maps roughly onto the beginning of the Long Eighteenth Century. This "dialectic" is an instance of a broader turn from Elizabethan "passion" -- a term often used in John Hall's translation -- to a rise of emotion that, at its extreme, becomes an aesthetic of sublimity in the eighteenth century.⁵³ This move has been characterized as a decline from the religion-inspired governance of reason, the mind's preeminence over the body, to the epicurean softening of a more extreme Restoration libertinism.⁵⁴ Put differently, the Elizabethan shift to Protestantism encourages Longinus's role in Puritan thought: sixteenth-century Protestant Continental theology moved away from Roman rhetoricians associated with Catholic theology to Greek theorists such as Longinus.⁵⁵ While English protestant humanists still studied Roman rhetoricians such as Quintilian and Cicero, Longinus's focus on poetics evokes cultural rhetorical preoccupations, rather than juridical ones.⁵⁶ John Hall's translation follows from this change, coming as it does at the confluence of religious and intellectual tensions that would plague the Restoration government of Charles II. The inflection of Hall's text allows a better understanding of the currents of thought in which Marvell was immersed.

⁵² Costelloe, "Introduction," 5.

⁵³ Tilmouth, *Passion's Triumph*, 11; Hall frequently mentions "Passion" in *Peri hypsous* at sigs. B3v, C2v, C3v, C6v, C7r, Dv, D2r, D3v, &c...

⁵⁴ Tilmouth, *Passion's Triumph*, 2–12.

⁵⁵ Till, "The Sublime and the Bible: Longinus, Protestant Ethics and the 'Sublime Style.'"

⁵⁶ In England, the Common Law was viewed as a culture as much as it was created by lawmen: "even the idea that law could be something consciously made was seldom held; it was conceived of, rather, as a body of declared custom that had been authoritatively approved" (Lewis, "Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634): His Theory of 'Artificial Reason' as a Context for Modern Basic Legal Theory," 112) While the crown and parliament were able to amend the law somewhat, the roots of the Common Law lay in an idea of community not much displaced by a top-down imposition of legal rules (Lewis, 114); see also on this point Plucknett, *A Concise History of the Common Law*, 313.

My emphasis on Longinian poetics in the seventeenth century invites reconsideration of the disciplinary divide that colours Samuel Holt Monk's classic study of the eighteenth-century sublime. Monk is curious about the eighteenth-century aetiology of the sublime. He does not, however, much explore earlier understandings of it. Rather, he works backward from Kant's idea of the sublime. Monk thus comes to argue that a series of eighteenth-century British critics build toward Kant's theorization of the aesthetic sublime. Working towards Kant requires an initial distinction between rhetorical and aesthetic sublimity: "To write on sublime style is to write on rhetoric; to write on sublimity is to write on aesthetic" (12). Monk argues that Longinus is at the heart of eighteenth-century aesthetic theories because Longinus values content over form and prioritizes sublimity as occurring in "external nature" (17). These features of *Peri hypsous* are expanded in eighteenth-century thought, with Monk establishing a narrative where Boileau's 1674 French translation of Longinus splits rhetorical and aesthetic readings of that critic into distinct traditions.⁵⁷

My emphasis on seventeenth-century poetics offers some pre-history of Monk's study of the eighteenth century. I work in this vein with a minority tradition espoused, for example, by Theodore Wood's criticism of Monk. Wood's contextualization of the development of the sublime in England treats the sublime as an indivisible concept comprising the artist's position, or the rhetoric of an artistic work, and the audience's position, the reaction to a work. Wood's literature review further argues that Longinus's treatise ought to be read as a complex advocacy for a rhetoric effective as well as virtuous, which necessarily leads to the audience responding. Wood's position is strengthened by Andrew Ashfield and Peter de Bolla's later implicit criticism of Monk's argument as a teleological reading of English intellectual history hurtling towards

⁵⁷ Monk, *The Sublime*.

Kant's aesthetics of the sublime. While Monk seems sensitive to such a reading, he does not pursue it in his analysis.⁵⁸ The field is left open for Wood's revelation of a number of texts contemporary to Monk's editions that implicitly or explicitly work against Monk's narrative. Wood, like Monk, however, gives short shrift to pre-1674 discussions of Longinus, which weakens his amalgamation of rhetorical and emotional views of Longinus's text.⁵⁹

Robert Doran implies an inquiry such as the one I now propose, even though his emphasis remains concentrated on the eighteenth-century sublime. Doran's argument once again focuses on eighteenth-century approaches to the sublime, revealing an enduring view of Longinus's *Peri hypsous* as the beginning of an intellectual tradition rather than a statement of principles that may be applied to a period's politics. While arguing against the division of the sublime into rhetorical and aesthetic camps, Doran narrates the debate of the sublime from the re-discovery of *Peri hypsous* in 1554 to Kant's *Critique of Judgement* (1790). His narrative argues for a "unified discourse" of the sublime in its "intrinsic critical function" (2, 3). Doran's focus, however, quickly turns to the "early modern period," defined as 1674-1790, which is to say the Long Eighteenth Century (4). John Hall's translation of *Peri hypsous*, therefore, only receives passing reference (98). Its potential importance is not studied; Doran moves directly to an analysis of Boileau's effect on later understandings of the sublime, demonstrating an evolution from classical tradition, not a firm break. *Peri hypsous* is preserved in this French translation, while Doran argues that Boileau's prefatory remarks influence later readings of Longinus,

⁵⁸ Monk, 4.

⁵⁹ Wood, *The Word "Sublime" and Its Context, 1650 - 1760*, 7, 18–20, 25–26; Ashfield and De Bolla, *The Sublime: A Reader*, 1–11; Doran, *The Theory of the Sublime*, 9–11; Monk, *The Sublime*, 26.

allowing it to develop into a "critical concept of the sublime" that is associated, at least in Doran's mind, with the eighteenth-century rise of a bourgeois class (99, 109-111).⁶⁰

Doran roots the aesthetic understanding of sublimity in his interpretation of Boileau's presentation of Longinus's treatise, which was only published in France in 1674.⁶¹ Dying in 1678, Marvell likely did not come into contact with Boileau's view -- that French translation was released in Paris sometime in 1674.⁶² Marvell, moreover, uses the standard meaning of "sublime" (that which is exalting) in "On Mr. Milton's Paradise Lost" in 1674: "Thy verse created like thy theme sublime" (53).⁶³ The adjective exemplifies Milton's verse in Puritan fashion as a product above the rest. Such a qualification accords with Hall's translation rather than a then-cutting-edge meaning of sublimity as an aesthetic allowing readers to transcend themselves. Instead, the word situates Milton's Protestant epic in a elevated language somewhere above humankind, yet below the omnipotent.

Looking to that standard definition of "sublime", Marvell's interest politics required him to understand society in order to produce high speech. This understanding informs his ethics, and is evident throughout his poems. That Longinian pursuit of Height is reflected in the various meanings then accorded to the word "society":

[An] association or interaction with or between people;
The state or condition of living in company with other people; the system of customs and organization adopted by a group of people for harmonious coexistence or mutual benefit;

⁶⁰ Doran, *The Theory of the Sublime*.

⁶¹ EEBO does not show the work being translated into English, nor does it reveal a French volume appearing in English imprint for 1674.

⁶² For Bouleau's original version, see Bibliothèque Nationale de France, "Rothschild 840," 840; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, "Rothschild 841"; Boileau's work only made its way to England in translation by Sir William Soames and John Dryden after 1683: Boileau-Despréaux, *The Art of Poetry Written in French by the Sieur de Boileau; Made English*.

⁶³ McDowell views Marvell's reference to sublimity as expressing some concern at the amplitude of Milton's epic project: *Poetry and Allegiance*, 251.

A community of people living in a particular country or region and having shared customs, laws, or institutions.⁶⁴

All of these orders reflect a plurality of individuals associating, although Marvell does not allude to all the senses of the word. His poems themselves are almost devoid of references to "society", excepting only "The Garden" and his "Last Instructions to a Painter", though even those "Instructions" mention "society" only in the "Royal Society" (58). While this reference is to a company, its status as a proper noun does not helpfully define the word. "The Garden" is, then, the only poem that actually refers to society in one of the senses I have presented: "Society is all but rude, / To this delicious Solitude" (15-6). Marvell refers to a large group of people, but this metaphysical poem does not allow for geographic or political identity to intrude. Rather, "society" must be read against its antithesis: "solitude". Marvell's speaker withdraws from his community, but does so in order to survey it.

Marvell's references to "society" in his later prose works between 1672-78 generally accord with those communities from which he retreats in those prose satires: whether political or ecclesiastical. Alongside these uses of "society", Marvell deploys a more personal usage better suited to the association of individuals. It is these associations that build into those larger forms. Personal associations are best seen in the *Rehearsal Transpros'd II* (RT2, 1674), where Marvell lampoons Bishop Samuel Parker's criticism of his use of the familiar second person: "You had best know what you are good at, but I have had so little society with you, except in your Books, that my ignorance may be excusable".⁶⁵ "Society" here implies a personal bond, perhaps of friendship, at the very least acquaintanceship. Marvell's only link to Parker is through the world of letters. That use of "society" then appears again in *A Short Historical Essay, Touching*

⁶⁴ "Society, N.", 5c, 6a, 9a.

⁶⁵ *Prose Works*, I:391.

General Councils, Creeds, and Impositions in Matters of Religion (1676) when Marvell describes the heresy of Novatus, who had "gotten some Confessors into his Society" to give the illusion of strength against orthodox Rome.⁶⁶ The word use here may either indicate admittance to a personal relationship that strengthens Novatus's budding cult, or it may be a direct reference to the group that is the cult. Even if the word evokes personal ties, Marvell might use "society" to suggest a larger organization. "Society" in *A Short Historical Essay* opens onto ecclesiastical and moral connections that are themselves political groups that, in turn, interact (for better or for worse) with ever-larger groupings. In the present example, that larger group is the Catholic Church; Marvell gives further examples when, in *RT2*, he deploys the word in "bonds of society" and again referring to "humane society" to discuss the largest human orders, "Civil Government" and "Christian Religion", this time in geographical or political terms.⁶⁷ "Humane society" reappears, this time in philosophical terms, in *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* (1677). Here, Marvell extols the better government of ancient "Monarchies and Common wealths" for Christians who, thus disenfranchised, were better able to live by the Word of God instead of attempting to define it to their political ends.⁶⁸

Marvell's use of the term in his prose works scales up in much the same way as the modern definitions suggest. At the root of human association is one person and another: there is an "interaction". To live with others necessitates a prolonged interaction. Rules are necessary to govern these relationships with "other people". Those rules, however, are not yet formalized: they are a "system of customs" better suited to a small "group of people for harmonious coexistence", such as a family. Customs, however, readily concretize as "laws or institutions"

⁶⁶ , II:128.

⁶⁷ , I:236-7, 239. This use of "society" reappears at I:331 343.

⁶⁸ , II:258.

where a larger polity, such as a town, a county, or a nation, is concerned. The movement works from the customs of small communities to the written rules of larger ones. Marvell's satires at the end of his life reflect the preoccupations of an erudite politician. He sought to defend the narrow interests of his political and personal friends, the corporation of Hull and, for example, John Milton. He did so first by deploying a knowledge of individuals and their associations and the customs informing these bonds. From these customs, Marvell developed a moral worldview in conjunction with his puritan beliefs that allowed so effective and scathing a critique of Charles II's Restoration government.

The way in which Marvell built his ethics is roughly associated with Hall's translation of Longinus. This association is the subject of my first chapter. Marvell and Hall, as has already been said, worked with Milton in the Protectorate government at different times. They were, moreover, associated through the Stanley Circle, of which Hall was a member and Marvell an associate on the fringe. The two published facing poems in two volumes, *Lucasta* (1648/9), a book of poems by Richard Lovelace, and *Lachrymae Musarum* (1649), a book of elegies for the young Henry, Lord Hastings. Marvell and Hall's efforts each take up Longinian terms in their praise of Lovelace and Hastings, but while Hall sets these terms out, Marvell actualizes them. The poetic competition is one-sided. Even so, Marvell's competitive impulse is seen at work, and he is already engaging with broad social concerns even as he praises two individuals in different contexts. Marvell's budding ethics may be seen in this early performance.

From this opening, I turn to Marvell's exploration of personal relationships in chapter two. I do so with particular attention paid to Socrates's Ladder of Love as an example of Marvell's engagement with earlier understandings of Nature. The Ladder of Love prescribes a series of social interactions that roughly maps onto an individual's maturing from childishness to

an ideal citizen. Reading Marvell's poems as steps on the Ladder of Love better reveal his Longinian competitive drive. Those who cannot rise up the Ladder by expanding their knowledge through either listening to or crafting rhetoric instead stagnate and, eventually, die. The three steps from the Ladder of Love found in Marvell's poetry are consideration of individual love, love in a family setting, and a more abstract support for Cromwell's government. Only the former two categories are considered in chapter two; three groups of poems are used. Marvell's appreciation of individual love is seen in his Mower poems, "The Mower against Gardens", "Damon the Mower" , "The Mower to the Glo-Worms" , and "The Mower's Song". These poems present a solipsistic lover pining for that which he cannot have. Instead of moving past this stage of the Ladder, the Mower pines himself to death. He stagnates and dies for that lack of competitive energy. From this individual consideration of love, Marvell is shown presenting a fuller union between lovers in a second group of poems: "The Definition of Love", "A Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure", and "A Dialogue between Soul and Body". These poems debate the place of the soul in relation to the body. They fit into a wider religious debate, and they also answer a far narrower question: how does love transcend the body and endure beyond fleeting moments of sexual intimacy? Marvell proposes that lovers' minds may bridge the gap to create a more powerful union, thus applying the Ladder of Love to create competition between human nature--the desire to love--and Nature--in "The Definition of Love", the Fates.

The operation of the mind is then transposed from amorous relationships to consider how it might unite a family in Marvell's estate poems. The Lord Fairfax and his family are discussed through pastoral consideration of their houses in "Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough, To the Lord Fairfax", "Upon Appleton House, To My Lord Fairfax", and "*Epigramma in Duos Montes*

Amosclivum et Bilboreum. Fairfacio". These poems link erotic love to issues of greater moment. Not yet a discussion of government, Marvell's presentation of a public figure values Fairfax as a family man. It also values him in his official capacities as a governor of the countryside surrounding his Yorkshire estates and also for his responsible use of power on the national stage. Fairfax resigns in 1650 from command of Parliament's armies as the Civil Wars conclude. That resignation, however, brings him back to his family and his Yorkshire estates. Fairfax is thus able to stand in for a legendary Roman consul, Cincinnatus. The Roman and Englishman are similar for the measured style of their public service. Each are called from their homes to public service during time of war, and each resigns power on principle and without fuss. Fairfax's resignation in 1650 thus earns him almost equal plaudits to Cincinnatus, for he paves the way for the kind of good orator that John Hall hopes to inspire with his translation of *Peri hypsous*.

Using metaphors of Fairfax's estate, Marvell depicts the retired general in high terms by describing his house and his love of family as the explanation for his retirement. He does so by using languages of love to build an image of public service that is learnt and taught in the household, for, as Paul asks Timothy, "a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?"⁶⁹ That religion, especially in a Puritan's cosmology, resides first in the family, and family must be cared for, especially by statesmen who were not just the patriarchs of their households, but also of their manors or communities.⁷⁰ The republican commander, Fairfax, acting like a consul, withdraws from leadership after his military objective is accomplished. He returns, in Roman fashion, to his household and, it is clear in Marvell's lyrics, to his family. In contradistinction, Oliver Cromwell's government allows him to be

⁶⁹ I Tim. 3.5. Marvell alludes to II Timothy in the "Rehearsal Transpros'd": , I:160, & n. 670.

⁷⁰ Braddick, *State Formation*, 101; for an exposition of the legal obligations of manor owners and their tenants, see the discussion of freehold and copyhold in Chudleigh's Case [Dillon v. Freine], 76 English Reports.

portrayed as a monarch above his fellow men: a caesar. Characteristic of this imperial official, the caesar is perpetually empowered, with personal authority over the entire state. Marvell's focus in the Fairfax poems on that return to the household emphasizes the cleavage between a shorter-term, reasonable consular authority to which the Parliamentary Republic once pretended, and the *imperium*⁷¹ of a Cromwell Rex.

Marvell's emphasis is, however, more nuanced, with a further classical representation of Oliver Cromwell. Turning from love to government, my third chapter discusses Marvell's presentation of a slightly changed presumption of office through an examination of Oliver Cromwell as both governor and family man. With dreams of republic cast aside, Marvell's focus remains pragmatic: assure Cromwell's success and assure the succession of his heirs, all to avoid further civil strife. More conventionally, Cromwell is also considered at the start of his rule, like Fairfax, for his military successes. The progression of poems here resembles Livy's description of the Fall of the Republic: triumvirs, the Council of State, cede (albeit with less bloodshed) to a single Prince.

Marvell reaches for Height in the transition from Fairfax to Cromwell by presenting increasing consolidations of power. He does so specifically by elaborating on values expressed in Seneca the Younger's moral essays that reflect the political situation of the 1650s as it evolved from a republic to a principate. Where Fairfax is praised in republican Ciceronian terms, Marvell praises Cromwell in imperial Senecan terms. Though Seneca drew on Cicero's discussions of rhetoric and of office, his view expounds a centralization of authority in the imperial office. The terms of stoic morality are adjusted to that end. Marvell's Protectoral representations of family similarly focus on the public implications of love. For some, Cromwell and his House must

⁷¹ [government], but more readily transliterated to [lawful authority]

continue to preserve political order after the Regicide, which requires the creation and maintenance of a good family of individuals prepared to assume government.⁷² Marvell begins with Cromwell the military commander in "An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland". Power begins to centralize in Marvell's account of Cromwell's first year in power in "The First Anniversary of the Government under O.C.". This poem reflects Marvell's concern that an unstable Protectoral government might fall and precipitate renewed hostilities between Englishmen. Marvell extends that concern at Cromwell's death by supporting his son's rule in "A Poem upon the Death of O.C." The House of Cromwell continues in Richard Cromwell's government.⁷³ Marvell represents a short-lived dynasty established through the end of parliamentary rule, of which Fairfax is the champion, to veiled monarchical government under the Cromwells.

⁷² On the House of Cromwell and the advocacy of some for such a political settlement, see Worden, *Literature and Politics*, 88.

⁷³ Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, 177–91; Norbrook agrees: *Writing the English Republic*, 386–88.

Chapter 1: John Hall, Andrew Marvell, and Longinus

Marvell was no stranger to continental rhetoric and its classical antecedents. He returned in 1648 from a four-year stint on the Continent as tutor "travelling abroad with Noblemens Sones".¹ While he travelled educating his young charges, he plainly took the opportunity also to acquire more learning himself. This tour gave Marvell the chance to concatenate his earlier Cambridge learning with more practical knowledge of foreign politics, foreign languages and, more generally still, foreign cultures.² Each of these practical subjects encouraged displays of rhetoric. This kind of educational adventure lends itself to the distinction that Quintilian makes between abstract Greek and practical Roman thought. While the academy supplies knowledge, the continental tour provides Marvell with the practice of rhetoric and politics that resemble Quintilian's prescription for the Roman orator. That practice informs some of the poems that Marvell writes immediately after his return to England in 1648, when he is found in or near the literary circle of Thomas Stanley (1625-1678) and thus also John Hall and his budding translation of Longinus's poetics.

Thomas Stanley was a young royalist who constructed a bastion of court culture out of the Middle Temple in London.³ His circle is an example of the networks with which Marvell

¹ *Chronology*, 30.

² Raylor, "Andrew Marvell: Travelling Tutor"; see also, on the more general point of English travel to the Continent, Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics*, 27-28.

³ McDowell characterizes the circle's project as maintaining a Horatian and Jonsonian poetics in the absence of a royal court (*Poetry and Allegiance*, 189).

might be eager to engage. A group of poets congregated around Stanley in a web of patronage and friendship where poets might vie for literary eminence. John Hall was among them.⁴ Marvell seems to have looked on from the fringe. His marginal status might have spurred his creativity to new heights as he viewed and engaged with these poetic competitions. How distant a rock was Marvell circling around Stanley's sun? Marvell's metaphysical bent generates intricacies at odds with the courtliness that marks the many of that circle's productions. One example of this tension is Hall's poetics, which descend from a Jonsonian style and Marvell's early lyrics, which are only Jonsonian in part.⁵ Marvell's poetic inheritance is as yet better seen as a continuation of Donne's metaphysical school, perhaps as mediated by George Herbert's devotional poems.⁶

Marvell and Hall's association thus begins as a competition within a literary community for Height. Their ways of achieving greatness, the Jonsonian and the Donnean, are pitted against each other in what may be reflective of a wider tension in the Stanley Circle between insider and outsider. This competition is reflected in two books brought to the press in 1648-9: Richard Lovelace's *Lucasta* (1649) and *Lachrymae Musarum* (1649), a book of elegies for Henry, Lord Hastings. Marvell is inserted late into this first printing and does not directly face Hall. A second edition of the Hasting's volume greeted the anniversary of the King's execution at the end of January 1650, and Marvell's poem faced Hall's in this later printing. Marvell's and Hall's poems as printed in *Lucasta* and in the second edition of *Lachrymae Musarum* thus offer themselves for easy comparison. Marvell rises best to the challenge; his metaphysical inheritance is invaluable

⁴ Chernaik, "Stanley, Thomas (1625–1678), Poet and Classical Scholar"; see also McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, 2–3, 29–30, 206–7.

⁵ Smith, "Andrew Marvell and Ben Jonson: Personality and Prosody." This article highlights the debt Marvell owes to his early reading of Ben Jonson's translations of Horace, specifically in some Protectoral poems and, more importantly, in his verse and prose Restoration satires.

⁶ Hall, "The Manyness of Andrew Marvell," 435; see also: Maltzahn, "Marvell, Writer and Politician, 1621-1678."

to him in this competition. While Hall adopts a simpler, more literal style in his commendatory poem, Marvell deploys robust conceits in "To His Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace, upon his poems". Compared to Hall's elegy also, Marvell offers his more elaborate wit even in mourning "Upon the Death of Lord Hastings".

Marvell's metaphysical inheritance influences the difference of expression between his and Hall's offerings. As Hall's Longinus explains, conceits express a "vastness of thought" evoking a "fierce and transporting passion" through the "right fashioning and variation of Figures [of sentences and of speech]", which yields a "nobility and beauty of disposition".⁷ Marvell's metaphysical inclination better enacts Longinus's prescriptions than Hall's more literal Jonsonian expression, an expression better suited to describing Longinus's text than to performing it. Marvell's poem does so by attaching the poem's subject to broader socio-political concerns reflective of the poet's and Lovelace's civic engagement. Hall's facing poem, on the other hand, sticks simply to "direct address alone, as do nearly all the other dedicatory poems in the volume".⁸ Marvell successfully reaches for Height by situating Lovelace's production in "the new age of civil and military conflict", thus adapting commendatory verse to a wider, less literal, end.⁹ His conceits anticipate Hall's 1651 translation of *Peri hypsous*. Marvell thus achieves Longinian Heights in his poems even before he may have read Longinus himself, though Hall may well have begun his translation as early as 1647-8.¹⁰ Hall, by contrast, already in his poems uses terms that he applies to Longinus in his translation. Marvell also shows a keen political

⁷ *Peri hypsous*, chap. 6.

⁸ Smith, *Smith*, 19.

⁹ 19.

¹⁰ McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, 206.

sensibility when, playing off of Hall's poems, he sounds warning notes for the incoming republican administration.

Reading Hall's translation of Longinus's *Peri hypsous* into Marvell's and Hall's commendatory verses reveals a critical aspect of the intellectual climate in which both poets worked. That climate was informed by lesser-known examples of Longinus that circulated in England before 1652. Milton makes a reference in passing to Longinus in *On Education* (1644).¹¹ That reference may be drawn from several sources. Foremost of these is Gerard Langbaine's Latin translation, which was published in 1636,¹² with reprintings in 1638 and 1650. Langbaine further credits Patrick Young, the King's librarian and himself a Greek scholar,¹³ for lending him a copy of Francesco Robertelli's *editio princeps* of *Peri hypsous* (1554).¹⁴ Francis Junius's 1638 tracts on painting further supply an accurate summary of Longinus's argument.¹⁵ Langbaine's twice-reprinted translation suggests a fair demand for the.¹⁶ Marvell and Hall might have become directly aware of Longinus through Langbaine's translation, or Milton's regard for *Peri hypsous*.¹⁷ Marvell may also have met with the work while on the Continent.¹⁸ In any event, both

¹¹ Spencer, "Longinus in English Criticism"; Milton, *Of Education*, 6.

¹² Spencer, "Longinus in English Criticism," 142.

¹³ Boran, "Young [Junius], Patrick (1584–1652), Librarian and Scholar."

¹⁴ Spencer, "Longinus in English Criticism," 142.

¹⁵ Spencer, 139–41; Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients in Three Bookes: Declaring by Historical Observations and Examples, the Beginning, Progresse, and Consummation of That Most Noble Art. And How Those Ancient Artificers Attained to Their Still so Much Admired Excellencie*, sigs. Gr, I4r-v, Ii3r-Ii4v, Rr(r-v), Uu4r, Yy2r.

¹⁶ Annabel Patterson pays tribute to Langbaine in *Reading Between the Lines*, 262. She does so, however, in an attempt demonstrate "the reason for the recovery of Longinus for libertarian tradition" (265), an anachronism that does not properly contextualize Hall's effort in either the dedication or the translation.

¹⁷ For Milton's regard for "Peri hypsous", see Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton: A Critical Biography*, 125, where she claims that Milton tutored his nephews based on his prescriptions in "Of Education."

¹⁸ Indeed, the best surviving manuscript that we have for *Peri hypsous* is the tenth century "Paris codex" in which *Peri hypsous* appears beside a work by pseudo-Aristotle at shelfmark Grec 2036. The BnF's conservation history shows that the manuscript was in Paris at the time that Marvell visited the Continent. The manuscript was renumbered by the Keepers of the Royal Library, Jacques and Pierre Dupuy in 1645, just four years before Marvell is on the continent. See also: Macksey, "Longinus Reconsidered," 916.

poets express the humanist message they find in Longinus's treatise: good rhetoric must be used to the benefit of the speaker's society. Humanist, but consistent with the Pauline distinction between "enticing words of man's wisdom" and the Higher "demonstration of Spirit and the power" (I Cor. 2:4).¹⁹

Hall is, moreover, eager to replicate Longinus's prescriptions, for parallels exist between the biography of Dionysius Cassius Longinus as a rebellious subject of the Roman Empire (then under a string of emperors ending with Aurelian (r. 270-275 CE) at the time of Longinus's execution) and English Royalists and Parliamentary factions alike.²⁰ That focus on Cassius Longinus comes about because the seventeenth-century view of the authorship of *Peri hypsous* firmly ascribed the text to the third century rather than, as scholars now contend, to sometime in the first.²¹ The seventeenth century thus accepted the rumour that Longinus took the fall for Queen Zenobia's rebellion against Rome: he wrote a letter snubbing the Emperor, Aurelian, which provoked war between Palmyra and Rome. In brief, Zenobia (c. 240-274) had assumed rule over the breakaway Palmyrene empire (270-73) as Rome was wracked by the divisive Crisis of the Third Century.²² Longinus's execution as Rome captured the city and Zenobia's court fell to Aurelian is framed by John Hall in his dedication to Bulstrode Whitelocke:

This great Critick ... the glorious and unfortunate Zenobia gave him occasion of bravely dying for her in being her Secretary) may not now though hoary and dismembred (for time hath wasted him to what you see) find acceptance with a person that in the Hurricans of these great Transactions, is serenely pleased to

¹⁹ See Till, "The Sublime and the Bible: Longinus, Protestant Ethics and the 'Sublime Style,'" 60, for a potted history of I Corinthians cap. 2's use in connection with aesthetics since the Church Fathers.

²⁰ Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, 260–61.

²¹ Patterson, 261; Roberts, "The Greek Treatise on the Sublime"; Doran, *The Theory of the Sublime*, 30.

²² Magie, *Historia Augusta, Volume III: The Two Valerians. The Two Gallieni. The Thirty Pretenders. The Deified Claudius. The Deified Aurelian. Tacitus. Probus. Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus and Bonosus. Carus, Carinus and Numerian*, chaps. 27–30.

throw off the publick person, and adopt into his tendernesse and protection all that, unto which worth and letters may make a claim.²³

Longinus is beheaded in this story, and Hall laments the Greek's fall with a trope on the incomplete text with which he is lumbered. Cassius Longinus is long since dead. His corpse is "dismembered", but so is his text, which is missing sections. Even so, Hall recommends the incomplete text to Whitelocke. He praises his dedicatee's cultured mind and, in so doing, hopes to appeal not only to the "public" Whitelocke, but to the private man reading in his study.

Hall's interest in Longinus's biography is then used to clad the ancient rhetorician in new political significance, as the words of a doomed rebel are resurrected in a time of successful rebellion. Hall could claim a sympathetic audience for Longinus's circumstances because the turbulent times of the Crisis of the Third Century were akin to England's internecine struggles. Hall describes the fraught condition of the English polity in the midst of civil war in his recent *A true account of the character of the times* (1647):

Jealousies dayly heighten, new parties appeare, and new interests are discovered, that we seeme to [reenact] some wel contrived Romance. In which, every page begets a new and handsome impossibility. Such sicknesses have now seized on the body politicke, that is nothing but crampes, convulsions, and fearefull dreames.²⁴

Hall's final words evoke the haunting violence of a civil war that played as much on socio-economic tensions as it did on sectarian differences. Those differences are not much abated in 1650, when John Hall, now in Cromwell's service during his Scottish campaign²⁵, writes a

²³ Hall, *Peri hypsous*, sigs. A5r-v; Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, 261, mis-cites Hall's text as "sig. A4."

²⁴ Hall, *A True Account and Character*, sig. Ar.

²⁵ Raymond, "Hall, John (Bap. 1627, d. 1656), Poet and Writer."

defence of republican government that reveals an enduring uncertainty about the republican project:

I know not whether it be safe to think or no, That as God, who for the most part, suits men with gifts sutable to the places to which he calls them, would in some measure poure out his Spirit proportionate to these men, whereas as most commonly we find them, notwithstanding their extraordinary Advantages, of society, education and Business, as weak men as any other, and good Princes being swayed by the advice of men, good and wise, and the bad seduced by men of their own inclinations; what else are all Monarchies, but in reallity Optimaces for a few only essentially govern, under the name of one who is utterly as unable as the meanest of those over whom hee claimes superiority.²⁶

Perhaps afraid of attacking the leaders of his society, and perhaps against the aspirations of those leading men, Hall criticizes a common defence of the "jure divino" monarchy (B7r). The monarch does not have ability equal to his semi-divine social rank. Rather, monarchs are as fallible as the "advice" of their councillors. Going further, perhaps even so far as to lay some of the groundwork for a future House of Cromwell, Hall also points to the similarities between government by a Monarch and government by a Council of State. If the Monarch is only as fallible as his councillors, those same councillors may become a monarch if their advice gains enough influence amongst their peers.

Being able to situate good rhetoric within the complex machine of English government is essential to determining how that government will work. Hall acknowledges this necessity in his dedication of *Peri hypsous* to Bulstrode Whitelocke, a member of the Council of State that took up the reins of power in 1649. The nascent republican government relied upon Parliament for its legitimacy. While power politics may have dominated closed sessions, where Oliver Cromwell, as chief general, commanded great weight through his legions, effective rhetoric was essential in

²⁶ Hall, *The Grounds & Reasons of Monarchy Considered in a Review of the Scotch Story, Gathered out Their Best Authours and Records*, sigs. B7v-B8r.

deliberative assemblies -- Parliament and the Council of State -- because they should, in public session, reward effective oratory. Marvell angrily asserts the importance of unstifled rhetoric in "To His Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace", but Hall's more patient explanation of rhetoric's political function in his 1651 dedication of *Peri hypsous* to Bulstrode Whitelocke better represents the value of rhetoric. Hall's terms of reference find further expression in his poem facing Marvell's poem. Reflecting a lesson learnt by the good Roman emperors Augustus (r. 27 BCE - 14 CE) and Trajan (r. 98-117), whose public deference to the Senate won them elevation to divine status, Hall encourages Whitelocke to seriously engage as a governor with rhetoric so that the Council of State is accepted by Parliament and by the people it represents. Hall thus wishes to ensure stable government in England and to promote a stable society.

Hall's desire for a stable society pairs with Longinus's conception of rhetoric, itself a call for discourse over military action. That aspiration to Height then finds expression in elegies on the death of Henry, Lord Hastings. Touted by Marvell and Hall as a lost prodigy, the young lord's death is presented by both poets in a narrative of decline and divine rebirth. The poems have found critical reception as parts of a wider collection marking either the end of cavalier poetics with the execution of Charles I, or the beginning of resistance in print that would keep the Cavalier tradition alive until his son takes the throne.²⁷

These poems, however, mark more than the end of Court poetry. Their timing betrays a concern with the continuation of the government that Hall, for his part, foreshadows in 1647 when he says of the transition from Royal to parliamentary government that "violent alterations, and taking away of one government, before they be certaine of another, are extreame

²⁷ Maule, "Marvell's Hastings Elegy"; McWilliams, "A Storm of Lamentations Writ," 2003.

dangerous".²⁸ That danger is the product of political uncertainty. Marvell, however, repurposes Longinus's doom to foreshadow the rebel Cromwell's end: being exhumed and placed on macabre display. Marvell comments in his elegy for Henry, Lord Hastings, on the precarious nature of remaining in power. Marvell later further fills out Hall's sentiment, albeit in hindsight, with a couplet from his "Horatian Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland": "Though Justice against Fate complain, / And plead the antient Rights in vain" (37-8). Those ancient rights are the Crown's prerogatives, through which "head at last" Cromwell "blast[s] in seizing power, destroying the ancient government of England (23-4). Justice, the Crown's by right, is replaced by a new government underpinned by an unstable claim to power: might. Moreover, there is only one way to sustain such a power politics: "The same arts that did gain / A pow'r must it maintain" (119-120).

Marvell and Hall argue in their elegies that Henry, Lord Hastings' death represents a loss of royalist potential, but their arguments, when read beside Longinus's prescriptions for Height, work also toward a pragmatic approach to governing that has rhetoric at its core. In death, Hastings' virtue, associated with the defunct monarchical regime, is rejoined with God. From a royalist perspective, the young lord's virtues now look down upon the world. Even so, a person fit to rule might emulate those virtues to be successful. A monarch fit to rule might also receive some of Hastings' wisdom, which both Marvell and Hall depict as variations of the fountain of knowledge. The pragmatic message Marvell wishes to convey, and which Hall might also want to send, is that the incoming government ought to drink from that fountain. Raw military power can only take Cromwell so far. If his government, in 1649 the Council of State, is to survive, it is through shrewd politics and rhetoric, not through tyranny. Hall's and especially Marvell's elegiac

²⁸ Hall, *A True Account and Character*, sig. A3v.

offerings thus take on a didactic political tone even as each poet, in his own way, attempts to conform to Longinian precepts.

I

The political edge of these commendatory and elegiac lyrics emerges already in the brace of poems prefacing Richard Lovelace's *Lucasta* (1648/9). Here, Marvell deploys his brilliance against the power politics of the day. He attacks the parliamentary censors who are delaying *Lucasta's* publication. While building a metaphor around this incident that values Lovelace's poems and the royalist cause to which Lovelace is associated, Marvell incorporates elements of Lovelace's biography. In so doing, he associates the poet to political events that affected the publication of Lovelace's poems. The weight of references, whether classical or biblical, in Marvell's commendation displays his use of faithful *imitatio* that is characteristic of Longinian poetics. Marvell's approach in this regard looks backward to an older style of imitation rather than anticipating a new, more allusive style, that emerges in the decades to come.²⁹ Hall's political and imitative edges are somewhat duller than Marvell's. While he also makes classical references in his poem, Hall's simpler probe into Lovelace's biography lacks Marvell's bravure control over praise and its possible political implications. Hall explains why Lovelace is a skilled military and literary man, and, perhaps aware of his limitations in lyric, Hall depends on keywords later found also in his translation of *Peri hypsous*: glory, vast, Height. These keywords are suggestive of *Peri hypsous* being applied even before Hall may have begun translating the Greek text.

Marvell engages with the politics of *Lucasta's* publication at the outset by casting back to classical literature. In so doing, he works through his own translation of classical republican

²⁹ Burrow, "Full of the Maker's Guile," 284–87.

ideals to deliver a royalist warning to the incoming republican government in "To His Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace, upon his poems". His opening couplets evoke halcyon days contrasting with a harsher present reality:

Our times are much degenerate from those
Which your sweet Muse which your fair Fortune chose,
And as complexions alter with the Climes,
Our wits have drawne th' infection of our times. (1-4)

"Muse" and "Fortune" respectively evoke classical inspiration and destiny. As Marvell compliments Lovelace's choice of inspiration, he also suggests that it was predestined, perhaps a sly reference to natural talent. That "wit" is already degraded by the infection to which Marvell alludes, for context -- "Climes" and "times" -- determines the quality and appreciation of speech. The "candid Age" of debate in the Forum degrades into a tyrannical censorship destructive of High poetry (5).³⁰ The terms of that debate colours his allusion: "Who best could prayse, had then the greatest prayse, / Twas more esteemd to give, then weare the Bayes" (7-8). "Prayse" denotes laudatory speech. The Roman values that Marvell evokes compare, for example, to the legendary consul Cincinnatus (519-430 BC), whose humble leadership is translated to the literary world of revolutionary England.³¹ The person delivering the "greatest prayse" has, by his skill, earned that praise even as he implicitly rejects it by giving praise to another. Here, civic virtue values rhetoric over material wealth or raw power.³² Marvell associates that same virtue with the royalist Lovelace.

³⁰ Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 173.

³¹ See Worden, "Classical Republicanism and the Puritan Revolution" for the extent of Marvell's classical inheritance.

³² Indeed, Livy introduces Cincinnatus's first dictatorship (458 BCE) in the following terms: "Operae pretium est audire qui omnia prae divitiis humana spernunt neque honori magno locum neque virtuti putant esse, nisi ubi effuse afluant opes. | What followed merits the attention of those who despise all human qualities in comparison with riches, and think there is no room for great honours or for worth but amidst a profusion of wealth." (Livy, *History of Rome, Volume II: Books 3-4*, chap. 26).

On the face of it, such an association introduces a paradox into the poem. A courtly poetics is here being praised as the pinnacle of civic engagement in a society not yet overtaken by republican politics. Roman republican free speech is opposed to monarchy at the beginning and at the end of the Republic with the fall of the Roman kings and the rise of Julius Caesar. Marvell, however, allows good rhetoric to stand alone in a civic humanist tradition. The "Bayes" to which he refers are alternatively styled the "Civicke crowne", which is a clearer reference to civic humanism: the individual serves society through a network of personal and corporate relationships rooted in rhetoric (12). For Marvell, then a royalist, those networks are most effectively found at Court, where rhetoric and a modicum of due process may thrive. Any connection to republican virtues is incidental. His praise of the royalist Lovelace thus conjures up an image of a society that values rhetoric, not action, as the centre of life.

The politics of Marvell's poem turn on the site of rhetoric: whether rhetoric is used in executive or legislative branches of government. Put in the constitutional conundrum of the period: is the crown or parliament the most secure location for rhetoric and, thus, for government? Marvell had experienced the attainder of the Earl of Strafford in 1641, though he had been absent in 1645 when Archbishop Laud endured the same fate. These men, though certainly politically unpopular, were executed after parliament failed to impeach them and resorted instead to an act of attainder, which declared (rather than found) judgment against them. Where rhetoric failed in this legal context, the mob's violence was brought to bear through different means. Marvell prudently leaves himself political room to maneuver in these fraught times even as he bestows laurels upon the worthy Lovelace.

Due process is at the heart of Marvell's poem, for his account of *Lucasta's* publication is an example of competition between governmental authority and artistic authority. Political

censorship is countenanced by a republican government that has just reeled into office and that needs to secure power with little to no further conflict. Censorship is thus deployed as an expedient, but Marvell shows it up as an option that forces people apart. Lovelace's poems are delayed by a host of censors acting on behalf of the London parliamentary government. Marvell takes the opportunity here to outdo Hall, whose *The advancement of learning* (1649), appearing in the same year as Lovelace's volume, describes censorship: "take off that hatefull gagg of licensing which silences so many Truths, and frights so many ingenuities", but whose poem in *Lucasta* does not echo this theme.³³ Marvell, on the other hand, fills out his mention of "th' infection of our times" to suggest a blight upon English letters that affects due process (4). This blight is framed in religious terms that the censors, who were presbyterian, would have understood. The infection is connected to the "envious Caterpillar sit[ting] / On the fair blossome of each growing wit" (15-6). "Infection" refers to a "moral contamination" stemming from the "Civill Wars" that have shattered the English "Civicke crowne" (12).³⁴ English civic humanism, once firmly rooted in the networks formed at Court, is now threatened. That contamination is manifested by the caterpillar eating at the crop of English "wit", which evokes Joel's prophecy:

That which the palmerworm hath left hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath the cankerworm eaten; and that which the cankerworm hath left hath the caterpillar eaten.³⁵ (1:4)

³³ Hall, *An Humble Motion to the Parliament of England Concerning the Advancement of Learning, and Reformation of the Universities*, sig. D4v.

³⁴ "Infection, N.", 7.

³⁵ *Smith*, 21 glosses caterpillars as references to *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 47 (20-27 March 1649), sig. LII2v: "they [the New Model Army commanders] pretend Democracy, and like devouring Caterpillars eate up even the buds of Loyalty, though no men can be more ambitiously desirous then they to rule like Kings without controll". Marchamont Needham's writing may here reference Joel, for both Marvell and Needham deploy caterpillars to denote a blight upon England's prosperity; Takashi Yokinasha, however, suggests these caterpillars are a reference to Hall's *Mercurius Britanicus* (1648), where Presbyterians, the denomination of the censors Marvell takes aim at, are made akin to "Caterpillars" ("Two Verbal Echoes of John Hall in Marvell's Verse"); Worden, *Literature and Politics*, 61; see also Ben Jonson's "Epigram 15: On Court-Worm" in Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: Poems*, 13.

Caterpillars are the final form of a plague that lays the land waste. These insects are, in Joel's words, the angry Lord's army. Israel has fallen from virtue and must be corrected, which occurs in parallel construction after an outpouring of sacrifices:

And I [the Lord] will restore to you the years that the locust hath eaten, the cankerworm, and the caterpillar, and the palmerworm, my great army which I sent among you. (2:25)

Marvell's reference to Joel suggests that English letters may be saved from their plague -- "Insects which against you rise in arms", suggesting inconsequential size, but strength in numbers (18) -- just as Israel was saved. Censors are accordingly described in natural terms, with Marvell's praise of Lovelace's poems overcoming these small creatures through High speech. This playfully fulfills the terms of classical debate that Marvell had laid out in the first stanza: "Who best could praise, had then the greatest prayse" (7). Instead of recognizing this maxim and its foundation in an idea of fairness, the censors' politics dominates like a plague of insects. Marvell's wit in this praise is "the trumpet in Zion" blown to "call a solemn assembly" to perform sacrifices unto the Lord (Joel 2:15, 12-24 *passim*). Not so solemnly, however, the trumpet calls an erotic assemblage of "beauteous Ladies", humorously defying the presbyterian censor's efforts to suppress blasphemy (33). Marvell's allusion to Joel reflects the tension between parliamentary and royal government. The censors may be a secular analog for presbyters, while Laudian Bishops, associated with Charles, instead promoted the kind of free will that Lovelace, and these ladies, are exercising.

Lovelace's ability to overcome those censors thus elevates his name by associating it with an idea of impartial government. Lovelace does so in Marvell's conceit first by winning over the hearts of those assembled. Lovelace is cast doing so by conquering ladies of the assembly and, in

an erotic twist, their gentlemen. By so conquering these groups, Lovelace circumvents the parliamentary censors and reasserts a royalist poetics. Marvell parses Lovelace's name: he is a love snare that catches the "Ladies" of England (33).³⁶ Lovelace's courtly wit will literally reproduce as domestic order collapses in a "mutiny" of "undrest" women -- that is, not yet dressed in full fashion -- that even touches the trumpeter:

And one [of the Ladies] the loveliest that was yet e're seen,
Thinking that I too of the rout had been,
Mine eyes invaded with a female spight,
(She knew what pain 'twould be to lose that sight). (39, 41-4)

That "undrest" spight seems too tempting. Marvell's verb in this connection, "invaded", evokes the feminine power to influence men in courtly fashion. Female beauty violates the speaker's eyes and, it seems, his mind, for he offers to defend her at his own expense.³⁷ Marvell reaches higher, immediately betraying courtly convention by offering his speaker a further means of escape through doing what is tantamount to her defence: "in [Lovelace's] cause would dy" (46). Love of the female form thus allows the male speaker to invest himself in his male counterpart. Marvell frames Lovelace's creativity as a higher end than carnal human desire. Even as he does so, Marvell casts Lovelace's cause, the reproduction of wit, as already concluded, for Lovelace is "secure of glory and of time / Above their envy, or mine aid doth clime" (47-8). The rhyme time/clime bespeaks Longinian values, for the poet's legacy lies in his recognition by other poets, like Marvell. To win lasting imitation elevates one's rhetoric above others'.

That elevation is fully accomplished when the bays are bestowed by Lovelace's readers, whom Marvell celebrates as the *demos* capable of fully subverting the censors' authority. This

³⁶ See "Lace, N."

³⁷ "Invade, V.", 4. a & b.

demos, however, is not a propertied class. Rather, those with a stake in this government are readers, ideally informed readers, who can judge texts against past examples. Marvell recalls the assembly of men and women at the poem's close: "Him, valianst men, and fairest Nymphs, approve, / His Booke in them finds Judgement, with you Love" (49-50). Courageous men are opponents of parliamentary censorship. The work being praised thus "finds Judgement" with a full assembly of courageous men and beauteous women, all of whom, it is assumed, can read the same as any parliamentarian, but who, it is implied, have better judgment. Rhetoric, the expression of creative wit, is saved from being snuffed out by this new government because the *demos* is willing not only to read Lovelace's work, but also to disseminate it. For the censors' efforts to be legitimate, they must be in broad accordance with the will of the reading body politic. Marvell's praise attacks those censors by representing Lovelace's poems as a popular work.

Hall's praise is, by contrast, a lesser effort because it remains focused so unerringly on Lovelace's life rather than on Higher concerns. He fails in this regard to meet Longinus' standard where Marvell, whose discussion of *Lucasta's* delayed publication, manages to land a hit squarely on a department of the republican administration. Rather than supplying a well-wrought conceit, Hall introduces metaphoric strains that are only unified by Lovelace's biography and instant work. He gestures toward the public's benefit from Lovelace's skill as a military commander by elevating Lovelace and his literary achievement using the Longinian language of Height. Hall describes Lovelace possessing a pythian "Height", a word he later uses frequently in translation of Longinus (10).³⁸ Hall's praise melds Lovelace's military and poetic achievements, but it does not comment more widely (as Marvell does) on wider social affairs. Though not a

³⁸ In Lovelace, *Lucasta*, sigs. A8r-v.

requirement to achieve Height, such commentary brings the text closer to its audience while elevating its subject further by showing his place in current affairs. While Hall thus compliments the Apollonian grace in Lovelace's poetry, the implication--that Lovelace's poetry achieves Height--seems misplaced. The issue is that Hall's simply labelling Lovelace's poems as High, while complimentary, does not demonstrate that Height by working through how Lovelace transcends himself on the page. Rather, in Hall's logic, Height creates glory, for it allows a speaker to transcend time, a fact Hall acknowledges in this praise with reference to "Heroes ... / Whose triumphs were as soone forgot, as seen? / Because they wanted some diviner one / To rescue the[m] from night and make the[m] known" (20-3). The martial man, like a poet, cannot win eternal memory. His achievements must stand alone to be great. That desire for military glory in the triumph, or to win in literary competition, is not the path to personal glory. In Longinian rhetoric, such desire, or ambition, operates exactly to prevent men from achieving the goal of Height with their text. Similarly (though Hall does not account for it), the simple act of writing dedicatory verse does not accomplish transcendence: it merely shows that others acknowledge one's work.

Hall sets Lovelace up as a poet and a soldier and the combination of these functions allows Hall to assign to Lovelace a part of the epic truth of recent conflict, though he does not state it. Hall asks why Lovelace why he doubles his glory, for he was famous for military skill before his foray into letters: "If the desire of Glory speak a mind / More nobly operative & more refin'd spirit / What vast soule moves thee" (1-3)? Lovelace's spirit is moved by a "vast soule" that Hall endeavours to discover. Vastness is a condition of Longinian Height that refers to a writer's ability to imitate preceding texts and to deploy rhetorical tools while generating an

original thought.³⁹ Hall's vehicle is a quest to uncover the connections between the mortal Lovelace and his immortal soul's inspiration for writing. That quest takes more specific heroic form in the rhetorical question:

... Or what Hero's
(Kept in'ts traduction pure) dost thou inherit
That not contented with one single Fame,
Dost to a double glory spread thy Name? (3-6)

The possessive "hero" refers to the preceding question. Heroism connotes the ancient favour of the gods as well as "courageous or noble actions, esp. in battle".⁴⁰ Lovelace inherits that kind of soul, which goes a way toward demonstrating his Height. With this word attached, Lovelace's previous achievement is acknowledged at the outset of Hall's tribute while pointing to a potential reason for Lovelace's literary success: "Both th' Delphick wreath and Civic Coronet" – literary skill and military prowess (7). The Delphic wreath is bestowed by the oracle that speaks Apollo's word, the word of the God of poetry. The civic coronet is bestowed on triumphant military leaders. ~~These symbols evoke~~ Lovelace's military achievements are plain as day; his literary ones ostensibly follow, but Hall has not yet spoken to their social impact.

Hall works through this reference to the Greek oracle, thus framing Lovelace's life in prophetic terms that might bring him into the ambit of High speech. Lovelace is distinguished from these vain men by his "Ionick sweetnesse" (11). The introduction of that sweetness is, however, fraught. Hall's reference to the Ionians calls up Homeric myth.⁴¹ While Hall insists that we "must also witness with what Height / And what Ionick sweetnesse" Lovelace "canst write" (10-11), his word choice suggests that these are complementary terms, but his parallel

³⁹ See *Peri hypsous*, chaps. 6–7.

⁴⁰ "Hero, N."

⁴¹ Hornblower, Spawforth, and Eidinow, "Ionians."

construction creates a comparison to the defunct Ionians: the unreserved Height Hall gestures towards is balanced by the fallibility of civilizations. Lovelace's poems are thus praised again as High, but this time because of their very association with classical rhetorical skill, which raises their author as if above all competition: "Such art thou to thy selfe: while others dream / Strong flatt'ries on a fain'd or borrow'd theam" (24-5). Lovelace is praised as the object of emulation, calling up Longinus's conception of competition between speakers as the motivation for producing high speech.

Hall closes his praise by again simply associating Lovelace with that which is High: Apollo's supervisory role over poetry. Rather than simply praising Lovelace's skill as a poet, Apollo is recalled in connection with Homer. The epic poet is a frequent example for Longinus's analysis of classical rhetorical skill. Hall's reference to Homeric myth places Lovelace in that Longinian tradition of replication and being replicated, but it is again simply placing rather than demonstrating. He mentions Homer to emphasize Lovelace's military and poetic skill while evoking the tenor of some of Lovelace's poems, such as "To Lucasta, Going to the Warres". In this poem, the speaker must leave to defend "honor".⁴² He may be compared to Odysseus. The poem preceding Lovelace's speaker's justification for going to war, "To Lucasta, Going beyond the Seas", paints a warrior downplaying his absence.⁴³ Odysseus's long absence while fighting in Troy famously causes suitors to crowd Penelope, but she does not falter in her "Faith and Troth", nor does Odysseus, nor does Lovelace's speaker.⁴⁴ Hall's final couplets thus address Lovelace's achievement in Homeric terms: "Thou [Lovelace] shalt remaine in thine owne lustre bright, / And adde unto't LUCASTA'S chaster light" -- a reference to Lovelace's patient female character

⁴² Lovelace, *Lucasta*, sig. B2r.

⁴³ Lovelace sigs. Br-v.

⁴⁴ Lovelace, sig. Bv.

-- "For none so fit to sing great things as He / That can act o're all lights of Poetry. / Thus had Achilles his owne Gests design'd, / He had his Genius Homer far outshin'd" (28-31). Lovelace's virtuous creation (the female character Lucasta) stands over all other poetic creations. This simple claim, cleverly put, is buttressed by that reference to Homeric myth. Again, however, Hall leaves a reader wondering whether his claims are perhaps too bald, with not enough said to demonstrate those exalted claims. Hall has not shown how Lovelace's book finally achieves that Height; he only applies those terms in artful praise.⁴⁵

Thus does Hall's praise look inward, to find the source of Lovelace's military and poetic achievements in connection with Lovelace's biography. By couching Lovelace's achievement in more limited terms, Hall's praise for *Lucasta* does not situate the book in wider concerns of the moment. In so doing, he fails to demonstrate the role rhetoric plays in public life. Marvell fills this void. His consideration of Lovelace's book in relation to issues of censorship reveals a nascent Longinian appreciation of rhetoric as a public good. This posture finds full expression in Marvell's later satires of Charles II and his government. Marvell's present commendatory verse achieves Height, where Hall only defines Height with reference to Lovelace's biography.

II

Hall catches up to Marvell with his translation of *Peri hypsous* in 1652, where he weds High speech to politics in his dedication of the work to Bulstrode Whitelocke. Rhetoric is framed as a competition to see who best can transcend himself, especially in appeals to the people or to legislatures. Longinian transcendence is persuasion: a speaker's ability to craft words and images in order to release them to an audience that is then convinced of the speaker's point of view. Hall defines transcendence as it ought to work in the politics of 1652 with his dedication to a well-

⁴⁵ See "Genius, n. and Adj."

known jurist and a member of the Council of State. He draws heavily in this preface on the translation proper found in the second part of his book.

The political bias of Hall's dedication, now for Parliament instead of the crown, smacks of pragmatic politics. It also reveals a preoccupation with themes similar to Longinus. The final chapter of the Greek's argument as it came to Hall, and as it comes to us, powerfully attests to the political value of rhetoric. By opening and closing the book on this point, Hall reveals what had become, by 1650, a Roundhead bias. When he uses rhetoric in *The grounds & reasons of monarchy considered* (1650) to impeach the logic of monarchy, Hall deploys an argument in the dedication that supports a deliberative style of government. That preoccupation with confirming the legitimacy of parliamentary government is the occasion for Hall's translation.⁴⁶ This is because, in the new parliamentary republic, Hall's translation attempts to promote rhetorical competition to stimulate political engagement. He may fear that without a move towards stability, England would collapse into a brutal interregnum like that of Rome in the third century, where multiple claims to power could be made.

Even though his bias is plain, and while the translation has been characterized as "almost unintelligible" and "a poor work",⁴⁷ Hall remains reasonably faithful to Longinus's text. His translation was also well-received according to a Cambridge friend of Hall's, John Davies (1625-1693),⁴⁸ who calls "of the Height of Eloquence, a piece very elaborate, and accordingly much esteemed in both Universities".⁴⁹ That faith is due in no small measure to Longinus's focus on

⁴⁶ See Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 138–39, who casts Hall's political sympathies when translating Longinus as fully republican; see also Worden, *Literature and Politics*, 59–60.

⁴⁷ Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, 258; and Spencer, "Longinus in English Criticism," 142, respectively.

⁴⁸ Lord, "Davies, John (1625–1693), Translator."

⁴⁹ McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, 206; quoting Hall, *Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras; Teaching a Vertuous and Worthy Life*, sig. b5r.

competition between rhetoricians. Hall's message is plain: implementing Longinian rhetorical competition in the aftermath of the Civil Wars will stabilize English society by allowing disputes to be rationally, not militarily, resolved. By contrast, Thomas Hobbes complains (albeit after the fact) that humanist training in disputation was a cause of the Civil Wars because scholars increasingly took up "democraticall principles of Aristotle and Cicero" that used "eloquence" to promote a misreading of classical texts that divorces words from their referents.⁵⁰ The misreading skews politics away from constitutional government toward a more violent power politics.

Hall's dedication naturalizes the Greek text to English power structures. Whitelocke's "Judiciall" position puns on the jurist's career and on his current role as an executive in English government. Hall refers to pleading before the law courts, one use of the art of rhetoric, and to another: judicious decisions, whether legal or executive. Hall says as much when he asserts that Longinus intended his treatise for those "intrusted with the greatest civil employment that this Nation can make use of".⁵¹ This phrase is best explicated by Chapter 39 of the translation,⁵² which ties eloquence -- high speech -- to governmental and societal power, things the English courts and executive government oversee. It recalls also Longinus' employment as a chief advisor to Zenobia, where he no doubt used rhetoric to further his opinions and the goals of his queen.

⁵⁰ Hobbes, *Behemoth, or the Long Parliament*, 164; Peltonen, *Rhetoric, Politics and Popularity in Pre-Revolutionary England*, 164, 110.

⁵¹ *Peri hypsous*, sigs. A3-A5.

⁵² Chapter forty-four in the modern edition. Hall conflates chapters where pages in the edition or manuscript he translated from are lost, or the chapters are such short fragments that he does not bother to give them their due. Whether this is an editorial decision or an error is unclear. Chapters four and five are mis-numbered. Chapter seven is folded into chapter six, causing a consequent renumbering. Chapter nineteen, a fragment, is conflated with chapter eighteen. Chapters thirty-seven, a fragment, and thirty-eight are also conflated.

Some of those opinions shine through in Longinus's final surviving chapter, which works through a comparison between republican Rome and his current reality, the Empire. Former times are valued for their public discourse. As Longinus says, "Democracie is the best Nurse of high Spirits".⁵³ It is a good nurse because it fosters a "just liberty" that "nourishes" a human desire "to obtain the priority of honour", thus "kindl[ing]" the mind and its skills "into a flame" that "shines freely and brightly as the things" the mind occupies itself with.⁵⁴ If discussion is not permitted, power is increasingly centralized and ripe for abuse. In the first century, the things that the mind occupies itself with are the public affairs of the *agora* or the *forum*. Longinus compares that republican perspective with his third-century reality, what he characterizes as "slavery".⁵⁵ The bondage described is faulted as a fallacious *argumentum ad antiquem* of "customs and persuasions" unchallenged since subjects' birth.⁵⁶ In the Roman empire of that day, the art of public argument is doomed by appeals to the *status quo*, appeals that are enforced by a military apparatus used more to legitimize claims to the imperial throne than the Senate's traditional legitimization of the imperial title.⁵⁷ Those ill effects translate from the public sphere to "our own homes" in Longinus's comparison.⁵⁸ Public discourse finds emulation in private life. If rational debate is subverted in the forum, it is likewise lost in the family. Once lost in the family, later generations are unable to compete on the same terms as past ones. They are not educated with

⁵³ *Peri hypsous*, chap. 39.

⁵⁴ *chap. 39*.

⁵⁵ *chap. 39*.

⁵⁶ chap. 39. Of some note if we look beyond Marvell's political career, John Locke is careful in his "Second treatise on government" to supply a rationale for the dissolution of the body politic, thus obviating Longinus's "argumentum ad atiquem."

⁵⁷ Watson, *Aurelian and the Third Century*, 5.

⁵⁸ *Peri hypsous*, chap. 39.

those lost values in mind. Succeeding generations lose the ability to fully engage with their society through the rhetorical arts once fostered in public debate.

Hall's translation of Longinus buttresses the claims made in its preface by linking human competition for rhetorical excellence with natural forces.⁵⁹ In a general sense, the natural world where humans live and of which they are part "follows a secret kind of order, and declines irregularity".⁶⁰ Longinus personifies this sense as Nature. Nature has its own order that is invisible to humans, but to which humans are subject. In Longinus's view, rhetoric is the art of discovering and convincingly communicating Nature's secrets to humans: "Now she [Nature] indeed affords the first elements and materials of every thing, but for increase, opportunity, and Height, she leaves it to the determination and power of method".⁶¹ Longinus's treatise offers such a power to humans. Rhetoric is a reach for Height accomplished when one or more of Nature's secrets are revealed. That revelation is competitive: "naturally aim[ing] at high things, and ambitiously avoid[ing] the imputation of drought or weaknesse".⁶² In the general sense of nature, humans must compete with a secretive environment that they do not wholly understand. A speaker's excellence under this heading is measured in terms of his ability to reveal those secrets. To accomplish that revelation, writers must rely on "phantasie," that is

generally understood any conception which may be fashion'd into Speech; but more particularly it hath prevailed to be accepted only of such representations as being to be worded, thou wilt be so agitated with fury and passion as to think thou really seest them, and so make them visible even to the hearers.⁶³

⁵⁹ Longinus's two uses of "nature" are sketched in Heath, "Longinus and the Ancient Sublime," 11–23, esp. 20–2.

⁶⁰ *Peri hypsous*, chap. 2 Hall's translation is slightly different from the modern edition, where Longinus is rendered saying "Nature for the most part knows no law."

⁶¹ *Peri hypsous*; "ME," chap. 2: "In all production Nature is the first and primary element; but all matters of degree, of the happy moment in each case, and again of the safest rules of practice and use, are adequately provided and contributed by system."

⁶² *Peri hypsous*, chap. 2.

⁶³ *chap. 13.*

For Longinus, fantasy applies method to reveal Nature. The audience gains the author's understanding of one or more of Nature's secrets. In Hall's translation, such fantasy is at the root of High speech. Inspiration causes words to flow into "an handsome system", for parts of speech "bound up into harmony ... circulate and become sonorous".⁶⁴ At issue is the synthetic power that rhetorical Height demands: "so that the true sounds and tones of Periods, may be compar'd to a great feast made up of many dishes."⁶⁵ The synthesis discloses Nature's secrets in speech or text.

Longinus's second category introduces an element of what we may view as Darwinian competition into man's so vying with Nature. Speakers must compete against each other even as they reveal Nature's secrets. This is human nature, or a competition for survival, which is defined as a text's being worth imitating. *Imitatio*, a foundation of humanist teaching with which Hall and Marvell would have been familiar, extends the life of a text even as the text itself prolongs the life of others. A text thus survives and a piece of the author survives along with it. Hence the inducement for an author to be aware of the best writings and to have an eye upon posterity: "above all this there is nothing more incites then if you weigh with your self how every succeeding eye would receive those things which are in writing."⁶⁶ Longinus argues for the use of past texts' themes and stylistic elements to frame present concerns. By using these past texts, an author may survive through the "future glory" of his own text; time is suspended for a writer when his text survives his lifetime.⁶⁷ By calling upon past authors who have survived and are thus imitable, present speakers equip themselves with tools for competition: ideas and expressions that have endured through time. In the first instance, a competition between writers

⁶⁴ *chap. 35.*

⁶⁵ *chap. 35.*

⁶⁶ *chap. 12.*

⁶⁷ *chap. 12.*

past and present focuses on tapping a mass of previous rhetoric before applying it to one's own observations.

Hall highlights this competition for survival when he presents a capsule Western political history in his dedication that pits the threat of slavery against the prospect of freedom. He emphasizes that the deliberative politics of a republic require skillful argumentation: "In Senates and Harangues to the people length was necessary, for the same men acted both parts".⁶⁸ Roman patricians and wealthy plebeians occupied legislative and executive offices as senators, tribunes, *praetors*, consuls, members of the *Comita Tributa*, and a host of other offices. Competition is thus situated between men involved in the political process. In (extreme) theory, a meritocratic ability distinguishes a good *praetor* from a bad *praetor* and so forth. That ability is measured in rhetoric, for it is the public business that is best perceived by electors. To win an election requires innate rhetorical skill, which springs from one's nature, or also the perfection of one's nature, through methods such as those Longinus describes.

Hall distinguishes his circumstances from republican times by shifting the discourse from the question of slavery versus freedom to government by Court versus that by Parliament. He focuses on contemporary court culture: "that which was necessary to gain the people, degenerated in time to be in fashion in counsel, so that this was play'd for a prize."⁶⁹ Courtiers and aristocrats vie for favour through their counsel to the Crown. While this more limited executive group consequently limits the audience for rhetoric, rhetorical ability remains the means of advancement, albeit with a shifted focus. Theoretically, the Crown still judges its advisors' ability based on their argumentative skill. When competition, however, centres in the

⁶⁸ *Peri hypsous* sigs. A7v-A8v. Cicero's Philippics are prominent instances of harangues addressed first to the Senate and then to the people in condemnation of Marc Antony; his orations against Catiline are an even more poignant example of the utility of republican rhetoric.

⁶⁹ *sigs. A7v-A8v.*

Court, it proves no full deliberation, especially since it is the executive branch of government, not a legislative or popular branch, that is embroiled in debate. The result of deliberation at court is that rhetoric becomes the resource of a much more limited group, so subject to fewer judges than popular discourse. Stylistic rigour is lost. This court culture may not be a thing of the past. Perhaps uncertain about present constitutional arrangements, Hall worries that "whereas now the Scene is changed, ... (in Civil matters) we are to speak to the few and not the many".⁷⁰ His analysis suggests that the problem of the royal executive branch still remains. As with the earlier Court, rhetorical competition still focuses on a very few judges, like Whitelocke, now eminent in the Council of State. That Council is beholden to the Rump Parliament in a way very similar to the former Court's need for parliamentary subsidies (approval to levy taxes).

III

Hall's position in 1652 is in stark contrast to his and Marvell's royalist poetry in 1648/9, but the terms of their preoccupations are largely the same at both times. Those few judges, whether parliamentary or royalist, guard the entire apparatus of state, including the free speech for which Hall and Marvell make themselves advocates in the prefatory materials to *Lucasta*. Hall and Marvell are combative in their royalist praise of 1648. A year later, they signal a perhaps reticent change in political support by sounding warning notes to a new parliamentary government. In Hall's case, he warns of the return of the King in terms reminiscent of a *jure divino* doctrine of monarchical power. Marvell instead warns of the complexities of holding onto power. The poets are more concordant in this second effort. They lay out their pragmatic concerns about government after the death of Charles I in 1649 as they again square off, this time in elegiac fashion, on facing pages.

⁷⁰ sigs. A7v-A8v.

The eulogies both Marvell and Hall supply for the occasion of Henry, Lord Hastings' death lament lost scientific achievement and royal hopes. The young lord's intellectual ability is lauded, with special attention given to all the kinds of potential knowledge lost with his death. In similar though more subtle wise, Henry's death represents the end of a Royal line descending from Edward IV (r. 1461-1470; 1471-1483). The poets' mention of Doctor Mayerne, James I's and Charles I's royal doctor and a renowned practitioner, further cements a royalist undercurrent in the poems. Mayerne, whose daughter was set to marry Hastings, more clearly approximates the young lord and the royalist cause. Mayerne's responsibility for the King's health, though by the time of writing in 1649 almost entirely waned (relegated by Parliament to the King's daughter's health -- Charles I was dead), brings with it the recognition that Mayerne deserved. It is the kind of recognition that Henry, Lord Hastings might have received had he lived, and a recognition more fit for Hastings' noble blood. Each poet finds solace, however, in the knowledge of Hastings' rebirth at God's side. As Hastings' soul leaves his body, he transcends the material world that the poets inhabit. Marvell and Hall frame that ascension in Longinian terms. While Hall ventures a metaphysical suggestion of life beyond the grave, Marvell describes a more complete apotheosis by enlarging on Hastings' ascent to Heaven. In this transcendence, however, the poets ponder also their own continued mortal existence: the King's death marks a constitutional shift that, their lines suggest, will require skill, perhaps even rhetorical skill, to implement peacefully. Their warning at the start of republican government is pragmatic: the sword must now be set down in favour of the pen, and governing with rhetoric is much more precarious than winning power through arms.

Hall uses Longinian terms to weave a narrative that responds to the question of the human soul's continuity after its mortal form expires. The onus of his preoccupation is placed

less upon the current constitutional upheaval, and more on the promised return of the King. He does so by using the occasion of Hastings' death to compare the "central fire" that "lurks within [a perisht Flower's] seed," which is perennial and thus self-sustaining, to "Pityable man", whose death leaves him "past recov'ry lost" (11-2, 14-5).⁷¹ That "central fire" is akin to a Platonic form, even though the flower is a very real thing. Indeed, Hall aspires to his later translation of Longinian poetics, where he writes in the Platonic tradition: "Neither do we the most look at our ordinary fire, although we see it dayly burn shine and recruited, but we rather look up and adore those celestially flames, though to us often darkened."⁷² The stars -- celestially flames -- represent that to which speakers aspire in Longinus's thought: divinity. Hall's elegy establishes itself, with the image of a flower enduring within its seed even as the flower itself dies, as a hard look towards those celestial flames by begging the question: What is the Form for humans? Terms strikingly similar to Hall's later translation are used to present his answer.

That answer, however, is a long time coming. Hall tries no thesis at the opening of his 123-line poem. He prefers to build a series of claims that result in a conclusion addressed to Hastings' father:

And yet, (my Lord) since that Celestial fire
That is shut up within us, doth aspire,
Being once freed, like an ambitious Flame,
Unto that Fountain, from whence first it came. (97-100)

The Fountain is a reference to God as the wellspring of all knowledge. It is a Christian version of Plato's theory of Form. Hall arrives at his conclusion by rehearsing the young Hastings' excellence under two headings: as a scholar whose aim is to reveal some of Nature's secrets, and

⁷¹ Citations from Hall's poem are transcribed from Brome, *Lachrymae Musarum*.

⁷² *Peri hypsous*, chap. 31.

owing to his descent from the royal blood of Edward IV. The scholarly Hastings is praised in a playful inversion of Longinian logic. Hastings' death also marks the end of his virtues. Lost to the moral world are:

Courage, Sweetness, Innocence, and Truth.
And all those sweet imbellishments of Youth;
And all those full Perfections which engage
Our praise. (31-4)

These virtues slip away at a time that Marvell has described in "To his Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace" as "much degenerate from" the ancient virtues Hastings seems here to possess (1). Not simply those virtues, however, since Hastings' great learning also ends with him in Hall's poem:

And all those Arts, which by long toil acquir'd,
Do make men either useful or admir'd:
All which he mastred, not as others, who
By lame Degrees to a Full stature grow;
He, at the first, was such: what other men
From Climate, Humour, Temper, Custom gain,
Nature endow'd him with: and though she please
To d'all her works at leasure, by degrees. (35-42)

Hall here evokes Longinus's axiom: "Nature without Art is blind and imperfect".⁷³ The "power of method" has been bestowed upon Hastings, for his knowledge of the "Arts" that otherwise take others a long time to acquire, perhaps through the universities, if "Degrees" is any indication, is quickly acquired by the defunct lord thanks to Nature's design. In simpler terms, "Nature endow'd him with" the Arts so that it may be seen by men. Hastings' virtues are some of the preconditions for sight, but method is still required. In Longinus's logic, method is deployed through Hastings so that men may peer into Nature's secrets.

⁷³ *chap. 2.*

Nature's design is but another name for God's power. As Hall's conclusion suggests, the seed from which Hastings has sprouted is God's eternal body. Hall suggests his conclusion midway through the poem. Hastings' knowledge is

too Æthereal, and too refin'd,
To know or common Paths, or common Bounds:
His was like Lightning, which all Sight confounds
And strikes so swiftly, that it seems to be
Rather the object of the Memory. (58-62)

Hastings' life descends to capture humankind's attention before returning to heaven, with a vestige of his self to reside on Earth in memories. That image of lightning evokes a further Longinian image of divinity in the young Lord's brief descent onto Earth from the gods. Longinus distinguishes between middling and great speakers by comparing Demosthenes to Hyperides. Siding with Demosthenes, Longinus says that great speech "troubles the peace of the audience".⁷⁴ Hall's translation similarly concludes that "a man may sooner open his eyes to a flash of lightning then look fixtly upon his motions and wonderfull agitations".⁷⁵ The young lord's mind, which Hall already casts as High by using "Æthereal", a heavenly mind that has gone beyond "common Bounds", instead strikes humankind like a bolt of lightning: so forcefully that it momentarily distracts humans from their own mortality.

Behind this "pure Minde" lurks a political question of Hastings' royal descent, a social Height that Hall evokes in terms similar to his later translation of Longinus. Hastings' "Noble Bloods" are imagined as the confluence of "some fam'd River, whose proud streams are great, / Because that Other Rivers therein meet" (20-2). Longinus, as he describes the human search for

⁷⁴ See "ME," chap. 34.

⁷⁵ *Peri hypsous*, chap. 30.

greatness passing "beyond the limits that confine us",⁷⁶ analogizes that human fascination to a more tangible admiration for "not little pure or usefull streams, but the Rhine, Nile, or the Danow, and above, these the Ocean."⁷⁷ As a celestial flame is to be admired for its intangibility, a powerful river or the ocean, though tangible, possesses mysterious depths and creatures. The force of Hastings' blood, thus evoked, is quickly snuffed out like the lordling's life itself. With that life goes his family's promise of issue, for Henry Hastings was an only child; only the year after his death was his brother, Theophilus Hastings, born.⁷⁸

Hall associates Hastings' royal blood to his scientific knowledge, thus opening the door for a reference thereafter to Mayerne and his medical "art[s]" that are so closely connected with Charles I (74). After that lightning strike that is Hastings' "pure Minde", the lord's mental agility is described in martial royal terms:

Thus he o'er-run all Science, (like a King
Conquering by approach) as if that every Thing,
Strip't of its outward dross, and all refin'd
Into a Form, lay open to his Minde. (65-8)

As Edward IV, for example, overcame the Lancastrian military challenge to the throne in 1461, so does his blood descendant conquer science. If the Form of government is the Crown, and the King its instantiation, that Form is defended by a "dross" of followers: armies and clerks whose role is to confirm and extend the Crown's power. The terms of Hastings' domination are similarly Platonist: that "outward dross" is like the petals of a flower that protect the seed within. The Lord's critical mind sees through such material accoutrements as petals. His mind can "th'row all Objects pierce" to distill the essence of 'every Thing' (70). Henry's mind operates like God's writ

⁷⁶ "ME," chap. 35.

⁷⁷ *Peri hypsous*, chap. 31.

⁷⁸ McWilliams, "A Storm of Lamentations Writ," 2003, 273.

small. As a mortal, Hastings is endowed with the critical abilities that will, in the remainder of the poem, justify his elevation to God's side.

With Henry's mental faculties thus established using royal terms, Mayerne is brought into the fray to strengthen Hastings' royal association. The union between Mayerne's daughter and Hastings promises that "a great Race should spring from him again" (82). Lest any reader mistake the reference to Hastings' pedigree, "A Race of Hastings" should spring forth "whose High Deeds should raise / New lustre to their Grand-sires Images" (83-4). Those grandsires are unmistakably references to Hastings' royal line, for *Lachrymae Musarum's* title page is inscribed

Onely Sonn of the Right Honourable
Ferdinando Earl of Huntingdon
Heir-generall of the high-born Prince
George Duke of Clarence
Brother to
King Edward the fourth.

The lineage is made clear to the reader from the outset. Hall recalls it with his lines before transitioning rapidly to the metaphysical concerns that round out his elegy: the celestial fire within humans is a divine soul that, in the case of one so morally, intellectually and socially excellent as Henry, Lord Hastings, ascends to God's side and thus achieves the perennial life that flowers have on earth.

Marvell does not hesitate as Hall does to describe Hastings' reception in heaven in his more compact sixty-line elegy, "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings". He situates Hastings' death in terms of various societies: the society of the page, in the book where the poem appears; the society of the gods, to which Hastings ascends after being in human society; and the political society, or the body politic, which Hastings has left behind and where *Lachrymae Musarum* circulates. Where Hall declines to relate a vision of the "celestial fire", Marvell supplies an

unabashed description of the "Democratick Stars" that inspires a more complete vision of Hastings' nobility and his virtues (25). Hastings' nobility and his virtue, once described, is deployed to buttress a subtle politics that, maybe wholly royalist,⁷⁹ is dubious of the new Roundhead administration. Marvell signals his political intent by being so bold as to describe these stars. In so doing, he establishes a circular logic that allows a mortal author to represent divinity by claiming that his text is inspired by that same divine source. The poem thus plays on the title of the book in which it appears, *Lachrymae Musarum: The Tears of the Muses*. Not meant simply as a nod to "those with personal sorrow for Hastings' death",⁸⁰ that opening exhortation to "Go, intercept some Fountain in the Vein" for a supply "Of Tears untoucht, and never wept before" evoke the nine daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne (Memory) who represent the recorded knowledge Hastings possessed and the knowledge the poet draws on to record Hastings' existence (1, 4). As the poet eulogizes, he is a product of the Muses: one of their tears.⁸¹ Such punning fits within Longinian logic. Marvell's rhetorical strategy uses "the enthralling effect of the imagination"⁸² to push Hall's timid reference to "celestial fire" much further. Marvell's poem intercepts the fountain in the vein, for it is a droplet from that fountain.

Marvell distinguishes himself from his colleague, Hall, by beginning his elegy with the suggestion that he is accessing an eternal source of knowledge. A "Virgin-Source" for the grief that is needed to mourn Hastings is not limited to "an original or special" one (2).⁸³ Rather, Marvell's description of Hastings' transcendence draws its authority from the divine spring in which sublimity resides. His exhortation, to "finde a Store / Of Tears untoucht, and never wept

⁷⁹ Loxley, "Prepar'd at Last to Strike in with the Tyde?"

⁸⁰ McWilliams, "'A Storm of Lamentations Writ,'" 2003, 285.

⁸¹ My reading here accords with McWilliams'.

⁸² "ME," chap. 15.

⁸³ McWilliams, "'A Storm of Lamentations Writ,'" 2003, 285.

before" is already answered in the preceding lines (3-4). The Muses supply them. The poet's art, or the use of method to interpret a seemingly natural tragedy, is to capture these tears on the page, thus "arrest[ing] the early Showers" (6).⁸⁴ A literal reading of the poet's standing "betwixt the Morning and the Flowers", or the poet's standing "between the need for mourning ritual, and the use of flowers as the usual consolation for grief",⁸⁵ as the poet's response to death simplifies the beginning of Marvell's argument (5). The source that he intercepts now conveniently contains Hastings' "minde" (32).

With inspiration from the Muses mourning Hastings, Marvell produces an elegy that he hopes will immortalize Hastings' short life. He follows the fountain's liquid chain up to the weepers themselves. The Muses mourn their own instantiation -- Hastings -- even as they "ostracize" him from the mortal world and "with richest Triumphs entertain" him in "Heaven" (26, 29, 13). Marvell describes Hastings' immortality as at once heavenly and earthly. According to Longinus, being remembered immortalizes the object of memory: "for the memory is greedy and will not shake hands with a thing acceptable".⁸⁶ Memory will only retain high speech. As the poet records the lordling's life for posterity, the daughters of memory, who are a part of the larger category of "the gods themselves", receive him among them with "Joy" (41). Those daughters poetically enact Longinus's test for sublimity. Marvell's imagination is legitimized by his invocation of those tears even as he praises Hastings for being elevated to heaven, or "While those of growth more sudden, and more bold, / Are hurried hence, as if already old" (15-6). Such a scheme leads to Marvell's conclusion that "Art indeed is Long, but Life is Short" (60).

⁸⁴ McWilliams, "A Storm of Lamentations Writ," 2003, 286–87 opposes "honed skill" to "natural ability" as he explicates Marvell's final couplet. With respect, this kind of opposition ignores Longinus's precept that natural ability always be honed with some skill.

⁸⁵ McWilliams, "A Storm of Lamentations Writ," 2003, 285.

⁸⁶ *Peri hypsous*, chap. 5.

The nuance of Marvell's poem is then further complicated with slight references to the political circumstances surrounding Hastings. The young lord's lineage is noted as a distraction from heaven's "richest Triumphs", evoking the Roman celebration of a ruler's military prowess, that the gods bestow upon Hastings' "active Minde" from the mortal world:

But most he doth th' Eternal Book behold,
On which the happie Names do stand enroll'd;
And gladly there can all his Kinred claim,
But most rejoyces at his Mothers name. (29, 32, 37-40)

Henry's mother's blood is particularly noted, for she is the daughter of the poet and lawman, Sir John Davies (d. 1626).⁸⁷ Davies's name lends weight to the thrust of Marvell's elegy, but Henry's extended family better evokes the "Turnaments" now being played out below Hastings' "Chrystal Palace" (35, 33). These martial games evoke the civil wars Henry's grandsires waged. In that evocation, they also call forth the immediate civil conflict between Charles I and Parliament, which for the dead is a form of "[c]arousel", an entertainment "in which knights [... engage] in various plays and exercises".⁸⁸ Those exercises are reproduced in heaven for Hastings' pleasure even as they occurred in much more terrible ways below (34). In death, the young lord rises above the Civil Wars to join his veteran kindred. He may, however, still look upon the wars, perhaps with a dispassion befitting the gods and their elect.

Marvell joins Hastings' royal lineage and his intelligence with reference to Doctor Mayerne. The Doctor's daughter is set to marry Henry, but she is cheated, along with the God of Marriage, "Hymeneus", when Mayerne proves incapable of saving him (43). That failure definitively ends a royal line reminiscent of the late Parliamentary victory for which there is no

⁸⁷ See Margoliouth's comment on l. 40: Marvell, *P&L*, 217.

⁸⁸ "Carousel, N.", 1.a. AM's poem is cited by the "OED" as the first example of this definition.

"Redress or Law" (58). Marvell deploys this phrase to evoke the powerless Mayerne, whose chemical and medical knowledge has not deterred Nature from its course. The doctor's tears thus join the nation's and the Muses' and the poets' in much the same way royalists mourn Charles. Henceforth, royalist lives will be subject first to Parliament's will. The King's law and any redress that flowed from it has ended. That last couplet, "For Man (alas) is but the Heavens sport; / And Art indeed is Long, but Life is short", strikes a final note even as it seeks to immortalize in Longinian fashion (59-60). By writing as a Muse's tear, Marvell is able to safeguard Hastings' memory and also save a kernel of Cavalier life. He does so by using his imaginative force to show royal blood ascending to live by God's side.

Marvell's reference here to Hippocrates has been recognized, but its implication deserves emphasis.⁸⁹ He warns Roundheads of the responsibility they now bear in government by paraphrasing the first of Hippocrates's Aphorisms:

Life is short, the Art long, opportunity fleeting, experiment treacherous, judgment difficult. The physician must be ready, not only to do his duty himself, but also to secure to co-operation of the patient, of the attendants and of externals.⁹⁰

Not simply an extension of the "medical theme" Marvell has wrought in these final verse paragraphs, the full passage from Hippocrates advises surgeons of both the human body and the body politic.⁹¹ The precarious human life thus gives way to a more enduring political system that would, in Hall's translation of Longinus, be framed as freedom to publicly debate. This passage may thus be a further nod to Mayerne, whose 1636 portrait includes a bust of Hippocrates and

⁸⁹ McWilliams, "A Storm of Lamentations Writ," 2003, 286–88, departs from the typical reading of these lines as a reference to Hippocrates. He instead suggests that a more modern meaning of "art" alters the reading of these last lines to suggest instead that Marvell is subtly criticizing the 'limitations of art itself' to express meaningful emotion in the face of death.

⁹⁰ Hippocrates of Cos, "Aphorisms," 99.

⁹¹ Maule, "Marvell's Hastings Elegy," 399.

also a book with 'Hermes' written on its spine. That reference, as Hugh Trevor-Roper has noted, is a largely forgotten one to the Hermetic ideas that animated Mayerne's medical practise.⁹² At the root of those ideas was a mysticism that allowed humans to perceive and apply remedies found in nature while respecting the tenets of Protestant Christianity.⁹³ Marvell's reference to Hippocrates is suggestive of this mysticism, for it evokes the famous doctor's approach to patients: there are human solutions to human problems. As Parliament assumes power, they have, at least in some logic, found an extreme human solution to the problem of over-zealous monarchical power. Marvell's reference to Hippocrates exhorts them to govern cautiously. Their "opportunity [is] fleeting," and their "experiment [is] treacherous," with "judgment [of the outcome] difficult." Securing lasting victory requires the "patient" -- England's -- "co-operation", and the support of surrounding nations, and, by implication, the fringe Scotland and Ireland, and recognition from continental governments like the Protestant Holland and Sweden to which Bulstrode Whitelocke would travel as ambassador.

IV

A reading of Marvell's and Hall's elegies on the death of Lord Hastings shows this kind of pragmatic foresight for the republican regime even as they write to support the royal cause. This pragmatism might well have been appreciated by Bulstrode Whitelocke who, before reading some of Marvell's poems during his embassy to Sweden,⁹⁴ was himself something of a reluctant participant in the trial and execution of Charles I. The rhetoric deployed in these praises and elegies thus strikes a moderate chord. In both cases, this moderation would turn itself to account. Hall and then Marvell would work under that keen republican, John Milton. The prospect of

⁹² Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, 352.

⁹³ Trevor-Roper, 68–69.

⁹⁴ Worden, *Literature and Politics*, 133.

emoluments aside, Hall's elegy sets the stage for Marvell's much more precise commentary upon Hastings' death and upon the challenges England's new governors face.

That precision is best evaluated in the terms Hall later translates. Both poets pick up on Longinus's ideas, current enough at that time. The concerns that Hall and Marvell express in their praise of Richard Lovelace focus on an ongoing conflict between Parliament and the Crown. Hall's tamer poem lays out Longinian terms that Marvell then turns to account in his criticism of the censors and their role, especially under a Parliamentary regime that purported to have at least the London public's acclaim. The elegies for Hastings then complicate Parliament's task. As Marvell's paraphrase from Hippocrates suggests, governing in any context requires some savvy. Hall's *A true account of the character of the times*, written one year before the Lovelace poems and only two before Marvell's paraphrase appears, amplifies Marvell's borrowing:

Jealousies dayly heighten, new parties appeare, and new interests are discovered, that we seeme to oreact some wel contrived Romance. In which, every page begets a new and handsome impossibility. Such sicknesses have now seized on the body politicke, that is nothing but crampes, convulsions, and fearefull dreames. (sig. Ar)

As with the body, the "body politicke" needs careful care, not now to cure the sickness -- that tumour, at least for Roundheads, has been excised. Rather, the task, in pragmatic terms, is to use prescriptions such as Longinus's *Peri hypsous* to prevent further illness.

Chapter 2: The Definition of Love

For the LORD loveth judgment, and forsaketh not his saints; they are preserved for ever: but the seed of the wicked shall be cut off.

The righteous shall inherit the land, and dwell therein for ever.

The mouth of the righteous speaketh wisdom, and his tongue talketh of judgment.

Psalm 37:28-30

From my historical account of Marvell's and Hall's activities at the end of the 1640s, I now turn to Longinus's prescriptions with a more philosophical account in view of some of Marvell's poems written in the early 1650s. When he writes between his return to England from his continental tour in 1647 until his eventual commitment to the House of Cromwell in 1653, Marvell's lyrics expound a sequence of claims about human relationships that reach, as Longinus prescribes, toward higher and higher things. Longinus's view of Height is achieved when authors transcend themselves; transcendence is achieved when authors reveal one or more of Nature's secrets; and that revelation is enduring when it is phrased in such a way that it moves its audience. Marvell also, as he himself strives for Height, demonstrates how political actors ought to reach for it. His poems expound a Longinian ethics that builds up from the individual by referring to a Platonist theory of forms that Longinus is keen to propound in his treatise.¹ Those poems do so, moreover, in the Christian humanist vein that is Marvell's intellectual inheritance: classical texts were reconciled with biblical tradition to create a socially progressive view of politics and morality.² That inheritance is best found in Marvell's England where Protestants

¹ e.g. *Peri hypsous*, chap. 13; Macksey, "Longinus Reconsidered," 920.

² Todd, *Christian Humanism*, 22.

sought to maintain Erasmus's argument for human free will in the face of arguments for predestination.³ Marvell's poems reveal a vertical social order that builds up in this Protestant humanist vein from the individual upward to society at large. This movement upward is precarious. Individuals may lose themselves at any stage along the way, for the competition between Nature and human nature is a divine struggle for meaning beyond the self.

This chapter moves away from a literary-historical inquiry in order to turn to interpretive account what literary history has revealed about Marvell in the early 1650s. It thus engages with Marvell's lyrics as informed by Longinian critical categories: first of all, the establishment of what is High, and then the reach for that Height as portrayed in Marvell's poems. This engagement invites initial reflection on the Platonist aspect of Longinian thought so that my philosophical terms of reference in this chapter can be seen in direct relation to Longinus's rhetorical terms of reference. Longinus, for instance, owes much to Plato. His approach to Height and the imitation of great authors is suggestive of Plato's theory of forms, where High authors are elevated to semi-divine status, thus joining the sources of knowledge, if not the One himself.⁴ Those Platonist terms are familiar to Marvell, whose Cambridge education exposed him to the Platonist intellectual tradition.⁵

This tradition is best seen with reference to Socrates's relation of Diotima's speech to his colleagues in Plato's *Symposium* (c. 385-70 BCE). This discourse on love progresses through a series of levels of understanding. That progress is imitated in Longinus's text by his stipulation of a vertical ascent through levels of excellence at once moral and rhetorical. That ascent is not, in

³ Todd, 17.

⁴ Godolphin, "The Basic Critical Doctrine of 'Longinus,' On the Sublime"; see also Longinus, "ME," chaps. 32, 35.

⁵ Goldie, "Cambridge Platonists (Act. 1630s–1680s)."

relation to Plato's *Symposium*, an escape from Nature in an ascent to a source of Knowledge. It is, instead, a "reciprocal" exchange with Nature that allows mankind to reveal Nature's secrets in high speech.⁶ Where Plato had dwelt on moral excellence by, in some part, distinguishing man from his natural surroundings, Longinus builds on that moral excellence by supplying criteria for rhetorical excellence that acknowledges and works with those surroundings. In Plato, gaining such an understanding of love and beauty allows men to transcend themselves in a display of intellectual excellence. In Longinus, that transcendence achieves rhetorical excellence too. The Platonic lover is concerned with nurturing his own virtue through the acquisition of knowledge; the Longinian speaker concerns himself with communicating that knowledge. Such communication inspires virtue in others, who are thus equipped to make the most of themselves within the natural order to which they are confined. Effective communication becomes a virtue that raises the Longinian speaker up to the divine heights Diotima proposes in the *Symposium*.

Diotima's speech, as reported by Plato, establishes philosophy as the ultimate end of love. To achieve that end, however, requires the attention to virtue that also characterizes the Longinian pursuit of Height. That end is focused on the idea of beauty as humans can understand it. Diotima's speech works up from the individuals' relationships to themselves, to others, to the laws that regulate individual relationships, to the political institutions that create laws, and then to the philosophy that imbues all those relations with meaning. This famously issues in the description of an ascending "Ladder of Love":

Beginning from obvious beauties he must for the sake of that highest beauty be ever climbing aloft, as on the rungs of a ladder, from one to two, and from two to all beautiful bodies; from personal beauty he proceeds to beautiful observances,

⁶ I apply and distinguish O'Gorman, "Longinus's Sublime Rhetoric, or How Rhetoric Came into Its Own," 79, whose reference to the Ladder of Love is only meant to set Longinus's view of Nature apart from Plato's.

from observance to beautiful learning, and from learning at last to that particular study which is concerned with the beautiful itself.⁷

The beauty of human association comes to be recognized as political relationships codified in law. Mortals exist in an environment regulated by laws. A boy or man engaging with the "lore of love" is guided by laws even if he is unaware of them.⁸ He will move from an understanding of himself and the attractiveness of his physical form to understand how it is that he can transcend his physical state to view the attractiveness of others. By learning these basic lessons, he may thus come to understand human rules that control love.

When the Ladder of Love is applied to Marvell's lyrics, it reveals a cautionary tale especially in his four Mower poems. These four poems, "The Mower against Gardens", "Damon the Mower", "The Mower to the Glo-Worms", and "The Mower's Song" show the single lover, the Mower, casting himself in vain at a beloved he cannot have. The latter three of these poems (perhaps of 1651) seem of a piece in that the Mower's expression of his experience (and our understanding of it) is uniform across all three poems. "The Mower against Gardens", which may have been written later, presents a Mower better capable of reflection, and the articulation of that reflection, much nearer to that of the poet and his readers.⁹ For present purposes, I shall read the four poems as if all four were of a piece, with allowance made for how far the reflections of "The Mower against Gardens" may be after the fact, and show Marvell disclosing the ethical premises that inform the poems as a group. These four poems have been characterized as a "hard pastoral",

⁷ Plato, "Symposium," cols. 211 c-d; Christine Rees implicates the Symposium in the introduction to the analysis of the love poems here considered, but does so only to suggest that Plato's view of love is viewed by Renaissance authors as an idealized view: *The Judgment of Marvell*, 83.

⁸ Plato, "Symposium," col. 210 e.

⁹ See Hammond, "The Date of Marvell's 'The Mower against Gardens'" for complications in dating "The Mower against Gardens."

meaning "sexually frank, sceptical of erotic love, socially critical".¹⁰ Rather than examining these poems as "significant transformation"¹¹ of the pastoral or bucolic mode, I, too, view these poems as expressions of "hard pastoral", but also as a frank social critique of the ills in focusing too much on an unrealizable love. The Mower's may seem an idealistic vision of the object of love, Juliana. As an idealized beloved, Juliana has little real agency, and the Mower's one-sided lamentations confirm that view.

The cautionary tale in the Mower poems works to reveal Nature's requirements of human love. Plato's Ladder of Love describes those requirements in terms of erotic and social relations. These terms invite a Longinian reading, for they represent the most basic operation of ethics (human nature), which is a subset of Longinian Nature. The success or frustration of this aspect of Nature proves central to the Mower sequence. This ethical emphasis can deepen readings that have sought to understand the poems as commenting upon a poet's relationship with his texts.¹²

Marvell applies two ancient concepts in this lyric tetralogy. Plato's instruction establishes a way to view human nature as a series of interactions contingent upon an abstract understanding of love; the later Longinian competitive ethos asks for skillful imitation in order faithfully to represent these interactions in an enlightened way. Marvell thus seeks first to demonstrate the Mower's own fall from the grace enjoyed in the meadow. The meadow's beauty might be appreciated by a character capable of understanding less eroticized forms of it. Marvell then further suggests that the competition that the Mower wages for Juliana's attention is categorically unwinnable, for Juliana is already committed to another. With this certainty comes a lesson. The

¹⁰ Bradford, "Marvell's Mower Poems as Alternative Literary History."

¹¹ *Smith*, 129.

¹² Friedman, *Marvell's Pastoral Art*, 120; the introductory note to the Mower poems in *Smith*, *Smith*, 128; and Alpers, "Convening and Convention in Pastoral Poetry."

Mower might learn to appreciate an abstract beauty: he could elevate his understanding of love in Platonic fashion. He may also fall from the Ladder and be removed from society and, in this state of solitude, despair and die.

The more overt and incisive social criticism of that "hard pastoral" is saved for Marvell's seeming rejection of idealized conventions in "The Definition of Love". This poem suggests a fulfilling and rational love rising above carnal pleasure. By moving from an individual frustrated by his own solipsism to a description of a more mutual love, Marvell evokes the beginnings of some society, however limited as yet. The social turn derives in part from a departure from individual bodies to intellectual society as an arena of exchange. Critics have differed whether this is a definition or a description, and where the soul might be situated between nature and the divine.¹³ The Longinian thrust of Marvell's description situates his focus on the application of the divine wisdom that he is communicating to a mortal audience. The central metaphor of the poem, the planisphere, speaks in particular to the cosmic measure that Marvell offers.

The issue of erotic love, children, requires an active application of the wisdom that Marvell describes. That application finds discussion in a series of estate poems written while Marvell worked in the Fairfax household between 1650-2. Marvell inverts the Ladder of Love in these poems first to consider Fairfax's role as a statesman and then to tie that role to Fairfax's government of the household. Marvell specifically describes the Fairfax household after the general's retirement as it is found first at Bilbrough, with "*Epigramma in Duos Montes Amosclivum et Bilboreum. Farfacio*" and "Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough To the Lord Fairfax" and again as the household is found at Nun Appleton in "Upon Appleton House".

¹³ Kermode, "Definitions of Love"; Toliver, "Marvell's 'Definition of Love' and Poetry of Self-Exploration."

While these poems have been read as an illustration of Fairfax's withdrawal from the active life as the commander-in-chief of Parliament's forces to a contemplative bucolic existence, they also praise Fairfax's nobility as a citizen-soldier. Marvell works that praise into his lyrics by exploring the family's Yorkshire roots in those two estates. That history sets Fairfax up as an ideal statesman imbued with a bucolic humility that recalls Horace's warning: *multa petentibus desunt multa*, or, "those who seek a lot lack a lot".¹⁴ Crass ambition leads to endless craving, which is characteristic in Horace's *Odes* and *Satires* of those city-dwellers who engage in politics.¹⁵ Marvell translates that kind of pastoral humility from Fairfax to his household and to the land on which the household exists. Marvell here is poised between Diotima's "beautiful observances" (the laws of Fairfax's household and of Fairfax's society) and her "beautiful learning" (the study of the origins of law in the "branches of knowledge").¹⁶ While Fairfax at one time helped to change and then to enforce the laws of England by upsetting the constitutional order, he turns in his retirement to a more patient consideration of the origin of laws in the branches of knowledge. Those branches are ones in which Marvell takes a particular interest himself.

¹⁴ Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, bk. III.16.

¹⁵ bk. I.17; see also Horace, *Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry.*, bk. II.6; Nigel Smith references Horace's Epistles in connection to "Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough": "retirement to woods for peace and health is a topos in classical verse" (Smith, *Smith*, 203); for a broader survey of retirement poetry and its connection to Roman texts, see Harvey, "The Roman Ideal of Rural Retirement in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century England."

¹⁶ "Symposium," col. 210 d.

I

His own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the
cords of his sins.
He shall die without instruction; and in the greatness of his folly he shall go
astray.

Proverbs 5:22-3

Marvell represents idealized and unobtainable love in his Mower poems, a love that he views with a colder eye than critics have supposed. These poems depict an unreciprocated love that resides in the speaker's mind. They are here read in the order in which they appeared in the 1681 edition of Marvell's poems, an order that H.M. Margoliouth, Nigel Smith and other modern editors have followed in their editions. My reading responds to the possibility that "The Mower against Gardens" may have been written at a later date¹⁷ by emphasizing the ordering of these poems in the 1681 edition. Whether earlier or later in composition, this placing of "The Mower against Gardens" insists on a post-lapsarian framework of the Mower sequence proper.

Unreciprocated love is framed as love of the self in this sequence: a carnal desire so unfulfilled that it begins to consume its host, the Mower, who refuses to move beyond it. The Mower thus competes with himself as a fallen man. If he cannot triumph over the desire that he feels, he stalls at what Diotima calls "personal beauty" and Nature inflicts a punishment for such lassitude.

The Mower speaks of his love against a rural backdrop that reinforces his potential to connect with Nature and its parts. That backdrop, however, is perhaps closer to the georgic than the pastoral genre,¹⁸ for the georgic better explains Marvell's decision to set up a shepherdess, Juliana, as the object of the Mower's love. Georgic is more suitable because it promotes a focus

¹⁷ Pritchard, "Marvell's 'The Garden': A Restoration Poem?," 384 suggests that "The Mower Against Gardens" draws from Abraham Cowley's "The Garden", which Pritchard supposes is only coincidental; Paul Hammond's later article, however, suggests that "The Mower Against Gardens" may well be contemporary to Cowley's "The Garden" ("The Date of Marvell's 'The Mower against Gardens'").

¹⁸ For a fuller understanding of the georgic mode as it related to Marvell's work and the seventeenth century more generally, see Low, *The Georgic Revolution*.

on work rather than any more idyllic bucolic existence. The Mower, who is named Damon, is left unable to accomplish his potential after he dies at work by slicing his "own Ankle", thus immobilizing himself in his own domain, the meadows he mows ("Damon the Mower", 88). Marvell expresses this progression in the narrative structure that the Ladder of Love affords to this sequence.¹⁹ The georgic mode, with its focus on a generative labour, depends less on the Mower's desire for innocence as it is found in "The Mower Against Gardens". The narrative of the Mower sequence hangs instead on the destruction of innocence that is found in the Mower's competition for Juliana's attention.

Marvell here emphasizes destruction rather than innocence, for that innocence has always already been lost in a Christian view of a fallen world. The competition for the shepherdess's favour, though briefly mentioned, defines Damon's disposition throughout "Damon the Mower" and leads to his not just careless death. That death is then explored further in "The Mower to the Glo-Worms". The worms symbolize the "natural gods" referred to in "The Mower Against Gardens" (40), but they equally evoke a vertical imagery that suggests that the Mower's consciousness is given an incorporeal treatment, perhaps because the Mower has died: the "country comets", celestial portents that are found above the Mower's humble station, "presage the grass's fall" (5-8). The Mower's life ebbs and flows with the seasons; the comets' presaging the grass's fall also presage the Mower's fall. The scythe that cuts his leg is indiscriminate in this regard -- grass or flesh, the scythe cuts all the same. While Damon is thus wounded, it is not what finally kills him. Marvell uses the "glo-worms" to show that Damon has destroyed the bond between himself and Nature in his selfish love for Juliana. The meadows' fireflies cannot lead him back to his onetime home because he has blinded himself to their natural guidance. The

¹⁹ I am distinguishing from Friedman's analysis in *Marvell's Pastoral Art*, 119.

Mower suffers a slow death owing to the loss of hope brought on by Juliana's rejection. Or is that loss already more truly a longstanding lack? The "wound" is a festering one: the disability of a piece with Damon's inability to return to his home (86). That destruction is what finally kills him. "The Mower's Song" may thus not simply be "Damon's farewell to the world that has contained his existence in all of the four poems".²⁰ It may also be the Mower's lonely elegy for himself after he has broken his mind and body against unobtainable love.

In "The Mower against Gardens", Marvell creates a speaker better equipped to evaluate his own place in man's fallen world. Ever the minister's son, Marvell takes the consequences of original sin seriously. He lays a metaphysical gauntlet down that, rather than promoting "harmless falls" from the Garden and man's initial state of grace, instead bluntly acknowledges the Fall.²¹ Marvell extends that cataclysm further to suggest that even Nature is corrupted by Man's transgression. If the late dating for "The Mower against Gardens" holds, Marvell had newly been reading Milton's *Paradise Lost*, in manuscript, and perhaps in print, where there was much instruction on this point.²² He does so by associating man's controlling position over Nature with the Fall in "The Mower Against Gardens". The power of the opening couplet's syntax suggests such a reading where "Luxurious man, to bring his Vice in use, / Did after him the World seduce" (1-2). This zeugma underscores that both the "World" and "man" are seduced by man's own self-indulgence. As instructed by Milton, vices are inherently human in the Christian cosmology, but their effects may reach to Nature itself. He may lose dominion over himself and thus fall continually. "Man", however, does not here include the speaker: a point

²⁰ Friedman, 138.

²¹ Haber, *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction*, 106.

²² Milton, "Paradise Lost," bk. IX: 782-4, 1000-4.

made also with the pronoun "him" in the second line.²³ That pronoun distances the speaker from mankind in an attempt to make his criticism of gardens, of their creation, and of their utility more objective. Even the meadows are included in the logical category "World", whatever the Mower's praise of them as somehow distinct at the close of the poem. That world where man exists is everywhere filled with the spectre of the Fall. The Mower demonstrates his consciousness of that fact by distancing himself at the outset from mankind, and by attempting to clarify an exception to the logical category at the close. Meadows are portrayed as an idealized place where the Mower's fantasy -- mankind in its original paradisaal state -- can play itself out fully. That use of "us" at the close reaches for an "ideal, unattainable plural, a human community free from original sin and dwelling with the gods."²⁴ The Mower's pronouns at the opening and close of the poem show the speaker using some sophistication to situate himself over and against the garden world he deplores.

Marvell thus introduces a more nuanced division between the Mower and Nature that undermines the Mower's claim to dominion over that garden world in "The Mower Against Gardens". The Mower is progressively removed from his pretended kinship with the meadows of the poem. Marvell has worked through Man's ability to alter natural growth through a series of transformations that complicate Nature, as where "The pink grew then as double as his mind; / The nutriment did change the kind" (9-10). Man's attention to Nature allows him to change natural processes and species. By contrast, Marvell's Mower presents a meadow world that, on first glance, is of less mediated Nature:

... fauns and fairies do the meadows till,
More by their presence than their skill.
Their statues polished by some ancient hand,

²³ On this point, see Hammond, "Marvell's Pronouns," 225.

²⁴ Hammond, 225.

May to adorn the gardens stand:
But howsoe'er the figures do excel,
The gods themselves with us do dwell. (35-40)

Those fauns and fairies seem nature's own keepers, but the Mower's claim to a more natural existence has been questioned by Donald Friedman, who emphasizes that the "Fauns and Faryes" are human creations that bear no direct relation to the natural world. They are emblems that relate pastoral nature to pagan gods. By calling forth those gods, the Mower attempts to tie himself and his kind (mowers) closer to the meadows over which they are stewards: Friedman assumes that the pronoun "us" (40) refers to the Mower's kind. The gods thus reside both with mowers and within the meadows, which gives the Mower the moral authority to comment on gardens. Paul Hammond's reading of Marvell's use of pronoun, however, better accounts for the Mower's rhetorical strategy. Man's fallen state is the first principle of "The Mower against Gardens". Rather than tying Mowers to their environment,²⁵ Marvell instead links the Mower with the general class to which he belongs in that use of "us": fallen mankind. Not even the Mower, imbued though he may be with some moral authority, can have the final word on gardens in a fallen world.

The Mower's self-conscious use of rhetoric, like the very creation of gardens, becomes evidence of man's fall. Marvell amplifies his description of mankind: man's "Vice" refers to the corruption of morals (1). Man's seduction of the world follows from his knowledge of good and evil, for a Garden no longer contains humankind in its innocent state. The World, "where Nature was most plain and pure", is now more directly subject to an enclosing force, the product of mankind's continued post-lapsarian dominion (4-5). Scripture does not tell us that Adam and Eve are never stripped of their "dominion" over the creatures and resources that God created (Gen.

²⁵ See Friedman, *Marvell's Pastoral Art*, 128–29.

1:26).²⁶ That dominion finds fuller and worse expression once mankind is forced into an oppositional relationship with "Nature": God "curse[s] the ground" that Adam and Eve are doomed to walk upon (Gen. 3:17). Man's opposition to Nature is thus divinely ordained, but his dominion over Nature remains uneasily intact. Adam and Eve are able to exploit the land and, as mankind is fruitful, he becomes further able to warp Nature to his designs, perhaps most fully in the ornate gardens that are created in the seventeenth-century *furor hortensis*. This is no Garden of Eden.²⁷

Marvell thus uses the Mower as a post-lapsarian figure, however sympathetic. The Mower, as Marvell's speaker, is cognizant of his fallen state. Human knowledge of good and evil is deployed to ensure Man's survival in a world that God intentionally makes imperfect and hostile to human existence: the Mower despairingly remarks that man creates "a more luscious Earth" where his gardens can prosper (7). Marvell's use of "Earth" refers first to the soil that fallen man must cultivate. By describing man as an improver of the Earth, the Mower shows that mankind applies its knowledge of good and evil to survive in the consequence of the Fall, and the Fall is central to the poem's argument. The opposite idea -- that "The Mower Against Gardens" is "both reflective of and opposed to the separation" of man's mind from Nature as a consequence of a series of falls that are, in the poem, allusions to the Fall itself²⁸ -- dismisses the importance of a cornerstone of Christian theology. Again, if Marvell had newly been reading *Paradise Lost*, his was no naïve consideration of the matter. That kind of insistence on the unimportance of the Fall creates a logical backwater in which human competition and the human

²⁶ See also Gen. 3, where Adam and Eve are expelled. They maintain their dominion: God does not explicitly strip them of it. Rather, he supplies them with one of those resources: "coats of skins" are crafted as clothing (3:21).

²⁷ Salerno, "Andrew Marvell and the Furor Hortensis."

²⁸ Haber, *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction*, 106.

search for some of Nature's secrets is left to founder. It may be meant to explain both the existence and the absence of human "innocence", defined as "the lack of desire", in the Mower sequence.²⁹ Without that more thoroughly Christian reading of the poem, however, the Mower has no potential to move anywhere, let alone upward along the Ladder of Love; nor can the poet, then, much reach for Height.

Marvell's insistence from the outset of "The Mower against Gardens" on the importance of the Fall grants the Damon of the ensuing Mower poems the ability to move up or to stagnate on the Ladder of Love. Marvell refers to human dominion over a "willing Nature" that might otherwise "to all dispense / A wild and fragrant innocence" ("The Mower against Gardens", 33-4). These fallen labourers in the fields, however "sweet" those may be, recall God's curse as he casts man from the Garden (32): worldly fruit is coated in "thorns and thistles" that force man to "eat the herb of the field" (Gen. 3:18-19). All fruit is, in this reading, a metaphor for forbidden fruit. The Mower prefigures a grimmer reaper: he slices hay, which is a metaphor for flesh that presages his own reaping at the end of the poem. The Mower reveals the human desire to control Nature,³⁰ a desire from which even he cannot escape, even though he rails against it in this poem.

Marvell then moves in "Damon the Mower" to wreck this astute appraisal of the Fall, thus writing in the Mower's human potential to appreciate a greater realm of existence than his individual circumstances. He does so by making Damon an example of the evil to which God sees fallen man succumb (*cf.* Gen. 6:5). Anthony Low's analysis proposes that the Mower's labour is itself an expression of georgic as reflecting a fallen state. Such labour stands in sharp contrast to the "soft" pastoral conventions from which the shepherdess springs. The latter

²⁹ Haber, 106–7.

³⁰ Friedman notes this desire as a "sin of pride" in Friedman, *Marvell's Pastoral Art*, 126.

conventions more nearly represent man's pre-lapsarian state.³¹ Low's analysis attempts to explain Damon's gift to Juliana as a "bridge" between the two modes and the worlds that they represent.³² I find instead that Damon's solipsism perverts the georgic mode. Labour becomes an outlet for Damon's frustration and can then be cast as georgic. God's punishment in georgic is repurposed to a Christian hope: Man might redeem himself (like Abel) by tending to God's creation in a bitter world. Instead, the Mower that Marvell gives us at best ignores that potential communion for a carnal interest.

Damon does not much include other parties; he does not transcend himself. His evil is, for the remainder of the sequence, his inability to see beyond the "love of Juliana" with which he is "stung" ("Damon the Mower", 2). Damon's fixation on Juliana makes her an existential threat to this Mower's ability to perceive Nature, and thus to his bridging function between mankind and Nature. She has, moreover, no other agency in Damon's version of her story than to deny him.³³ Juliana is akin to the representations of Clora in Marvell's lyric "The Gallery": the speakers of both poems are projecting images created by their emotional state onto a human body. In the present case, any action ascribed to Juliana is made within Damon's narration. As he narrates the scene, he replicates the selfishness that leads to mankind's fall (3-4). The love complaint Damon voices thus centres upon his body and his consciousness, upon its situation in the meadow, and upon his perception of Nature's "scorching" response to his woe (6).

Damon, as a mower, occupies a creative space between humankind and Nature, but does so always with the spectre of the Fall tainting his fuller communion with Nature. He compounds

³¹ Low, *The Georgic Revolution*, 276–77.

³² Low, 276.

³³ I apply Haber, *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction*, 123 where she suggests that Damon focuses more and more as the Mower sequence progresses on Juliana's implication in his fall rather than his solipsism and its ill effects.

his error by misdirecting blame for it in associating Juliana with the biblical snake. While Nature shrinks from the heat that pathetically manifests Damon's emotional state, one creature, "the snake, that kept within," remains glittering "in its second skin" (15-6). The snake evokes Satan's incitation of the Fall, and thus recalls the post-lapsarian terms of "The Mower Against Gardens". Rather than also evoking the "cold detachment Juliana displays",³⁴ for there is no textual evidence of any willing response from Juliana, the snake instead indicates Damon's bias against the object of his love. Damon's obsessive love for Juliana distances him from Nature. Juliana's status as an object of love does not afford her the ability to reply to Damon's suggestion that she has betrayed him as Eve has. Since he does not give her the chance truly to understand the cause for his complaint, Damon isolates himself even from the body he desires.

That isolation is further revealed in Damon's turn from narration to indignant direct address. His georgic labour is pitted against the pastoral idyll of his rival, the cause of Juliana's indifference: a shepherd with whom Juliana is already close. Damon's complaint addresses Juliana as a "fair shepherdess" who does not acknowledge his "presents" -- or also his presence, as critics have observed (33-4).³⁵ Marvell makes some play of the "harmless snake" that Damon offers her (35). On one hand, offering this betokens his sexual insufficiency. On the other, any such snake recalls the "subtil" serpent in *Genesis* (3:1). Juliana then is doubly right to refuse the gift. The jest is she might hope for more even in her idyllic relationship with the mower's rival, "the piping shepherd" (49). In earnest, an unwanted seduction into the Fall may threaten. For his part, Damon's character changes with the discovery of a rival. He moves from love complainant, where he sees himself represented in Nature, to jealous outcast increasingly lost to solipsism.

³⁴ Friedman, *Marvell's Pastoral Art*, 131.

³⁵ See Haber, *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction*, 114–15.

Juliana cannot bear that threat, nor need she, for she is removed from the Mower's wrath. The Mower instead must take out his anger on Nature, which, following the post-lapsarian logic Marvell applies in the Mower sequence, may be framed in terms of Cain and Abel. The shepherd, who tends to his "unnumbered flock", recalls Abel's profession as "a keeper of sheep" ("Damon the Mower", 50; Gen. 4:1). The Mower's profession, where "this scythe of mine discovers wide / More ground than all his sheep do hide" thus represents Cain's work as "a tiller of the ground" ("Damon the Mower", 51-2; Gen. 4:1).³⁶ Damon's jealousy is twofold: he covets the shepherd's woman but just as in scripture, Damon also covets the shepherd's resources over his own (*cf.* Gen. 4:4-5).

In this poem, however, it is not God that curses Damon, but Nature herself who rises to defend Juliana and to teach the Mower and, it is hoped, the reader, a hard lesson. Time passes as the Mower continues to cut grass through the season. He broods on a love that might have been, "Had not Love here his thistles sowed" (66). Male Love uses Nature's "thistles", a badge for God's punishment of mankind in the Fall, to frustrate a union that, at least in the mower's eyes, was meant to be. Nature instead teams up with male Love to punish this man for his myopic inability to move away from a love that will not be. When, then, the Mower's scythe strikes his ankle "by careless chance", that chance also has a supernatural impetus (77). Not just an accident, the Mower is careless.³⁷ Damon's death from "slight" wounds that could be easily healed suggests that the Mower has isolated himself from the forces in the poem, humans and Nature, that might be able to assist him (81). Instead of taking a step up the Ladder of Love by communicating his desire to Juliana, or by laying that unproductive desire aside, Damon allows

³⁶ *Smith*, 138, notes a possible reference to Milton's rendition of Cain and Abel in "Paradise Lost", but he does not note the direct similarity between scripture and Marvell's poem.

³⁷ *Friedman*, *Marvell's Pastoral Art*, 135.

it to isolate him from his kind, mowers and humans, and also from nature. Damon's solipsism continues to the last: he indicates that he dies from despair for his love who is represented in cruel terms owing to the Mower's emotional bias: "Only for him no cure is found, / Whom Juliana's eyes do wound" (85-6). Because of his negligence while cutting the grass, Nature and Love alike fail to assist the Mower in his hour of need. The Mower does not deserve help.

In death, the Mower ought to take stock of his mistakes, but, as his consciousness is shown to leave his body in "The Mower to the Glo-Worms",³⁸ Damon is still unable to relinquish his love for Juliana. He compounds his error by spoiling his corporeal existence and his intellectual existence with his focus on a single body. The Mower's "mind" in this poem is not located in a specific space ("The Mower to the Glo-Worms", 15). Rather, the speaker situates himself looking upon "living lamps" and "country comets" -- both metaphors for "glow-worms" (1,5, 9). These worms should be to his benefit. They lead "wand'ring mowers ... / That in the night have lost their aim" back to communion with Nature, a communion that ought to be secure from the temptations of Man's bodily state (10-11). With Marvell's previous poems as backdrop, however, Damon cannot find again the way back to his role. He is, like Cain, again cast aside by his own folly. If not a murderer, Damon remains a consciousness lost in the idea of Juliana, who is inserted in the final stanza as Damon completes his survey of the scene. Again, Damon allows the distraction of Juliana to preempt his proper role: "For she my mind hath so displaced / That I shall never find my home" (15-6).

Damon is then completely lost in "The Mower's Song". Marvell presents a mock-celebration of the Mower's life to underscore the Mower's inability to climb further up the Ladder of Love. The poem closes out the tetralogy with an unapologetic recounting of a life

³⁸ See the headnote in *Smith*, 141; Haber, *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction*, 100.

squandered. Its five stanzas introduce, in the Mower's voice, the stages of his life as Marvell presents them in the preceding lyrics. The opening lines recall "The Mower Against Gardens". A self-conscious speaker understands the position of his "mind" as "the true survey / Of all these meadows fresh and gay" ("The Mower's Song", 1-2). "Survey" implies an experiential knowledge that the Mower accrues as he cares for the meadows. That survey allows the Mower to uncover some of Nature's secrets during his work in meadows, and that potential is represented in the Mower's mind's "hopes" that it sees "in the greenness of the grass" (3-4). The green of these meadows is "the colour symbolic of hope",³⁹ and Marvell might also use the word "hope" for its dual meaning expressing an "expectation" or a "prospect", and also a "local nomenclature" particular to Scotland and the northern reaches of England: "a small enclosed valley".⁴⁰ The Mower's hope thus evokes his Longinian role as a human witness to Nature's secrets. It also locates that Nature in a geography familiar to Marvell and to one of his patrons, the Lord Fairfax, who was renowned for his northern campaigns for the Parliamentary cause. That hope, and the relevance of those meadows to the Mower's life is, however, quickly lost. Marvell intrudes the prospect of love on the Mower's potential in the refrain: "When Juliana came, and she / What I do to the grass does to my thoughts and me" (5-6). The Mower's mind is abstracted. Juliana's existential significance to the Mower is confirmed. She interrupts the natural growth of the Mower's thoughts, just as he interrupts Nature's growth with his scythe.

The Mower's fixation on Juliana first becomes its own hope, which is a natural course in Diotima's Ladder of Love. But the Mower does not move on to a generalized understanding of beauty. The smitten speaker's thoughts, at first growing "more luxuriant still and fine" turn

³⁹ *Smith*, 145.

⁴⁰ "Hope, n.1", 3; "Hope, n.2", 2.

abruptly to resentment as Nature, portrayed as "Unthankful meadows", continues to grow even as the Mower is distracted by his love (8, 13). Nature's constant growth contrasts sharply to the Mower's stagnation. That stagnation has been passed over in some criticism, where it is instead ascribed to an "innocent Fall" caused by the "discovery of experience, whether the experience of Society in any wider sense, or merely the society of Eve".⁴¹ Keeping within the post-lapsarian terms of the tetralogy, the Mower is always fallen, not at Eve's prompting, for he is mortal and thus does not benefit from the symbolic association to pre-lapsarian Adam in the Garden. Rather, he works as a jealous Cain against a shepherd who is God's favourite. The pastoral conventions are thus skewed in readings of the Mower as innocently (or, perhaps, mistakenly) fallen. Marvell's patent purpose when he chose the mower figure is to represent a fallen labourer against the purer pastoral example of the Juliana's lover, the shepherd.

The Mower's fallen state is, moreover, alluded to in the phrasing of his song. Nigel Smith has ventured "The Mower's Song" as a "dirge, specifically on account of its repeated refrain", which is written in the present-tense.⁴² Marvell's verb tense thus presents the current reality -- the Mower's death -- in contrast to the opening of each stanza in the past tense. The effect of such openings is to demonstrate what "was once ... true" ("The Mower's Song", 1). The Mower held dominion over the meadow when he did not engage in so solipsistic an obsession: when, in Longinian wise, balance existed between Mower and meadow, he was free to cut the grass in a reciprocal arrangement that allowed him to slowly peer into Nature and its secrets. That "survey" is, however, now past, and the present -- which appears in the refrain, "When Juliana came, and she / What I do to the grass, does to my thoughts and me" (5-6) -- is the result of the Mower's

⁴¹ Everett, "Marvell's 'The Mower's Song,'" 224, 222.

⁴² See the headnote in *Smith*, 144.

disconnection from Nature. As the reciprocal relationship with Nature is broken, the Mower fails to advance his understanding of love along the progression that Plato suggests.

Nature's revenge is, ultimately, the Mower's death. From a Longinian perspective, the Mower's human nature, qualified in "The Mower Against Gardens" as a fallen state, is a subset of greater Nature.⁴³ As he embraces that fallen state with his song, the Mower takes on the mantle of human corruption. In this corruption, the Mower fails his Longinian duty to reveal Nature's secrets. He is isolated in his desire, and thus does not respect the core tenet of the Ladder of Love and *Peri hypsous*: transcendence of the self. In so doing, he ironically takes on the specific nature that he railed against at the beginning of the sequence. It is this nature that has ultimately killed him, for he is a covetous Cain, expressing the worst of the knowledge of good and evil and thus attempting to control that which the Lord decreed was Man's punishment: Nature.

It will, rather, take a version of Abel to further ascend the Ladder of Love, for Abel's sacrifice acknowledges a hierarchy in Mankind's life on Earth reminiscent of that Ladder and also of the cooperation between mankind and Nature so essential to Longinian rhetoric. Abel's sacrifice of sheep is more meaningful to God than Cain's: "And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof. And the LORD had respect unto Abel and to his offering" (Gen. 4:4). This sacrifice performs Man's dominion over Nature. It also reveals Man's new appreciation of good and evil: both the beginning and the end of life are sacrificed to manifest God's power over Man's life. Taking life from an animal is akin to God's taking human

⁴³ Friedman, *Marvell's Pastoral Art*, 135; Everett inverts the act of revenge, suggesting instead that the Mower takes his revenge upon Nature ("Marvell's 'The Mower's Song,'" 223). Her criticism, however, proceeds on the assumption that the Mower is in the midst of an "innocent Fall", where the onus is placed upon Juliana as tempter. This critical approach seems unfair to Juliana, who herself is not granted agency in the poem.

life. Cain's sacrifice is, in contrast, less powerful. It contemplates only "the fruit of the ground", which is lower on the food chain than sheep (Gen. 4:3).

As Abel is positioned higher on the food chain so, too, does the shepherd in the Mower sequence promise a more holistic series of amorous relations, or an understanding of love that goes beyond physical union. That series is foreshadowed in a further lyric, "Ametas and Thestylis Making Hay-Ropes", where the creation of rope is an analogy for the creation of a holistic union, and not only sexual:

Think'st thou that this rope would twine
If we both should turn one way?
Where both parties so combine,
Neither love will twist nor hay. ("Ametas and Thestylis Making Hay-Ropes", 5-8)

The hay ropes are united by the countervailing tension created by their union. Total agreement, the kind that Damon seeks in the Mower sequence, does not create a union. Rather, it is a further expression of his solipsism. A holistic love instead recognizes that tension is essential to the creation of an enduring bond.

Marvell further reveals a mower working with a knowledge of his position relative to Nature within the grander frame of "Upon Appleton House". After accidentally cutting "the rail", a bird that builds its nest in the grass, the Mower transcends himself by "Fearing the flesh untimely mowed / To him a fate as black forebode" ("Upon Appleton House", 395, 399-400). He considers the implications of his mis-stroke on this other form of life, whereas Thestylis only "means ... to sup" on the bird (404). Marvell's mower here responds to that accidental killing with a care for his relationship to Nature. He is not solipsistic: he does not forget about the reciprocal relationship that he must maintain. Like Abel, the mower in "Upon Appleton House" is conscious of the importance of the creation with which he is surrounded. That consciousness

then finds further expression in the short dialogue between Ametas and Thestylis, whose relationship turns on their difference as individuals who cannot achieve perfect union.

II

Yea, if thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding;
If thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasures;
Then shalt thou understand the fear of the LORD, and find the knowledge of God.

Proverbs 2:3-5

Marvell sketches the means of achieving a more holistic union first by distinguishing between the soul, or sentient life, and the body, vessel for such life. He does so especially in his lyric Dialogues, "A Dialogue, Between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure" and "A Dialogue Between the Soul and Body". Though the dating of these poems is uncertain, the former seems to precede the latter, both in its placement in the first edition and in its more conventional representation of the soul's superiority, which the later poem questions. Both poems define the soul and body in relation to each other, but they differ substantially in their conclusions. "A Dialogue, Between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure" gives the contest to the Soul, whose resolve against God's continuous test to fallen man, tempting pleasure, proves its piety in Job-like fashion: pleasure offers tremendous rewards, which includes a Faustian knowledge of "each hidden cause" and the prophetic ability to "see the future time" (69-70). "A Dialogue Between the Soul and Body" inverts the order found in its sister poem. Here, the body is depicted rejecting "knowledge" of the soul's emotional states (39). "Knowledge" is repurposed in these poems. It moves from processing God-given sensory pleasures to processing emotional states. That migration reveals an uneasy tension between soul and body. "The Definition of Love" then takes the cleavage between soul and body and shows how they may be reconciled through the operation of the mind.

The positive force of "The Definition of Love" comes from its stated purpose: to serve as a definition. But Marvell's attempt at a definition of love seeks here to resolve a practical concern about the separation of mind and body that he has already tackled in the more theoretical dialogues. Rather than definition, he uses description to convey an understanding of human love. Marvell describes a part of the active life in order to resolve a metaphysical problem posed by the existence of separate orders of things things in a single life.

Marvell differentiates the soul and body by creating a competition between the Soul as a divine emanation and the Body as Nature. Put in Longinian terms, human nature and Nature are pitted against each other. Marvell, in "A Dialogue Between Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure", situates pleasure in Nature. A "Created" pleasure is one that is "made or formed by a divine being or natural agency".⁴⁴ Since nature is itself formed by God, pleasure is always divine, which implies a heavenly test of the soul's resolve even at the outset of the poem. In sum, the poem works through a series of temptations based on the five senses, each of which the soul rejects, before turning to the temptations of female beauty, of wealth, of glory, and of knowledge, which the soul rejects as well. The divine soul clad in the armour of God is charged to "show that Nature wants an art / To conquer one resolvèd heart" ("A Dialogue Between Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure", 9-10, *cf.* Eph. 6:11-17). Man, in this poem defined as a divine soul, competes against the hostile Nature to which he is cast after he eats of the Forbidden Tree. The soul exudes "humility" before God's creation, whereas pleasure works as the "tempter", the snake (74, 43). Humility and temptation create a natural hierarchy in the poem. The temptation that pleasure lays before the soul recalls the Edenic moment when Eve beholds the Tree and sees "that it was pleasant to the eyes" (Gen. 3:6). Unlike Eve's lapse, the soul claims that "None can chain a mind

⁴⁴ "Created, Adj."

/ Whom this sweet chordage cannot bind" (41-2). If the soul remains impervious to pleasure's temptations (pleasure's "music", or the "chordage"), then it is freed in its worldly state (37). The consequence of that freedom is captured in the chorus, where "Earth", the place to which Man is consigned at the Fall, "cannot show so brave a sight / As when a single soul" resists sensory temptations (45-6). Heaven's consequent "delight" at the soul's virtue presents human competition against the root of those temptations, Nature, as a divine mission. Thus is fully sentient life differentiated from dumb bodies, with the body derogated.

"A Dialogue between the Soul and Body" refines this appreciation of the soul's relationship to the body by representing the natural, dumb being as mankind's initial state. This lyric twice supplies the soul's complaint only in each case for that to be met by the body's own complaint. The body is given the final word. In so doing, Marvell complicates the moral condemnation the earlier Dialogue had directed at sensory pleasures.⁴⁵ He instead suggests that body and soul may complement each other as necessary parts of human existence, but here their lasting antagonism seems inescapable. In the soul's view, the body is a product of the natural world that the soul characterizes as a "dungeon" ("A Dialogue between the Soul and Body", 1). The soul's characterization follows a Platonist dichotomy:⁴⁶ natural bodies do not occupy the enlightened state that comes with knowledge of Forms. The soul bemoans its fallen state in this dank mortal existence. For its part, the body accuses the soul of retaining a "tyrannic" coordinating power over it (12). The body's complaint of tyranny is founded in part on the soul's unpredictable emotional states of "Hope", "Fear", "Love", "Hatred", "Joy", and "Sorrow" (33-8). These emotions -- "maladies", in the body's view -- are paired in rhyming couplets (32).

⁴⁵ See Osmond, "Body and Soul Dialogues in the Seventeenth Century," 367-68, for a description of the medieval moralization of the body-soul dichotomy, notably in the works of Saint Augustine.

⁴⁶ See Osmond, "Body and Soul Dialogues in the Seventeenth Century", esp. n. 5, where he cited Plotinus's "Enneads" (4.4.18).

Marvell's Body names each emotion next to its opposite in order to highlight how variable are the Soul's shifting states.

Marvell contrasts the body's position in this dialogue with his earlier "A Dialogue between Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure". The earlier poem presents knowledge as a temptation that the body offers to the soul through felt pleasure. Marvell inverts knowledge's role in the present dialogue by representing the body, not the soul, as rejecting it. Knowledge now proves but another part of the soul which torments the body. He describes "Knowledge" as a noun independent of body and soul: "Which Knowledge forces me [the body] to know; / And Memory will not forgo" ("A Dialogue between Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure", 39-40). "Knowledge" inflicts emotions upon the body because the body is where knowledge and its complementary faculty, memory, reside. These recall the Fall, which is the acquisition of a divine Knowledge, and its enduring effects: the memory of a pre-lapsarian state is relayed from generation to generation through the divine soul.

That soul, then, is implicated in the Fall because it animates the body with emotions. For Marvell, the essential link, that which makes body and soul inseparable, is revealed in the union of divine intelligence with natural memory. The body's acquisition of knowledge of the emotions that plague it is thus tied to "a soul" that has "the wit / To build me up for sin so fit" (41-2). "Wit" denotes "the faculty of thinking and reasoning in general".⁴⁷ Marvell has the body locate knowledge in itself, but he locates intelligence in the soul. The body's final charge against the soul, the analogy that "architects do square and hew / Green trees that in the forest grew", recalls "The Mower Against Gardens", where Man's dominion over nature is disapprovingly described (39-44). That disapprobation is in this dialogue incorporated into the body's identity as it

⁴⁷ "Wit, N.", 2. a.

differentiates itself from the soul. The divine soul is, in its tyranny, also wholly responsible for the actions of its mortal vessel, but that vessel is inescapable, for its ability to store knowledge and propagate it on earth is what allows the soul, after having caused the Fall, to maintain a distinct individuality.

It is that individuality that Marvell examines in "The Definition of Love". Those orders of knowledge that constitute the Ladder of Love, and that the body stores as memories, reflect the distinction Marvell makes between soul and body. Marvell's thesis is that an enduring love is an intellectual union between individual souls through a "conjunction of the mind" ("The Definition of Love", 31). That conjunction stems from the "impossibility" of permanent physical union that meets the body's desire (4). That the union is physical is suggested in the spatial, or geographic terms Marvell deploys to describe the lovers' separation: "iron wedges" are driven between the lover; they are located at "distant poles"; and the divisions of a map are evoked with reference to "oblique" and "parallel" lines (11, 18, 25, 27). The poem thus describes the impossibility of any lasting physical proximity, which, because the body is the soul's carrier, also limits the lovers' souls' connection.

Marvell's first stanza links the speaker's love to the idea of love as an "object strange and high" (2). The vertical language of this phrase places love above the speaker, perhaps as an ideal, and certainly as an object difficult to attain. That love is unattainable in the most literal sense because the speaker's love is necessarily tied to his body. The body is the vessel in which the memory of the emotion of love is stored, and where the experience of love plays out. The idea of love inheres in that high "object", for, as Smith glosses the line, it is "a thing or being of which one thinks, as opposed to the thinking subject".⁴⁸ The speaker's love is analogized to the

⁴⁸ *Smith*, 109.

intellectual object: a purer understanding of the concept than can be practicably experienced on Earth. The speaker thus confirms the distinction that he has raised as he laments its birth in "Despair": "Magnanimous Despair alone / Could show me so divine a thing" as an intellectual understanding of love (3-4). Marvell's adjective, "magnanimous", to qualify despair is an oxymoron that at this early stage in the poem already shows Marvell working through a more complex description. His qualification suggests that despair, the loss of hope, informs the speaker's love:⁴⁹ the speaker must choose to transcend himself; he must work toward the goal of hope even as he is taunted by the possibility of the loss of hope. That divinity suggests the "extended soul[s]" access to a higher, more ideal, order of knowledge (10).

Rather than allow an uninterrupted union, Marvell describes what that ideal union is like, but keeps his characters physically separate. The speaker's soul reaches toward that of another; it desires transcendence between "Two perfect loves", but "Fate" interdicts "their union" (14, 11). In his quest for transcendence, the speaker tries to shuck the shackles of destiny, but Fate overrides the speaker because it is concerned with maintaining a "tyrannic power" over these humans and, implicitly, over human affairs more generally (16). That power is maintained only if these lovers can be kept from fuller union.

As that proximity cannot be practicably achieved, Marvell posits an intellectual connection between the lovers. He hints at the possibility of such a connection in the fifth stanza, where Fate's "decrees of steel" remove the lovers to respective "distant poles" (17-18). Marvell weakens Fate's decree with a parenthetical aside -- "(Though Love's whole world on us doth wheel)" (19) -- that recalls his forceful argument for erotic union in his famous lyric "To His Coy Mistress": "though we cannot make our sun / Stand still, yet we will make him run" (45-6).

⁴⁹ "Despair, N."

Those concluding lines defy another ancient deity and natural force, "Time", associated with the sun and with the titan *Kronos* (39).⁵⁰ The experience of erotic love in "To His Coy Mistress" subjugates time to that experience; in "The Definition of Love", the emotional bond created by love co-opts the world maintained by a personified Love, thus establishing a "planisphere" that, as Timothy Raylor suggests, maps out the heavens that hang over the speaker and his love (24).⁵¹ These heavens are populated by the divinities that in the poem restrict the full connection of lover and beloved. Marvell's use of the geometric image of oblique and parallel lines to describe different kinds of "loves" in stanza seven implicates Fate, which "debars" the lovers from complete union (25, 29). That geometric image has been said to demonstrate "the transformation of actual (if spiritual) experience" -- love -- "into the text of the poem".⁵² That is to say, those "oblique" and "parallel" lines may refer to the process of transposing the experience of love, which resides somewhere outside the physical world that humans inhabit, into the text of a poem, which, as a physical and as a man-made object, is a manifestation of that experience (25, 27). Such a reading, however, ignores a more basic view of these alternately intersecting and parallel lines as a metaphor for different kinds of love. The lines that "Themselves in every angle greet" intersect each other (26). They physically connect, and thus allude to an erotic love that is necessarily fleeting: bodies cannot forever remain connected, nor can lines. That connection is thus only a point on a map that both lines pass through as soon as they arrive.

The enduring love that Marvell describes is parallel love. While the lines he describes may "never meet" in physical connection, they are also never out of sight of each other: the

⁵⁰ See the gloss on this point: *Smith*, 83.

⁵¹ Raylor, "The Cartography of 'The Definition of Love' Revisited."

⁵² Habicht, "'Happy Lines': Petrarchism and Marvell's Geometry of Love," 89.

existence of each is relative to the other's position (28). Marvell thus supplies his description of love with reference to those parallel lines at the close:

Therefore the love which us doth bind,
But Fate so enviously debars,
Is the conjunction of the mind,
And opposition of the stars. (29-32)

The conjunction of the mind refers to the lovers' minds, which, as has been seen, join soul and body. These minds, precluded from physical union, are instead joined by the less tangible decision to strive for the perfection of their love in that ideal, permanent union from which they are precluded by Fate. With that conscious decision to create a permanent bond between each other, their conjunction defies the stars, or the lesser ancient gods that include Fate.

Marvell's "The Definition of Love" thus describes lasting human love as an intellectual connection between the parties to that love. With such a description of love, Marvell reaches for Height in a Longinian sense by engaging with a problem common to any lover. In so doing, he is able to reveal one of Nature's secrets by ascending on the Ladder of Love toward a fuller understanding of the emotion as a concept, rather than only an appreciation of a physical body or bodies.

III

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace.
*Psalm 37:37*⁵³

The social issue of that decision to love, a family composed of husband, wife and children, then ascends further up the Ladder of Love with Marvell's description of the Lord General Thomas Fairfax's Yorkshire estates and households. In Christian humanist fashion, Marvell repurposes Plato's appraisal of male intellectual companionship to instead represent the puritan ideal of

⁵³ I am indebted to Auty, "Walking Upright," 77, for bringing this passage to my attention.

intellectual companionship in marriage in his description of the Fairfax family. In so doing, Marvell reconciles classical sources with contemporary prohibitions against homoerotic love. While Plato advocated for homoerotic love as the pinnacle of sociability, which helped to facilitate intellectual discourse, Marvell instead imitates the great philosopher's view of erotic relationships in the context of companionship as it is seen in representations of Lord Fairfax's family.⁵⁴ These representations feature in the Latin "*Epigramma in Duos Montes Amosclivum et Bilboreum. Farfacio*" and its English counterpart "Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough. To the Lord Fairfax". This brace of poems celebrates one of the Fairfax estates, that at Bilbrough, while Marvell's longer and more famous "Upon Appleton House" praises the architecture and grounds of Nun Appleton, another Fairfax estate south of York. Marvell engages in these poems with his immediate surroundings, the Fairfax family, and its country houses, by demonstrating a next step up the Ladder of Love: a citizen's understanding of beauty and love, though modified to be heterosexual love, as a driving force for the creation and administration of laws.

Fairfax's life story admits him to a citizenship defined by an ancient republican idiom: the legend of Cincinnatus. As Livy tells it, that former Roman consul was found on his farm by representatives of the Senate, who asked him to don his toga to hear their news in respectable attire. Once sufficiently robed, Cincinnatus was informed that the Senate had appointed him dictator for six months, thus receiving *imperium*, or the power to command armies,⁵⁵ at which point he proceeded immediately to the city to take charge of an army.⁵⁶ Sixteen days later, Livy reports, Cincinnatus laid down his command when the crisis had ended.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ A full discussion of this point, as it relates to John Milton, is found in Luxon, *Single Imperfection: Milton, Marriage and Friendship*.

⁵⁵ The Roman dictator was an emergency office of the Republic.

⁵⁶ Livy, *History of Rome, Volume II: Books 3-4*, chap. 26.

⁵⁷ chap. 29.

Fairfax also lays down his command. The context and time scale are rather different, for he does so after a decade in various military offices. Even so, Fairfax's resignation comes, crucially for this analogy, at the end of the crisis that the citizens of Yorkshire had first appointed him to confront. Like Cincinnatus, Fairfax was called to serve. The young Thomas Fairfax had been asked by the "gentry and freeholders" of Yorkshire to present a petition to the King asking him to "refrain from all warlike preparations, and to return to an amicable course with the Parliament".⁵⁸ From that first assignment, Fairfax went on to lead ever larger detachments of northern military forces against the King's armies, receiving Parliament's own version of *imperium* when he was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the New Model Army in December 1644.⁵⁹ He then resigned as Commander-in-Chief when the Council of State, the executive arm of Parliament's post-regicide government, sought to invade Scotland. Fairfax opposed the invasion of Scotland, resigning officially for reasons of ill health, but more likely because he opposed invading a presbyterian nation.⁶⁰ That willingness to lay down executive and military authority may be understood through Cincinnatus's ancient example. The citizen Fairfax served in the creation of the new republic as a soldier and, with the republic established, might be held to have laid down *imperium* on a clear principle.

In so laying down military authority, Fairfax accords with Cicero's prescription of a good statesman: he demonstrates exemplary moral leadership by returning to his country estates instead of hanging onto power. Cicero mentions in his *Pro Murena* "that there are two professions which can raise men to the highest level of distinction (the Republican consulship): that of a successful general and that of a good orator. The latter maintains the trappings of peace

⁵⁸ Gentles, "Fairfax"; Bell, *The Fairfax Correspondence*, 2:407.

⁵⁹ Gentles, "Fairfax."

⁶⁰ Gentles.

while the former averts the perils of war."⁶¹ Fairfax, the successful general, earns his authority. In retirement, Fairfax took up poetry and contemplative existence more generally. The retired Fairfax thus fulfills Cicero's definition of the ideal statesman in *De re publica*. His duties comprise

improving and examining himself continually, urging others to imitate him, and furnishing in himself, as it were, a mirror to his fellow-citizens by reason of the supreme excellence of his life and character.⁶²

The statesman must have some contemplative means of understanding his character and how it may influence those whom he would lead in order to take part in the active government of his society. These classical references might not have been missed by the learned Fairfax, whose Cambridge education and literary tastes⁶³ allows Marvell to depart, somewhat without concrete aim, into "meditation and imaginative recreation" that is not customarily associated with panegyric.⁶⁴

Marvell christianizes the Ciceronian ideal, perhaps with this section's epigraph from *Psalms* in mind. He represents Fairfax enjoying a contemplative existence tending his "conscience", that is to say a Christian sense of right and wrong that extends from his Yorkshire homes to his actions on the national stage (354-5). Marvell likely refers in this vein to Fairfax's resignation speech, where he said "What my conscience yields unto as just and lawful I shall follow; and what seems to be otherwise I will not do. My conscience is not satisfied, and therefore I must desire to be excused."⁶⁵ Fairfax resigns on principle, for he cannot support the

⁶¹ Cicero, "Pro Murena," 233.

⁶² Cicero, "De Re Publica," 180–81.

⁶³ These are summarized in Cotterill, "Marvell's Watery Maze," 114.

⁶⁴ Erickson, "Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House' and the Fairfax Family," 165–66.

⁶⁵ Eyber, *Analytic Commentary*, 148.

aggressive invasion of Scotland that the Council of State is preparing in 1650. Marvell's reference thus respects the active life the general once lived as well as his respecting the dictates of "conscience".

Marvell's emphases on Fairfax's social life at home and his public political life become still plainer in comparison with the later representation of Fairfax by his son-in-law, George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham.⁶⁶ Where Marvell had made much of Fairfax's "conscience", Buckingham eulogizes Fairfax in terms that do not really develop their religious register: "So blest of all, he dy'd; but far more blest were we, / If we were sure to live till we could see / A Man as great in War, in Peace so Just as he" ("An Epitaph upon Thomas Late Lord Fairfax. Written by a Person of Honour", 59-61). Marvell had more patiently elaborated on Fairfax as a military commander and as a just man; Buckingham's poem deploys terms that Marvell used to present Fairfax with a composite image of the retired man as a virtuous public figure and as an earnest inquirer into spiritual truths that, ultimately, bless those he comes into contact with.⁶⁷ With reference to Cicero, that blessing exists because his virtue and demeanour guard against "anarchy" both at the level of the state, and of the home.⁶⁸ Marvell may have been encouraged to find such a correspondence between social order in the state and in the home by Paul's rhetorical question to Timothy: "if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of

⁶⁶ For Buckingham's association to Marvell, see Orwen, "Marvell and Buckingham"; Citations for Buckingham's poems are drawn from Buckingham, *Plays, Poems, and Miscellaneous Writings Associated with George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham*.

⁶⁷ Retirement for Fairfax did not mean a complete withdrawal from public life. He was elected MP for Cirencester in 1648, but did not sit in the Rump that he had helped purge. He was subsequently returned as MP for the West Riding in Yorkshire in 1654-5, but there is no evidence that he took his seat. He sat in Richard Cromwell's Parliament for the corporation of York and went on to back General Monck when he decided to call Charles II back from exile. The best that may be said of Fairfax's retirement, then, may be that he retired from executive office, or that he laid down imperium. He was still involved to varying degrees, sometimes nominally, in legislative goings-on. See Gibbs et al., *Complete Peerage*, V:230-1; Gentles, "Fairfax."

⁶⁸ "De Re Publica," 98-101.

the church of God?"⁶⁹ Not least with reference to Fairfax, religion is a public affair, and one that intersects in the mid-seventeenth century with the tensions between royalist and parliamentary forces. Moreover, the devout Lord Fairfax was himself beset by a wife who was presbyterian, and a monarchist. Her influence may have been brought to bear on his decisions. Marvell's praise deals, however, in the facts of his public pronouncements and the home life that he witnessed. Though embellished praise, Marvell celebrates a statesman who leads by example and who demonstrates a level of piety that shows the statesman's mastery of the social order through a mastery of its values.

Marvell describes the statesman in his retirement in terms that highlight Fairfax's moral excellence and thus supply a powerful, if implicit, argument for succeeding governors to emulate him. He proposes this advice in terms that centre in questions of Height. This argument is most easily seen in the shorter "Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough". Marvell's praise takes a wider view from the outset when he analogizes the landscape of this place -- where the Lord and Lady Fairfax are eventually to be laid to rest -- as "a model" for "the world" ("Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough", 7-8). The Hill is compared to "mountains" that jut above the earth toward Heaven, which may seem higher, thus greater (9). Marvell offers a more literal comparison in the Latin sister poem, "*Epigramma in Duos Montes Amosclivum et Bilboreum*". Here, two locations, Bilbrough, with its "soft slopes" (*lenia cola*), and Almscliff, a cliff north of the Yorkshire Dales adorned with a "jutting stone" (*minax rigidis cervicibus*), are compared to finally suggest that "Fairfaxian" rule (*Farfacique tremunt sub*) is "equitable" (*aequa*) throughout the North that these two hills encompass ("*Epigramma*", 5-6, 16, 18). Marvell thus uses the model hill at Bilbrough in his English poem to exhort higher "mountains" to restrain their Height: "learn here those

⁶⁹ I Tim. 3.5.

humble steps to tread, / Which to securer glory lead" ("Upon the Hill and Grove", 15-6). The quest for ambition, or the desire to rise above one's peers, hinders the mountains where the more "humble steps" of the hill at Bilbrough offer a safer path. Those "humble steps" refer to a Pauline exhortation to "walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, / With all lowliness and meekness, with longsuffering, forbearing one another in love" (Eph. 4:1-2).⁷⁰ To walk in that humble fashion leads to the "glory" of God, the highest of all glories, which is inherent "in all things" (Eph. 4:15). All vocations have their place in service to God, and Fairfax's military gift places him in a position of dominance over his peers that ought to be assumed humbly, for God is in everyone and everything.

The hill's humility in comparison to larger mountains is an allegory for Fairfax's humility in the active life he once led as commander-in-chief, but also now, when Marvell knows him, as a Lord in his manor. Fairfax's place as "the great Master" atop the hill at Bilbrough surrounded by "a plume of agèd trees" gives him a commanding view of the countryside ("Upon the Hill and Grove", 38, 34, 25).⁷¹ Fairfax's sight recalls the old medieval defensive fortification, the motte and bailey.⁷² The predecessor of castles, the motte and bailey visually reproduces the Lord's control over his territory, and also that Lord's responsibility to defend what he can see from his seat. His home stands atop a hill that offers a view of the countryside he controls. Marvell supplies a similar Latin description: Almscliff is described as though it is a castle, "untamed with towering stones all about" (*Ille stat indomitus turritis undique saxis*), whereas the hill at

⁷⁰ See the gloss in Smith, *Smith*, 206.

⁷¹ On the textual crux introduced into line 34, see Parker, "Marvell's 'Plume of Aged Trees': On a Crux in Bill-Borrow."

⁷² An example of this type of fortification was to hand for both Marvell and Fairfax. The motte and bailey at Tadcaster some seven kilometres southeast of Bilbrough, and a fortification that Fairfax is said to have used in 1642 against royalist forces. ("Tadcaster Motte and Bailey Castle, Tadcaster - 1017407"); although Bell, *The Fairfax Correspondence*, I:lxiii, tells us that it was the Second Lord Fairfax, Ferdinando, who was in command at Tadcaster. His son Thomas fought alongside his father (xcvii).

Bilbrough is adorned with "the tall ash trees circl[ing] the pleasant summit" (*Cingit huic laetum fraxinus alta caput*) ("*Epigramma*", 3-4). The ash tree, though perhaps a symbol of military strength,⁷³ does not provide as much protection as the castle. The occupant of that hilltop, in Marvell's poems *Fairfax*, has a reputation that, regardless of defensive fortification, keeps this Yorkshire scene safe. No imposing stone castle is necessary. *Fairfax* thus fulfills a standard of feudal land ownership, and he does so at Bilbrough without boast or visible grandeur.

The Lord *Fairfax*'s humility is further evoked at another of his estates, Nun Appleton. The mansion there -- a "sober frame", rather than any natural feature of the landscape -- serves as a "model" for *Fairfax*'s "humility" ("*Upon Appleton House*", 1, 6). That model, though perhaps a gesture toward an abstract moral concept that is being applied to *Fairfax* through his house, creates a binding coherence from which the rest of the poem springs.⁷⁴ The model house exudes its owner's humility, whose exploits are expressed in the house's "designs" of "short but admirable" architectural "lines" (41-2). Marvell's syntax suggests that the house is designed by humility itself. The abstraction becomes the architect of the house in which its master, *Fairfax*, lives. If humility is the architect, though, *Fairfax*'s character imbues the "house" with his greatness, for it is described changing shape as "the Master great" enters and exits rooms (49-50).⁷⁵ *Fairfax*'s greatness in retirement affects both buildings and landscapes, but nowhere in these poems is *Fairfax* portrayed proclaiming his greatness from either of those seats. Rather,

⁷³ See the gloss in *Smith*, 201.

⁷⁴ I distinguish from Haber, *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction*, 126–27 whose argument is that the poem presents an "incoherence" in the speaker's separation of house from humankind along the same lines as the Mower's tirade in "The Mower Against Gardens"; see also Eyber, *Analytic Commentary*, 66, on this point.

⁷⁵ Eyber, *Analytic Commentary*, 81, suggests that "great" subtly refers to pregnancy, but such a reading does not figure well with Marvell's syntax unless that greatness refers not to the "Master" but to the "house"; it may, perhaps, be the case that the house is pregnant with *Fairfax*, who is himself great and thus justifies the admittedly allusive language of the stanza. Such a reading does not conflict with the one offered here.

Marvell deploys the architecture of the house in conjunction with Fairfax's greatness to praise his patron's ability to conform to humility's design, specifically in the examples of past members of the Fairfax line, and to pass that design on to his daughter, Mary.

Fairfax is an exemplary figure in the immediate and in the national community; his family follows suit. Marvell's description of husband and wife in "Upon the Hill and Grove at Billbrough" describes a familial "genius" rising from a "sense ... of love and reverence" ("Upon the Hill and Grove", 52, 50). "Love and reverence" are linked because they express ideas essential to Diotima's Ladder of Love. "Reverence" is a differential understanding of the self rooted in respect for that which is above the self. That respect is based upon the organization of an individual's relationships.⁷⁶ Such organization is created by social norms and by the individual's perception of these norms in relation to themselves. Each of these criteria refers also to "an *obeissance*",⁷⁷ a formal relationship where one party acknowledges and submits to the authority of another.⁷⁸ Marvell later uses "*obeissance*" in its standard usage in *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*:

That the occasion of the revolt of Swizzerland from the Emperour, and its turning Commonwealth, was onely the imposing of a Civil Ceremony by a Capricious Governour, who set up a Pole in the high-way with a Cap upon the top of it, to which he would have all Passengers be uncover'd, and to do obeysance.⁷⁹

Here, "*obeissance*" follows tellingly from successive images of a hierarchal order, like the Holy Roman Emperors' control over the mountain region, now overturned in favour of a new, more

⁷⁶ "Reverence, N.", 1. a.

⁷⁷ "Reverence, N.", 1. d.

⁷⁸ "Obeysance, N.", 2-4.

⁷⁹ Marvell, *Prose Works*, I:164.

popular system. Marvell thus represents the upending of a hierarchy, of the social conditions that lead to reverence, in favour of a new set of mores that determine a new kind of reverence.

The feeling of reverence thus evokes a vertical order that, when properly applied in social and in personal contexts, creates a ladder up which the individual may ascend. The term also evokes a Longinian worldview, where respect for things above the self, be it God or a writer whose work has endured through successive generations, defines the writer's search for excellence in his or her craft, but, when a Christian worldview is superimposed on Longinian thinking, also defines the search for moral excellence that every Christian seeks. The individual may make this ascent to moral excellence when, as Diotima suggests, they acquire an understanding of their selves in relation to others and to the rules that govern their society. Understanding one's social standing based on relationships with others demonstrates that ascendance. By joining "love" with "reverence", Marvell suggests the relative positions of husband and wife. Each is able to define themselves in one way against the other. While Fairfax is a brilliant general, his attachment to his wife, who is in "Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough" characterized as a "great nymph" of the grove atop the hill, is akin to his attachment to the estate and countryside in which that nymph lives (42). She is a factor in his love of Bilbrough. The Lord of the manor is doubly loyal to his subjects and to his wife. That loyalty suggests that Fairfax's competing public and private obligations, in active service to England and Yorkshire as well as in retirement, are undertaken in consultation with his wife, "to whom he often here retired", temporarily and also permanently (44).

The "genius" that is the issue of reverence and love represents a series of qualities that define Fairfax's family. Put in Marvell's terms, the qualities of Fairfax's "house", the family's

lineage,⁸⁰ are embodied atop the hill at Bilbrough in the family's chief witness, the "plump of agèd trees", which, as Ian Parker convincingly suggests, is a textual crux: the corrected line should read "plume of agèd trees" (34).⁸¹ Parker's discovery brings with it the critical benefit of evoking Fairfax's qualities as soldier and as just governor that are then more fully discussed in "Upon Appleton House": the plume at once represents the feather in a general's helmet and also the pen that records legal decisions.⁸² Those trees remember the family's historical qualities that make them fit to rule their estates, even if Thomas Fairfax does not fit easily into this historical line.⁸³ Marvell's word choice of "genius" evokes at once the ancient usage, *genius loci*, referring to "a guardian spirit or god associated with a place", and also, in plainer terms, the house's "natural inclination" or the house's "distinctive character".⁸⁴ The trees attest Fairfax's accordance with his family's historical character by growing "under" Fairfax's instantiation of that familial character "so straight and green" (56). Marvell's qualification of Anne Fairfax as a "nymph" further suggests her relationship to Fairfax and to the grove at Bilbrough where she was later buried: she is a semi-divine bridge between the trees's knowledge of the family and Fairfax himself, who is (like his daughter) only one "bud" on the hallowed branch (*cf.* "Upon Appleton House", 742).

That reference to Fairfax's family history begs the question that Marvell patiently explores in "Upon Appleton House": what is the family's history? Marvell constructs a fiction in praise of Thomas Fairfax that carefully skirts the details of the great general's tumultuous lineage: William Fairfax disinherited the Third Lord's father (also Thomas), preferring his younger brothers to

⁸⁰ "House, n.1 and Int.", 10. b.

⁸¹ Parker, "Marvell's 'Plume of Aged Trees': On a Crux in Bill-Borrow."

⁸² For the military sense of the word, see Parker, 32; for the judicial sense, see "Plume, N.", 2. c.

⁸³ As is convincingly demonstrated by Patton, "Preserving Property."

⁸⁴ "Genius Loci, N.", 1; "Genius, n. and Adj.", A.I.1. a, A.II.6. a-b.

inherit portions of his estate.⁸⁵ Thus, though the qualities of Fairfax's ancestors are detailed in this poem, Marvell does so only to supply a myth that might please his patron for its potential to convince future readers of the Third Lord's inheritance. They are also applied to the next generation of the Fairfax line, Marvell's pupil, Mary Fairfax. Appleton House is described from its origins as a religious foundation, but the Fairfaxes quickly take it over by "escheat", which, Marvell implies, is because ownership of the convent lapses at the dissolution of all monasteries in territory the family would otherwise have owned and because Sir William Fairfax (the third Lord's great-great-grandfather) marries Isabel Thwaites, who is hailed by the nuns as the highest "beauty", and whose escape from that marriage into the convent at Nun Appleton is detailed in the poem ("Upon Appleton House", 274, 145).⁸⁶ The Fairfax genius is described when William considers his options for liberating his wife-to-be:

What should he do? He would respect
Religion, but not right neglect:
For first Religion taught him right,
And dazzled not but cleared his sight.
Sometimes resolved his sword he draws,
But reverenceth then the laws. (225-30)

Marvell frames this consideration of the family's characteristics in Protestant terms. The Catholic monastery claims moral authority over Isabel Thwaites, but her decision to become a nun is misguided. Instead, a truer, personal conviction, seen here in William's religious consideration, teaches "right" and empowers William with a better "sight". Thus, when he thinks of resorting to the kind of ferocious violence suggested by the lion rampant found on the family's arms,⁸⁷ his moral convictions push him to be lawful. Having thus established William's religious *bona fides*

⁸⁵ See Patton, "Preserving Property."

⁸⁶ See the gloss in Smith, *Smith*, 223; see also Eyber, *Analytic Commentary*, 126–27.

⁸⁷ Gibbs et al., *Complete Peerage*, V:229, n. (*).

as well as his relationship to lawful authority and its authorization of the use of force, Marvell closes the stanza: "For Justice still that Courage led; / First from a judge, then soldier bred" (231-2). That violent impulse, the product of his family's excellence as soldiers, is muted by a sense of and a respect for a just result.

Marvell transposes these qualities onto Thomas Fairfax,⁸⁸ and he does so in a Christianized Ciceronian vein. The Lord Fairfax "might once have made our gardens spring" by serving the nation, but he instead retires from the military life (347).⁸⁹ A good soldier, Fairfax is also presented as morally upright in his retirement, "For he did, with his utmost skill, / Ambition weed, but conscience till" (353-4). His resignation of *imperium* does not end his role as a statesman: he must, like Cincinnatus, preserve his example for the community into which he retires. Marvell's lines are also suggestive of the First Epistle of Peter. Here, Peter lays down criteria for the Church leaders that he addresses in Asia Minor (cf. 1:1). They are to be "neither ... lords over God's heritage, but ... examples to the flock" (5:3). Those early elders ought not, in Peter's opinion, lay claim to interpretative power over the Word. Rather, they are to enact it and, in so doing, propagate it. Like the Longinian speaker who achieves greatness, the elders whom Peter addresses achieve lasting Height at God's side for the Christian example they set in the community. Fairfax's tending to his conscience works in this biblical sense. Fairfax is a statesman because he leads by example, and that example is relative to the leader's culture. Fairfax does so in Marvell's gardening metaphor by tending to "Conscience", a "heaven-nursed plant" that is not often found on earth (355). By thus tending to the moral ability to distinguish "what is considered right", and by removing "the desire to rise to a high position", Fairfax

⁸⁸ Brian Patton suggests further that Marvell's "telescoping" of time between William and Thomas Fairfax makes for a reading that, rather than transposing from one to the other, instead simply elides the two into a single figure referred to as "Fairfax" ("Preserving Property," 830).

⁸⁹ Eyber, *Analytic Commentary*, 145.

replicates his family's genius.⁹⁰ Marvell calls attention to this reference. He suggests that Fairfax's reward for tilling his conscience will be like the "flowers eternal, and divine" that are found "in the crown of saints" (359-60). That crown is akin to the "crown of glory" that will reward the elders in Peter's missive (5:4). The statesman thus leads by example, and that example is, in the first Bishop of Rome's words, very close to the Roman Cicero's prescription for great statesmen.

From the present generation, the Lord Fairfax transmits his family's characteristics to his daughter Mary, who promises to carry the family's excellence forward even as the family's name will die upon her marriage. Marvell may thus tie Mary more closely to the grounds and house at Nun Appleton, for her father amended his will to allow her to inherit his estates where no male heir existed: "And Goodness doth it self intail / On Females, if there want a Male" (727-8).⁹¹ Her promise -- Goodness -- is first expressed in Marvell's description of the estate's "gardens", to which she gives "that wondrous beauty which they have" (689-90). Marvell thus represents Mary's promise almost as a Platonic form. She is the ideal that thus

straightness on the wood bestows;
To her the meadow sweetness owes;
Nothing could make the river be
So crystal-pure but only she. (691-4)

Marvell's terms here evoke moral and personal characteristics. Mary's "straightness" suggests a moral uprightness that the trees emulate. Her "sweetness" equally suggests a personal charm that the meadows replicate. Her "crystal" purity then combines these two qualities: the garden's water supply that nourishes trees and meadows alike is made pure by her physical presence. Marvell

⁹⁰ "Conscience, N.", I; "Ambition, N.", 1.

⁹¹ Patton, "Preserving Property"; Erickson, "Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House' and the Fairfax Family," 168; Cotterill, "Marvell's Watery Maze," 123.

can, after this preamble, qualify his pupil in terms of Platonist and Longinian excellence: "She yet more pure, sweet, straight, and fair, / Than gardens, woods, meads, rivers are" (695-6). Mary is set above the garden in which she walks because of her personal and moral virtue.

Marvell further describes Mary's Height in relation to her parents. He describes his pupil like he describes her mother, as a "Blest Nymph", who is destined to successfully fight in the arena of love (713):

Tears (wat'ry shot that pierce the mind);
And sighs (Love's cannon charged with wind);
True praise (that breaks through all defence);
And feigned complying innocence. (715-18)

Mary's military qualities emerge as she is supposed to fight off any importunate lovers⁹² and her good moral judgment is recalled as she looks upon the speaker. The martial terms of this passage recall Mary's military father, who is the Lord of a "domestic heaven" and the creator, with his wife, of a Protestant "discipline severe" that shapes his daughter's moral outlook by passing on the family's genius (722-3). Mary's features further contribute to her promise: her "judicious eyes" are already able to distinguish between instruments of "idle" pleasure, such as the speaker's fishing gear, and more serious pursuits (653, 650). Thus is her military skill further praised: "But knowing where this ambush lay, / She 'scaped the safe, but roughest way" (719-720). Marvell represents Fairfax's daughter perpetuating the family line and its defining characteristics even in the dangerous game of matchmaking, which preoccupied her father to the point where he amended his will to name her, rather than any eventual husband, heir to his estate.

⁹² Eyber, *Analytic Commentary*, 233, notes that Mary is too young to be beset by suitors; but Anne Cotterill reads this line as not only referring to suitors, but to Mary's military travels with her father ("Marvell's Watery Maze," 122).

As the goal of the hill in "Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough" is to "raise the plain", Fairfax's role as Lord of his estates is to dispense Christian charity. Again, this seems an instance of Marvell praising Fairfax by Christianizing a Ciceronian definition of honour in which the ideal statesman governs himself in order to govern others. Fairfax's grace, his ability to accede to power, to lay it down, and to dispense charity in his county creates a harmony between elements of society that allows that society to exist.⁹³ He thus raises his community up even as he reaches high moral and economic stature. Marvell alludes to Fairfax's alms-giving charity more clearly in "Upon Appleton House", where Nun Appleton is described as having a "stately frontispiece of poor / ... without the open door" (65-6). The poor wait upon Fairfax's generosity because he fulfills the duties of a feudal lord by giving the poor succour. Marvell establishes Fairfax's "Height" in local terms before Fairfax becomes powerful as a military commander. He accomplishes the duties of his social rank, so does he "with a certain grace ... bend," whereas "low things clownishly ascend" (59-60). The poor may adorn the house, but their presence also suggests, as in "Upon the Hill and Grove", that Fairfax is an approachable Lord.⁹⁴ His door is open to those poor just as the hill on which he sits in the shorter poem is easy to climb:

See what a soft access and wide
Lies open to its grassy side;
Nor with the rugged path deters
The feet of breathless travellers. ("Upon the Hill and Grove", 17-20)

This inviting description of the hill on which Fairfax sits is contrasted by the jagged edges of the mountains that open that poem. The hill at Bilbrough, like the house at Nun Appleton, welcomes the ascent of those who wish to meet its master sitting, ostensibly in retirement, at its top.

⁹³ See Cicero, "De Re Publica," 180–83.

⁹⁴ *Smith*, 218, glosses these lines as "poor people awaiting alms function as an adornment for the entrance to the house."

Marvell advances his praise for Fairfax's humility further in the poem's close. He reveals Fairfax's motive for retirement: he wishes to retire "from his own brightness" (78). That kind of humility, it is suggested, is integral to Fairfax's character. The master is as humble as the hill that lords over the plain, for he does not love "Height" (80). Rather, it is "with retirement" that the Lord can now devote himself to his domestic and spiritual duties (80). Marvell's use of the verb "loves" further suggests that the Lord, now retired, makes that Roman return to the country, also a return to the family, that awaits him on the land. Fairfax is presented discarding reverence from his society and his peers to instead focus on the smaller societal unit that exists within his immediate sight.

Hence Marvell much expands in "Upon Appleton House" on Fairfax's desire to leave the spotlight. Fairfax's stepping away from power is, like Cincinnatus's retirement from the dictatorship, the ultimate demonstration of "Honour", which "better lowness bears, / Than that unwonted Greatness wears" ("Upon Appleton House", 57-8). Marvell creates a hierarchy where Fairfax, like the legendary consul, governs the household even as he retreats from public life. The Duke of Buckingham's "An Epitaph upon Thomas late Lord Fairfax" reproduces this hierarchy in his later poem:

He might have been a King,
But that he understood
How much it is a meaner thing
To be unjustly Great, than Honourably good. ("An Epitaph", 49-52)

With Buckingham, that government is framed in no very Christian terms. Marvell heightens Fairfax's retreat by associating him at once to Roman legend and to Christian morality. To have "Honour" describes the excellence of Fairfax's humility and also describes his social rank as the

former commander-in-chief.⁹⁵ Marvell also uses "Honour" to describe Fairfax as a feudal lord, a suggestion already made in "Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough" and in "*Epigramma in Duos Montes*".⁹⁶ These multiple definitions coalesce to suggest that Fairfax has set himself apart as a governor at a national level and also at a local level.

IV

Marvell's Christian and moralizing impulse, not uncommon in its time, draws on classical example and on contemporary poets' examples to reach beyond its peers, thus inspiring a Longinian quest for Height that reaches for a more profound, Christian, truth. His representation of the Fairfaxes on their estates reveals a christianized Ciceronianism that accords with the wider renaissance Christian humanist project. He accomplishes his praise, and he also brings classical motifs into a Christian environment. He does so because, like English humanists before him, he is confident that he has some way to reach at a superseding truth. That truth is found, of course, in the Bible, but it also exists in other ancient sources that Marvell, with a Longinian concern for imitation, brings to bear. Fairfax is portrayed even in retirement as an active member of his community, especially in that more feudal sense still known to seventeenth-century English law and political organization. That engagement translates, though, to the family, where a just governor imparts the principles with which he governs himself to his daughter and, perhaps, even to his wife. Marvell shows Fairfax translating these principles through familial genius, which issues from parties that understand love. The connections between humans are understood in a state of reverence, as is one's place in that same society.

⁹⁵ "Honour | Honor, N.," 1. a, 2. a, 3. b.

⁹⁶ "Honour | Honor, N.," 6.

Marvell arrives at this conclusion, a conclusion presented with reference to the nature surrounding the Fairfaxes at two of their estates, by distinguishing the creation of family from the selfish pursuit of pleasure evidenced in the Mower sequence. The Mower in those poems almost wilfully refuses to ascend the Ladder of Love by broadening his understanding of that emotion beyond his desire for Juliana. That stubbornness results in the Mower's death on the field, which Marvell presents at the close of the Mower sequence as a cautionary tale of love consuming the mind when it ought actually to be subordinated to a rational faculty. Competition for love is well and good, but Marvell shows that it has its limits.

Marvell explores one such limit, the physical body, with "The Definition of Love". That poem evidences the need for a rational approach to love, lest it consume the mind as it does with the Mower. By choosing an intellectual union that (sometimes) results in erotic fulfillment, lovers build a more enduring bond. They do so because loving is abstracted from the body and its pleasures. That bond endures regardless of the challenges that life, fate or destiny throws at it. It does so because the mind is a semi-divine thing that resides at once in the body and in the soul. Creating a link in this fashion allows lovers to create families, just like the Fairfaxes.

The Fairfax family, a series of successful Yorkshire land-owners, present a refined understanding of love that translates into public service. The justice and military skill Lord Fairfax inherits and passes on is used to assist his county and his country. He is complicit in deposing a King and in establishing and dispensing laws in much the same way as Cicero's ideal statesman attempts to create balance through exemplary moral conduct. It remains, however, to be seen whether that conduct, which Marvell lauds in his description of Fairfax, will carry over into other members of the Council of State.

Chapter 3: The Household

Virtue alone is lofty and sublime, and nothing is great that is not at the same time tranquil.¹

The distinction between laws and arms made in praise of Fairfax and his family is more deeply explored in Marvell's Cromwell poems because the poet must reconcile the violence that overthrew the Crown with the installation of the Lord Protector, eventually all but king in name. That reconciliation is required because, while the Republic that Fairfax's labour as Lord General helped constitute might have claimed *jus populi*, Cromwell's military past more closely associates him with *jus belli* and a theologically unsound destruction of a divinely ordained monarch. Marvell fleshes out this distinction in his panegyrics for Oliver Cromwell: "An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland" (1650), *The First Anniversary of the Government under His Highness the Lord Protector* (1655), and "A Poem upon the Death of his Late Highness the Lord Protector" (1658/9).² These poems come to highlight the tension between popular government and military government as they seek to reconcile Cromwell's military source of power to republican ideals and to the loss of divine authority in the absence of a king. By attempting this reconciliation, Marvell works his way up the Ladder of Love in a more fully Christian humanist way by first discussing Cromwell's position as a public figure and then Lord

¹ Seneca the Younger, "De Ira", I:21, 1-4.

² These poems are hereafter referred to respectively as "An Horatian Ode", *The First Anniversary* (thus in italics because printed as a tract in 1655) and "Upon the Death of O.C."

Protector and then reflecting in his eulogy for Cromwell upon his virtues as the head of the household. This latter reflection serves to buttress the Protector's legacy as it is embodied in the fortunes of his son, Richard. Where Marvell's mower poems present love between individuals, and where his estate poems present a virtuous family, his Cromwell poems now consider the laws that regulate relationships on a grander scale in order to explain just how Cromwell might make his moral claim to lead England. Marvell works through this claim with careful reference to preceding steps of the Ladder, especially to Cromwell's relationship to his family and what that might say about his style of government and the root of his authority. Marvell's humanist claim in this vein is to re-situate Cromwell as a pious officeholder, but his office proper as one created by the people rather than by God.

Marvell's Longinian interests as a competitor are thus engaged in praise of Cromwell, but also in exploring how Cromwell's government operates. He works first in "The Horatian Ode" as a poet reconciling the end of monarchy with the experience of English republican politics. Were the civil wars fought to achieve the rise of a man who now supersedes the power of the king? Cromwell's rise to power is in stark contrast to Fairfax, whose contemplative existence Marvell celebrates in Longinian fashion as a reach for moral excellence that shows the very best side of a statesman who fits the mould described by the republican Cicero. That Christianized Ciceronianism is laid aside with Cromwell. He is antithetically represented in poems, and in Marvell's poems in particular, as either Julius Caesar or an Augustus after he is elected Lord Protector in 1653.³ These classical representations associate Cromwell with a ground-up claim to power only later confirmed by the Gods. That popular election is the culmination of an ambition that stands outside Longinus's obvious categories for Height, yet Marvell praises the Protector,

³ Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, 3, 32, 90, 96, 99, 100–101.

and his ambition, as High all the same. Rather than, as has been suggested, shift from classical references in his politically ambiguous "Horatian Ode" to a more Christian praise in *The First Anniversary* and "Upon the Death of O.C.",⁴ Marvell instead Christianizes classical references in all of these poems by depicting Cromwell supported by Providence (something that Roman writers and Christian thinkers had much to say about⁵) even if he is not himself a divine emanation of authority like the King that he deposed. Such praise complicates the issue of Marvell's Longinian *bona fides*. It requires the poet to compete all the harder in a literary landscape beset by ambitious writers who seek to deploy a "poetics of the sublime, of what lies just beyond the available means of understanding", to legitimize Cromwell's government.⁶ Marvell instead relies on Longinus for his competitive rhetorical stance. Cromwell is praised as a governor who, though not a great orator, fulfills Longinus's stipulations for Height by serving as a great governor, thus outdoing his peers, and allowing Marvell to outdo him in praise (for "Who best could praise, had then the greatest praise" ("To his Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace", 7)).

The vehicle for Marvell's Longinian rhetoric is the imitation of ancient authors. While his poems, especially "The Horatian Ode", have an acknowledged debt to Lucan and Horace, Marvell's praise of Cromwell also owes a debt to Seneca the Younger's moral essays (4 BCE-65 CE).⁷ These essays were for a thousand years associated with Saint Paul's epistles, which Marvell is known to have read and used in his poems.⁸ This association, only broken in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, brought Seneca closer to Christian tradition than other classical

⁴ Chernaik, *The Poet's Time*, 43.

⁵ Patterson, *Marvell*, 37.

⁶ Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 18–19.

⁷ See, for example, Coolidge, "Marvell and Horace"; and Syfret, "Marvell's 'Horatian Ode.'"

⁸ Schneemelcher and Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2:46–47; Dodson and Briones, *Paul and Seneca in Dialogue*, 26; for that Pauline connection to Marvell, see Hartman, "Marvell, St. Paul, and the Body of Hope."

writers. Marvell's debt might thus hew closer to a Christian humanist tradition than might be the case with even a Lucanian reading of the Cromwell poems. That debt, though not obvious in the Cromwell poems, arises most strikingly in the rhetorical moves that Marvell makes over the course of these three lyrics. Like Nero's literary circle and, more specifically, like Seneca, Marvell begins in "The Horatian Ode" largely ambivalent to Cromwell's growing power in the context of the new political order. As Cromwell accedes to the Protectorate, Marvell is more convinced and he argues for Cromwell's personal rule in the context of a Parliament that threatens further conflict rather than increased stability as England continues to recover from the Civil Wars. This shift in view mirrors the Senecan need to reconcile republican virtues espoused by the likes of Cicero with Nero's political moves to marginalize the Roman Senate. Marvell works through his ideas of government in this shift between skeptical laureate to committed court poet.

Marvell's praise follows Longinus's logic by associating Cromwell and his government with a cultural shift that imports the perceived virtues of the republic into his personal government. He accomplishes this importation by imitating the Senecan moral epistles *De Ira*, *De Providentia*, and *De Clementia*. Rather than be "wary of Augustan cliché", Marvell inflects Seneca's use of it.⁹ He exhorts his reader to avoid again provoking the passions that resulted in the Civil Wars, especially should Cromwell's reign and its succession be destabilized. Seneca's epistles lay out a Stoic's response to the kind of anger that his nephew Lucan shows aggravating the civil wars that were finally resolved with the ascension of Augustus. Those concerns are, broadly stated, passions motivated by anger, which is

wholly violent and has its being in an onrush of resentment, raging with a most inhuman lust for weapons, blood, and punishment, giving no thought to itself if

⁹ Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 340; where McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, 250, disagrees.

only it can hurt another, hurling itself upon the very point of the dagger, and eager for revenge though it may drag down the avenger along with it.¹⁰

Anger leads to the loss of rational thought; passions take over. Once rationality is lost to passion, it is difficult to recover. Those who give in to anger risk injuring themselves along with their opponent. Put in terms of Marvell's lyrics, Seneca's worry may be expressed as the difference between the "sword" and the "laws" ("Upon Appleton House", 229-30). Put again in the more urgent terms of England's "Civill Wars", the "Civicke crowne" is lost as passion (manifested as sectarian zealotry) dampens "the faire blossome of each growing wit" ("To his Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace", 12, 16).

Marvell worries at the close of "The Horatian Ode" that the "civicke crowne" will not shine forth under Cromwell. He suggests at the close of the poem that anger must continue to be used to sustain the republic against domestic and foreign foes. Such phrasing evokes the nascent republic's enduring struggle into the Protectorate: how to legitimize regicide at home and abroad? That legitimacy depends upon appeals to political norms deemed more ancient than the Crown, such as Parliament's representative status. That kind of appeal is found in Parliament's *An Act for the abolishing the kingly office in England and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging* of March 17, 1649 where Parliament claims the twin powers of dissolution and control over its constitution formerly belonging to the King:

And whereas by the abolition of the kingly office provided for in this Act a most happy way is made for this nation (if God see it good) to return to its just and ancient right of being governed by its own Representatives or National Meetings in Council, from time to time chosen and entrusted for that purpose by the people[.]¹¹

¹⁰ "De Ira", I:1, 1-2 (107): hic totus concitatus et in impetu doloris est, armorum sanguinis suppliciorum minime humana furens cupiditate, dum alteri noceat sui neglegens, in ipsa irruens tela et ultionis secum ultorem tracturae avidus.

¹¹ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution*, 340.

God may see this course good, a providential claim, but He is not the root of this claim. Rather, an older tradition of conciliar government is alluded to.¹² The ideal that Parliament may govern directly is, however, quickly discarded when the Council of Officers promotes its man, Oliver Cromwell, the better to direct the government. Cromwell's promotion is buttressed by a rhetoric that can admire the republican ideals enunciated in *An act for the abolishing the kingly office*. That rhetoric uses Parliament's claimed sovereignty from the Crown to refocus power on an individual. Such rhetoric eventually issues in first *The Instrument of Government*, where Cromwell is named Lord Protector to govern with Parliament, and further confirmed in *The Humble Petition and Advice* of May 25, 1657, when "the knights, citizens and burgesses in [...] parliament assembled" give to Cromwell the powers of a King without the title.¹³

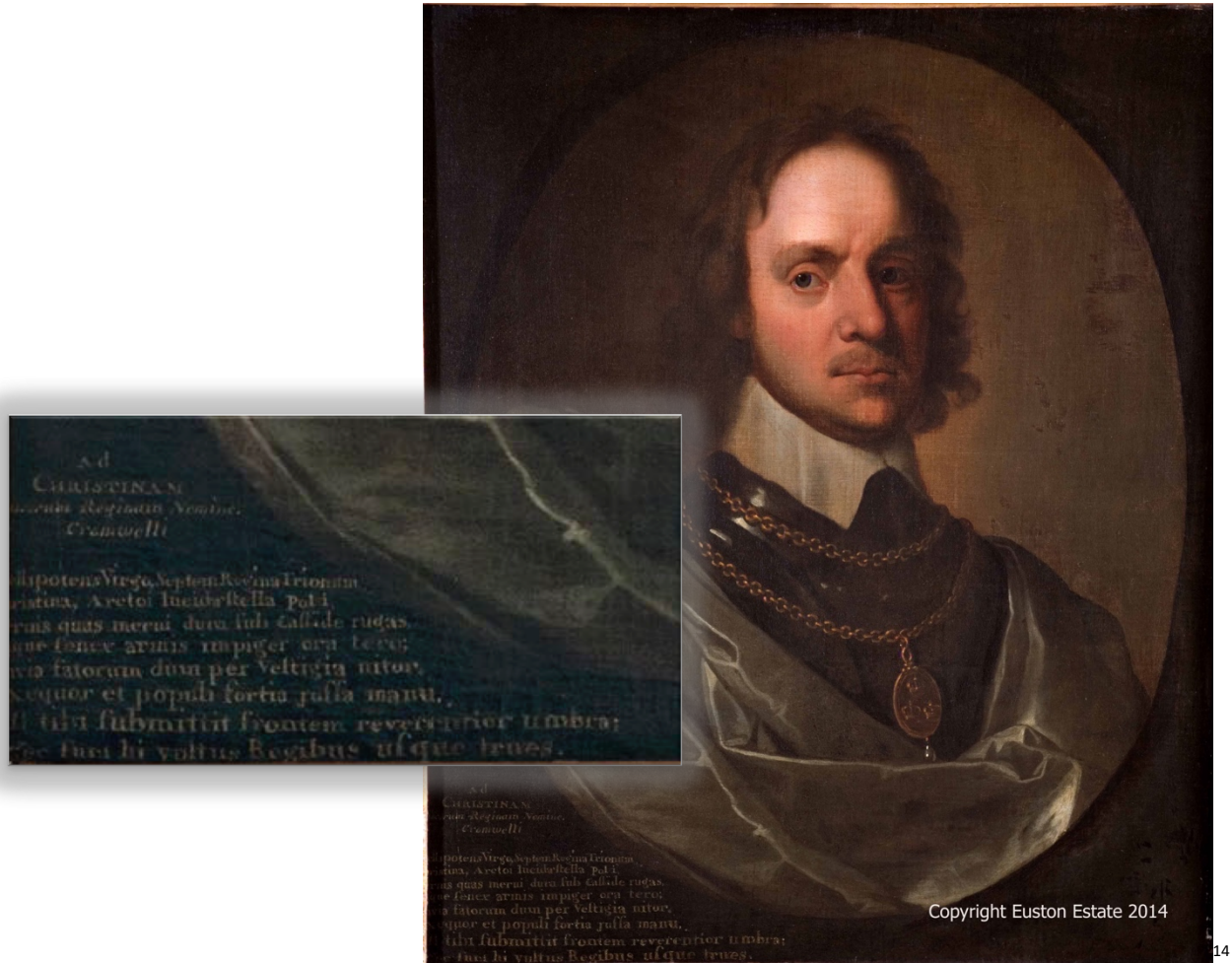
Marvell's lyrics follow the development of this rhetoric through successive stages of Cromwell's career. Where "The Horatian Ode" points to concerns about executive power, Marvell's more partisan poems (*The First Anniversary* and "Upon the Death of O.C.") weave republican ideals into a narrative that acknowledges the historical realities that challenge the revolutionary regime.

The tenor of these poems is reactionary. Marvell wishes to see stable government continue, even if that government resembles the deposed Crown in all but name. Regardless of their republican idiom, Marvell's Cromwell poems thus advocate for the replacement of Charles I with another single ruling figure in whom constitutional (if not divine) authority resides.

¹² For a modern overview of medieval conciliar government, see Giancarlo, *Parliament and Literature in Late Medieval England*; see also Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament, 924-1327*, who supplies a useful overview of the development of a formal Parliament from before the Norman Conquest; for an account of Parliament closer to Marvell's lifetime, see Hearne, *A Collection of Curious Discourses, Written by Eminent Antiquaries upon Several Heads in Our English Antiquities*, esp. p. I:282 and *passim*.

¹³ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution*, 350.

Investing confidence in Cromwell in this fashion betrays a concern first with settling the constitutional order and thus returning to discourse instead of violence and, second, with preserving a personal style of government reminiscent of the old constitutional order, but founding the new personal government in thoroughly humanist claims to moderate potential Fifth Columnist attacks against Cromwell's legitimacy. Such an impulse is unsurprising, for the constitution of England was a culture as much as a set of legal rules. The impulse to focus power in a chief executive, whatever their title, suggests a Longinian approach to the constitution: ancient models of government are recalled and imitated in order to sophisticate an argument for Cromwell's rule in a higher style.



In Effigiem Oliveri Cromwell

Haec est quae toties inimicos umbra fugavit,
At sub qua cives otia lenta terunt.

On a Portrait of Oliver Cromwell

This is an image which put enemies to flight, but
under which citizens enjoy quiet leisure.

Three of Marvell's poems in 1653-4 did work abroad to legitimize the Republic with reference to Cromwell's image: "*In Effigiem Oliveri Cromwell*", "*In eandem Reginae Sueciae transmissam*", and his "A Letter to Doctor Ingelo, then with my Lord Whitelocke, Ambassador from the Protector to the Queen of Sweden". These came to be presented at the court of Queen Christina of Sweden with Bulstrode Whitelocke's embassy. These poems speak to Marvell's support of

¹⁴ My thanks to the Duchess of Grafton for permission to reproduce this image.

Cromwell's rule at home, for they show Cromwell depicted as an Augustus rather than an eminent member of the Council of State, which is the aim of Marvell's *In Effigiem Oliveri Cromwell*, quoted in full above.¹⁵ The benevolent ruler, Cromwell shelters the grateful poet writing on the subject of the ruler's portrait. Put in the terms of Marvell's Fairfax poems, the poet is allowed to exercise his craft because Cromwell has left his estate to participate on the national stage.

Maybe by 1653-4, Marvell no longer has to have it both ways: his poems instead celebrate Cromwell by associating him with a classical image that explains Cromwell's portrayal in the portrait to Christina (included above) wearing a *paludamentum*. This garb is the white sash of a Roman military commander,¹⁶ who, if he is a republican consul, remains a servant of the republic even as he accrues greater civil authority.¹⁷ Though supported by the Council of Officers, and thus secure in his civil position as the preeminent member of the Council of State, Cromwell does continue to respect the discourse of service to the republic. Augustus accomplished similar ends: he accrued *imperium*, yet continued to pay lip-service to republican traditions. Thus Marvell's poem accompanying this portrait, "*In eandem Reginae Sueciae transmissam*", dampens Christina's expectation of Cromwell's power: Cromwell "executes the strong commands of the people" while claiming to not be "hostile to kings" (6, 8).¹⁸ The character Marvell presents points to a closer, perhaps personal, relationship to Cromwell in 1653

¹⁵ Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 339; see also the notes to "In effigiem Oliveri Cromwell" in *Smith*, 313.

¹⁶ Varro mentions the paludamentum in *On the Latin Language, Volume 1: Books 5-7*, chap. 37 but his mention only extends to the military implications of the paludamentum. He does not mention the link between commander and consul even though he lived during the republic (116 - 27 BCE).

¹⁷ Holberton, "Bellipotens Virgo."

¹⁸ "Exequor et populi fortia jussa manu" and "Nec sunt hi vultus regibus usque truces." See Holberton, 15 b; Christina would also have been very receptive to these classical references, for she renounced her Crown to pursue classical and Catholic teachings the year that Whitelocke's embassy left her (Lockhart, *Sweden in the Seventeenth Century*, 71-72).

than was previously thought.¹⁹ Whatever that relationship, though, Marvell's performance on Cromwell's behalf for Christina in reality substantially alters the depiction of the Republic. It uses republican discourse still to claim for itself a republican deliberative model of government that values the Senate or, in an English context, the Parliament, but that points to Cromwell's growing power, which was something Marvell and Christina were both aware of, if to differing degrees.²⁰

The complexity of the tension between Cromwellian principate and English republic also reflects Senecan preoccupations. Modern scholarship on this Roman's works points to the tension between Republican ideals and a new, consolidated, power in the prince resembling the kind of government Oliver Cromwell had come to lead.²¹ That government is in part the subject of Marvell's *The First Anniversary of the Government under His Highness the Lord Protector*, where "Government" refers not only to the machinery of government, but also to *The Instrument of Government* that created Cromwell as Lord Protector.²² Nominally first among equals, the single ruler, in Seneca's view, becomes the centre of a political system. As Tacitus saw it in hindsight, this created

an altered world, and of the old, unspoilt Roman character not a trace lingered. Equality was an outworn creed, and all eyes looked to the mandate of the sovereign -- with no immediate misgivings, so long as Augustus in the full vigour of his prime upheld himself, his house, and peace.²³

Augustus left a legacy marred by later emperors, for they, in Tacitus's phrase, conspicuously failed to always uphold themselves, their houses, or the peace. Seneca the Younger's life is

¹⁹ Holberton, "Bellipotens Virgo."

²⁰ Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, 7–8.

²¹ Stacey, "Senecan Political Thought from the Middle Ages to Early Modernity," 293.

²² Raymond, "Framing Liberty," 313–15.

²³ Tacitus, "Annals", I:IV.

testament to this truth: the writer served Nero (r. 54-68) and committed suicide at that emperor's command. Romans welcomed the stability of Augustus's rule so long as he was generous to the people. Nero's excesses demonstrate the ills of merely personal rule. Seneca transposes the republican morality expressed in Cicero's and Livy's works into this new political order.²⁴

Marvell presents Cromwell, at least on the international stage, accomplishing a similar objective. In his "Letter to Doctor Ingelo", a Latin poem meant again for Queen Christina, Marvell characterizes "Victorious Oliver" as exposing "his bare head in battle, glad to lead or to follow a noble course, just as once to the citadel of Jerusalem went Godfrey the Elder, on whose grey hairs flowered the white thorn" (103-6).²⁵ That reference to Godfrey of Bulloigne in some part derives from the Lord Fairfax's great-uncle and early tutor, Edward Fairfax.²⁶ His 1600 translation of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, likely known to Marvell after his time at Nun Appleton,²⁷ presents a conqueror of Jerusalem laying up his arms immediately after capturing the city to pray:

His bloodie cote he put not off, but ronne
To the high Temple with his noble traine,
And there hung vp his armes, and there he bowes
His knees, there prai'd, and there perform'd his vowes.²⁸

These lines, however, do not quite evoke the allusion that Marvell is making to the myth of Godfrey's election as king or advocate of Jerusalem. The myth is that Godfrey "refused a crown

²⁴ Griffin, *Seneca on Society: A Guide to De Beneficiis*, 11.

²⁵ "Victor Oliverus nudum caput exerit armis, / Ducere sive sequi nobile laetus iter. / Qualis jam senior Solymae Godfredus ad arces, / Spine cui canis floruit alba comis."

²⁶ See the gloss in *Smith*, 264; see also Stufano, "Heroes in the Garden," 10; the complexity of Marvell's engagement in Tasso also finds suggestive comment in Parker, "Marvell's 'Plume of Aged Trees': On a Crux in Bill-Borrow."

²⁷ Stufano, "Heroes in the Garden," 2, 21–22, 35–37.

²⁸ Fairfax, *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or The Recouerie of Ierusalem*, bk. 20:144.

of gold where Christ had worn a crown of thorns".²⁹ Cromwell is painted in a similarly pious light. He is depicted rejecting the prospect of kingship as a good republican subject in favour of a more humble course of action as either leader or citizen. Marvell's representation of Cromwell to Queen Christina shows him when victorious over Charles then to humble himself before Christ, who is the ultimate lord of the kingdom of England. That kind of Protestant poetics translates Seneca's pagan translation of republican morality into an imperial polity to a Christian worldview.

Marvell's effort in his triptych to legitimize Cromwell's rule draws on three Senecan works that speak to the perils against which Marvell warns. The Senecan perspective that informs Marvell's Cromwell poems follows from *De Ira*, a treatise detailing the dangers and how to avoid them; *De Providentia*, a work that explores the existence of and effect of providence; and *De Clementia*, a description of the virtues of a merciful ruler. Marvell uses Senecan moral writing evinced in these tests (as he does Senecan tragedy later in his literary career³⁰) to communicate his concerns about the stability of English government.³¹ In so doing, Marvell exemplifies Longinian imitation. He demonstrates a "sublimity of spirit" -- the ability to associate present concerns with past examples -- that allows him to define those present concerns with the same events that Seneca had rehearsed.

We also see in this imitation the urgency of Marvell's classicism for, even when he so draws on Seneca, he can roundly criticize the late Thomas May, onetime royalist propagandist

²⁹ France, "The Election and Title of Godfrey de Bouillon," 321.

³⁰ Marvell's "The Second Chorus from Seneca's Tragedy Thyestes" is tentatively dated to 1671 (*Smith*, 190); for the circulation of Senecan ideas in 1650, see Worden, *Literature and Politics*, 68; and for a contemporary citation of Seneca's definition of "Fate", see Hall, *Mercurius Politicus*, EEBO Thomason / 93:E.608[11]:109.

³¹ That concern is one shared by Marchmont Nedham, writing in 1651 in "Mercurius Politicus" (Worden, *Literature and Politics*, 68–69).

turned republican, for trading on Roman sources in his works. May's death in 1650 prompts Marvell to impersonate a royalist Ben Jonson in "Tom May's Death". Faulting May's "Most servile wit, and mercenary pen", Marvell mocks that historian as at once "Polydor, Lucan, Alan, Vandal, Goth, / Malignant poet and historian both" (39-42). May's translation of Lucan, with its implicit support of the republic, is put down *ad hominem* because May borrows too heavily on ancient sources to explain his present historical moment. Contemptuous of so slack an imitation, Marvell continues with Jonson's authority to denounce such pretension:

Go seek the novice statesmen, and obtrude
On them some Roman-cast similitude,
Tell them of liberty, the stories fine,
Until you all grow consuls in your wine. (43-6)

Marvell implies that the republican political class to which May panders is inexperienced. It is too ready to admire platitudes. Even as Marvell rejects May's Roman political idiom, the poet plainly has a higher ideal of imitation in view. Any better appeal to tradition must transcend May's use of Roman sources.

For both Marvell and Seneca, a return to balance is required for their societies to function better. This concern, though broad, is one that Longinus gives pride of place:

Besides that this apt dispose of parts doth greaten speech, as the like in members does a body: for if one be once cut off and severed from another there is nothing comely, but all remaining together make up an handsome system; so generous things being scatter'd and parcell'd one from another can never close into any Height, but brought into a coalition and bound up into harmony, they circulate and become sonorous.³²

³² *Peri hypsious*, chap. 35; "ME," chap. 40, reads "Nothing is of greater service in giving grandeur to such passages than the composition of the various members. It is the same with the human body. None of the members has any value by itself apart from the others, yet one with another they all constitute a perfect organism. Similarly, if these effects of grandeur are separated, the sublimity is scattered with them to the winds: but if they are united into a single system and embraced moreover by the bonds of rhythm, then by being merely rounded into a period they gain a living voice."

The harmony of speech is compared to the harmony found in a healthy body; that harmony is translated to a functioning body politic, where, according to Longinus, virtues are found in vigorous discourse most likely to occur in times of conflict.³³ Longinus complements Seneca's view of discourse in this regard. Seneca thinks that discourse prevents war by imposing rational construction upon the passions. With this concern in mind, Seneca views discourse as an introspective dialogue where war and anger are pitted against the mind's rational faculty. That dialogue extends into affairs of state, for it affects the actions of government actors. Restraining anger animates one's own actions and animates also the provision of justice:

anger embodies nothing useful, nor does it kindle the mind to warlike deeds; for virtue, being self-sufficient, never needs the help of vice. Whenever there is need of violent effort, the mind does not become angry, but it gathers itself together and is aroused or relaxed according to its estimate of the need; just as when engines of war hurl forth their arrows, it is the operator who controls the tension with which they are hurled.³⁴

Violence is distinguished from anger because, if applied rationally, it may be useful to an individual or to society. The "operator" of the mind is thus able to preserve virtue, a virtue that would be eliminated if the mind were to succumb to the passions where anger is chief. Dialogue is therefore a search for truth within oneself, but that search is informed by social concerns:

Reason grants a hearing to both sides, then seeks to postpone action, even its own, in order that it may gain time to sift out the truth; but anger is precipitate. Reason wishes the decision that it gives to be just; anger wishes to have the decision which it has given seem the just decision. Reason considers nothing except the question at issue; anger is moved by trifling things that lie outside the case.³⁵

³³ See *Peri hypsous*, chap. 39.

³⁴ Seneca the Younger, "De Ira", I.9, 1-2: "Deinde nihil habet in se utile nec acuit animum ad res bellicas. Numquam enim virtus vitio adiuvanda est se contenta. Quotiens impetu opus est, non irascitur sed exurgit et in quantum putavit opus esse concitatur remittiturque, non aliter quam quae tormentis exprimuntur tela in potestate mittentis sunt in quantum torqueantur"; cf. "De Ira", III.36, 2-4 .

³⁵ Seneca the Younger, I.18, 1-2: "Ratio utrique parti tempus dat, deinde advocacionem et sibi petit, ut excutiendae veritati spatium habeat; ira festinat. Ratio id iudicare vult quod aequum est; ira id aequum

Seneca wedds contemplative and active existence. Reason seeks a balanced view before taking action, whereas anger is impulsive and blind to the logical division of subjects, facts and ideas. That passion obliterates the ability to craft useful rhetoric. It instead promotes a selfish search for material wealth that Longinus faults as the reason for the loss of wit some two hundred years later.³⁶

This Senecan perspective deserves a greater part in Marvell criticism, especially in relation to the Cromwell poems. Yes, Marvell's poems represent Cromwell either as Pompey or as Caesar.³⁷ Recent critical discussion has emphasized Seneca's nephew Lucan, whose writings Marvell more plainly knew, as the root of this representation. That critical low-hanging fruit suggests a larger tree, however, on which Seneca might be one bough.

Seneca's education of his nephew Lucan invites our seeking his presence even in a Lucanian reading of Marvell's "Horatian Ode". Uncle and nephew were also formally associated in the literary *milieu* of Nero's court, where Seneca was a minister and Lucan the emperor's client. It is likely that Seneca, already well established by the time Lucan was brought into the Roman orbit from Spain, took a special interest in his nephew's education.³⁸ Seneca's attention ensured Lucan a sterling education from stoic teachers that situated him firmly in Seneca's philosophic orbit.³⁹

videri vult quod iudicavit. Ratio nil praeter ipsum de quo agitur spectat; ira vanis et extra causam obversantibus commovetur. Vultus illam securior, vox clarior, sermo liberior, cultus delicatior, advocatio ambitiosior, favor popularis exasperant."

³⁶ Seneca the Younger, I.21, 1-4; *Peri hypsous*, chap. 39.

³⁷ Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 263; see also the headnote to "An Horatian Ode", *Smith*, 269–70.

³⁸ Lucan, *The Civil War (Pharsalia)*, x.

³⁹ Lucan, x.

The circle that Lucan joined under his uncle's eye was itself competitive in the "literary renaissance" that Nero oversaw. This silver age of Latin letters focused on the political shift from the Augustan rhetoric of the emperor's service *primus inter pares* with senatorial colleagues to a balder politics where the Senate was removed from political discourse.⁴⁰ That change, moreover, was what Seneca and Lucan protested in their writings.⁴¹ So is Lucan's representation of Pompey and Caesar informed by the literary circle in which he participated. He attempts to value the republican Senators, Cicero and Cato, over the dictator who paves the way for Nero's dystopian rule. Seneca takes similar aim, but does so in more general moralist terms in an effort to import the virtues of republican writers like Cicero to moderate the ever-centralizing politics of Nero's reign.⁴²

Recent criticism has pointed to Seneca's philosophy being implicated in Marvell's perspective, but it is not emphasized enough. Seneca is only lightly implicated in a reading of "The Garden".⁴³ Marvell was aware of Seneca, however. He may have made some reference to the stoic in "On a Drop of Dew" and again in "A Dialogue between Soul and Body".⁴⁴ His awareness may also have sprung from readings of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. Both playwrights represent Senecan thought in their works, and Jonson's marginal comments are found on a 1599 Parisian edition of Seneca's complete works.⁴⁵ Seneca's influence on these

⁴⁰ Sullivan, "Petronius, Seneca, and Lucan: A Neronian Literary Feud?," 454; Morford, "The Neronian Literary Revolution," 212.

⁴¹ Morford, "The Neronian Literary Revolution," 210–15.

⁴² Stacey, "Senecan Political Thought from the Middle Ages to Early Modernity," 293.

⁴³ Thomason, "The Stoic Ground of Marvell's 'Garden.'"

⁴⁴ Wall, "Marvell and Seneca," 185 b.

⁴⁵ That copy is found in Glasgow University Library at shelfmark Sp Coll BI11-y.1. See Evans, *Habits of Mind: Evidence and Effects of Ben Jonson's Reading* for a discussion of Jonson's annotations in this book; for Seneca's influence over Shakespeare, see Burrow, "Seneca."

authors speaks to the wider influence of his plays and his moral essays in medieval and renaissance thought.⁴⁶

Senecan influence, moreover, finds expression at the Cambridge of Marvell's days. John Sherman, a fellow at Marvell's college, Trinity, dwelt on Seneca's epistles to establish a relationship between soul and body along stoic lines in his *A Greek in the Temple* (1641).⁴⁷ The Roman finds favour in Sherman's sermon with Christian humanist scholars as they seek to pass on an intellectual apparatus that valued "an activist social ideology and his focus on the civic involvement as well as the spiritual condition of the lay person".⁴⁸ Senecan ideas of predestination appear in Sherman's meditation on a passage from Paul's *Acts* when he asks "Why should this glorious soul dwell in this corruptible body: this royall tenant in so low a cottage; this vast spirit in a circumscribed skin: as if not only Galba's wit but all our souls did *malè habitare*."⁴⁹ Galba, emperor after Nero for six months in 68-69, is remembered by Plutarch as an "'imperator' of a severe and ancient type" killed soon after taking the purple for his misgovernment.⁵⁰ Souls, like Galba's, inhabit the body as badly as Galba sat upon the throne. Sherman's resolution of this difficulty mirrors Seneca's close in *De Providentia*:

I am under no compulsion, I suffer nothing against my will, and I am not God's slave but his follower, and the more so, indeed, because I know that everything proceeds according to law that is fixed and enacted for all time. Fate guides us, and it was settled at the first hour of birth what length of time remains for each. Cause is linked with cause, and all public and private issues are directed by along

⁴⁶ Bartsch and Schiesaro, "Seneca Redivivus: Seneca in the Medieval and Renaissance World," 277–88.

⁴⁷ Sherman, *A Greek in the Temple* sig. K2r; Wall, "Marvell and Seneca," 185 b-186 a.

⁴⁸ Todd, *Christian Humanism*, 27.

⁴⁹ Sherman, *A Greek in the Temple*, sig. K3v.

⁵⁰ Plutarch, *Lives, Volume XI: Aratus. Artaxerxes. Galba. Otho. General Index*, chap. XXIX, pp. 271-272.

[sic] sequence of events. Therefore everything should be endured with fortitude, since things do not, as we suppose, simply happen -- they all come.⁵¹

The application of Seneca to Christian providentialism seemed evident enough in Marvell's day. Men are set along an established path by a higher power. Free will works within the temporal "law" that is thus laid down. Man's choice in this cosmology is restricted to his response to the difficulties with which he is faced for, as Seneca remarks further on in the text, "If you do not choose to fight, you may run away. Therefore of all things that I have deemed necessary for you, I have made nothing easier than dying."⁵² Sherman's terms map this kind of predestination onto a Christian view of salvation:

That by the conjunction of the soul with the body, so farre its inferiour, man might learn and believe a possibility of the union with God in glory, notwithstanding the vast distance of nature and excellence, the infiniteness of both in God, the finiteness of both in man. But our soul in the moment of union with the body is defiled with originall sinne: But our nature sinned in Adam; and the order of the Universe and the glory of Christs redemption are of greater moment[.]⁵³

The Senecan "law" creating humans as mortals and specifying the union of body and soul is refined in Sherman's presentation for a Christian audience. God's will in that original sin is to limit human life and to remove mankind from his immediate grace in the Garden. That will thus creates the condition for predestination in "God's pleasure," which is derived from "his reason" and "his will".⁵⁴

⁵¹ Seneca the Younger, "De Providentia", I:5, 7-8 (pp. 37-39): "Nihil cogor, nihil patior invitus nec servio deo sed assentior, eo quidem magis, quod scio omnia certa et in aeternum dicta lege decurrere. Fata nos ducunt et quantum cuique temporis estat prima nascentium hora disposuit."

⁵² Seneca the Younger, I:6, 6-7 (pp. 44-5): "Contemnite fortunam; nullum illi telum quo feriret animum dedi. Ante omnia cavi, ne quid vos teneret invitus; patet exitus."

⁵³ Sherman, *A Greek in the Temple*, sig. K3v.

⁵⁴ Sherman, sig. K3v.

Marvell should have had some sense of this 1641 sermon. It was delivered during his final year at Trinity, and quite possibly before his expulsion from that College owing to non-attendance.⁵⁵ Even if Marvell had not been present, its publication by the Cambridge press and Sherman's position as something of a Protestant light at Cambridge ought to have caught Marvell's roving student eye, not least owing to his lasting fascination with scandal.

Sherman's sermon at Trinity demonstrates the currency of Senecan thought: it at least swirled around the college halls even if the masters did not teach it to their pupils. A decade on, Marvell's description of Cromwell's meteoric rise to power recalls these terms to praise and, perhaps, subtly, to criticize the republic. His early praise of the republic in "The Horatian Ode" admits to certain of Cromwell's faults or weaknesses. Cromwell's reach for Height is, at least on the surface, a baser compulsion borne of ambition. Cromwell looks for power over his fellows. Marvell acknowledges Cromwell's quest and also the political reality of Cromwell's rise when he chooses to write about England's new Lord General rather than about Parliament's sovereignty now that the King is dead.⁵⁶ One does not seek greatness as an end, such as ascending to rule an entire nation; greatness comes to those who express a "vastness of thought" that impresses the mind's desire on the world.⁵⁷ Writing in 1650, Marvell describes Cromwell's rise in terms much the same as his imagining of Fairfax the next year, notably in "Upon Appleton House". Marvell shares this imagining with Hall, who in 1648 edited *Mercurius Britannicus*. Hall analogizes Fairfax in this periodical to a part of his translation of Longinus describing "Height wheresoever

⁵⁵ See *Chronology*, 28–29; We do not know, however, when the sermon was published because the printer, Roger Daniel, did not register any of his texts with the Stationers after the Cambridge Press challenged the London company (McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press, Vol. 1: Printing and the Book Trade in Cambridge, 1534-1698*, 1:168).

⁵⁶ Worden, *Literature and Politics*, 88.

⁵⁷ *Peri hypsous*, chap. 7.

it seasonably breaks forth, bears down all before it like a whirlwind".⁵⁸ In *Mercurius Britannicus*, he describes Fairfax as "a fire that more enclos'd / More violently burnes, / And wasts that matter that oppos'd".⁵⁹ Fairfax breaks through restraints in Hall's telling, and Marvell again outdoes the lesser poet by describing Cromwell bursting "thorough his own side" (15):

Then burning through the air he went,
And palaces and temples rent;
And Caesar's head at last
Did through his laurels blast. (21-24)⁶⁰

Fairfax burns through his opposition, and Cromwell does so in amplified terms that tear the king -- "Caesar" -- down from his place. While Hall casts Fairfax taking aim at humble foes on the field of battle, Marvell depicts Cromwell working strategically to topple the then-current political system to bring about the republic. Marvell does so by using terms similar to Hall's translation of Longinus.

The similarities between Marvell's Fairfax and Cromwell poems continue, if with some lessening of enthusiasm. The future Protector springs

from his private gardens, where
He lived reservèd and austere,
As if his highest plot
To plant the bergamot[.] (29-32)

The garden imagery situates Cromwell in Horatian terms as the landed (and Puritan) gentleman that he was. Marvell then inflects his praise, here giving the poem that ambiguous quality that suggests to literary historians that Marvell was not fully prepared in 1650 to endorse Cromwell

⁵⁸ *chap. 1.*

⁵⁹ McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, 206, 229; Hall, *Mercurius Britannicus*.

⁶⁰ McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, 229, chooses to quote ll. 17-20, but these lines do not relate as closely to Cromwell's restraint as these following ones.

or the republic more generally.⁶¹ Marvell signals Cromwell's ambition with the phrase "highest plot". In a Longinian context, reaching for that which is highest is already problematic (in this case, supreme civil and military authority), but Marvell's use of "plot" creates a more plainly ambivalent phrase. "Plot" may refer to a plan; it also suggests a negative connotation, like the usurpation of the Crown.⁶² The Crown is referred to here as "the bergamot", a kind of pear associated with royalty.⁶³ The "industrious valour" that "ruin[s] the great work of time" is thus tainted by the ominous suggestion that Cromwell's achievement is ill-gotten (33-4).

Ill-gotten or no, Cromwell's valour is also cast as a revelation of one of Nature's secrets, thus cladding the Protector's reign in a classic dignity better suited to representations of human affairs divorced from any virulent theological debate. Nature decides for Cromwell in a competition between himself and the monarchy that resembles Aristotle's explanation of movements in Nature. In the *Physics*, Aristotle resolves the problem of occupied space by suggesting that vacuums do not exist in Nature. Rather "all the elemental substances have a natural tendency to move towards their own special places, or to rest in them there".⁶⁴ The phrase implies a constant re-ordering of natural states through particles' motion or their stillness. In either case, those particles (the elements of life) are quickly replaced, if only by a perceived emptiness that nevertheless constitutes one of Aristotle's four elements: air. This Aristotelian axiom finds expression in Marvell's "Ode" as another way to evoke the English culture of executive power vested in a single office:

⁶¹ For the critical tradition of Marvell's ambivalence at this time, see Legouis, *Andrew Marvell, Poet, Puritan, Patriot*, 14–15; Wortham, "Marvell's Cromwell Poems: An Accidental Triptych"; Yoshinaka, *Marvell's Ambivalence: Religion and the Politics of Imagination in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England*, 88; Worden, *Literature and Politics*, 72–73; see also Raymond, "A Cromwellian Centre?" for a discussion of Marvell's potential republicanism.

⁶² "Plot, N.", 5, 4.

⁶³ See the gloss in *Smith*, 274.

⁶⁴ Aristotle, *Physics, Volume I: Books 1-4*, bk. IV:iv, 5-6.

Nature that hateth emptiness,
Allows of penetration less:
And therefore must make room
Where greater spirits come. ("The Horatian Ode", 41-44)

Marvell inserts Nature in the contest between Charles and Cromwell to legitimize Cromwell's accession. The usurper naturally moves into the space left by the displaced king because a vacuum cannot naturally exist.

A new particle or element is instead introduced through the death of a King even as Marvell proceeds immediately to describe Charles I's noble death in exalted terms (see 49-64). That death is so described because Charles is, as the latest instantiation of an ancient thing, High. It is redolent also of the vastness of a mind confronted by its own demise as Charles "bow[s] his comely head" to receive the "axe" (63, 60). That description of the king fleshes out an exhortation from Seneca's *De Ira* against anger no matter the cost:

No yoke is so tight but that it hurts less to carry it than to struggle against it. The only relief for great misfortunes is to bear them and submit to their coercion. But though it is expedient for subjects to control their passions, especially this mad and unbridled one, it is even more expedient for kings.⁶⁵

Even kings are responsible for the burden of their office, and that office is endowed, according to Seneca, by the tacit acquiescence of the people over which he lords. Control of one's anger is so necessary, therefore, for kings because, as Seneca says,

When his position permits a man to do all that anger prompts, general destruction is let loose, nor can any power long endure which is wielded for the injury of many; for it becomes imperilled when those who separately moan in anguish are united by a common fear. Consequently, many kings have been the victims now

⁶⁵ "De Ira" III.16, 1-3: "Nullum tam artum est iugum, quod non minus laedat ducentem quam repugnantem. Unum est levamentum malorum ingentium, pati et necessitatibus suis obsequi. Sed cum utilis sit servientibus adfectuum suorum et huius praecipue rabidi atque effreni continentia, utilior est regibus."

of individual, now of concerted, violence, at times when a general animosity had forced men to gather together their separate angers into one.⁶⁶

Though Marvell represents Nature selecting Cromwell and his cause over the King's, the monarch's execution is still depicted as the beginning of a "forcèd pow'r" that, Marvell suggests at the close, must be maintained by "the same arts that did gain" it: war, and thus *jus belli* (66, 119). The anger of concerted violence is not brought to bear against Charles. Charles submits to it with dignity and grace. The king's stoic performance and his refusal to display anger in the face of his death further ennoble him.

II

By 1654, Marvell is busy building the "Civicke crowne" back up, this time with a staunchly Cromwellian offering in his *The First Anniversary of the Government under His Highness the Lord Protector*. Unlike his earlier poem, *The First Anniversary* is unambiguously a Cromwellian's work.⁶⁷ It admits none of the Protector's faults. It works instead to legitimize Cromwell's power in a year that saw him created Lord Protector and at the same time nearly spurn the new constitution. Cromwell had called a Parliament to sit under the auspices of *The Instrument of Government*. That Parliament was, however, cantankerous at best. It challenged the legitimacy of Cromwell's rule under the *Instrument*, and that challenge led Cromwell to dissolve Parliament after five lunar months -- a shorter measure of a month to satisfy the *Instrument's* stipulation of a minimum five months' sitting.⁶⁸ While Marvell's poem is written before this dissolution, he acknowledges the debates of that fractious assembly over whether or not to

⁶⁶ III.16, 1-3: "Perierunt omnia, ubi quantum ira suadet fortuna permittit, nec diu potest quae multorum malo exercetur potentia stare; periclitatur enim, ubi eos, qui separatim gemunt, communis metus iunxit. Plerosque itaque modo singuli mactaverunt, modo universi, cum illos conferre in unum iras publicus dolor coegisset."

⁶⁷ This poem is likely a government production (*P&L*, I:320).

⁶⁸ Worden, *Literature and Politics*, 142.

support Cromwell.⁶⁹ That support comes at a crucial moment when Cromwell abrogates constitutional government just months after the Parliament called to ratify the new constitution is assembled. The dissolution reveals a flaw in republican political assumptions that Marvell's encomium suggests is nevertheless necessary to preserve England.⁷⁰

The First Anniversary turns on Cromwell's carriage accident as evidence of his providential rule. Marvell's rhetorical move situates itself against the royalist view of Cromwell's accident as a sign that God was against the Lord Protector. Marvell suggests instead that Cromwell is guided by providence as he contends with a restive populace. He does so from the outset by comparing Cromwell first to the sun that rises over England and then to the king and to the constitution that Cromwell helped depose. Cromwell is depicted building a fresh constitution (the Instrument of Government) and with it a political order that offers social stability. The creation of a new constitution demonstrates a knowledge of "observances and laws" that marks the pinnacle of the Socratic Ladder of Love.⁷¹ The creation of the instrument of government does not merely cognize the state of law and the body's relationship to it. That is an intermediate step on the Ladder. Rather, "the branches of knowledge" are applied to regulate "the mean, meticulous slavery of a single instance" or, put more broadly, in a series of single instances that make up the body politic.⁷² The application of this knowledge from a central governing apparatus and from a central seat of government, Whitehall, is an attempt to work beauty into a society so lately wracked by the ugliness of war: a lack of political, social or religious unity.

⁶⁹ Raymond, "Framing Liberty," 345.

⁷⁰ Wallace, "Marvell's 'Lusty Mate' and the Ship of the Commonwealth," 106–10.

⁷¹ Plato, "Symposium," cols. 210 C-D.

⁷² Plato, col. 210 D.

Cromwell's detractors, especially those in parliament, are mentioned as Marvell shows him doing God's work as a natural force against those less committed to his government. Providence is deployed in this connection to show that Cromwell's centralized rule is supported by the divine. The Protector's vision for England is thus clad in the source of beauty. Cromwell's wisdom emanates from what is most High, but it does so in a Longinian way: as one of Nature's secrets that Marvell has the privilege to uncover for his peers. Marvell uses this rhetorical flourish to demonstrate Cromwell's benevolence and virtues as a governor. That praise takes up much of the poem as Marvell uses international politics, especially the Dutch war, as a background for his discussion of domestic tensions that Cromwell rises above. Cromwell's excellence is then turned to the more poignant argument for his continued rule. If Cromwell dies or is otherwise removed from power, the ensuing vacuum will result in further violence. Marvell then recasts this politics in devotional terms in order further to suggest that Cromwell's rule is providential.

The political opponents that arose as a result of Parliament's resistance to the Lord Protector are acknowledged in Marvell's argument, but the other sections of the poem paint Cromwell as an unassailable figure after the carriage accident that nearly killed him. He is unassailable because, having been providentially tested by Fate, Cromwell escapes a disaster that Marvell portrays having the potential to destabilize the English world:

Thou Cromwell falling, not a stupid tree,
Or rock so savage, but it mourned for thee:
And all about heard a panic groan,
As if that Nature's self were overthrown. (201-4)

Marvell resurrects praise he once gave to his charge, Mary Fairfax, two years before *The First Anniversary*. In that earlier poem, he alludes to the disorder created in Nature by the Fall -- the

creation of a "lesser world" (765) -- to suggest that Mary is "heaven's centre, Nature's lap" (767). Cromwell's fall shows Nature responding to the Protector's danger with its parts: trees and rocks. This kind of natural response will be taken up again by Marvell after the Restoration in *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England* (1677), where he analogizes a fractious and disorganized House of Commons to "the rushing of Trees, or battering of Rocks together, by accident".⁷³ This later analogy suggests a disorganized natural response creates a minimal effect; his earlier use of trees and rocks in praise of Cromwell shows Nature giving a powerful, unified response to Cromwell's potential tragedy. This earlier metaphor depicts Cromwell in High terms being esteemed by Nature, but Marvell refines Nature's esteem to reflect human nature, a Longinian category. The frustration of government and Nature alike elicits Marvell's dark portrayal of the forces arrayed against Cromwell:

Justice obstructed lay, and Reason fooled;
Courage disheartened, and Religion cooled.
A dismal silence through the palace went,
And then loud shrieks the vaulted marbles rent. (207-10)

The dystopian shrieks that Marvell inserts are those of subject-citizens in Parliament situated in another part of the poem under Cromwell's "protecting weight" (98). While Cromwell is not yet oppressive, those shrieks represent a restive number of MPs who are not pleased with Cromwell's government. With Cromwell in power, those MPs are free to express their views even if they run against him, but even as MPs oppose the Protector, his work as the "chief magistra[te], and the administrator of the government" goes on.⁷⁴ Marvell evokes magistracy and

⁷³ *Prose Works*, II:303.

⁷⁴ Section II of the "Instrument of Government" (Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution*, 342).

administration in these lines by using "justice" and "reason". The palace is silent without Cromwell's capable presence and Nature accordingly decries the absence of a guiding force.

The absence of that guiding force alters the ability of the English to restrict their passions, thus engaging Longinian and Senecan philosophical categories. Marvell proposes that Cromwell sacrifices his contemplative life by "resigning up [his] privacy" to lead England out of the violence of the civil wars and the instability of government by Parliament: "thou didst thyself depress, / Yielding to rule, because it made thee less" (223, 227-8). That sacrifice is necessary because Cromwell is able to settle the English constitution: "'Tis he the force of scattered Time contracts, / And in one year the work of ages acts" (13-4). What took monarchs "ages" to accomplish, the construction of an ancient constitution, Cromwell accomplishes within his first year by participating in the creation of the Instrument of Government. That Instrument imitates parts of the ancient constitution (Parliament is preserved with two houses) while innovating in other areas (the protector is not a hereditary office). It thus fulfills the Longinian prescription for modern speakers to compete against their ancient counterparts in order to represent "the best Thoughts, Artifices, or Inventions".⁷⁵ In Longinus's theory, those are often proven to stand the test of time, and the Instrument reflects that approach by re-instating a modified upper chamber in Parliament and locating formal authority over the executive branch back in an office occupied by a single person. Marvell rationalizes the creation of the Instrument as an imposition of rules upon "a freedom, that where all command", which is to say something like a state of Nature wherein each person pretends to govern (279). Cromwell's ascendancy as Lord Protector curbs the threat posed by this liberty otherwise "drunken with its wine" by instituting a limited "sober

⁷⁵ *Peri hypsous*, chap. 11.

liberty" as a "father" figure for the country: he exhorts individuals to circumscribe their liberty in favour of a collective good (288-289, 282).

Seneca's ethics converge with Marvell's image of Cromwell in the role of a "Sun-like" father figure for the nation. Where Seneca refers to Jupiter when discussing anger's relationship to the "great soul" (8),⁷⁶ Cromwell's "Sun-like" quality further evokes the story of King Numa, which Ovid relates in the *Fasti*. As Numa creates laws for his reign after a one-year interregnum upon the death of Romulus, Ovid tells us that Jupiter "the father of the gods scatters red lightnings" which causes "terror" in the "hearts of the common folk".⁷⁷ The ensuing crisis is resolved when Numa requests Jupiter's presence and that god promises that "when to-morrow's sun shall have put forth his full orb, I will give thee pure pledges of empire [*imperii*]."⁷⁸ Jupiter's grant of *imperium*, political power, comes to Numa, the new king, with the rising sun. So does the patriarch of the Gods grant political authority: Cromwell, too, receives divine *imperium* as something of a king and, crucially, after something of an interregnum. Marvell's use of "Sun-like" holds some of Jupiter's promise.

Seneca's reference to Jupiter delves further into the nature of *imperium*. Speaking to a perhaps petulant Nero, Seneca places the God above Julius Caesar's petty mortal anger and derives from that example the lesson:

Else let him who thinks that anger reveals the great soul, think that luxury does the same; it desires to rest on ivory, to be arrayed in purple, to be roofed with gold, to remove lands, to confine the waters of the sea, to hurl rivers headlong, to hang gardens in the air. ... Such qualities, it matters not to what Height or length

⁷⁶ "De Ira", I:20, 9; I:21, 1: "Iovem"; "magni animi."

⁷⁷ Ovid, *Fasti* III:285-8: "ecce deum genitor rutilas per nubila flammis / spargit, et effusis aethera siccant aquis; / non alias missi cecidere frequentius ignes."

⁷⁸ Ovid, III:345-6: "sed tibi, protulerit cum totum crastinus orbem / Cynthus, imperii pignora certa dabo."

they reach, are all narrow, pitiable, grovelling. Virtue alone is lofty and sublime, and nothing is great that is not at the same time tranquil.⁷⁹

Marvell's portrayal shows Cromwell only reluctantly taking the "purple", a sign that he will govern responsibly. He shirks the base temptations of power seized through anger. That kind of power Marvell had warned against in "The Horatian Ode". Instead, Cromwell's power reflects the virtue that England needs at the helm in order to produce tranquility in its domestic affairs. Marvell proves his point by comparing Cromwell to the biblical figure Gideon, who works with an "heart as plain" to "first growing to thyself a law, / Th'ambitious shrubs thou in just time didst awe" (257, 263-4). Those shrubs may refer to millenarian "saints", but they recall also Gideon's suppression of "Succoth's Elders" to which Marvell refers in his analogy (253).⁸⁰ As Smith glosses this line, Marvell refers to Cromwell's expulsion of England's analogous elders before he takes power: the Rump and the Barebones Parliaments.⁸¹ This latter assembly is the subject of *The First Anniversary*. Those "ambitious shrubs" are also the cantankerous MPs of these Parliaments who have questioned Cromwell's legitimacy as Lord Protector. Cromwell's virtue in Marvell's compliment is that he identifies those elders that must be removed.

Marvell understands Cromwell's imposition of tranquility through another Senecan consideration from *De Providentia*. As Cromwell is framed at the outset and the close as "Sun-like", Marvell inserts references to Cromwell's status as one of the elect, or as an instrument of divine will. These references fall under the umbrella of *De Providentia*'s opening pages:

⁷⁹ "De Ira", I:21, 1-4: "Aut si videtur alicui magnum animum ira producere, videatur et luxuria--ebore sustineri vult, purpura vestiri, auro tegi, terras transferre, maria concludere, flumina praecipitare, nemora suspendere [...] Omnia ista, non refert in quantum procedant extendantque se, angusta sunt, misera, depressa; sola sublimis et excelsa virtus est, nec quicquam magnum est nisi quod simul placidum."

⁸⁰ Smith, 294, see also the gloss at p. 264.

⁸¹ 294, see also the gloss at pp. 253-4.

I shall reconcile you with the gods, who are ever best to those who are best. For Nature never permits good to be injured by good; between good men and the gods there exists a friendship brought about by virtue.

Friendship, do I say? Nay, rather there is a tie of relationship and a likeness, since, in truth, a good man differs from God in the element of time only; he is God's pupil, his imitator, and true offspring, whom his all-glorious parent, being no mild taskmaster of virtues, rears, as strict fathers do, with much severity.⁸²

The gods' test is in part man's response to fate, or his ability to cope with providence. That ability is informed by his virtue, for the gods do not work against those they have imbued with goodness. Cromwell benefits from this kind of divine relationship, for "an higher force" pushes him "still from behind, and it before him rushed" (239-40). That kind of intervention allows Cromwell to rise to power and casts his rise as God's work. Marvell depicts the Lord Protector destined for the office. In so doing, he supplies a powerful reason to follow his regulation for those recalcitrant MPs in the Barebones Parliament to support Cromwell. England can accede through Cromwell to that destined tranquility.

Marvell underscores Cromwell's providential quality with reference to the Anglo-Dutch war to which the Lord Protector must attend. The chief magistrate's "high decrees" are heaven-sent in part because England needs the kind of unity that Cromwell can provide (243):

'Twas heaven would not that his pow'r should cease,
But walk still middle betwixt war and peace;
Choosing each stone, poisoning every weight,
Trying the measures of the breadth and Height;
Here pulling down, and there erecting new,
Founding a firm state by proportions true. (244-48)

⁸² We should not make too much of the translator's distinction between the "gods" and the "God" in view of Seneca's Latin: "De Providentia", I:1, 5-6: "Neque enim rerum natura patitur ut umquam bona bonis noceant; inter bonos viros ac deos amicitia est conciliante virtute. Amicitiam dico? Immo etiam necessitudo et similitudo, quoniam quidem bonus tempore tantum a deo differt, discipulus eius aemulatorque et vera progenies, quam parens ille magnificus, virtutum non lenis exactor, sicut severi patres, durius educat."

Cromwell's work, willed by heaven, is to create a balanced polity. He must do so carefully, for that mission is also a test of his ability to balance those stones. The test is taken a step further as Cromwell defies time by creating the laws that are supposed to settle the government. Cromwell is shown to manipulate "Time" in a way closer to divine intervention than to merely mortal action (6, 13). He does so as a metaphoric sun to give the English essentials for life: "light and heat" (343). In the international context in which Marvell writes, those essentials allow England to wage a war against the Dutch particularly and, more generally, to defend the republic against hostile Catholic monarchies.

In so doing, Cromwell is tested by domestic threats that Marvell lumps in with Cromwell's nearly disastrous carriage accident. The cause of that accident is described as the product of the nation's "brutish fury struggling to be free" (177); Cromwell's survival is described as the revival of "all that is good" (324). That fury for which Cromwell is the focal point raises the spectre of anger's ill-effects, which are then resolved by providence as Cromwell's rule is supported by the heavens. That support is better detailed by Seneca:

Why, then, is it strange if God tries noble spirits with severity? No proof of virtue is ever mild. If we are lashed and torn by Fortune, let us bear it; it is not cruelty but a struggle, and the oftener we engage in it, the stronger we shall be. The staunchest member of the body is the one that is kept in constant use. We should offer ourselves to Fortune in order that, struggling with her, we may be hardened by her. Gradually she will make us a match for herself.⁸³

Not a loving or benevolent support, "Fortune" is used to strengthen the virtuous man. Thus, while providence may set the man on a path to success, that success comes with pitfalls, such as

⁸³ Seneca the Younger, I: 4, 12-13: "Quid mirum, si dure generosos spiritus deus temptat? Numquam virtutis molle documentum est. Verberat nos et lacerat fortuna; patiamur! Non est saevitia, certamen est, quod quo saepius adierimus, fortiores erimus. Solidissima corporis pars est quam frequens usus agitavit. Praebendi fortunae sumus, ut contra illam ab ipsa duremur; paulatim nos sibi pares faciet, contemptum periculorum adsiduitas periclitandi dabit."

Cromwell's carriage accident. That brush with death, now survived, is celebrated as proof of Cromwell's "noble spirit" and, thus, of his providential ability to rule what is, in the circumstances under which Marvell is writing, a fractious period for English politics.

The end of this ever more fractious period of English politics is memorialized in Marvell's "Upon the Death of His Late Highness the Lord Protector" (likely written in the months after Cromwell's death on September 3, 1658). Registered for publication in January, 1659, the poem was removed from the bookseller Henry Herringman's *Three poems to the happy memory of the most renowned Oliver, late Lord Protector of this Commonwealth*, as it was prepared for the press. Marvell's poem was replaced by Edmund Waller's elegy on Cromwell, which made much less of Richard Cromwell's government, already so embattled by early 1659.⁸⁴ Marvell's praise of Richard's father, focused on the memory of Oliver but also on his historical and immediate legacy, portrays Richard as a stable ruler at its close:

And Richard yet, where his great parent led,
Beats on the rugged track: he, virtue dead,
Revives, and by his milder beams assures;
And yet how much of them his grief obscures. (305-308)

The revival of Cromwell's virtue in his son, though inappropriate for public consumption in 1659, betrays Marvell's enduring concern for stable government at Oliver's death. Richard is a branch of the Cromwellian "vine" but he also, unlike "his father", is "no deluge, yet foretells a shower" (89, 309, 323-4). Richard inherits a government that he must lead; his leadership style thus need not be quite as forceful as his father's. The virtues of the House of Cromwell continue, however, to inhere in Richard, thereby suiting him to rule.

⁸⁴ See the headnote in *Smith*, 300.

As that desire to see government continue peaceably still carries through Marvell's elegy, he is also concerned with memorializing the Lord Protector in historical and providential terms. In so doing, Marvell must cover for his claims in *The First Anniversary* regarding Cromwell's providential immortality. Those claims are put into question by Cromwell's early death, and Marvell appears to acknowledge this difficulty in his initial depiction of Cromwell. In a way that resembles his depiction of the Lord Fairfax's love of family, Marvell shows the Protector dying of "Love and Grief" after the loss of his daughter, Eliza (21). This death is assigned to Cromwell by "destiny" when it "doubl[es] that knot" between himself and Eliza (44). Their two "fates" are intertwined (46). When Eliza dies, Cromwell's death at first glance appears to be cowardly or at the very least ignoble. Cromwell does not die in combat. Marvell suggests that this death ought to come to the worthy general at the outset: "Nor Fate indeed can well refuse that right/To those that lived in war, to die in fight" (10-11). Fate does, however, refuse Cromwell that death. It refuses him also a death in his official capacity as Protector in keeping with Marvell's claim four years earlier that Cromwell's surviving his carriage accident portended his immortality: "But long his valour none had left that could / Indanger him, or clemency that would" (13-14). As Seneca tells us in *De Clementia*, a prince avoids the anger of his subjects through clemency. Seneca imparts that lesson to his pupil Nero (never mind the result!) through a cautionary tale about the founder of his dynasty, Augustus, dealing with the traitor Lucius Cinna by exercising mercy:

at last he [Augustus] said: "Cinna, a second time I grant you your life; the first time you were an open enemy, now, a plotter and a parricide. From this day let there be a beginning of friendship between us; let us put to the test which one of us acts in better faith--I in granting you your life, or you in owing it to me." Later he, unsolicited, bestowed upon him the consulship, chiding him because he did

not boldly stand for the office. He found Cinna most friendly and loyal, and became his sole heir. No one plotted against him further.⁸⁵

As Augustus spared his enemies and won their favour, so too does Cromwell, whom Marvell depicts as left without serious challenges to his rule in part because he is "so loose an enemy, so fast a friend" (200). Even here, Marvell's use of fate compliments Cromwell for efficient government; it also imports a Christian charity that is reminiscent of Charles I's public willingness to forgive Parliament and his judges moments before he was put to death.⁸⁶ Thus, Marvell's mention of that "clemency" evokes a Senecan, but also a Christian mercy that Charles was careful to display before his death and the Cromwell is praised for here, even if he was complicit in killing the king. As a military commander, Cromwell is skillful enough to avoid death on the field; as the head of civilian government, Cromwell is wise enough to defuse plots against him.

That wisdom cannot save him from Fate: the lesson is that providence, or Nature, wins over Cromwell but, in that victory, it mourns the man's passing into the heavens in terms similar to Marvell's elegy for Henry, Lord Hastings. Cromwell is also shown embracing Nature and providence by succumbing to his death. Marvell thus construes Cromwell's death as his ultimate acceptance of his place in a Longino-Christian cosmology that better reveals the Protector's *bona fides* as a puritan governor. Marvell plays on the Longinian division of the mortal world between Nature and human nature at the outset to recall his argument from *The First Anniversary*:

That Providence which has so long the care

⁸⁵ Seneca the Younger, "De Clementia", I:9, 11-12 (386-7): "'Vitam,' inquit, 'tibi, Cinna, iterum do, prius hosti, nunc insidiatori ac parricidae. Ex hodierno die inter nos amicitia incipiat; contendamus, utrum ego meliore fide tibi vitam dederim an tu debeas.' Post hoc detulit ultro consulatum questus, quod non auderet petere. Amicissimum fidelissimumque habuit, heres solus illi fuit. Nullis amplius insidiis ab ullo petitus est."

⁸⁶ See *King Charles His Speech Made upon the Scaffold at Whitehall-Gate, Immediately before His Execution, on Tuesday the 30 of Ian. 1648*.

Of Cromwell's head, and numbered ev'ry hair,
Now in itself (the glass where all appears)
Had seen the period of his golden years:
And thenceforth only did attend to trace
What death might least so fair a life deface. (1-6)

"Providence" is personified here as a divinity looking into a mirror. Cromwell's appearance in these lines is, in Senecan wise, part of the imperial, as opposed to the republican, vein because that personification was associated with *Providentia Augusta*, the goddess Providence in the cult of Augustus from which Nero's line springs. Cromwell, painted as an Augustus himself, holds similar honours in Marvell's verse. A goddess is attached to him and thus works in Cromwell's final days to present the most virtuous and upright image of the man. Making that presentation requires a laureate to arrange events. Marvell may here subtly praise himself as a member of Cromwell's inner circle capable of presenting an accurate account of Cromwell in the name of that Goddess. As Providence foresees Cromwell's demise, her only power on his behalf is to save him from ignominy. She does so through the poet, whose ability to order events highlights Cromwell's virtues by revealing the "secret cause" of Cromwell's fate: love of family (101). So do the Muses' tears reappear in this final Cromwell poem, but now in the service of a republican governor.

Exposing that cause allows Marvell to tie Cromwell back to the themes that he raises in the Fairfax poems: a strong concern with family that forms the bedrock of a good governor's moral compass. Cromwell's grief for Eliza betrays his humanity: "For he no duty Height excused, / Nor though a prince, to be a man refused" (83-4). As father, Cromwell is consumed by grief for his late daughter; as father of the nation, Cromwell's humanity shines in "Friendship, that sacred virtue," which "long does claim / The first foundation of his house and name" (201-2). Cromwell's friendship is a characteristic of his line (extending forward and backward). It is

also fundamental to his character and to the character of his children. The English prince thus resembles Seneca's ancient example, and recalls also Cicero's example of the statesman working through networks of friends (of varying degrees of closeness) to achieve balance and order in his polity:

And that deep soul through every channel flows,
Where kindly Nature loves itself to lose.
More strong affections never reason served,
Yet still affected most what best deserved. (205-8)

Cromwell's soul works through the same streams that Nature works in because he can, like a great author, use imitation to repurpose what is best in human history (what flows through Nature) to his ends.⁸⁷ Marvell himself compares Cromwell in this way to Edward the Confessor (r. 1042-1066) and to Arthurian legend:

Whose greater truths obscure the fables old,
Whether of British saints or worthies told;
And in a valour less'ning Arthur's deeds,
For holiness the Confessor exceeds. (175-9)

Compared to these mythical figures, Cromwell's virtues and conquests are rendered even higher because he can extend the achievements of fabled British governors. Those achievements reflect piety, military prowess, and excellence in civil government.

Marvell pushes those historical and ancient comparisons further by describing Cromwell's love of country -- expressed as a ruler's piety in the style of Edward the Confessor -- against his love of family, specifically Eliza. He creates a hierarchy of sacrifice. Cromwell's life

⁸⁷ Hall, *Peri hypsous*, chap. 11: "Herodotus was in a manner a sole imitator of Homer, and before him Stesichorus and Archilochus, but none more studiously followed him than Plato, who deriv'd many streams from Homers great River into his own channells."

is ranked second to his living it. Grief and duty are shown to conflict in his death, but the cause of his death -- grief -- is the product of his greatest virtue:

If he Eliza loved to that degree,
(Though who more worthy to be loved than she?)
If so indulgent to his own, how dear
To him the children of the highest were?
For her he once did Nature's tribute pay:
For these his life adventured ev'ry day. (209-14)

While Cromwell dies for love of his daughter, his service to God and the saints that have embodied Christian virtue (God's children) caused him to risk his life daily. Marvell compares a great sacrifice to the potential sacrifice that Cromwell daily makes in order to ensure that England conforms to appropriate religious prescriptions. This kind of ruler's sacrifice, the loss of personal security, is one that Seneca points to in his instructions to Nero upon mercy:

It is possible for me to walk alone without fear in any part of the city I please, though no companion attends me, though I have no sword at my house, none at my side; you, amid the peace you create, must live armed. You cannot escape from your lot; it besets you, and, whenever you leave the heights, it pursues you with its magnificence. In this lies the servitude of supreme greatness--that it cannot become less great; but you share with the gods that inevitable condition. For even they are held in bondage by heaven, and it is no more lawful for them to leave the heights than it is safe for you; you are nailed to your pinnacle.⁸⁸

Like the gods, Cromwell is so prominent that he is vulnerable to attack from the people over whom he lords. Cromwell might die for Eliza, but his life as Lord Protector was fraught because as Cromwell defused anger, he also became the focal point for it.

⁸⁸ "De Clementia", I:8, 2-4 (378-9): "Possum in qualibet parte urbis solus incedere sine timore, quamvis nullus sequatur comes, nullus sit domi, nullus ad latus gladius; tibi in tua pace armato vivendum est. Aberrare a fortuna tua non potes; obsidet te et, quocumque descendis, magno apparatu sequitur. Est haec summae magnitudinis servitus non posse fieri minorem; sed cum dis tibi communius ipsa necessitas est. Nam illos quoque caelum alligatos tenet, nec magis illis descendere datum est quam tibi tutum, fastigio tuo adfixus es."

Marvell explains why Cromwell's death in grief for Eliza might warrant the tribute that Fortune pays him through its laureate. Cromwell's love of family makes him a stable and benevolent ruler. It does so because it reveals that he is a sociable, caring figure whose virtues at home translate through friendships and, more generally, through his performance as Protector, into the social virtues of "Valour, Religion, Friendship, [and] Prudence" that die with him only to be resurrected, albeit in less intense form, by his son in Marvell's bid to promote stable government (227).

Marvell's Longinian competitive streak develops during the Protectorate from personal poems to criticism -- positive and negative -- of government and the politics of his time. Such a move shows him working further up the Ladder of Love he seems to be using in his earlier lyrics. It also shows him setting his sights ever higher. His almost decade-long study of Cromwell's government reveals throughout a concern with its survival. While his later poems demonstrate a personal familiarity with Cromwell and also with his family, they are not purely the product of personal allegiance. Rather, those poems show Marvell moving from the personal ties that generated his Fairfax poems to reach higher, in a Longinian bid for excellence, to grasp at and to apply a fuller understanding of government. Marvell accomplishes this end by deploying a Christianized humanism that uses Roman authors like Lucan and Horace to praise Cromwell's accomplishment. He uses Seneca also to this end, and does so specifically to refine that praise in terms of power politics that Cromwell and his associates so plainly use to maintain his power.

While some of those Senecan terms have been adduced here, much of Seneca's work is left untouched in this brief analysis. The Senecan prescriptions for government and social relations more generally merit further exploration, especially as they intersect with English

political discourse during the Civil Wars and Protectorate. Marvell's poems are an example of Senecan ideas circulating in the Protectoral period; they also reveal unexplored classical references in Marvell's poems from this time that bear further scrutiny.

Epilogue

This consideration of Marvell's connection to Longinus' ancient treatise, whether it was actually the Longinus who faced execution in Palmyra or no, boils down to an appreciation of the exalted style and the unstated ambition of a poet whose preoccupations rightly bleed onto the page.

Marvell's is a stoic's quest to avoid what Longinus thinks his society has come to:

what spends the spirit of the present generation is the apathy in which all but a few of us pass our lives, only exerting ourselves or showing any enterprise for the sake of getting praise or pleasure out of it, never from the honourable and admirable motive of doing good to the world.¹

Marvell's Christianity, whatever its stripe, pushes him along the path of "doing good to the world", and to do this in the particular competitive ethos of Longinus's rhetorical treatise. That ethos inveighs against a rhetoric that, as John Hall might say, uses "so many artifices, charms, masteries, and such subtle conducts" to promote a point of view.² From his earliest moment, Marvell strives in his lyrics to make sense of his society's foundations: his consideration of individual love, familial love, and how these concepts transpose onto governors demonstrate a pragmatic view of politics as a human endeavour that later comes to be expressed in more principled terms when Marvell takes up his pen after a busy day in Parliament. Longinus says it better: "we find natures that are supremely persuasive and suited for public life, shrewd and versatile and especially rich in literary charm, yet really sublime and transcendent natures are no

¹ "ME," chap. 44.

² *Peri hypsous* sig. A8v.

longer, or only very rarely, now produced."³ Marvell worked to be one such “sublime and transcendent” nature. He captured and led sentiments of his time, and leaves to us a simple message: regardless of who holds power, power is always liable to abuse, and there is no greater abuse than the dulling of minds from and into "a passion for gain"⁴ that only further removes the individual from a more satisfying communion with her or his fellows.

Such a view is proposed in one of Marvell's lyric masterpieces, "The Garden", where an individual's transcendence is considered only when he is removed from the wider society of which he is a part. This retreat occurs for selfish reasons, but these reasons elevate the speaker from his individual existence to take in humankind generally, or more minutely the work of "industrious Bee[s]" ("The Garden", 69) that in some circles represents the “Common-wealth either Platoes or Licurgus”.⁵ It is tempting to say that Marvell had his old patron, Thomas Fairfax, in mind as he wrote this poem. The Third Lord has been imagined as sitting atop the hill at Bilbrough for unbroken hours in his contemplative retirement.⁶ There is, rather, a clear impulse toward a Platonic ascent. It is not this time a climb up the Ladder of Love, although the scholarly view that "The Garden" is a poem of the 1660s⁷ allows us to view it as a sort of capstone for Marvell's lyric prowess. There is instead a sense of "The Garden" as a rise toward some universal truth echoing Marvell's punning on Muses' tears in *Lachrymae Musarum*: a fountain of knowledge exists with which to ascend, but the ascent can only be made in the

³ “ME,” chap. 44.

⁴ chap. 44.

⁵ Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie*, 165 (sig. X4r); for Guillim’s eminence in heraldic matters of the day, see Woodcock, “Guillim, John (1550–1621), Herald.”

⁶ Stufano, “Heroes in the Garden,” 14, citing nineteenth-century biographies of Fairfax unavailable to me.

⁷ Pritchard, “Marvell’s ‘The Garden’: A Restoration Poem?”; more generally, see the commentary in *Smith*, 152–59; I expand my assertion, that Marvell “touches, yet goes beyond, the Classical debate between the active and the contemplative life” from Hartman, “Marvell, St. Paul, and the Body of Hope,” 108–9; Legouis, *Andrew Marvell, Poet, Puritan, Patriot*, 29.

absence of those "busy companies of men" who obscure two particular Muses, "Fair Quiet" and "Innocence" ("The Garden", 9-10, 12).

Those Muses open Marvell's speaker up to a wider view of human affairs that comes with transcendence of the self. Nature's secrets lie exposed in this garden scene after a description of "Fond Lovers" in the third stanza and their impatience with the garden. This stanza extends the subtle Platonist paradox of the speaker's description of solitude. It does so by depicting a basic human association, "Fond Lovers", cutting into the garden's "Trees their Mistress name," only to antithetically describe the speaker "following the Platonic identification of name and object [by carving] TREE upon tree" (19-20).⁸ Marvell evokes the Mower's solipsism by inferring that one-sided love is unsustainable.⁹ While the lovers may impose their names upon trees, the tree as an emanation of the idea of the tree retains an intrinsic identity that the speaker values. The lovers are consumed with themselves in their "Passions heat," but the root of their passion, "Love", returns to the garden to which the speaker turns to understand this concept and, perhaps, others (24-5). Such a rhetorical posture accords further with Marvell's view of love in "The Definition of Love", where lovers cannot have perfect corporeal union. They are instead consigned to an intellectual, or spiritual, partnership located first in the "Mind" even as a pagan god of the natural world ("Fate") forbids more obvious union ("The Definition of Love", 31, 30).

Like love, the Greek gods of stanza four are also wont to return to the garden and its "tree[s]", but add to the garden in way reflective of their status as lesser iterations of a One (28). This view is acknowledged in *Psalms*: "For the Lord is a great God, and a great King above all gods" (95:3, *cf.* II Chr. 2:5). Marvell uses this fourth stanza to reach higher than the mortal

⁸ Adkins, "Neoplatonism in Marvell's 'On a Drop of Dew' and 'The Garden,'" 85; Klonsky, "A Guide through the Garden," 20.

⁹ Cunnar, "Names on Trees, the Hermaphrodite, and 'The Garden,'" 121-22.

world. He makes this move to bridge his consideration of the speaker's withdrawal from the world of men and the speaker's more private musings as he accomplishes transcendence in the ensuing stanzas. Marvell shifts from Platonism to insert references to creativity, recalling his own poetry with these references to "Apollo" and "Pan", the gods of poetry (amongst other things) and of shepherds, respectively. Marvell portrays these divinities acknowledging the universality of the garden's green in their retreat to its trees. They remain interested, however, like mortals, in some brighter colours: "Daphne" and "Syrinx" (29, 31). These nymphs -- minor spirits who attend a particular feature of nature -- are transformed into "Laurel" and "Reed", respectively (30, 32). Daphne's transformation recalls the human pursuit of "Bayes" from which the speaker retreats (2).

Marvell's imagined retreat reaches further to view the Garden in its entirety and thus to measure humanity's interaction with God and with Nature. Stanza six suggests that the speaker's mind, preoccupied as it is with the garden, becomes, in the words of Leonardo da Vinci, "the very mind of nature, to become an interpreter between nature and art."¹⁰ "Pleasure less" thus begins the speaker's transcendence. His mind withdraws from its "Garden-state" into itself, "that Ocean where each kind / Does streight its own resemblance find" (57, 43-4).¹¹ Marvell uses "kind" to refer to "The Mind" that opens the couplet's clause (43). The mind searches for itself in withdrawal. This search is quintessentially uncreative. It is the search for what is already before the mind: the self. Marvell shows the mind "transcending" its search for the self through "creat[ion]" of "Far other Worlds, and other Seas" (45-6). This act of creation sums up the speaker's project in the first four stanzas of the poem. By observing the garden, the speaker has

¹⁰ Quoted in Faust, *Andrew Marvell's Liminal Lyrics*, 66.

¹¹ I extend Friedman's suggestions that the garden symbolizes wisdom, *Marvell's Pastoral Art*, 160; Klonsky, "A Guide through the Garden," 24, for his interpretation of "garden-state."

effectively created it, and he has done so in stated opposition to the extant "world", with perhaps some reference to the heaven, and the waters that preceded God's division of them with the firmament (Gen. 1:7).¹² Marvell's lines break from reality as it exists for the speaker. That new world "annihilat[es] all that's made / To a green Thought in a green Shade." (47-8) It is this annihilation that accomplishes Longinian transcendence and it is what ultimately forces the speaker to return from this self-imposed exile -- a glimpse of Man's former Edenic state -- to the society in which he must exist as a "Mortal" counting his "time" on Earth before he might achieve that full ascent (61, 70).

Marvell's metaphysical sense reaches for Height in order to make sense of the earthly time that he has. The implications of that sense are a quest for Longinus's public man, both meticulously reasoning and virtuously convincing. That ethos comes to underwrite his scathing criticism of Charles II's ministers in poetry and in prose. Marvell makes this criticism out of an immediate desire to outdo his predecessors and his fellows. This objective is consistent with Longinian criticism of our own day, as where Harold Bloom speaks of the poet's opposition to Nature: "the young citizen of poetry ... is already the anti-natural or antithetical man, and from his start as a poet he quests for an impossible object, as his precursor quested before him".¹³ That quest is in some sense already defined in Longinus's text: make sense of the chaos of the world. Communicate that sense to others. Longinus, like Bloom, frames Nature in opposition to man, but the opposition is a challenge, not an impossibility (though the two are different by degrees). In that communicative process, there is the potential for a piece of the soul to transcend death on the page. But Bloom's point is that this transcendence only opens the poets to "misreadings" of

¹² "World, N.", 3. a.

¹³ Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*, 10.

their works to suit a critic's or an author's contemporary concerns.¹⁴ Marvell anticipates this lesson. He takes what he needs from those earlier authors, and he is himself only taken as needed by poets and prose writers coming after him. John Hall points out this lesson to Bulstrode Whitelocke in his dedication of *Peri hypsous*. Though we have but a fragment of Longinus's text, it is enough to stir the mind to reach for Height. Priming Whitelocke in Longinian rhetoric is designed to prepare the lawyer for his heavy task, and to prepare him to head off the criticism that he will surely receive.

It is criticism that Marvell came to embody in his immediate afterlife. He was celebrated for one hundred years after his death more for his political satires than for those lyrics that have been the heart of this work. He was a precursor to John Locke's political philosophy and an ambassador of the Country Party. This thesis contends that Marvell's political brilliance and his resulting memory are due to his drive to uncover Nature's secrets in a Christian framework that accords with his upbringing. His combination of wit, knowledge of the classics, and knowledge of the leading lights of his society allowed him to reforge common themes of personal love, familial ties, and ideals of statesmanship to suit his poetic objects while conforming to a classical narrative of virtue and knowledge: the Ladder of Love. In so doing, Marvell sets himself apart from his pack. He affords himself a measure of transcendence because, as Colin Burrow might have us believe, he may seem to us, some centuries later, much more accessible than are Plato, or Cicero, or Seneca.¹⁵ This appraisal may hold for the uninitiated; to an inquisitive mind, Marvell is a way into these much older classics because he sought, in Longinian wise, to replicate the lessons they offered even to his contemporaries and especially to ours.

¹⁴ Bloom, 14, 25–26.

¹⁵ Burrow, “Full of the Maker’s Guile.”

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