

ANDREW MARVELL : *UPON THE HILL AND GROVE AT BILL-BOROW* and *MUSICKS EMPIRE*

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THESE two poems are not so akin that to treat them apart would be absurd ; but they have some elements in common, and, if my comments on the first poem convince, *Musicks Empire* may gain thereby. In Marvell, a brief phrase, or even a single word, may compress an allusion either to an idea from the common stock of the time, or to some conception, theme, legend, or fact familiar to him from his classical and biblical study. In each of these two poems such allusive phrases or words are essential to the connecting thread, and it is as such that I have studied them, rather than to find literary antecedents for their own sake.¹

I. *Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow*

Three poems are explicitly addressed by Marvell to Lord Fairfax, each calculated, by title and opening, to alert his interest as Wharfedale landowner and manorial householder. First printed (as were all but a few of Marvell's poems) in the posthumous edition of 1681, these poems are, in the order of that edition : *Epigramma in Duos montes Amosclivum Et Bilboreum. Farfacio* ; *Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow To the Lord Fairfax* ; and *Upon Appleton House, to my Lord Fairfax*. Their composition is commonly assigned to the period from July

¹ The Latin poem by the Jesuit Casimire Sarbiewski (1595-1640) about the estate of the Duke of Bracciano on the lake of that name near Rome may have influenced Marvell in some slight degree in *The Hill and Grove*, but in no way affects understanding of the poem. See, however, M.-S. Roestvig, *The Happy Man*, 239 ff., and, for Sarbiewski's text, G. Hils's edition and translation of 1646 (published as Augustan Reprint facsimile 44), column 104 ff. The passages from English poets mentioned by K. W. Scoular in *Natural Magic*, 159 ff. and notes, do not seem to contribute to Marvell's meaning as Vergil, Ovid, and other ancient writers do. In *Δενδρολογία : Dodona's Grove, or the Vocall Forest* (1640-50), James Howell makes the trees play the rôles of European political figures of the earlier seventeenth century ; Marvell appears to have known this book (see Scoular, op. cit. 182 and 186, on *Appleton House*, LXIII and LXXI-LXXIV) but it does not seem to illumine *The Hill and Grove*.

1650, at the earliest, to early 1653, at the latest, when Marvell was living in the Appleton household of Fairfax as tutor to his young daughter, after Fairfax's resignation, in late June 1650, from the post of Commander-in-chief, and withdrawal, from London, to the life of a landlord in his native Yorkshire valley¹; certain impressions may suggest, for the *Epigramma* and the *Hill and Grove*, a date quite soon after that resignation and withdrawal.²

Much of middle and lower Wharfedale belonged to Lord Fairfax's branch of the Fairfax family; he had the manor house of Bill-borow (now Bilborough) some five miles south-west of York, and preferred, as it appears, first this domain, then near-by Appleton (when his new house there was complete about 1650) to those other seats, mentioned in passing by Marvell, Denton, near Otley, and Bishops Hill, within the walls of York.³ The *Amosclivus* of the *Epigramma* is Great Alm's Cliff, the isolated, jagged landmark above the Wharfe to the south of Harrogate. This landmark also belonged to Fairfax,⁴ who was born, and altogether bred, to this countryside.

In the Bill-borow poem, as in the *Epigramma* and the first ten stanzas of Appleton House,⁵ topography (if the flat term may be used) conveys emblematically the character and conduct of Fairfax. In each, wit, humour, and calculated extravagances are used as corrective seasoning for anything in the tribute that might seem fulsome to the modesty of the addressee; in each there are touches such as to give immediate pleasure or amusement to Fairfax, or those close to him in his Yorkshire life, but

¹ Fairfax resigned on 25 June 1650. H. M. Margoliouth, in the standard edition of Marvell (i. 229, with 239), points out that Tom May died in November 1650 and argues that Marvell cannot by then have gone to Appleton House, since *Tom May's Death* is the sort of poem that cannot have been written there. I am not sure if this argument has force. The letter from Milton to Bradshaw of 21 February 1653 indicates that Marvell had already left Fairfax then (*Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, Yale University Press, iv. 2, 859 f.)

² See below p. 470. As pointed out by Margoliouth (op. cit. i. 233), *Upon Appleton House* could have been completed only after publication of Davenant's *Gondibert* in 1651.

³ *A Life of . . . Lord Fairfax*, by C. R. Markham, 365 f. Marvell mentions Denton and Bishops Hill in *Appleton House*, X. 73.

⁴ *Epigramma*, 16. It is also called "Almia's Cliff".

⁵ These ten stanzas gain, if read in the light of the *The Hill and Grove* and the *Epigramma*; but do not themselves contribute to those two poems.

bound, without explanation, to be lost on outsiders, or, at least, not properly felt by someone unacquainted with the family and their country. Those touches make only one of the features distinguishing *The Hill and Grove*, with the *Epigramma*, from a poem that has been seen as precursor of both.

In 1642 Denham had suffered the misfortune of having *Cooper's Hill*, in still immature form, pirated; on the assumption that Marvell read *Cooper's Hill* at some date before he wrote the *Epigramma* and *The Hill and Grove*, he will have found, at 41 ff. (where Denham has passed, in thought, from London, up Thames, to royal Windsor, and Cooper's Hill presents itself) lines which the poet later improved, with excisions and changes¹:

Into my eye. as the late married Dame,
 (Who proud, yet seems to make that pride her shame)
 When Nature quickens in her pregnant wombe
 Her wishes past, and now her hopes to come :
 With such an easie, and unforc'd Ascent
Windsor her gentle bosome doth present ;
 Where no stupendious Cliffe, no threatning heights
 Accesse deny, no horrid steepe affrights,
 But such a Rise, as doth at once invite
 A pleasure, and a reverence from the sight.
 Thy Masters Embleme, in whose face I saw
 A friend-like sweetnesse, and a King-like aw,
 Where Majestie and love so mixt appeare,
 Both gently kinde, both royally severe.

If this passage, in a long and discursive poem,² may have influenced Marvell, neither the wholly explicit comparison, nor the explicitly comparative procedure of the poem as a whole, hint the pleasing challenge to penetration made by *The Hill and Grove*, demanding, as it does, of the reader that he makes bold assumptions about its emblematic procedures. My assumptions about *The Hill and Grove* were made in the light of the simpler, but comparable, *Epigramma*, and I start with this poem, which may or may not be the first in time; if argument about *The Hill and Grove* ought to stand without the Latin poem, let the reader pass to the next paragraph but one.

In the *Epigramma*, rugged Alms Cliff/*Amosclivus* symbolizes

¹ See *The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham* (ed. Banks, 1928), p. 64.

² *Cooper's Hill* is rambling and heterogeneous, and the moralizing elements do not seem to me to unite it adequately; its beauties deserved a better frame.

the warlike spirit of Fairfax in the civil war ; the gentle *mons Bilboreus*, his mercy for the defeated and other gentler qualities ; his combination of the contrasted elements comes in the presence of both hills on his land. The one height is in fact rugged, the other gentle ; but, in the course of a few elegiac couplets, they undergo successive transformations, from which they emerge as " Pillars of the Northern Hercules ", facing each other across the " shady valley " beneath. *Hyperbole* might transform our Pennines, impressive, in truth, beyond their height, to the Appenines of England ; but what comes in the *Epigramma* is calculated *fantasy*, since it turns into mountain pinnacles slight projections from the plain, and into *Pillars*, confronting each other across the river, hills twenty miles apart on the same side of the Wharfe. The *Pillars* come in because Fairfax, in his heroic benevolence, must be the *Northern Hercules* ; but the fantasy about the hills corrects any taste of the fulsome, just as, in 17 f., the fancy in " *aequā stringit utrumque rotā* " corrects the excess of the previous line, with its suggestion of a new Augustus riding the world in triumph. All this is confirmed, when, in the concluding lines, tribute to Fairfax suddenly gives place to compliment to Mary Fairfax, now about thirteen, and pupil to Marvell at Appleton House : " An potius, longe sic prona cacumina nutant, / *Parnassus* cupiant esse *Maria* tuus." Mary's progress in arts is such that the two heights see her as the new Muse to whom they should belong, and lean forward in their longing to make, by physical merger, her sacred mount, twin-peaked like the Greek Parnassus.

In the much longer, more elaborate, more subtle *Hill and Grove*, stanzas I-IV use the *Hill* emblematically, stanzas V-VIII the *Grove*, and the conclusion brings them together.

Stanza I

See how the arched Earth does here
Rise in a perfect Hemisphere !
The stiffest Compass could not strike
A Line more circular and like ;
Nor softest Pencil draw a Brow
So equal as this Hill does bow.
It seems as for a Model laid,
And that the World by it was made.

That is, Bill-borow might well appear a microcosmic archetype whereby the macrocosm, or the geocosm, at least, could have been made ; the stylized hill symbolizes sufficiency and perfection, as displayed in the sphere.¹ Thus, its master, whose life had been bound up with the neighbourhood, is associated with the type of perfection ; *associated playfully*, since the " Hemisphere " is pure fantasy, with perfection, not introduced as its embodiment. That, in any case, is ruled out by the development of the poem, in which the *Hill*, and, after it, the *Grove*, become emblematic of important and excellent things in Fairfax that were no more than *aspects* of the whole man. In this stanza, the *Hill* is used with oblique reference to Fairfax ; in the two succeeding stanzas, with frontal reference to him.

Stanza II

This stanza is emblematic of the man as seen in his public career and its conclusion. After courageous leadership of the Parliamentary forces in Yorkshire, Fairfax accepted from Parliament in 1645 the post of Commander-in-chief, into which he had by no means thrust himself ; at the end of the first war, after his great military successes, he was involved, in 1647-50, in political difficulties which embarrassed and perplexed him ; though he withdrew in 1649 from his seat as one of the judges of the king, he remained Commander-in-chief ; in 1650 he disliked the proposed war against the Scots, because he saw the Covenant with them as still in force and they had not entered England, resigned his commission, and withdrew to Appleton. These years had brought him, along with glory, severe wounds, illness, exhaustion, and political perplexity ; but there is no reason to think that his objection to the Scottish war covered motives of

¹ In " perfect Hemisphere " etc., the language derives from the scheme of ideas implied in the terms " macrocosm " and " microcosm ". This order of ideas was not yet rejected at the time by all educated men ; it would be misconceived to wonder what line Marvell would have taken about it in conversation with a sceptical scientist or philosopher. See Marjorie Nicolson, *The Breaking of the Circle*, Introduction, and chapters I-II (especially 28 ff., for the " geocosm " and 47 ff., for the " circle of perfection " in 16th/17th century writing). The term " geocosm ", her coinage, aptly conveys the place, in this order of ideas, of the spherical earth.

simple weariness. Fairfax is, indeed, said by Bulstrode Whitelock (who was a member of the Council of State in 1650) first to have approved the plan to invade Scotland, but then, "being hourly persuaded by the presbyterian ministers and his own lady", to have changed his mind and decided to resign. But there follows in the *Memorials of the English Affairs* a report giving, in dialogue form, the opening exchanges between Fairfax and the Committee that strove, on behalf of the Council of State, to persuade him to remain as Commander-in-chief for the proposed war¹; Bulstrode Whitelock sat on this body, with Cromwell and others. Fairfax's words, as reported by Whitelock, are brief and clear, those of one who has considered the matter, come to his own decision, and will not be shaken.

In the stanza's first three couplets those men are rebuked—in language reminiscent of Isaiah—who thrust themselves up in the world too hard, or higher than they should²; in the final couplet they are admonished to be more like Fairfax. But the rebuke and the admonition are there to serve the implied tribute to Fairfax's calm acceptance of a ceiling imposed by his conscience on his public career; whether the lines carry political reference to other persons hardly matters, since the point is Fairfax's awareness where he ought to stop. An essential aspect of the stanza, however, is phrasing which combines topographical and moral-political meaning. "Unjust", in the first line, points the way, since, along with the moral sense of "just"/"unjust", the aesthetic sense, applying to proper scale or its absence, is suggested.³ Discourtesy, destructiveness, and impious *hubris* are conveyed in lines 10-12, with an obvious allusion, in "Heaven fright", to the classical giants warring on Jove⁴; but the third couplet is more recondite: "For whose excrescence illdesign'd,/ Nature must a new Center find". Whilst pride and insolence are

¹ Bulstrode Whitelock, *Memorials of the English Affairs* (1853), iii. 206 ff.

² Isaiah ii. 11-15 begins, in the 1611 Bible, "The loftie lookes of man shal be humbled, and the hautines of men shall be bowed downe: and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day"; the loftiness and the haughtiness of men are then evoked in terms of high trees, high towers, and great mountains.

³ See *O.E.D.*, "unjust"†₄, with "just", 5.

⁴ The idea of an *affrighted* heaven is obviously pagan: cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, i. 197 ff.

neatly conveyed by "excrecence",¹ what matters is the suggestion of injury to the state, made by use of the Aristotelian idea that the earth's sphericity is proved by the tendency (*inter alia*) of matter, under nature, to seek a common centre.² The "Mountains more unjust", confounding the order of nature, rise and rise, so that the centre of things must move in relation to their irregular "excrecence"; "overmighty citizens" who rise to an excessive height of power, force their society, against the *moral* order, to move its centre.

Tacitus, in the *Agricola*, rebukes admiration of those Stoics who had courted martyrdom from tyrant Emperors, and urges those inclined to such admiration to learn wisdom from the career of Agricola: "sciunt, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt."³

Here, of course, there is envisaged a very particular kind of ambition; none the less, the phrasing of Tacitus' sentence may perhaps be echoed by Marvell in the first and last couplets of his second stanza. But what Marvell rebukes in the over-ambitious is their sin against limit and proportion, not imprudence. If Fairfax, out of his understanding just how far it is right for him to rise, wins "securer Glory", this is a glory of a more permanent kind, not glory whose winner is personally safer than others; self-regarding prudence is hardly praised, still less inculcated, in this poem; as its emblematic language is far more imaginative and subtle than that of Horace's ode to Licinius, so the spirit of the poem is equally removed from Horace's prudential recommendation, there, of "aurea mediocritas".⁴

In "hook-shoulder'd height" (if the detail be permitted) Marvell may well be remembering *Amosclivus*. For, if any

¹ See *O.E.D.*, "excrecence", l. c., quoting "the insolence and excrecence of the Popish pretended clergy" (from a document of 1629 in *Bibliotheca Regia* (1659), a collection of papers issued by, or addressed to, Charles I.)

² Aristotle, *de Caelo*, ii. 297a. Henry Peacham takes the idea for granted in *The Complete Gentleman* (1622) (Folger Shakespeare Library edition, p. 81 *ad fin.*)

³ *Agricola*, 42. 5.

⁴ *Odes*, II. 10.

craggy spur deserves this term, it is Great Alm's Cliff, as it suddenly strikes the eyes of the walker approaching from the north. A long, isolated shoulder rises against the sky to a point where the sky-line makes an acute angle to drop steeply and backward ; from the bottom of this "hook", the line continues in its first direction, with the jagged indentation suggested in the *Epigramma*.¹

Stanza III

The third stanza is emblematic of Fairfax, in his social rôle, after his withdrawal to Wharfedale ; quite appropriately, Bill-borow is now suggested as it really is, a long swelling from the plain (almost too gentle to be a "hill"), topped by the flat ground of the village street. Not the national career of Fairfax, but his concerns as responsible and respected landlord and great man of that countryside, fit the language. Whilst Fairfax could not be said, politically, to have striven "to raise the Plain", this phrase, with the other topographical-social language of the stanza, could aptly be applied to the territorial magnate who, in his high position, entertained kin, neighbours, and friends, assisted literature and scholarship, made notable benefactions, and relieved poverty.²

Appleton House comes to some of these things in the ninth stanza :

A Stately *Frontispiece of Poor*
Adorns without the open Door :
Nor less the Rooms within commends
Daily new *Furniture of Friends*.

The second conceit here asks the reader to recall Cicero on friendship : the question in that much favoured school text, the *de Amicitia*, "quid . . . stultius quam, cum plurimum copiis, facultatibus, opibus possint, cetera parare, quae parantur pecunia, equos, famulos, vestem egregiam, vasa pretiosa, amicos non

¹ "Hook-shoulder'd" conveys something different from the "crump shoulders" of mountains in Sylvester, *Du Bartas*, l. iii (1641), 21 f. See *O.E.D.*, "crump".

² Markham's *Life of Lord Fairfax* deals especially with his protection of scholarship (271, 364 f., 370, and note).

parare, optimam et pulcherrimam *vitae*, ut ita dicam, *supellectilem* ? ”¹ Like allusion, with the language of Cicero emblematically recast, is made by *The Hill and Grove* to the passage enforcing the need, if friendship is to survive between the greater and the lesser man, for the former consistently to “level up” his friend of lesser station to himself. “. . . maximum est in amicitia”, Laelius is made to insist, “superiorem parem esse inferiori”; his closest friend, the great Scipio Aemilianus, had a perfect understanding of this, for “nunquam se ille Philo, nunquam Mummio anteposuit, nunquam inferioris ordinis amicis, . . . suosque omnes per se esse ampliores volebat”.² Cicero’s thought requires the “higher man” to raise the lower, or, as Marvell has it, that he should “bend” and “raise the Plain”. Marvell’s sense is put beyond doubt by the lines of *Appleton House*, stanza VIII :

So Honour better Lowness bears,
Then That unwonted Greatness wears.
Height with a certain Grace does bend,
But low Things clownishly ascend.

Only, in *The Hill and Grove*, “low things” are helped to ascend *not* clownishly, by the “soft access and wide” (where each word carries its social suggestion),³ by the *Hill*’s “courtesy”, and by the way it not merely “bends” down to the Plain, but strives to raise it.

Stanza IV

Having glanced (again in favourably two-edged phrase) at Fairfax’s military success,⁴ then at his exemption (won by moderation) from the law subjecting the great to malignant envy, the stanza, momentarily, turns everything to sport: when the prospect of the *Hill*, from its hundred feet above the plain, out-reaches that of *Teneriff*, thrusting over the Canaries to twelve thousand above sea-level.⁵ The fantasy is at once capped, with consistent invention :

¹ Cicero, *de Amicitia*, 55.

² *Ibid.* 71 f.

³ “Soft”, in particular, suggests the Latin “mollis”, as in “mollissima fandi/tempora” (Vergil, *Aeneid*, iv. 293 f.).

⁴ Cf. *Upon Appleton House*, LIII. 418.

⁵ “Heaven-daring” (28) picks up the note of 12.

How glad the weary Seamen hast
 When they salute it from the Mast !
 By Night the Northern Star their way
 Directs, and this no less by Day.

Since there runs, between Bilborough and the North Sea, the continuous and considerably higher line of the Wolds, seamen would first "salute it" in sailing up the Humber, and this only inland of the point, some ten miles up from Hull, where the Wolds reach the estuary. Lines 27-32 seem composed for a family circle such as would delight, of an evening, in the ingenious freedom taken with local realities, by one whose boyhood home was Hull and whose links with the region strong.

Stanzas V-VI

The poem now turns to the Grove, not, for the present, using it emblematically, but preparing for its emblematic use in the seventh and eighth stanzas.

Stanza V runs, in classicizing vein :

Upon its crest this Mountain grave
 A Plump of aged Trees does wave.
 No hostile hand durst ere invade
 With impious Steel the sacred Shade.
 For something alwaies did appear
 Of the *Great Masters* terrour there :
 And Men could hear his Armour still
 Ratling through all the Grove and Hill.

With the first couplet (where "plump", that is, "clump" is read by Margoliouth for the first edition "plum"),¹ a line of Ovid comes to mind: "stat vetus et multos incaedua silva per annos" and, with the next, Ovid's succeeding line: "credibile est illo numen inesse loco".² The "sacred Shade" at once evokes the *sacer lucus*, which stands, in Roman tradition, protected either by its peculiar indwelling *numen* or by a major deity owning it and many other sacred places. Reverent awe enters the pious as they approach such a *lucus*; the impious (if not completely infatuated) will be deterred from violating it by terror of the god's power of vengeance. This power can make itself felt in mysterious, warning

¹ I prefer "plump" to "plume"; it is a good sixteenth/seventeenth century equivalent of "clump" (*O.E.D.* s.v., c.), and can have a military suggestion, in the phrase "a plump of spears" (*ibid.* a.)

² *Amores*, III. 1. 1. f.

signs.¹ Here the second and third couplets make Fairfax the deity and Bill-borow his *sacer lucus*, protected from damage, throughout the Yorkshire fighting, by manifestations of his power to take vengeance, even when away. The lines will not admit a more mundane sense, since Fairfax, away and on the move from the beginning of the war, did not tie up troops in defensive positions on his domains, or use them to defend his property; but the point is clinched by a passage in Vergil. Evander, king of the Arcadian exiles settled on the site of future Rome, shows Aeneas the hill that will be the Capitol²:

hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.
iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis
dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant.
'hoc nemus, hunc' inquit 'frondoso vertice collem
(quis deus incertum est) habitat deus; Arcades ipsum
credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem
aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret

As the *Arcades*, believing they have seen and heard the tutelary Jupiter, hold off from the mount in fear, so Royalists, should they approach Bill-borow, hear, in the strange clangour of weapons, a warning of the *Great Master's* vengeance, and withhold the "impious Steel";³ language is not strained, since "armour", in the period, may extend to weapons of offence and "rattling" is applied even to claps of thunder.⁴

Fear of the *Master*, and respect
Of the great *Nymph* did it protect;
Vera the *Nymph* that him inspir'd,
To whom he often here retir'd.

Lady Fairfax, daughter to the distinguished soldier Sir Horace Vere, has her maiden-name latinized; "Vera" has nothing to do

¹ See Ovid, *Fasti*, IV. 745 ff., especially 749, 751, 753, for the danger of even slight violations; *Metamorphoses*, VIII. 741 ff., for an unheeded warning and the results; cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, viii. 347 ff., quoted in the text.

² Vergil, *Aeneid*, viii. 347 ff.

³ "Impious" only because the Grove was "sacred"; to extend the reference to the impiety, in the Latin sense, of civil war as such, would introduce an unsuitable touch of blame for the Royalists.

⁴ See *O.E.D.*, "armour", +3 and +4; "rattle" (vb.), I b and II b., with Marvell, "*The Unfortunate Lover*" 23 f.; "While round the rattling Thunder hurl'd,/As at the Fun'ral of the World".

with the first name of the present day,¹ but, suggesting “verax”, “veridica”, or “veriloqua”, is apt for this re-incarnation of Egeria, Roman embodiment of the highest female wisdom. As Egeria waited in her Grove for King Numa to visit and consult her, so *Vera* waits for Fairfax in the Grove of Bill-borow, and he, momentarily, re-incarnates that wise and pious king²; in actual fact, the lady *followed* her husband, hither and thither, in the swift movements of the Yorkshire fighting (being taken, on one occasion, and briefly held prisoner), and joined him, whenever possible, as he went, in 1644-49, from part to part of England.³ Yet again comes a fleeting change in tone, as Fairfax/Numa turns to the shepherd-lover of Latin pastoral, engraving his mistress’ name upon the trees. Together with “wounds” (which glances back to 36), the love of the trees for their mistress makes them, not only sacred, but sentient, Dryades that are both oaks and oak-spirits; yet 46-8 are also designed to take us to their even more important love for their “Great Master”.

Stanza VII

For they ('tis credible) have sense,
 As We, of Love and Reverence,
 And underneath the Courser Rind
 The *Genius* of the house do bind.
 Hence they successes seem to know,
 And in their *Lord's* advancement grow;
 But in no Memory were seen
 As under this so streight and green.

It was as the tutelary deity of the *Grove* that Fairfax protected it in stanza V. Now (line 52) the *Grove*, with the Roman implications of *Genius*, becomes, for the moment, the protector and generator of the Fairfaxes down the ages; in strictly Roman terms, the family would depend upon its *genius*, just as the *genius* cannot exist and flourish without the family.⁴ But what is

¹ Our “Vera” came from Russia in the 19th century. See *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Names*.

² For the meetings of Numa and Egeria, Livy i. 21; Plutarch, *Numa* 4. l. f., and 8. 6.

³ See Markham, *op. cit.*

⁴ The Italian humanist of the 16th century, Natalis Comes (Conti), well understood the conception of the *genius*, in both its generative and its protective rôle. Cf. his *Mythologia*, p. 292 (1651 edition): “Dictus . . . est Genius, ut

developed here is the way the *Grove/Genius* has grown, in its joy at the achievements of each successive Lord, till now, under the greatest, it flourishes more than ever before.¹ Simultaneously, in the couplet 51 f., the conceit asks us to recall the double sense of "liber" in Latin, for it makes the trees living books, *binding*, within themselves, the genius (in the common English sense) of the line of Fairfax. This conceit is unmistakable in the light of Marvell's *Hortus*,² but the stanza only preludes the return, in VIII, to Fairfax's character and career.

Stanza VIII

Yet now no further strive to shoot,
Contented if they fix their Root.
Nor to the winds uncertain Gust,
Their prudent Heads too far intrust

Precisely what was said about Fairfax in terms of the *Hill* in the first part of the poem (II) is now said in terms of the *Grove*. The first couplet, with its obvious suggestion of Fairfax's Yorkshire "roots", needs no comment; the second asks us to recall the *aura popularis* or *ventus popularis* of Roman speakers and writers, though the fickleness, not of an electorate, but of the political "winds of change" is indicated.³ Since King Charles had lost his head only very recently, "their prudent Heads . . ." might even seem to glance, grimly playful, at conceivable dangers for Fairfax, were he to be drawn again into the arena of politics; yet the hint (if it is such) is fleeting, and the political wind yields,

placuit Latinis, a gignendo, vel quia nobiscum gignatur, vel quia illi procreandorum cura divinitus commissa putaretur. Hic creditur nobis clam nunc suadens, nunc dissuadens, universam vitam nostram gubernare, esseque mentis et voluntatis nostrae prope moderator".

¹ In line 54, *Lord's* must refer to each *Master* in turn, rather than to our Fairfax as the Third Lord.

² Lines 25 ff. Ah quoties saevos vidi (quis credat?) Amantes
Sculpentes Dominae potiori in cortice nomen?
Nec puduit truncis inscribere vulnera sacris.
Ast Ego, si vestras unquam temeravero stirpes,
Nulla Neaera, Chloe, Faustina, Corynna, legetur:
In proprio sed quaeque libro signabitur Arbos.

³ Inevitable though the figure is and common in English, any lover of Horace will certainly be reminded of ". . . arbitrio popularis aerae" (*Odes*, III. 2. 20).

suddenly, to the *aura rumoris*,¹ as it accosts the “breathing Trees”. Their response, following in Stanza IX, invites the conclusion to which Marvell will steer the poem in X.

Stanzas IX-X

Much other Groves, say they, then these
 And other Hills him once did please.
 Through Groves of Pikes he thunder'd then,
 And Mountains rais'd of dying Men.
 For all the *Civick Garlands* due
 To him our Branches are but few.
 Nor are our Trunks enow to bear
 The *Trophees* of one fertile Year.

'Tis true, ye Trees nor ever spoke
 More certain *Oracles* in Oak.
 But Peace (if you his favour prize)
 That Courage its own Praises flies.
 Therefore to your obscurer Seats
 From his own Brightness he retreats :
 Nor he the Hills without the Groves,
 Nor Height but with Retirement loves.

If the trees began, in IX, with “modest whispers”, proper to the modesty of Fairfax, they end their stanza with a flourish, giving the cue for the peroration of X. In this, the poet's rebuke to the trees is so managed as to permit the final turn into epigrammatic compliment uniting *Hill* and *Grove*.

The reader would take, at once, the point of 65 f., serried spears being forest-like or grove-like to both ancient and modern poets. In the following stanza, were we to invoke the imperial victor of Roman panegyric, blasting the enemy, Jove-like, with thunder and lightning, we would be supporting the real thunder of Fairfax's guns with echoes of tired hyperbole; in any case, emphasis is moved, in 69 f., by more useful allusion, from the work of destruction, as such, to something else. For since the Grove is of oaks, it is at once apparent that the *Civick Garlands* answer strictly to the Roman *corona civica*. This was, by regulation, of twigs of that tree² (splendid examples of which

¹ Here, of course, Marvell need not be thinking of any one particular use of this figure (such as Vergil, *Aeneid* vii. 646).

² Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* xvi. 12 ff.

grew in the park at Appleton House, loved by Fairfax).¹ But the important reason for "the *Civick Garlands* due" is in the super-eminence of the *corona* among Roman decorations, and the conditions of its award. Strictly, these were that a Roman should save a citizen in battle, killing an enemy in act of special bravery to do so, that no ground be lost in the day's action, and the man saved should propose the honour for his saver, and place the crown on his head.² But the *corona* became one of the supreme political honours, when Augustus received it from the Senate as saviour of state and people.³ Fairfax, interested in Roman warfare, will have taken the point.⁴ It would remind him of the signal and repeated honours conferred upon him by Parliament; more important, it turns the stanza from the destruction he effected of Royalists to the salvation he helped bring to the country.

Marvell did not have to distill the significance of the civic crown from far-flung allusions in the Latin historians and poets, for it is summed up by Pliny in his *Historia Naturalis* xvi.⁵ Trees are the subject of this book, with much space given to their various uses in Italy and the Empire; as a historically-minded patriot and ex-officer, Pliny is drawn into a disquisition on the oaken crown even before he gets to his account of the oak family and its major uses. Passing from this family through a discussion of many trees, he comes, finally, to parasites on trees; here he has things to say about the mistletoe, and especially about the veneration accorded it by the Gallic Druids, if found growing upon the hard-oak.⁶ Marvell evidently pursued his interest in the oak to this passage, and had its detail in mind when he wrote of Mary Fairfax, in stanza LXXXIII of *Appleton House*:

¹ In translating *La Solitude* of St. Amant, Fairfax substituted "ancient oaks" for "bois" (stanza I).

² Pliny, op. cit. xvi. 12 ff.

³ A fact perhaps known to Marvell from Ovid, (see *Tristia*, III. 1. 35-50; *Fasti*, I. 614.) Augustus' public record of his achievements, the *Res Gestae*, was known among European scholars from the 16th century; but Marvell is less likely to have known the passage there (col. 34, lines 17 f.), or in Cassius Dio (LIII. 16. 4).

⁴ He produced, without publishing it, a version of Flavius Vegetus on the Roman art of war (along with a number of other translations) (Markham, op. cit. p. 368).

⁵ 7-14.

⁶ Op. cit. xvi. 249 ff.

Hence *She* with Graces more divine
 Supplies beyond her *Sex* the *Line* ;
 And, like a *Sprig of Mistleto*,
 On the *Fairfacian Oak* does grow ;
 Whence, for some universal good,
 The *Priest* shall cut the sacred Bud ;
 While her *glad Parents* most rejoice,
 And make their *Destiny* their *Choice*.

These lines refer to the marriage of Mary Fairfax (envisaged as something certain), and to the propagation through her, an only child, of the virtues of the Fairfacian line ; the Plinian passage is too long to quote, but, if a reader considers it, he will see that the detail of Marvell's stanza corresponds with detail in Pliny.¹

When the poem reaches " the *Trophees* of one fertile Year ", accurate classical reference continues ; for an oak might appropriately be used by a Roman victor for display of trophies on its trunk.² From Stanza VI, the allusions to the oak, in its Greek, Roman and Fairfacian significance are all twined together. Thus the " breathing " trees of stanza VIII evoke, by their whispers, the idea of oracular oaks, before the explicit reference, in 73 f., to the groves of Dodona ; this (in 74) touches, lightly but correctly, on the poetic convention whereby ancient poets, when it suited their book, treated oracles with an awed respect for their infallibility, by no means deserved.

The pronouncements of oracular shrines appear, in one Roman view, as the first poetry, and those who speak them for the god, as the first poets ; oracles were commonly associated with sacred groves. Since Roman writers were sensitive to the beauty and mystery of woods and forests rather than to the scenery of bare mountains, the former are often regarded (in a way less merely conventional than Parnassus and Helicon) as places of inspiration for such as are worthy to receive it ; the poet in

¹ Op. cit. xvi. 249 ff.

² Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* xi. 5 ff, though the detail here would not suit Marvell's couplet, since Aeneas cuts off the oak's branches and sets up the trunk for the trophies ; but see the later *Poem upon the Death of O.C.*, 261 ff. :

Not much unlike the sacred oak, which shoots
 To Heav'n its branches, and through earth its roots :
 Whose spacious boughs are hung with trophies round,
 And honour'd wreaths have oft the victour crown'd.

Tacitus' *Dialogus* declares, rejecting the contempt of the ambitious barrister for that way of life¹:

Nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum, quod Aper increpabat, tantam mihi adferunt voluptatem ut inter praecipuos carminum fructus numerem quod non in strepitu nec sedente ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordes ac lacrimas reorum componuntur, sed secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia fruiturque sedibus sacris. Haec eloquentiae primordia, haec penetralia; hoc primum habitu cultuque commoda mortalibus in illa casta et nullis contacta vitiis pectora influxit; sic oracula loquebantur.

Through these associations (though all this second part of the poem is detached in tone, if compared with the woodland passages of *Appleton House*) the single word "Groves" becomes eloquent; and in the final three couplets, if the clever play with Fairfax's prowess and self-imposed eclipse does not over-occupy us, he is praised, not just for modesty, but for a modesty which chose and cherishes the right life for him: that life which Horace conveys in the literary *Epistle* opening:

Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,
quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?
scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat,
an tacitum silvas inter reptare salubris,
curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonoque est?²

Yet this modesty is only the last mentioned aspect of what the whole poem has praised: that is the *modestia* of Fairfax. The Latin word expresses better than any one English word the strong sense in an individual of the limits he should observe,³ and it is applied to Fairfax in an almost contemporary tribute, that by Milton in the *Defensio Secunda* of 1654. Milton, who in 1648 had expressed hope that Fairfax would eventually lead in the political and moral restoration of England,⁴ was disappointed, but

¹ *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, 12. 1 f.

² *Epistles*, I. 4. 1 ff.; for Fairfax's employment of his leisure, see Markham, *op. cit.* 368 ff.; 415 ff., for specimens of his verses.

³ The *modestus* perceives that, in Horace's words, "est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines, / quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum" (*Satires*, I. 1. 106 f.) This is the primary Roman usage of *modestus/modestia*, perhaps influenced by Aristotle's *μεσότης*, where, in a particular matter or field, the right limit for a particular man may come either low or high on the scale between deficiency and excess. Caesar uses *modestia* for a sense of discipline in soldiers (*B.G.* vii. 52).

⁴ In the famous sonnet, "Fairfax, whose name . . .".

not angered, at his withdrawal to Yorkshire. In the *Defensio*, passing from Cromwell to Fairfax and certainly using *modestia* in its dominant Latin sense, Milton wrote "sed neque te fas est praeterire, Fairfaxi, in quo cum summa fortitudine summam modestiam, summam vitae sanctitatem, et natura et divinus favor conjunxit";¹ and went on to the combination, in Fairfax, of *modestia*, in the Latin sense, with modesty in the English sense: "tu harum in partem laudum tuo iure ac merito evocandus es; quanquam in illo tuo nunc secessu, quantus olim Literni Africanus ille Scipio, abdis te quoad potes, nec hostem solum sed ambitionem, et quae praestantissimum quemque mortalium vincit gloriam quoque vicisti".² It did not suit Milton's encomium to go beyond this classical and Lycidean language to a more precise definition of Fairfax's *modestia*, in the manner of the Bill-borow poem; in Marvell, by contrast, the *Hill* that rises so far and no further, the *Grove* that shoots so high and no higher, not only convey Fairfax's act of resignation, but make this expression of his *modestia* the burden of the poem.³ A poem in such terms may well have been written when the resignation was still fairly recent; however that may be, *The Hill and Grove* is not least admirable for the literary *modestia* it uses in praise of that quality in the addressee.⁴

II. *Musick's Empire*

I

First was the World as one great Cymbal made,
Where Jarring Windes to infant Nature plaid.
All Musick was a solitary sound,
To hollow Rocks and murm'ring Fountains bound.

¹ *The Works of John Milton* (Columbia, 1933), viii. 216.

² The Columbia translation (viii. 217) should have linked "quantus" with "tu".

³ Any doubt about the reading of the opening couplet of stanza VIII is settled by *The First Anniversary of the Government under O.C.*, 257 ff., esp. 262-5, with its allusion to the "cedars of Lebanon" in Isaiah (ii. 13).

⁴ Since Fairfax's character will stand without the testimony of the two poets, and my point is only the use by Milton of the same moral conception as Marvell, we need not worry that Milton's encomium belongs to a work wholly lacking, in the tone of its personal references, in the very quality of *modestia*.

II

Jubal first made the wilder Notes agree ;
 And *Jubal* tuned Musicks *Jubilee* :
 He call'd the *Ecchoes* from their sullen Cell,
 And built the *Organs City* where they dwell.

III

Each sought a consort in that lovely place ;
 And *Virgin Trebles* wed the manly *Base*.
 From whence the *Progeny* of numbers new
 Into harmonious *Colonies* withdrew.

IV

Some to the *Lute*, some to the *Viol* went,
 And others chose the *Cornet* eloquent.
 These practising the *Wind*, and those the *Wire*,
 To sing *Mens Triumphs*, or in *Heavens* quire.

V

Then *Musick*, the *Mosaique* of the *Air*,
 Did of all these a solemn noise prepare :
 With which *She* gain'd the *Empire* of the *Ear*,
 Including all between the *Earth* and *Sphear*.

VI

Victorious sounds ! yet here your *Homage* do
 Unto a gentler *Conqueror* than you ;
 Who though *He* flies the *Musick* of his praise,
 Would with you *Heavens Hallelujahs* raise.

In stanzas I-V *Musicks Empire* elaborates a politico-musical conceit in boldly ingenious detail ; stanza VI so manages its compliment to the "Conqueror" as to yield an epigrammatic conclusion which is yet more serious than the fantasy of I-V. Certain though it seems that *Fairfax* is the addressee of the compliment,¹ no clear ground appears to date *Musicks Empire* to *Marvell's* life at *Appleton House*, along with those poems addressed to *Fairfax* by name and concerned with his *paterna rura* ; but this is not the sort of poem where doubt as to date produces doubt about intention which must be faced at the start.

The wild race of primeval sounds lived in anarchy. *Jubal*, brought them from anarchy under rule, creating a community ordered by musical law, the "Organs City". From the *Organs City*, as marriages brought abundant offspring, colonies were

¹ See below, p. 482.

founded, each observing its own new kind of music. Finally, the universal Empire of Music was established. The idea of the self-sufficient, self-renewing, self-enlarging world of anthropomorphic sounds conquers the reader's fancy ; but the poet begins leading him back to our world with the last line of IV, and the penultimate of V, proclaiming the conquest, by the united forces of music, of the human ear. This eases the transition to the compliment ; even here the anthropomorphism is kept till the poem comes to an exultant period celebrating the glory of music in Christian worship.

Whatever may be said, *Musick's Empire* is not allegory, since these stages are not meant to correspond to real stages in the expansion of the art of music, nor is there really anything philosophic in the temper of the poem.¹ It is a fantasy, in language combining musical and political meaning, which associates felicitously Greek legend, biblical tradition, Greco-Roman political achievement, and Christianity : a politico-musical conceit. The first stanza begins in a vein of classicizing allusion.

Stanzas I-II

First was the World as one great Cymbal made
Where Jarring Windes to infant Nature plaid.

In this bold language, the world is " one great Cymbal " because it rings throughout as with clashing cymbals ; these are the fierce winds as they " jar " or collide. Marvell means the reader to think of the storm-winds, as conceived by the classical poets in telling of man's early days. Ever since, in Homer, Odysseus was wrecked, near Phaeacia, by the convergence of four storm blasts, the idea of fiercely colliding winds—not always four at once—drew the poets ; but most the epicists, who had to subject the mightier men of old to mightier storms.² In Marvell's

¹ For the poem as imperfect allegory see J. B. Leishmann, *The Art of Marvell's Poetry*, pp. 218 ff. H. Toliver's philosophical account (*Marvell's Ironic Vision*, pp. 171 f.) introduces thoughts extraneous to the poem.

² See Homer, *Odyssey*, V. 291-6, with *Iliad*, XVI. 765 ff. ; Alcaeus 18 ; Aeschylus *Prometheus* 1085 ff. ; Vergil, *Aeneid*, i. 50 ff., 81 ff. ; Horace, *Odes*, I. 3. 12 f. and I. 9. 10 f. ; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI. 489 ff. The subject is well discussed by H. H. Huxley in " Storm and Shipwreck in Roman Literature ", *Greece and Rome*, no. 63 (1952), 118 f. Ancient cymbals, unlike modern, were actually *clashed* ; which is more suitable here.

primeval world, the winds jar doubly, in collision and conflict, and in the harsh noise they make¹; it is an unmusical music that they create for "infant Nature".

The thought of the "great Cymbal" is classical in another way. "Infant Nature" has played to her the very music, which, in the Greek theogony, the infant Zeus has played to him in his cradle. Kronos kept eating the infants born to him by the goddess, Rhea. But Zeus, so soon as he was born, was hidden by her in a cave in Crete; her attendants, the Curetes, danced and clashed their weapons, to drown his wailings from Kronos' ears. Rhea was eventually identified with the great Earth Mother, Cybele; the priests of Cybele, the Corybantes, who clashed *cymbals* in her worship, became identified, especially in the enactment of this story, with the Curetes, their cymbals being seen as the Curetes' weapons.² Reference simply to this story would connect the winds only by very oblique allusion with the Curetes/Corybantes; but these actually were wind-powers in one Greek tradition, and are addressed in a late Greek hymn in language which, with no mention of the legend about Zeus, equates them with the winds.³ The ascription of this hymn, along with others in the same collection, to Orpheus, was taken seriously in the Renaissance,⁴ and may have something to do with the interest in the identification shown by the Italian humanist Natalis Comes (Conti), in his great mythological encyclopedia published in 1551.⁵ The hymn is twice quoted in this work,

¹ In seventeenth-century English, x "jars", or "is jarring", if it sounds discordantly, or grates on the ear; if it strikes y with concussion; if it conflicts with y; if it disputes, wrangles, etc., with y. These various senses seem combined here: see *O.E.D.*, "jar" and "jarring". The idea of winds "jarring" interests Sandys in his commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* XI, where he defends the possibility (see his version, p. 216 in the 1640 edition): cf. Cowley *Davideis*, I, his note 24.

² See (*inter alia*) Ovid, *Fasti*, IV. 179 ff. (especially 199-214), with J. G. Frazer's comments, his edition iii. 202; cf. Vergil, *Georgics*, iv. 149-52.

³ *Orphei Hymni*, XXXVIII. 1-3, and 21 f. in *Orphica*, ed. Abel (Teubner, 1885) (the most accessible edition).

⁴ C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus sive de Theologiae Mysticae Graecorum Causis*, I. 407: "mendax titulus doctorum oculos ita praestrinxit ut venerabundi quasi ad adyti limen consisterent Pierique cantoris vocem ex occulto sibi audire viderentur."

⁵ *Natalis Comitum Mythologiae sive Explicationis Fabularum Libri Decem* (the first publication of 1551 was at Venice): see p. 971 f. of the 1651 edition.

which, going through a number of editions in the sixteenth century, exercised considerable influence on English writers around 1600, and may have been in equal vogue among them in the seventeenth, since it continued to be re-published.¹ Marvell's stanza obviously cannot admit the idea, conveyed in the hymn and discussed by Comes, that the winds have a pre-eminent life and increase-giving role in nature²; but the opening couplet is clearly meant to evoke the Curetes, and they are intended to give Greek colour to the picture of the primordial world ranged by the "jarring Windes". There is no saying whether Marvell had read the Hymn, or only Comes quoting from it; but it may well be that a reader, suspecting more in the stanza than was evident, would resort to the practice, in such case, of John Marston and consult his copy of the *Mythologia*.³

The reader—it is soon clear—is meant to recall the elaborate treatment, by classical poets, of the equation of human strife with storm, and of storm with strife among men. Vergil applies the idea of storm repeatedly and variously to battle; but most à propos here is the episode of *Aeneid* i, where Aeolus, tempted by Juno, opens his cave and releases the inmates, "luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras". These, converging upon the Trojan fleet, threaten to annihilate it, when Neptune hears the din, checks the winds, and calms the waves; he comes upon the scene like the responsible statesman who brings the popular assembly, from its fiercely lawless mood, under swift control.⁴

¹ For the influence of the *Mythologia* in England around 1600, see J. Seznec *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (1953), pp. 312 ff. Seznec's list of the editions, p. 279, shows how widely it was used in Italy, Germany, France, and Switzerland; but omits the Geneva edition of 1651 and the Lyons edition of 1653.

² The title of the *Mythologia* has added to it the words, expressive of Comes' outlook: "In quibus (libris) omnia prope Naturalis et Moralis Philosophiae dogmata contenta fuisse demonstrantur".

³ John Marston's remarks in his *Satire*, II. 16-35 (1598) were directed at the allusive obscurity of other contemporary *satirists*, but he might well have spoken in like terms about other poetry of his own and the next age; his resort to the reference works used by poets, *Satire*, II. 26-29. The most relevant lines are quoted by Seznec, op. cit. p. 314.

⁴ *Aeneid*, i. 148-53. Cf. Alcaeus 18, likening the position of his party, caught in *stasis*, to the plight of a ship's crew amid the strife of "jarring winds". *Ab Homero principium*: a most telling comparison of battle with "jarring winds" is *Iliad*, XVI. 765-76.

ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
 seditio saevitque animis ignobile vulgus ;
 iamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat ;
 tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
 conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus astant ;
 ille regit dictis animos et pectore mulcet.

Until the statesman intervenes, Marvell's winds and the sounds they make are discordant, because under no law. They live solitary, too, a life which, in Greek terms, has the same cause, since only law can bring primitive solitaries into social connection ; bound to lonely places, the "wilder notes" answer to that notorious type, for the Greeks, of pre-social life, the Cyclopes of Homer, who "have no assemblies for the making of laws nor any settled customs, but live in hollow caverns in the mountain heights".¹ The term "wilder" appropriately covers both the fierce, conflicting winds, and the calmer, but solitary, notes, which are wild in the sense the word is used of flowers. "Wilder", imitating Latin usage, means "more wild than they should be" : a felicitous touch in a classicizing poem.²

Stanzas II-V

Not the Jewish race, but the Greeks, came to typify, for later times, the supersession, in secular life, of anarchy by order. The achievement of the Greek city-founder, as seen by their historians and prose writers, was that he found the people of a district in anarchy, with each small settlement independent, but left them organized in a *polis*, under one law, administered from a single centre, which would now attract new inhabitants from the country.³ Marvell's aplomb did not need the help of fashionable syncretism to disarm the reader when the biblical inventor of music is suddenly transformed into a Greek, drawing rural, solitary, and discordant sounds, under *συννοικισμός*, within a musical *polis* and the rule of law. Simultaneously, Jubal takes on

¹ *Odyssey*, IX. 112 ff. (as rendered by E. V. Rieu). Aristotle (*Politics*, 1252 b) quotes the passage as hitting off life before the *polis*.

² For an example in Marvell, see *The First Anniversary of the Government under O.C.*, 51, where "the rougher stones" yet obey Amphion's lute.

³ Thucydides, II. 15 ; Aristotle, *Politics*, 1252 b ; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 24 and 32. Raleigh, in his *History of the World* (1652 edition, I. ii. p. 367), alludes to the *συννοικισμός* of Attica under Theseus.

the likeness of the ancient *vates*, with his plurality of civilizing functions ; but the *vates*, since a paragraph from Horace is required for the point, may be briefly postponed for the sake of details of stanza II.

The city must be the *Organ*, not only because Jubal, in his one appearance in the Bible, is briefly termed (after mention of his parents) “ father of all such as handle the harp and organ ”,¹ but equally because, for the conceit, the instrument must have an affinity with a city, in appearance and in complexity, and because only such a great and various wind-instrument suits the fancy of sounds gathered in from the sky, waters, mountains, and subterranean regions. The *Ecchoes*, picking up the thought of “ hollow Rocks ”, bring in a legendary theme that might, in either of its forms, have been made for Marvell’s poem. In the *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus, the nymph, Echo, rejects Pan till he makes his shepherds tear her limb from limb ; yet her μέλη (limbs *and* songs) still resound in all the underground places, since the Goddess Earth buries the fragments in these, preserving for each the power of voice in the grave.² Marvell’s *Ecchoes* are, likewise, bound each to the cell that is her living grave, and “ sullen ” conveys, not only gloomy darkness and sad reverberations, but the resentful despair of the prisoner³; thus the word may glance at the Echo of Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*.⁴ In the pain of rejected love Ovid’s Echo :

spreta latet silvis, pudibundaque frondibus ora
 protegit, et solis ex illo vivit in antris.
 sed tamen haeret amor crescitque dolore repulsae :
 adducitque cutem macies, et in aëra sucus
 corporis omnis abit. vox tantum atque ossa supersunt.
 vox manet : ossa ferunt lapidis traxisse figuram.
 inde latet silvis nulloque in monte videtur ;
 omnibus auditur. sonus est, qui vivit in illa.

The view of city foundation in the Greek prose writers is matched by a poetical tradition, evidently of Greek origin, but crystallized by Horace in the *Ars Poetica*. Here too we find the great individual, who leads men to the establishment of a better life under law ; but the emphasis is on the vital connection of his

¹ Gen. 4. 21.

³ *O.E.D.* s.v. 4 ; 3 b ; 1, with 1 b.

² *Op. cit.* iii. 21.

⁴ *Op. cit.* iii. 393-401.

political achievement with aspects of his genius concerned with music in the Greek sense :

silvestris homines sacer interpresque deorum
 caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,
 dictus ob hoc lenire tigris rabidosque leones ;
 dictus et Amphion, Thebanæ conditor urbis,
 saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda
 ducere quo vellet. fuit hæc sapientia quondam,
 publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis,
 concubitu prohibere vago, dare iura maritis,
 oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno.
 sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque
 carminibus venit.¹

The *vates* combines, in himself, the persons of the poet-musician, the prophet-priest, and the city-founder or law-giver. He is stripped of his miracles, because Horace wishes us to take seriously certain essential truth in the tradition, significant for the use of poetry ; the *vates*, though Horace does not actually say this, is conceived as so beguiling his audience with his melody, voice, and lyre—with *μουσική*—that the message of his inspired words works with double civilizing power upon them ; whether Horace actually suggests that music, by harmonizing the inward spirits of men, predisposes them to social harmony, is not so clear. This, however, does not matter here, since Marvell, though alive to philosophic ideas about music, is concerned, in *Musick's Empire*, to exploit the picturesque, legendary, aspect of the tradition ; he does the same in one passage of a possibly contemporary poem, *The First Anniversary of the Government under O.C.* (1655).

In one passage of this panegyric, the spirit of Ovid has possession of Marvell : the lines likening Cromwell, as refounder of Britain, to Amphion, who built the second Thebes miraculously with his lyre.² Ovid alludes, indeed, only in passing to Amphion in the *Metamorphoses* ; nor is the *idea* Ovidian, when Cromwell “ . . . cuts his way still nearer to the Skyes, / Learning a Musique in the Region clear, / To tune this lower to that higher Sphere”, or when the description of Amphion makes his music irresistible

¹ *Ars Poetica*, 391-401.

² ll. 45-86.

to the stones because it catches the *harmonia mundi*.¹ But the tone and manner, from line forty-nine, is that of the *Metamorphoses*. The reader is swept by the nimble rhythm into a world of fantasy so gay and ingenious that it seems irrelevant to ask how seriously the estimate of Cromwell is intended. When the Lord Protector begins, under the new constitution, to create "Order and Consent", men, normally more stubborn than stones, respond with alacrity to the new Amphion; and "... all compos'd by his attractive Song, / Into the Animated City throng,"² each to his proper place. The connection between the genius of the musician and of the statesman is specially à propos in *The First Anniversary*, because music delighted Cromwell; in the case of the inventor of music, was it not natural for Marvell, intrigued by synoecism and the fancied part of music therein, to make him city-founder in his own proper territory? As it was in England, when Cromwell "tun'd the ruling Instrument", so it was in the world of sounds, when Jubal "tuned Musicks Jubilee". In the panegyric, the nimble aplomb of the lines carries off the pun on the Instrument of Government of 1653; the verbal grace and the euphony of *Musicks Empire* make acceptable the play on Jubal and Jubilee.

Each sought a consort in that lovely place.

By the play on "consort," each note seeks maritally a spouse; musically, an according or accompanying note; politically, a colleagues or associate.³ The *polis* is "lovely", as the "hollow rocks" and "sullen cell" were unlovely; but now it takes on Roman colour. It sends out multiple colonies, and finally, calling on all its resources, gains, by conquest, universal "Empire of the Ear". Rome is clearly suggested by the words "including all between the Earth and Sphear", but not less by her special glory as the universal empire achieved "ab exiguis . . .

¹ John Hollander comments on this in *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500-1700*, pp. 303-5; admirably, so far as a musical layman can judge. I find his remarks (309-15) on *Musicks Empire* persuasive in part, but am not convinced by the suggested "Protestant" or "Puritan" elements; and he seems to go needlessly far from the lines.

² *The First Anniversary*, 85 f.

³ See *O.E.D.*, "consort", sb¹, 1 and 3; and "consort" sb², 3.

initiis".¹ This theme of Latin and later literature must have been familiar to Marvell in his teens; and the Roman imperial impression is confirmed by the "harmonious Colonies", which, like the colonies of Rome, are founded by disciplined bodies, remain integrally bound to the state, and serve its expansion. As the resources of Rome were used in concerted fashion, so music's forces are employed in concert; thus "Empire" comes to the "Victorious sounds".

The Colonies are "harmonious", carrying on the politico-musical harmony of the parent city. The word accords perfectly with the conceit; though the play upon it does not rival, in ingenuity, the lines of *The First Anniversary* about Amphion:

The listning Structures he with Wonder ey'd
And still new Stopps to various Time apply'd.

: : : : : :

Thus, ere he ceas'd, his sacred Lute creates
Th' harmonious City of the Seven Gates.²

Here Thebes is "harmonious" because it is built by the lyre of the founder-musician; because its Seven Gates answer to its seven strings (and to the Spheres); because it is (still) politically harmonious; and because (more recondite) it is associated, through Cadmus, with Harmonia, his glorious bride, the patron (in after-life) of order and beauty in this world. Marvell is the best commentator on his own subtlety, and the colonizing progeny of new musical patterns (the "numbers new") are linked with the *Ecchoes*, if we look at the neat Latin fragment *Upon an Eunuch: a Poet*:

Nec sterilem te crede; licet, mulieribus exul,
falcem virginiae nequeas inmittere messi
et nostro peccare modo; Tibi Fama perenne
praegnabit, rapiesque novem de monte Sorores,
et pariet modulos *Echo* repetita Nepotes.

In IV, the colonists take up, some stringed instruments that they pluck, others stringed instruments played with a bow, others wind music; the lute, the viol, and the cornet stand each for the class of kindred instruments. For the poem is going on

¹ Livy, *Praefatio*, 4. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, I. 197 ff.; Propertius, IV. 1. 1-36, etc.

² *The First Anniversary of the Government under O.C.*, 57 f., 65 f.

to the wonderful diversity-in-unity of music when she achieves her destined imperial greatness.

Then Musick, the Mosaïque of the Air,
Did of all these a solemn noise prepare.

Music, as *musice musicans*, the art that creates the "solemn noise" with the air as its medium, is compared to the art of mosaic-making, in *its* medium.¹ But "Mosaïque" weaves in further ideas; by the allusion to the law of Moses, the idea of the laws of music, indispensable for harmony²; through the image of a great tessellation (conceivably a mosaic ceiling), the idea of *musice musicata*, when all the resources of sound are employed, as a vast pattern of notes fully organized throughout. The imperial idea of stanza V might suggest that the poet was touching, momentarily, on the idea of the Roman Empire as a political tessellation; if the diversity-in-unity of that Empire was a familiar notion to him. But did the word suggest to Marvell the tessellations of imperial Roman architecture, or those great church mosaics he will have seen in his Italian travels? What is certain is the Greek touch. For the conceit must allude to the common derivation of "Mosaïque" from the supposed Greek term, *μουσαϊκόν*, "work of the Muses". That derivation is endorsed in 1579 by J. J. Scaliger, who defends the spelling "musaicum" ("opus musaicum") in contemporary Latin, and explains the ancient Latin term "musivum" ("opus musivum") as likewise derived from the Greek *μουσεῖον*.³ In England the association of mosaic and music may have been encouraged, before Marvell wrote, by the ways of spelling both words still found in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, especially the use of "ou" or "u", in the former word⁴; but the line may also reflect the classical comparison of *verbal* eloquence with elaborate tessellation, an idea used by Lucilius, and by a prose contemporary of Marvell, who emphasizes the importance of practice to the speaker: practice brings arts to perfection, and from it

¹ See *O.E.D.*, "mosaic". The word is used, in the period, both for the art and the product, and figuratively.

² "Mosaic" in this period, can mean "the Mosaic Law": *O.E.D.*, s.v.

³ See the comment, in his *Manilius*, on V. 288 f. (p. 405 in the 1590 Heidelberg edition).

⁴ See *O.E.D.*, s.v., introduction, and *ibid.*, "musive".

“Eloquence receives her beauteous colours, her Musive or Mosaïque Excellency, whereby she becomes most accomplished”.¹

In so far as the allusion is to the *making* of mosaic, Musick may be compared to Marvell's *Fair Singer* “Whose subtile Art invisibly can wreath/My Fetters of the very Air I breath.” But more significant lines, in the poem *Upon Appleton House*, convey, in using “Mosaic”, a ceiling wrought by nature. The poet, in the domain of the House, gazes at the tracery of trees and foliage against the summer sky above him, and says :

What Rome, Greece, Palestine, ere said
I in this light *Mosaick* read.
Thrice happy he who, not mistook,
Hath read in *Natures mystick Book*.²

The “light Mosaick” made by nature confirms, to the poet, the wisdom discovered by Greece, Rome, and Palestine : in what it says to him there is an association, if not summation, of the teachings of the three civilizations, and it seems too appropriate for accident that “Mosaick” has a threefold content of association and allusion. If this appears too neat an argument from “Rome, Greece, Palestine” to the next line, the idea of the wisdom of the three civilizations and of its confirmation by nature is implicit in the foregoing and in following stanzas, so that the associative concentration of “light Mosaick” sums up this whole part of the poem ; the word looks both ways.³

A like concentration of meaning in the “Mosaïque” of *Musicks Empire* seems confirmed. I would not say that the triple reference of “Mosaïque” indicates that musical elements from Greece, Rome, and Palestine are united in the great tessellation of sound : that would be too pedantically neat. But certainly the word, with its three-fold connections, is appropriate to

¹ The classical comparison, Lucilius, II. 84 f. (Marx), noticed by Scaliger, loc. cit.; the speaker in Lucilius is, in fact, making fun of a precious and over-elaborate rhetoric. “Musive or Mosaïque Excellency”, John Bulwer, *Chironomia* (1644), p. 141 (explaining his deaf-and-dumb language, Bulwer is saying its users will need practice, just as those not handicapped need practice to attain the “Musive . . . Excellency” of eloquence).

² Stanza LXXIII.

³ “Light Mosaick”, taken as adjective/noun, allows a glance at the noun/adjective understanding ; but my point is not affected.

a fantasy with three threads, in the same way as "Mosaick", in *Appleton House*, answers to the three-fold wisdom of "Rome, Greece, Palestine".

Stanza VI

Though cleverly prepared, the passage to the compliment takes us by sudden boldness; to one remembering the *Epigramma*, the addressee must at once seem Fairfax. "Gentler Conqueror", a phrase perhaps more transparent then than now, answers to its "asper in adversos, facilis cedentibus idem" (making a claim that even Bishop King does not contradict, before the events of 1648, in his bitter denunciation of the execution of Lucas and Lisle at the surrender of Colchester)¹; the third line praises Fairfax's modesty, in terms akin to the conclusion of *The Hill and Grove* and Milton's encomium; the last line turns to his serious piety, conveyed, in a broader sense, in the ten opening stanzas of *Appleton House*. Yet this tribute need not raise our eyebrows against "Musicks Empire" as title; for "Heavens Hallelujahs raise", with its swelling emphasis, brings the poem to its period, not so much with compliment, but with the glorious place of music in the Christian's world.

¹ See *An Elegy on Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle* (1648), 213-240, esp. 219 ff. (*The Poems of Bishop Henry King*, O.U.P., p. 107 f.)