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THE DATE OF MARVELL'S *HORTUS*

Introduction

Marvell's well-known pair of poems, *The Garden* and *Hortus*, were for many years assumed to date from the very early 1650s, probably during the time Marvell spent at Nun Appleton. More recent scholarship, initiated by and largely indebted to an article published by Alan Pritchard in 1983, has tended to accept a much later, post-Restoration date for *The Garden* and the Latin companion poem, *Hortus*, albeit with a few dissenting voices in recent years.¹ A handful of pieces have suggested a range of possible sources and parallels for *Hortus*, although without any attempt to use a close reading of the Latin poem to draw conclusions about its likely date.² Most studies of the *Garden* engage little if at all with *Hortus*, and though there has been some discussion of the likely order of composition, no critic, to my knowledge, has suggested that they do not date from essentially the same time. Such bilingual paired poems, intended to be read and understood together (not as alternatives) are found frequently in this period, in both print and manuscript sources, although only a handful of critics have in fact read Marvell's poems together in this way.³ This article

¹ Pritchard, "Marvell's 'The Garden'", 371-88 places the poem after 1668. Both Smith, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon*, 219 and von Maltzahn, *Chronology*, 5 and 102 tie it to Marvell's time at Lord Wharton's estate at Wooburn in Buckinghamshire in 1668. Important counter-arguments have been offered recently by Clarke, "Marvell in Royalist Gardens" and Hirst and Zwicker, *Orphan of the Hurricane*, 164-77. Estelle Haan considers a dating to the period at Nun Appleton (late 1650-mid-1652) likely, and suggests that Marvell's production of bilingual poem-pairs at this time may have been related to his tutoring of Mary Fairfax (Haan, "From Neo-Latin to Vernacular", 50). Of course Marvell continued to act as a tutor after leaving Nun Appleton, now to Cromwell's ward John Dutton, first (1653-55) at Eton and then in France.

² King, "Notes on Marvell's 'Garden'", 118-21; McQueen and Rockwell, *Latin Poetry of Andrew Marvell*; McQueen, "Missing Stanzas", 173-9; Williamson, "Context of 'Hortus' and 'Garden'", 590-8; Potter, "Another Porker", 137-51; Jaeckle, "Bilingual Dialogues", 378-400; Haan, "From Neo-Latin to Vernacular", 43-64; Gruder-Poni, "Cupid in the Garden", 27-42. See also Smith, *Poems*, 160-2 and Margoliouth, *Poems and Letters*, 271).

³ For examples of paired Latin and English poems in printed collections close to (what I take to be) the date of Marvell's pieces, see for instance parallel Latin and English poems on pages 66-7, 92-3, 107, 119, 140, 148, 159, 166 in Mildmay Fane's *Otia Sacra* (London, 1648), a collection which has been linked to Marvell's *The Garden* by previous critics (see e.g. Smith, *Poems*, 153) and which Marvell is very likely to have read. (Mildmay Fane, the Second Earl of Westmoreland, was the uncle of Mary Fairfax, Marvell's pupil in the early 1650s.) The parallel presentation of paired Latin and English poems is ubiquitous in manuscript collections of this period: for some exploration of the bilingualism of manuscript verse collections, see Moul, "Anglo-Latin 'moralising' lyric", 345-69. For readings of Marvell's *Garden* and *Hortus* as a pair, see Potter, "Another Porker", 137-51; Jaeckle,

uses close attention to the Latin style and content of *Hortus* to argue that the traditional dating of the poem, and therefore almost certainly of the bilingual *Hortus-Garden* pair to the first half of the 1650s is correct, but places its composition during the years Marvell spent as tutor to John Dutton at Eton (1653-5), rather than at Nun Appleton. As such, it is also a case study in the dating of neo-Latin verse, of which many thousands of examples survive from seventeenth-century England.

The arguments advanced by Pritchard and Von Maltzahn for the post-Restoration dating of the *Garden* are, as several critics have pointed out, unconvincing in themselves, and emphasise the significance of one particular set of similarities, above all with Cowley's *Essays*, above the array of allusions to poets of the late 1640s and early 1650s which have been widely noted.⁴ This article is not primarily concerned with *The Garden*, but the detailed reading of the Latin of *Hortus* produces similar results: a clustering of parallels with Latin poetry either dating from, or particular popular during, the later 1640s and early 1650s. A few of these connections have been pointed out before, but without drawing any conclusions for the likely date of the poem; most of them, including some significant parallels, are new.

I take *The Garden* and *Hortus* to be political poems, which mark, albeit in an elusive way, Cromwell's emerging authority and the relationship of the poet to that transfer

"Bilingual Dialogues", 378-400; 2001; Haan, "From Neo-Latin to Vernacular", 43-64; Gruder-Poni, "Cupid in the Garden", 27-42. Although I argue for a different primary source for Cupid in *Hortus*, Gabriella Gruder-Poni offers one of the best readings of *The Garden* and *Hortus* as a pair.

⁴ The most concise and effective defence of the earlier dating for 'The Garden' is Clarke, "Marvell in Royalist Gardens", online. Clarke points out that the Katherine Philips's poem "A Country-life", which shares with "The Garden" the rhyme of 'rude' and 'solitude', was circulating in manuscript in the early 1650s. She also notes that recent criticism has tended to accept the assumption that Marvell's own poetry was probably circulating at least to some extent in this same period. Clarke notes in particular instances of the bark-carving trope, identified by Pritchard as an allusion to Cowley, in translations by Stanley and Sherburne published in 1651. This article does not revisit Clarke's arguments, but her emphasis upon the multiple links between *The Garden* and the royalist poetry of the late 1640s (Fane, Benlowes, Shirely, Hils' translation of Sarbiewski) accord closely with many of the observations this article makes about *Hortus*.

of power, probably in the aftermath of civil war (i.e. around 1652-5), and perhaps in the immediate aftermath of the first Anglo-Dutch war (which ended in 1654), rather than in the final years of active civil combat. I do not consider this interpretation to be at odds with the religious allegory of both pieces, which is especially prominent in *The Garden*; on the contrary, the combination of religious allegory and the celebration of a newly-secured peace is a common one. I also believe that the text of *Hortus* is indeed incomplete, with a (probably substantial) section missing from the poem. But none of these aspects of my interpretation are crucial to the argument about the dating of *Hortus* based on its intertextual fabric.

Restoration arguments

Pritchard's arguments for the Restoration dating of the poems relate only to *The Garden*; none of his arguments rest upon *Hortus*, which he brings in only once.⁵ Recent counter-arguments in support of the traditional earlier dating have also tended to ignore *Hortus*: neither Clarke nor Hirst and Zwicker make use of it in their important interventions. Smith's notes on the sources of *Hortus* are brief compared to those on *The Garden* and, aside from a reference to Pliny on the crown of grass, all the parallels noted are to Marvell's own poetry: the reader is offered no sense of how or to what extent the Latin poem engages with contemporary Latin literary culture, although Smith's edition is in general distinguished by its wealth of this kind of detail in the commentary on the English poems, and Marvell's tendency to incorporate in his verse echoes of and responses to his recent reading has been widely noted.⁶

⁵ He suggests that lines 38-40 are similar to the kind of retreat into Nature described in Sprat's account of Cowley's later life. But the language of a contemplative retreat into nature was typical also of royalist poets in the 1640s and 1650s, as demonstrated at some length in Clarke, "Marvell in Royalist Gardens", online.

⁶ A point acknowledged also by Pritchard: 'It has long been recognized that Marvell from the 1640s onward acquired many volumes of English poetry soon after their publication, and that the poems he had recently read quite often left specially strong marks on his work' (Pritchard, "Marvell's 'The Garden'", 381). Pritchard says 'English poetry' but Marvell was clearly also reading widely in contemporary Latin verse.

The only argument of which I am aware relating specifically to the dating of *Hortus* (as opposed to *The Garden*) is von Maltzahn's suggestion that the line 'Jupiter annosam, neglecta conjugē, quercum / Deperit' ('Jupiter, his wife neglected, is pining to death for an aged oak', *Hortus* 41-2) is an allusion to the song of the Cyclops to Galatea in Ovid, *Met.* 13.798-9 ('Saevior indomitis . . . Galatea iuvençis, / durior annosa quercu, fallacior undis', 'Galatea, wilder than untrained bullocks / harder than seasoned oak, more treacherous than waves'), and that this allusion functions here as a reference to 'the faithless Charles II, amusingly fixated on the Royal Oak'.⁷ There are several problems here: such an interpretation suggests that the mythology of the passage slips into allegory (Jupiter is Charles II) and then out again (no interpretation is offered for the allegorical significance of Mars, Phoebus or Pan); secondly, as Clarke points out, such a description could equally well be taken to refer to Charles I in 1648: imagery of oak trees, both falling, felled and resisting fall, were ubiquitous throughout the mid-seventeenth century in descriptions of both Charles I and Charles II.⁸ Thirdly and most significantly, the Ovidian line identified by von Maltzahn is not the most obvious allusion here. There is a closer (and more famous) image in Virgil, a simile that describes Aeneas' intransigence in the face of Dido's distress and Anna's pleas, after he has decided that he must leave Carthage:

fata obstant placidasque viri deus obstruit auris.

ac velut **annoso validam cum robore quercum**

Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc

⁷ von Maltzahn, "Marvell's Restoration Garden", online. See also von Maltzahn, *An Andrew Marvell Chronology*, 5, repeated by Smith, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon*, 220.

⁸ Clarke cites Lovelace's depiction of Charles I as the royal oak in Aramantha, probably written in 1648 (Clarke, "Marvell in Royalist Gardens", online). Clarke's interpretation of these lines is however marred by a misunderstanding: Jupiter is not here 'dying beside an old oak', he is 'pining to death' for it – he is in love with it.

eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
 consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
 ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras
 aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:
 haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
 tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
 mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.
 (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.440-9)

*The Fates resist, his Ears are stopp'd by Jove:
 As when fierce Northern blasts from th' Alpes descend,
 From his firm roots with struggling gusts to rend
 An aged sturdy Oak, the rattling sound
 Grows loud, with leaves and scatter'd arms the ground
 Is over-layd; yet he stands fixed, as high
 As his proud head is raised towards the Sky,
 So low towards Hell his roots descend. With Pray'rs
 And Tears the Hero thus assail'd, great cares
 He smothers in his Breast, yet keeps his Post,
 All their addresses and their labour lost.⁹*

Whereas Ovid is referring simply to the notorious hardness of oak as timber, Virgil here is (like Marvell) describing an actual tree, albeit in a simile. Virgil's passage evokes a rejected queen (Dido in Virgil, Juno in Marvell), whereas the Cyclops' song

⁹ Sir John Denham (1668), text from Tomlinson, *Verse in English Translation*, 159.

is about Galatea's rejection of *him*. Marvell's fantasy about the passionate avoidance of human passion evokes Aeneas at his most famously resistant to passion. Marvell's Jupiter falls, not for a woman, but for the tree that stands precisely for *resistance* to women. By evoking the most famous ancient narrative of the dangers of sexual passion in his description of the pleasures of being without such passion, the passage is in tune with the poem as a whole which is markedly erotic in its description of the renunciation of eroticism.

If the 'annosam . . . quercum' suggests the stoic Aeneas more immediately than the rejected Cyclops, then von Maltzahn's point about the satiric force of the line largely disappears. That is not to say that the line is not funny: much of the point of this passage derives from the quirk of Latin grammar in which trees, which belong universally to the relatively uncommon fourth declension, 'look' superficially like masculine nouns but are in fact all feminine – so Jupiter has fallen for an *annosam* (aged feminine thing) which turns out not to be an old woman, but an aged tree. Moreover, this passage of Virgil has close intertextual links with several other passages of Virgil (and Lucan) all of which are used to political effect in this period.¹⁰ In short, Marvell's *annosam . . . quercum* is both witty and politically suggestive, but it cannot plausibly be used as evidence for a post-Restoration dating of the poem.

Hortus and the end of war

¹⁰ Virgil, *Georgics* 2. 288-97 (the vineyard oak, frequently alluded to in relation to patriotic images of the 'English oak'); Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.583-94 (Latinus bravely resisting the demands of the people for war; this passage is the basis of the motto and verse found with the frontispiece engraving in many editions of *Eikon Basilike* (1649)); Lucan, *Bellum Civile*, 1.135-57 (Pompey as oak tree, Caesar as lightning, a famous double simile of great importance in this period, discussed in relation to Marvell's own 'Horatian Ode' Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 243-271; Smith, *Poems*, 267-72 and Moul, "Marvell and Fisher", 524-48 among many others). Marvell described Cromwell himself as an oak tree at his death ('A Poem upon the Death of his Late Highness the Lord Protector', 261-70).

Hortus returns repeatedly to motifs which mark or describe the conclusion of conflict and the end of war: this is a more noticeable feature of the Latin poem than of the English *Garden*, though the tendency to read *Hortus* as an unsatisfactory first draft of the *Garden* has perhaps obscured this point. The opening lines of the Latin poem repeat the noun ‘quies’ (‘tranquillae ad sarta quietis Alma Quies . . . et te germana quietis / Simplicitas’, 5, 7-8), a word which can mean ‘peace’ (as opposed to war) as well as the more personal ‘quiet’ or ‘repose’ of the English poem.¹¹ The crowns both of palm and of grass in line 2 evoke specifically military achievement.¹² The Latin of the opening verse paragraph of Marvell’s poem is in general more forceful than the English: *furor* (the ‘fury’, ‘rage’ or ‘madness’ of and for the palm, laurel and grass), *indomitos . . . labores* (‘untamed’, ‘unconquered’ labours) and *integra sylva* (‘untouched’, ‘intact’ forest) are all stronger terms than their English equivalents.¹³

One of the most significant and sustained differences between the Latin and English poems is in the treatment of ‘Amor’ (Love, or Cupid), who is barely more than an abstraction in *The Garden* (‘When we have run our passions’ heat, / Love hither

¹¹ For ‘Quies’ meaning Peace (as opposed to war) in poetry of this period, see for instance: ‘Et pacem è mediis revocasti fortiter umbris; / Unde Quies Satrapis pariter, Populoque reducta, / Pacatum spondet fati melioribus orbem’; ‘And you have courageously called peace out from the middle of shadows; / Hence Peace, brought back for leaders and people alike / Promises a world made calm by better fates [or perhaps ‘for better outcomes’]’ (Payne Fisher, *Irenodia Gratulatoria* (London, 1652), B2^r; reprinted in *Piscatoris Poemata* (London, 1656; Aa2^r [second gathering Aa]).

¹² A crown of palm is for military victory; the award of a crown of grass is associated by Pliny (*NH* XXII.iii.4) with the relief of a siege in particular. It was awarded more generally for a commander who saved a large number of his men from otherwise certain death. Devastating sieges were a repeated feature of the English civil war. The ‘palm, oak and bays’ of the English poem refer to military, civic and poetic achievements respectively (thus arguably reducing the emphasis upon war).

¹³ The metaphor of *integra sylva* partly anticipates the quasi-bodily imagery of penetration which is more pronounced in the Latin poem (e.g. *violasse recessus*, 12) and further echoed in the passage on tree-carving (25-31). The implicit personification of the woodland as female is a much stronger element of the Latin poem throughout. There may be a hint here too of the language of war: the desecration of woodland during the Civil War is a theme of many contemporary accounts and is often accompanied by pathetic personification. Compare for instance Fisher, *Marston Moor* (London, 1650), 15 (on the preparations for the siege of York in 1644).

makes his best retreat', 25-6). The conceit hinted at by 'his best retreat' is the site of a substantial allegory in the Latin poem, in which:

Hic Amor, exutis crepidatus inambulatur alis,
 Enerves arcus et stridula tela reponens,
 Invertitque faces, nec se cupit usque timeri
 Aut exporrectus jacet, indormitque pharetrae.

*Here Love sheds his wings and strolls in sandals,
 Setting aside his unstrung bow and his whistling arrows;
 He turns his torches down, and no longer yearns to be a feared
 – Or he lies stretched out on the grass, and sleeps upon his quiver.*

Cupid as a soldier is an ancient topos, and the source of Marvell's particular version of it will be discussed in more detail below; but the military equipment he sets aside here has no parallel in the English poem, nor does the subsequent phrase describing him as 'defervescente tyranno': a cooling tyrant.¹⁴ The centrality of this conceit in the Latin poem has been largely ignored in criticism, probably because of the tendency to assume that the Latin poem is simply a more long-winded version of the English lyric, in which this allegory does not appear.¹⁵

¹⁴ There is an English parallel for the lines on Cupid however in Marvell's poem, 'Little T.C. in a Prospect of Flowers', dated by Smith to 1652: 'Yet this is she whose chaster laws / The wanton Love shall one day fear, / And, under her command severe, / See his bow broke and ensigns torn.' (11-14). Accusations of tyranny were made both against Charles II and Cromwell: see for instance George Wither in a poem published in 1651: 'we, with *open face* [. . .] *Try'd, Judg'd, and Executed*, without fear; / The greatest *Tyrant*, ever reigning here', cited by Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 240 and the title of Peter du Moulin's fiercely royalist poem, *Ecclesiae Gemitus sub Anabaptisticâ Tyrannide*, published (anonymously) in 1649. Note also the first of John Hall's provocative 'paradoxes', 'That an absolute tyranny is the best government' (John Hall, *Paradoxes* (London, 1650), 3). Edward Holberton notes how Bulstrode Whitelocke apparently teased Queen Christina of Sweden with a mock-accusation of tyranny (Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, 18).

¹⁵ The most significant exception is Gabriella Gruder-Poni's thoughtful engagement with this aspect of the poem (Gruder-Poni, "Cupid in the Garden", 29-33 and 39-41).

Finally, the closing lines of *Hortus* once again include an image (of the signs of the zodiac) which is not present in the English poem, and which strengthens the impression of a transition from violence to peace:

Proque truci Tauro, stricto pro forcipe Cancri

Securis violaeque rosaeque allabitur umbris.

(53-4)

Instead of ferocious Taurus, instead of the drawn claws of Cancer

He shall slide among the safe shades of the violet and the rose.

Of course the transition suggested by the poem is not only, or even primarily the transition from war to peace: each of these images are concerned also with the escape from the demands of ambition and of sexual desire. But the military imagery, which is more pronounced in the Latin poem, augments the patterns of allusion, discussed below, primarily to texts of the 1640s and early 1650s. Several features of *Hortus*, then, suggest that it belongs to a period of newly-secured peace.

Post-royalist retreat

As Clarke notes in her essay: ‘over the years, others have identified many echoes of the retirement verse of the royalist poets in Marvell’s “Garden”, including Benlowes, Casimire Sarbiewski and Mildmay Fane, Earl of Westmorland, most of which are noted by Smith in the *Poems*’, to which we could add Nicholas McDowell’s

suggestion of Shirley's "The Garden".¹⁶ Clarke is right to stress that this cluster of authors strongly suggests the literary milieu in which Marvell is known to have been involved in the late 1640s. Indeed, the recasting of royalist tropes is a typical manoeuvre of the poets of the Protectorate (found in Marvell, Fisher, Waller and even (arguably) in Cowley's 1650s verse) and has been the subject of effective analysis elsewhere.¹⁷ The single closest parallel to the English *Garden* is 'To Retiredness', printed in Mildmay Fane, the Second Earl of Westmoreland's 1648 collection *Otia Sacra*: Fane was the brother-in-law of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, for whom Marvell acted as a tutor in 1650-2.¹⁸ Although *Hortus* is less reminiscent of 'To Retiredness' than *The Garden*, the penultimate line of the Latin poem, in which the poet exclaims 'O otia sana!' ('O the pasttimes of healthy leisure!', 57) recalls the title of Fane's collection, *Otia sacra* ('Sacred leisure'; or rather 'Things of sacred leisure'). Marvell uses a related phrase 'otia lenta' ('slow' or 'gentle' leisure) to describe the experience of the English people under the protection of Cromwell in his epigram 'In Effigiem Oliveri Cromwell' of 1654.¹⁹ In that context (as, I argue, also in *Hortus*), the phrase suggests the leisured pasttimes not of enforced political withdrawal, but of a country newly at peace.

It has often been recognised that the sensuousness of Marvell's *Garden* derives in part from the Biblical tradition of the *hortus conclusus*, especially as it is depicted in the Song of Songs (Song of Solomon; Canticles), a fashionable and much imitated text at

¹⁶ Clarke, "Marvell in Royalist Gardens", online; McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, 190.

¹⁷ On the recasting of royalist tropes in Protectorate literature see Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, especially Chapters 5-7 (192-299) and Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*.

¹⁸ *Otia Sacra* includes Latin as well as English verse. All of Fane's English manuscript verse as been published by Cain, *The Poetry of Mildmay Fane*, but a large quantity of Fane's Latin verse remains unpublished. For the parallels between *The Garden* and 'To Retiredness', see Smith, *Poems*, 153 and Clarke, "Marvell in Royalist Gardens", online.

¹⁹ 'Haec est quae toties inimicos umbra fugavit, / At sub qua cives otia lenta terunt.' ('This is that shade [umbra here can mean 'image of' (the portrait), 'ghost' or 'harmful shade' (which scatters the enemy) and 'protective shade' (as of a tree in summer)] which has so often routed the enemy / But beneath which his own people pass slow hours of leisure.)

this period.²⁰ The rich erotic language of that poem is traditionally interpreted as an allegory for religious experience, and in particular for the relationship of Christ (the bridegroom) to the Church (his bride). This combination of erotic content and a declaration of *non*-erotic intent fits well the ambiguities of both *The Garden* and *Hortus*: although handled differently, in both poems plants themselves take on an erotic character.²¹ Contemporary commentary on the Biblical text is not, however, confined to the Christian allegory of Christ and his Church. Jacob Durfeld's 1633 commentary on the *Song of Songs*, for instance, glosses the 'hortus' of verse 4: 12 ('Hortus conclusus, soror mea sponsa, hortus clausus, fons obsignatus') under three allegorical headings: as a natural allegory (that is, a comparison to the beauties, pleasures and implied fertility of an actual garden), a political allegory (representing a flourishing and well-governed kingdom) and finally 'metaphorically, standing for the Church'.²² Marvell's poem is far removed from a formal commentary; but this kind of juxtaposition of natural, political and religious allegory, typical of Biblical and

²⁰ Chamberlin lists 17 English print translations or paraphrases of this work between 1620 and 1660, including translations by George Wither (1621), Francis Quarles (1625) and John Cotton (1642) as well as a paraphrase by George Sandys (G[eorge] S[andys], *A Paraphrase upon the Song of Solomon* (London, 1641) mentioned by Clarke (Chamberlin, *Catalogue of English Bible Translations*, 404-5). There are in addition a strikingly large number of seventeenth century Latin versifications of the *Song of Songs* preserved in manuscript. (For example: BL Add MS 62138D, ff3^r-23^r and BL MS Royal 2 D XVII ff257^r-end (early seventeenth century); BL Add MS 44963, ff124-30 and St John's College Cambridge MS O.65 (mid-17th century, the latter dated 1646); Bodleian MS Eng. tho. e. 24, pp. 240-232 *rev.* (late seventeenth-century). Nottingham Portland MS Pw V 1456 is catalogued as 'an unattributed epithalamium entitled 'Sacrum Solomonis Epitaphalamium', being a version of the Song of Solomon'; it is in fact five separate poems corresponding to different portions of the *Song of Songs*. The third and fourth are Sarbiewski *Odes* 2.25 and 4.10 respectively. The work also attracted dedicated commentaries at this period, such as that of Jacob Durfeld, *Commentarius Accuratus in Canticum Canticorum Salomonis* (Rostock, 1633). Estelle Haan argues that this tradition may be mediated in particular through the 'Garden' section of Henry Hawkins, *Partheneia Sacra: Or the Mysterious and Delicious Garden of the Sacred Parthenes* (Rouen, 1633) (Haan, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry*, 81), though I would argue that the influence of another Jesuit author, Casimir Sarbiewski (discussed further below), was more directly influential upon Marvell.

²¹ The conceit is dealt with at greater length in *Hortus*. *Hortus* 20-4 directly compares traditionally attractive elements of the female body (skin described as white and red, hair, arms, speech) with their counterparts in plants (the colours of flowers, leaves, branches, the whispering noise made by the leaves) and declares the latter superior in 'virtus', a word the meaning of which encompasses both 'virtue' and 'power', including the medicinal effect of a given plant, usually described as its 'virtue' at this period. The poem returns to the motif of preferring plants to women in its latter half, which offers a substantially expanded version of the conceit of the gods now in love not with women themselves, but the trees or plants to which they might be metamorphosed (40-48, compare lines 27-32 of *The Garden*).

²² Durfeld, *Commentarius in Canticum Canticorum*, 527-9.

classical commentary of the period, captures something of the polyvalency of imagery in Marvell's garden.

A sustained engagement with the Song of Songs in classicizing Latin verse is associated in particular with the work of Maciej Kasimierz Sarbiewski (1595-1640, usually called Casimir Sarbiewski in English), a Polish Jesuit whose lyric poetry, first published in 1625, became extremely popular in England.²³ The first published English translations of Sarbiewski, a selection of his *Odes*, *Epodes* and *Epigrams* presented with facing text English verse translations, was published by G. Hils in 1646²⁴: the influence of his work upon many authors of this period, including Lovelace, Vaughan and Cowley, has thus far been only very partially explored.²⁵

Sarbiewski's *Odes* 4.21, 'Ex sacro Salomonis Epithalamio', one of the poems included in Hils' volume, has been identified as a likely source for one of the most striking passages in *The Garden*. Compare:

²³ 'Much of Casimire's poetry is indeed best understood as a conscious effort to apply the allegorical techniques of *Canticles* to the classical *beatus ille*-themes, just as his thought presents an interesting combination of Stoic and Platonic ideas', Røstvig, "Introduction", ii.

²⁴ *The Odes of Casimire. Translated by G[eorge]. H[ils]*. (London, 1646). The volume prints a selection of Sarbiewski's poetry (25 odes, three epodes, six epigrams) with facing English translations. A prefatory English poem imagines Horace and Sarbiewski seated together upon the summit of the Muses' hill. English imitations of Sarbiewski were not however confined to the poems selected by Hils for translation: Sarbiewski's 'grasshopper' ode (4.23), for instance, is not included in Hils but almost certainly influenced Lovelace's poem on the theme (on which see Martindale, "The best master of virtue and wisdom", 74. Hils' selection significantly reduces the proportion of poems addressed to patrons, nobles and prominent contemporaries: political panegyric is a major component of Sarbiewski's lyric. On Sarbiewski, see Schäfer, *Sarbiewski. Der polnische Horaz*.

²⁵ Seven paraphrases of Sarbiewski's odes were published in Henry Vaughan's *Olor Iscanus* (1651); another seven in the poems of Sir Edward Sherburne, also published that year. There are at least seven separate English versions of Sarbiewski's *Odes* 2.5 (a long poem of 88 lines on leaving behind worldly things), including versions by Abraham Cowley and Isaac Watts. Lovelace's *Lucasta* (1649) includes a translation of Sarbiewski, *Odes* 4.13 ('To his Dear Brother Colonel F. L. immoderately mourning my Brother's untimely Death at Carmarthen'), a poem also translated, among English poets alone, by Henry Vaughan, Isaac Watts and Thomas Yalden. John Hall's 1649 elegy for Henry, Lord Hastings, published in *Lachrymae Musarum*, is also an adaptation of Sarbiewski's ode 4.13 (on which see Clarke, "Post-Regicide Funerary Propaganda", 113-30. On Sarbiewski and English poetry see Røstvig, "Sarbiewski and the English Ode", 443-60 and "Benlowes, Marvell, and the Divine Casimire", 13-35; Fordonski and Urbanski, *Casimir Britannicus*; Gömöri, "The Polish Swan Triumphant", 814-33; Money, "Reception of Sarbiewski in England", 157-87; Arens, "Sarbiewski's Ode Against Tears", 236-9 (on versions of Sarbiewski, *Odes* 4.13); Birrel, "Sarbiewski, Watts and the Later Metaphysical Tradition", 125-32; and, briefly but very effectively, Davidson, *The Universal Baroque*, 31-2.

What wond'rous life in this I lead!
 Ripe apples drop about my head;
 The luscious clusters of the vine
 Upon my mouth do crush their wine;
 The nectarine and curious peach
 Into my hands themselves do reach;
 Stumbling on melons as I pass,
 Ensnar'd with flow'rs, I fall on grass.
 (33-40)

with Sarbiewski's Latin lines:

Cetera non desunt, pronis vindemia pendes
 Officiosa botris²⁶,
 Hic etiam vulgò violas, albentia vulgò
 Ungue ligustra leges:
 Ipsa tibi, leti succos oblita priores,
 Mitia poma cadent:
 (37-42)

No want appeares; th'officious Vine doth stand

With bending clusters to our hand,

Here, thou shalt pick sweet Violets, and there

Fresh Lilyes all the yeare:

²⁶ Botrus, i, (f), *the grape*. Unattested with this meaning in classical Latin, this transliteration of the Greek βότρυς appears in the Vulgate (Mic. 7: 1). It is also found in the form 'botrys' in Pliny, meaning the plant artemisia or mugwort; but 'grapes' are clearly what are meant here.

The Apple ripe drops from its stalke to thee,

*From tast of death made free.*²⁷

As well as the details of the vineclusters offering themselves, and the apples falling about him, Marvell has also borrowed here Sarbiewski's acknowledgement of the Fall: whereas Sarbiewski's sweet apples 'leti succos oblita priores', an allusion to the apple eaten by Adam and Eve, Marvell's speaker stumbles on melons, and falls, but only upon grass.²⁸ Both poems include a kind of pun on the idea of falling without sin: 'I fall on grass'; 'Ipsa tibi, leti succos oblita priores, / Mitia poma *cadent*' (41-2, italics mine).

There has been no serious attempt to consider whether Marvell's Latin poem, too, shows signs of the influence of Sarbiewski's style or specific content. The language of the Latin poem is in fact strongly reminiscent of the intensely emotional register of Sarbiewski's verse. Sarbiewski's *Odes* 1.1, for instance, which is also the first poem in Hils' 1646 parallel text edition, includes strongly personified trees:

Supplici Myrtus tibi servit umbra,

Serviunt Lauri: tibi celsa longe

Quercus assurgit, tremuloq; pinus

Vertice nutat.

(*Odes* 1.1.41-4)

²⁷ I quote here from the Latin as printed in Hils accompanied by Hils' own English translations, though I have expanded conventional contractions (such as '-q;' for '-que'). Hils' translations are influenced in particular by the English poetry of the previous generation, especially Jonson.

²⁸ Neither Smith, *Poems* nor Haan, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry* note this additional parallel between Marvell's English poem and Sarbiewski.

The Myrtle begs with humble shade

To serve thee, and the Laurel's glade;

The lofty Oake doth rise; Its head

The trembling Pine doth bow

The same poem – a paean of praise for the defeat of the ‘Thracians’ (commemorating the Hapsburg victory over Gabor Bethlen of Transylvania) also includes the phrase ‘Candidi soles’:

Candidi soles veterisque venae

Fontibus nati revocantur Anni:

Grandinat Gemmis, rigoq; Coelum

Depluit Auro.

(*Odes* 1.1.9-12)

Cleare dayes [literally, ‘bright suns’], *such yeares as were of old*

Recalled are, o'th'ancient mold,

The Heavens hayle Pearles, and molten Gold

*Doth raine down-right in showres;*²⁹

To which we can compare Marvell’s ‘Sol ibi candidior’ (*Hortus*, 52; a phrase discussed further below). Elsewhere in Sarbiewski we find ‘Quies’ personified as it is in Marvell.³⁰

²⁹ On Hils’ markedly royalist adaptation of this poem, see Fordonski, “The Subversive Power of Father Matthias”, 387-98.

³⁰ ‘Auget magna Quies’ (‘Peace increases what is already great’), Sarbiewski, *Odes* 4.35.37.

The self-characterisation in *Hortus* of the poet as ‘vitae melioris anhelus’ (‘gasping for a better life’) – a phrase for which there is no close analogue in the cooler English poem – is close to a pastiche of Sarbievian style. ‘Anhelus, -are’ (‘to gasp, pant, long for, strive after’) and the related noun ‘anhelitus’ (‘gasping’) and adjective ‘anhelus’ (‘gasping for, longing for’) is a word of passionate desire typically used by Sarbiewski, as here by Marvell, to suggest the application of quasi-sexual or sharply physical longing (drowning, gasping for breath) to a non-sexual philosophical or religious object. Examples in Sarbiewski, for whom it is almost a signature word, include two of his verse responses to the *Song of Songs: Odes 2.25* (based on Chapter 2 of the Biblical text), where it is the final word of the whole poem: ‘Per praerupta, per ardua / Sublimi volucris fertur anhelitu’ (‘Through the crags and steep hills he is borne like a bird by his sublime longing’, 35-6)³¹ and *Odes 4.19.14*, where it suggests the longing even of nature (the breeze) for Jesus, who is here addressed directly: *Scirem quo jaceas cespis languidus / Quis ventus gracili praeplet anhelitu, / Quis rivus tibi grato / Somnum praetereat sono;* (‘Knew I on what green Turf thou dost repose / Thy fainting limbs; what wind with soft [literally, ‘gasping’ or ‘longing’] breath blows / What stream, with bubbling, passing by / Disturbs thy sleep, or wakens thee;’).³² Marvell may have been influenced in particular by Sarbiewski’s use of the word applied, as it is by Marvell, to the speaking poet himself at the end of *Odes 2.5*, ‘E Rebus Humanis Excessus’, ‘A Departure from things human’, one of the most influential and widely imitated of Sarbiewski’s poems. Here in the final two

³¹ At this point of the poem the bridegroom, as he comes skipping over the hills, is compared to a young doe (evoking Horace *Odes 1.33*) who glimpses lions in the valley below her. In so far as these final lines refer back to the bridegroom, they suggest the excitement and desire; if they are taken to refer to the deer, her ‘anhelitus’ could be breathlessness caused by her fearful haste. Sarbiewski almost certainly intended the former to predominate at the close of the poem – the bridegroom is exalted by desire. Hils however offers an interpretation of these final lines which departs considerably from the Latin: ‘Like a frightened, and swift running Roe, / Beholding Lions in a vale below, / With an amazed haste, and deep fetch’d breath / Though uncouth places runs t’escape his death’. For this reason I have provided my own translation here and not used Hils.

³² The noun form is also found also in the first line of one of Sarbiewski’s spring odes (*Odes 4.35: Iam pridem tepido veris anhelitu*). Fisher shows a similar fondness for this word in his poetry of the 1650s, using it for instance in his own ode for Cromwell, probably written in late 1651.

lines of the poem Sarbiewski calls upon the ocean of eternity to close over his head: *Haurite anhelantem, & perenni / Sarbivium glomerate fluctu* ('Swallow Sarbiewski as he gasps for breath [or: as he longs for it, to be overwhelmed], and surround him in the everlasting surge', 87-8).

The most striking link between *Hortus* and Sarbiewski, however, concerns the central conceit of Marvell's Latin poem, the retreat of Cupid himself from the battle of love into the garden. This has no parallel in the English *Garden*, but appears to have been borrowed from Sarbiewski's fourth epigram 'Veniat delectus meus in hortum suum. *Cant. 5*', which was one of the shorter poems selected for inclusion by Hils. I quote it below in full, followed by Hils' translation:

Pulcher Amor sumpsit rudis instrumenta coloni,

Et sua deposuit tela suasque faces:

Et manibus stivam rapuit; castique laboris

Ad sua ruricolae junxit aratra boves.

Ilicet, ut facili subvertit vomere corda,

Castaque virginibus Gratia crevit agris;

Flos, ait, unus abest: sunt cetera millia florum;

Ut nullus possit, *Christe*, deesse, Veni.

Love takes the tooles of a rude Country clowne,

His owne Artill'ry, and his torch layes downe;

With staffe in's hand, Oxen to th'Plow he set

For tillage, and such honest labour fit;

*Straight, as he turn'd up hearts with easie share,
 And grace i'th'virgin-furrowes did appeare,
 'Mongst thousand others, one flower, quoth he, is mist:
 That none may wanting be, come thou, O Christ.*³³

This short poem is a close analogue to *Hortus* in which Love retreats to a garden which both is and is not presented in erotic terms:

Hic Amor, exutis crepidatus inambulatur alis,
 Enerves arcus & stridula tela reponens,
 Invertitque faces, nec se cupit usque timeri;
 Aut exporrectus jacet, indormitque pharetrae
 Non auditurus quanquam Cytherea vocarit;
 Nequitias referunt nec somnia vana priores.

Laetantur Superi, defervescente tyranno [. . .]
 (*Hortus*, 32-8)

*Here Love, stripped of his wings, walks around in sandals,
 Setting aside his unstrung bows and his whistling weapons,
 And turns his torches upside down, not wishing to be always feared;
 Or he lies outstretched, and falls asleep upon his quiver
 So that he won't hear even though Venus calls him;
 And his empty dreams tell nothing of his earlier crimes.
 The Gods above rejoice, now that the tyrant is calming down . . .*

³³ Hils, *The Odes of Casimire*, 134-5.

There are several specific parallels here which suggest a direct influence: compare in particular Sarbiewski's 'sua **deposuit tela** suasque **faces**' (2) and *Hortus* '**tela reponens**, / Invertitque **faces**' (33-4).³⁴ Sarbiewski's combination in *Ep.* 4 of the Biblical Song of Songs with the language of Latin love elegy echoes aspects of both *The Garden* and *Hortus*, since the Biblical elements are more marked in the former and the classical parallels in the latter. Moreover, a reader who encountered Sarbiewski's poem in its original context did so as just one in a major sequence of poems: Sarbiewski describes his book of epigrams as 'sua de Diuino Amore Epigrammata' ('his epigrams on Divine Love') in the heading to the first poem, and twenty-six of the first forty epigrams are concerned explicitly with the actions of divine Love ('Amor'), or the Beloved of the Song of Songs, and often both.³⁵ It is noticeable that Marvell's two poems constantly employ language which is suggestive of religious metaphor without ever quite making it explicit; this sense of 'latent' religious feeling is derived in part from the religious content of his models, not only the Biblical Song of Songs itself, but also Sarbiewski and indeed the poetry of Mildmay Fane.³⁶

³⁴ Possible further links include Marvell 'invertit' (34) and Sarbiewski 'subvertit' (5, though there referring to the metaphorical 'turning under' or 'ploughing' of hearts), and the lines 'Virgineae quem non suspendit Gratia formae?' ('Whom does the Grace of Virgin form [or 'beauty'] not hold captive?', *Hortus*, 20) and 'Castaque virginibus Gratia crevit agris' ('And chaste Grace has grown in virgin fields', *Ep.* 4.6). 'Gratia' in Marvell means primarily 'graceful beauty', though with a hint of the theological meaning; whereas in Sarbiewski 'grace' is the primary meaning (though with a hint of girlish beauty). Love's new kind of labour cultivates grace in hearts not previously 'worked' by the plough. Language of this sort is often sexual: in Sarbiewski, its religious use marks precisely the transition from Cupid to Christ. There is a possible link too to Marvell's poem about a young girl, 'The Picture of Little T. C. in a Prospect of Flowers', dated by Smith to 1652, which includes similar lines on the triumph of chastity over Cupid: 'Yet this is she whose chaster laws / The wanton Love shall one day fear, / And, under her command severe, / See his bow broke and ensigns torn.' (11-14). I note that Haan, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry*, 81 suggests that the details of Cupid's weaponry at *Hortus* 32-5 might be indebted to the description of the Rose bearing Cupid's weapons in Hawkins' *Partheneia Sacra*. The parallels with Sarbiewski are however closer than to Hawkins, both in their context and details.

³⁵ Several later epigrams return to this theme, but it is most dominant in this long opening sequence.

³⁶ Some critics have sought to downplay the suggestion of religious allegory in 'The Garden' and 'Hortus'. But the strongly religious associations of the Cupid/Amor figure in Sarbiewski and similar poetry (where Love is identified with Christ) support a reading of Marvell's twin poems which is at least in part religious. I also take 'The Picture of Little T. C.' to be a fantasy about the triumph of chastity, and unlike Smith (*Poems*, 112) I don't think that the poem 'acknowledges the inevitability of sexual desire and love in T. C.'s future'.

Political implications

The most interesting feature of *Hortus*, however, is the blending of the imagery of asexual eroticism not only (as is fairly conventional) with religious feeling but also with political suggestiveness. At line 40, for instance, Marvell writes: *Arbore nunc melius potiuntur quisque cupita* ('each [god] takes better possession of its longed for tree'). 'Potiuntur' (possesses) and 'cupita' (desired or longed for) are both strongly sexual terms; but this is a *better* – both more virtuous and fuller – possession than any sexual one. The line is a witty recasting of a line of Ovid that describes, with memorable concision, the rape of Rhea Silvia by Mars, the god of war, as a result of which Romulus and Remus were conceived: *Mars videt hanc visam cupit, potiturque cupita* (*Fasti* 3.21, 'Mars sees her, he desires what he has seen, and he takes possession of what he has desired').

Marvell's description of a new and non-sexual passion is cast in terms of the mythological rapes that it supposedly displaces. Moreover, this particular reference suggests both war (as in Mars) and the foundation of a dynasty (the conception of Romulus and Remus); and perhaps also includes a kind of allusive pun, since the Vestal Virgin raped by Mars is named Rhea *Silvia*: 'Woodland Rhea'. The same line of Ovid, however, is used in a strikingly similar context by James Wolveridge in a panegyric epigram printed as prefatory matter to Payne Fisher's *Inauguratio Olivariana*, a commemoration of the start of the Protectorate published in 1654:

Ad Eruditissimum Anglo-Poetam *Fitz-Paganum Fisherum* de Anagrammate
rectissimo

{*Olivarus Cromelus*,}

{*Laurûs Oliva Comes*.}

[Olive the companion of laurel.]

Vivat OLIVARUS CROMELUS (sit tibi Laurus

Pieridum tu digne Comes Piscator) Oliva

Germinet, & Fructus nunc sit paritura benignos:

Nulla per Angliacos hostilis buccina campos

Nunc resonat, magnum CROMELUM fulcit Oliva,

Rus videt hanc visamque cupit, potiturque cupita.

Maxime, cum Lauro, volumus, CROMELE, virescas,

Deque tuis cupimus ramis formare corollas.³⁷

Long live Oliver Cromwell (yours be the Laurel, Fisher,

You worthy Companion of the Muses) – may the Olive

Grow, and even now bring forth pleasant fruit:

Now no hostile war-trumpet resounds amidst

The English camps, the Olive is supporting great Cromwell,

The Country sees, desires what it has seen, and possesses what it has desired.

³⁷ Payne Fisher, *Inauguratio Olivariana, sive pro praefectura Serenissimi Principis Angliae, Scotiae & Hiberniae, Dom. Protectoris Olivari: Carmen Votivum* (Newcomb: London, 1654), a4^v. The volume revisits this particular anagram (*Olivarus Cromelus = Oliva Laurus Comes*), suggesting that Cromwell embodies both victory (the laurel) and the peace that follows (the olive, the companion of laurel), at least three times: in the frontispiece, in a second anagram poem probably by Fisher himself on p. 91-2 (M2^{r-v}), and a section of Fisher's *Propempticon* for Whitlocke's embassy to Sweden (p. 73, K1^r, with a marginal note to draw our attention to it), all of which rework this conceit. These anagram poems may have circulated separately in manuscript both in advance of and subsequent to the print publication; anagram poems are a particularly common feature of Latin manuscript verse of this period.

Greatly do we desire that you, Cromwell, flourish³⁸ with the Laurel,
 And we long to shape garlands from your branches.

Wolveridge, like Marvell, reuses Ovid's line to refer to trees: the female object of the country's gaze and desire (*visam . . . cupita*) is the olive, the tree of peace which both supports and in some sense *is* Olive(r). He hails Cromwell as the bringer of peace with an allusion that nevertheless reminds us of his identification with Mars – the personification of war: this shows that he has read Fisher's work with attention, since Cromwell is linked to Mars in the opening section of the early *Marston Moor* (1650), and in subsequent poems (both *Irenodia Gratulatoria* of 1652 and this *Inauguratio Olivariana* of 1654) he repeatedly acclaims Cromwell *both* for his military achievements and for his bringing of peace. Ovid's Mars rapes Rhea Silvia in order to bring forth a new regime; in Wolveridge's version it is the country itself who take what they desire – that is the olive/laurel tree that is Cromwell – in order to confirm the transition of power. Finally, Wolveridge's poem, by hailing Fisher as the 'laureate' poet whose flourishing is so closely associated with that of Cromwell himself, suggests that renewed peace brings with it the flourishing of art and especially of poetry – a point which is not made explicit but is arguably implied by the final lines of Marvell's *Hortus*, discussed further below. All these elements, therefore – a tree as the beloved object; the pointed reuse of Ovid; the emphasis upon the relationship between military victory and subsequent peace; and the flourishing of the arts in this new age are shared by Marvell and Wolveridge alike. This does not of course prove which came first, though Wolveridge's poem, with its closer borrowing

³⁸ The verb 'viresco' means both 'grow green' and (more generally) 'flourish, be successful'. It is appropriate in the first sense to the laurel tree; in the second to Cromwell (and Fisher, his 'laureate' poet) for whom the laurel stands.

of Ovid and its more explicit panegyric context, seems to me likely to have influenced Marvell rather than the other way around.³⁹

The close of the poem

The final ten lines of *Hortus* (49-53) correspond to the last stanza (65-72) of the English. The Latin is an expansion, but it is also of quite a different allusive register: the closing English stanza is anodyne in comparison. Alongside the passage on Cupid discussed above, these are the two sections of the poem in which the Latin and English versions diverge most significantly. The differences between the two texts in the final lines have, however, attracted little attention, probably because the basic elements – the ‘gard’ner’, the sun-dial, the thyme-gathering bee – are common to both. Nevertheless, the overall effect is quite distinct in ways which it is somewhat laborious, but here essential, to spell out in detail.

Commentators have long noted that both Latin and English texts include an allusion to Horace, *Odes* 4.2.27-9, in which Horace contrasts himself and his poetics (like that of a meticulous bee, perfect but on a small scale) to the torrential and dangerously inimitable ‘flood’ of the grand Pindaric style.⁴⁰ The Horatian ode begins by warning the addressee, Iulus Antonius, of the dangers of Pindaric imitation, before going on – immediately after the simile of the bee – to defer to Iulus, the younger man, the praise of Augustus, which is the subject both of this ode and of many of the odes of Book 4:

³⁹ As noted above, this does not necessarily imply that Marvell’s poem post-dates the print publication of Wolveridge’s epigram, which is fairly likely to have circulated in manuscript.

⁴⁰ Though Horace’s poem is ironically itself one of his most assured imitations of Pindaric style. The opening movement of *Odes* 4.2 mentions the award of both laurel (9) and palm (17), the two types of wreath mentioned in the opening of both *Hortus* and *The Garden*, suggesting that Horace’s ode may be relevant to the whole poem and not only its end.

Multa Dircaeum levat aura cycnum,
 tendit, Antoni, quotiens in altos
 nubium tractus; ego apis Matinae
 more modoque
 grata carpentis thyma per laborem
 plurimum circa nemus uvidique
 Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
 carmina fingo.

Concines maiore poeta plectro
 Caesarem, quandoque trahet ferocis
 per sacrum clivum merita decorus
 fronde Sygambros;
 quo nihil maius meliusve terris
 fata donavere bonique divi
 nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
 tempora priscum.

Concines laetosque dies et urbis
 publicum ludum super impetrato
 fortis Augusti reditu forumque
 litibus orbum.

(Horace, *Odes* 4.2.25-44)

*Antonius! yes, the winds blow free,
 When Dirce's swan ascends the skies,
 To waft him. I, like Matine bee,
 In act and guise,*

*That culls its sweets through toilsome hours,
 Am roaming Tibur's banks along,
 And fashioning with puny powers
 A laboured song.
 Your Muse shall sing in loftier strain
 How Caesar climbs the sacred height,
 The fierce Sygambrians in his train,
 With laurel dight,
 Than whom the Fates ne'er gave mankind
 A richer treasure or more dear,
 Nor shall, though earth again should find
 The golden year.
 Your Muse shall tell of public sports,
 And holyday, and votive feast,
 For Caesar's sake, and brawling courts
 Where strife has ceased.⁴¹*

Odes 4.2, and especially the passages on Pindaric vs Horatian style, is extremely widely quoted and imitated throughout the early modern period, and indeed it was regularly printed at the beginning of editions of Pindar as well as of Horace. It is a touchstone of stylistic description, but also of artful panegyric. Horace's ode manages to praise both Iulus and Augustus, while retaining a hint of distance: the most lavish of the panegyric is imagined as belonging to Iulus. Horace's poem stands behind, for instance, both Sarbiewski's *Odes* 1.1 (discussed above) and Fisher's long Latin

⁴¹ Translation by John Conington. Text provided by Perseus Digital Library.

Horatian ode to Cromwell, which ends – rather than starts – with a comparison to Pindar (alongside Virgil and others).⁴²

This passage of *Odes* 4.2 was one of the most frequently excerpted and referred to in early modern scholarship and commentary, and the allusion here is an obvious one. Any contemporary reader of Marvell recognises immediately *both* that the bee is a figure for the poet – the poet at work in this new kind of garden – *and* that the allusion suggests political panegyric, albeit of a somewhat evasive kind: a poet negotiating not the retreat from public life or public poetry but rather his (qualified) engagement with it.⁴³ This point holds for both Latin and English poems, though perhaps slightly more sharply in Latin where overlaps in specific vocabulary emphasise the association.⁴⁴ In Horatian terms, the poetic bee, the combined disavowal and demonstration of panegyric, and the assurance of a new golden age of peace and prosperity are ideas that belong naturally together and appropriately mark a new political era.⁴⁵

Moreover, the final stanza of the Latin poem, unlike the English but in common with *Odes* 4.2, has a direct addressee: ‘Nec tu, opifex horti, grato sine carmine abibis’, ‘And nor shall you, crafter of the garden, leave without a pleasing song’. The opening of this verse paragraph, ‘nec tu’ (‘and nor shall you . . . ’), suggests that the ‘opifex horti’ is the last in a series of individuals singled out for praise. The fact that there is no such preceding list suggests strongly that there is indeed a, probably substantial,

⁴² Printed first in 1652; reprinted with only minor typographical changes in Fisher, *Inauguratio Olivariana*, 75-80, K2^r-K4^r (the same volume as the Wolveridge poem discussed above) and Fisher, *Piscatoris Poemata*, 1656.

⁴³ Yoshinaka, *Marvell's Ambivalence*, 185-7 argues that the bee at the end of *The Garden* represents Oliver Cromwell, but he does not discuss *Hortus*, nor the allusion to Horace.

⁴⁴ *Apis* (‘ego apis’ in Horace); *labori/laborem*; *thyma/thymo*.

⁴⁵ For a not dissimilar effect, see Sarbiewski, *Odes* 3.15, ‘Ad apes Barberinas’, in which the Horatian bees, likewise gathering thyme and marked by their intensive labour, will be made redundant in the Barberinian golden age, in which honey shall flow for us all and no longer require construction.

portion of text missing immediately before this section, and that the ‘Desunt multa’ of the 1681 edition is therefore correct.⁴⁶

The English equivalent of this line, ‘How well the skilful gard’ner drew’, lacks the direct address (the ‘gard’ner’ is not present in the poem) but also has a different connotation. ‘Opifex’, meaning ‘craftsman’ or ‘maker’, is a much more general word than ‘gard’ner’, and can carry a divine or quasi-divine force.⁴⁷ In this context it suggests, at least, something closer to the ‘designer’ of the garden: Marvell’s garden is not merely natural – it has been planned and maintained in some way. In the English poem, the ‘gard’ner’ is responsible specifically for the sundial: ‘How well the skilful gard’ner drew / Of flow’rs and herbs this dial new’ (65-6); the Latin singles out this achievement (‘Qui . . . notasti’) but does not limit the praise to this particular feat.⁴⁸ Secondly, the artistic self-consciousness of this line (‘Nor shall you leave without a pleasing song’), which establishes the speaker as an (Horatian) poet, is quite unlike anything in the English, and much closer in tone to the panegyric mode of *Odes* 4.2: the remaining eight lines of Latin, including the reference to *Odes* 4.2, are therefore the ‘song’ offered to the ‘opifex horti’.

Horace’s ode imagines Iulus, not himself, recounting in verse the triumphal celebration of Augustus’ victory over the Gauls (33-6), as he looks on and joins in only in a kind of chorus of acclamation, singing:

⁴⁶ Haan, “From Neo-Latin to Vernacular”, 56-61 building on McQueen, “Missing Stanzas”, points out the extent to which elements in the ‘extra’ English section are in fact scattered throughout the poem. She is right to note that the relationship between the two poems is a complex one and the Latin does not simply translate the English (or vice versa). Nevertheless, the oddity of the Latin syntax here, combined with the evidence of the first printed edition, strongly suggests that a passage has been lost. Since the Latin poem is in general more expansive than the English, I suspect the missing portion was quite long. It is possible that, rather than the mystical material of the English poem, the missing Latin section was more explicitly political, since the syntax suggests that it included a list of those to be praised.

⁴⁷ Cf. ‘opifex aedificatorque mundi’, Cicero *N.D.* 1.8.18; ‘opifex natura’, Pliny 31.1.1.

⁴⁸ In Latin, a subjunctive verb in the ‘qui’ clause of line 50 could have suggested that this was the particular basis on which the ‘opifex’ deserved his song of praise. The **uses** of the indicative *notasti* avoids this implication.

‘Et o sol

Pulcher, o laudande’, canam, recepto

Caesare felix.

(Horace, *Odes* 4.2.46-8)

‘And O beautiful sun,

O sun who deserves our praise’, I shall sing, blessed

To have Caesar with us again.

The description of a favoured leader or monarch *as* himself the sun is a standard trope of panegyric, though this is one of the most explicit examples in Augustan literature.

We find the sun, too, in the final lines of both *Hortus* and *The Garden*: ‘Sol ibi candidior’ (52); ‘Where from above the milder sun’ (66). As has sometimes been pointed out, it is not obvious how we can reconcile ‘candidior’ (‘brighter’) and the English adjective ‘milder’ – we might assume that a ‘brighter’ sun is hotter, not milder. But both adjectives belong to the conventional rhetoric of panegyric, if we take a degree of personification for granted: the greater the ruler, the more glorious (‘brighter’) he is, but also the gentler and more merciful.

Cromwell is described repeatedly as the sun in the early years of the Protectorate, including by Marvell himself in *The First Anniversary of the Government under H. H. the Lord Protector*:

So while our star that gives us light and heat,

Seemed now a long and gloomy night to threat,
 Up from the other world his flame he darts,
 And princes, shining through their windows, starts;
 (343-6)⁴⁹

Those lines represent a relatively low-key version of a very common image in Latin panegyric, of this period as of many others.⁵⁰

The ‘milder sun’ of *The Garden* simply runs ‘through a fragrant zodiac’ (67-8): the reader ignorant of the Latin poem perhaps imagines flowers and herbs planted in the shape of the zodiac signs around the dial. The Latin poem is both more specific and much more politically suggestive:

sol ibi candidior fragrantia signa pererrat;
 proque truci Tauro, stricto pro forcipe Cancri,
 securis violaeque rosaeque allabatur umbris.

*There a brighter sun moves through the fragrant signs;
 Instead of ferocious Taurus, instead of Cancer’s drawn claw,
 It glides in the safe shade of the violet and the rose.*

⁴⁹ These lines are the final movement of a longer passage on primitive man’s hopeful and anxious following of the sun (325-342), a topos of classical literature with parallels in Statius, *Thebaid*, 4.282-4 and (especially) Manilius, *Astronomica*, 1.66-70. See Smith, *Poems*, 296.

⁵⁰ For contemporary Latin parallels to this image applied, as by Marvell in ‘The First Anniversary’, to Cromwell see for example the dedicatory poem by John Hall (a1^v in Fisher, *Piscatoris Poemata*, 1656), in which Cromwell is the returning sun; Fisher, *Irenodia Gratulatoria* (1656), Cc1^r, in which drooping flowers are revived by the returning sun [= Cromwell]; and Fisher, *Inauguratio Olivariana* (1654), p. 6, in which Cromwell is like a sun which is forgetful of itself in its service to the land. Sarbiewski’s use of the expression *candidi soles* in a similarly panegyric context is discussed above.

These lines reinforce, in a dimension that is not reflected in the English poem, the transition from violence (the ferocious Bull, the Crab with his drawn claws) to a peaceful and carefree shade ('securis . . . umbris'), here not the 'green shade' of the trees, but that of violets and roses. But there is something else going on here as well: the word order of the Latin, which introduces first the sun moving among the signs, and then the idea of something *replacing* Taurus and Cancer ('proque . . . pro') strongly hints at – before backing away from – a panegyric trope which was particularly popular in the mid-1650s. The katasterism (conversion into a constellation) of a ruler is a convention of Hellenistic panegyric, adopted most strikingly in Latin poetry by Virgil who, in the opening sequence of the *Georgics*, describes how Scorpio will draw in his claws to create room for the new constellation that will be Augustus⁵¹:

anne nouum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
 qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis
 panditur (ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens
 Scorpius et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit)⁵²

*Whether you insert yourself as a new star for the slow months*⁵³,

Where, between the Virgin and the encroaching claws

A space is opening (for even now the blazing Scorpion

Draws in his arms for you, and has left more than a just portion of heaven)

⁵¹ Augustan tropes and terminology of panegyric, both of Julius Caesar and of Augustus himself, were widely adopted by supporters both of the monarchy and of Cromwell.

⁵² Virgil, *G.* 1.32-5.

⁵³ Servius glosses 'tardis' with 'aestivis' (because in the summer months the twelve 'hours' of daylight were longer than in winter), and this interpretation is the standard explanation in early modern commentaries, often supported by parallel passages. (De La Cerda, for instance, cites parallels from Propertius and Manilius.) Such a reading suggests a further connection between the Virgilian passage and Marvell's garden which, with its fruits, flowers and thyme, appears to be set in a kind of eternal high summer or early autumn.

The explanation for this conceit is that the ‘claws’ of Scorpio reach beyond their own space and intrude into the region allocated to the neighbouring sign of the zodiac.

Juan Luis de la Cerda’s monumental early seventeenth-century commentary on Virgil cites in relation to these lines an extract from Manilius (*Astronomica* 2.256-60), which states that the same is true of Taurus and Cancer – that is, the constellations named by Marvell.⁵⁴ A similar conceit, in which the signs of the zodiac respond to the apotheosis of an emperor, is also found in Claudian’s *De tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*, 171-84. The most striking parallel to this passage, however, appears in Fisher’s *Pro recuperata valetudine*, apparently composed in the immediate aftermath of Cromwell’s coaching accident on 29th September 1654: this long version of the motif has every member of the zodiac setting aside their distinctive attributes in deference to the new star that is Cromwell, and celebrates the peace he has wrought, marked by a garden which welcomes chastity and good faith, full of roses, violets and shade:

⁵⁴ Manilius, *Astronomica*, 2.256-60. Cited and explained by de la Cerda in his commentary on Virgil *G.* 1.32-4 (Juan Luis de la Cerda, *P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica et Georgica Argumentis, Explicationibus, et Notis illustrata* (Cologne, 1628), 204). (This first volume of the commentary was first published in 1608, but my references are to the 1628 edition.) There is very likely to have been a copy of de la Cerda’s commentary at Eton in the 1650s.

Aegroceros ridebit ovans, & *Aquarius* utres
 Comprimet, Imbrifero lacrymasque absterget Olympo.
 Te circum gemino radiantia Cornua fastu
 Attollet *Taurus* Peregrinis torva minatus,
 Terrebitque truces Britonum *mugitibus* Hostes.
 Ille *Cleonaei* tandem *Leo* territus Astri
Augustum cognoscet *Herum*, scutique Leones
Cromelici trepidabit inops, animosque remittens
 Decidet, & strato discet succumbere Dorso.

[. . .]

Mox ad *Erigoneum* cum te converteris astrum,
 Cana Fides, castusque pudor moresque vigebunt
 In Terris *Olivare* Tuis, Tibi lilia⁵⁵ coetus
 Virgineus, violasque Tibi, vernantibus hortis,
 Purpureasque Rosas humili de more litabunt
 Sacraque perpetuis umbrabunt marmora sertis.

[. . .]

Scorpius iratae deponet spicula caudae
 Mitis, & ardentes *Phoebeo* lumine *chelas*
 Contrahet, & rapidi ferventia Brachia *Cancri*.

(Fisher, *Pro recuperata valetudine*, H2^{r-v})⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Text reads 'lilila' here, a typographical error for 'lilia'.

⁵⁶ *Pro Recuperata Valetudine Serenissimi Praepotentissimique Principis Olivari D. G. Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, Cum dominiis circum nec non longiùs jacentibus, &c. Imperatoris Semper Augusti; Cum nuper è curru (ferocientibus equis) corruens graissimoque casu contusus ut de salute desperaretur, Eucharisticon.* The poem is extant only in *Piscatoris poemata* (1656) where it appears at G2^{r-II}; no gathering marked 'E' but two marked 'D'). It was almost certainly however published separately at an earlier date. The full title of the *Pro recuperata valetudine* describes the accident as happening *nuper* ('recently'), and probably dates from the point in October 1654 at which it became obvious that Cromwell would recover from his accident. The opening of the poem (lines 6-10, G2^{r-v}) compares the celebration to that commemorating the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, marked on November 5th, which may also suggest that the poem was first issued in late October or early November.

*Aegroceros rejoicing shall laugh, and Aquarius
 Shall hold back his flasks, and wipe the tears from rainy Olympus.
 Around you Taurus shall raise his shining Horns
 In a double blessing, a grim threat to foreigners,
 And he shall terrify the ferocious enemies of the Britons with his bellowing.
 At length that Lion of the Cleonaeon constellation, in terror,
 Shall recognise Augustus his Lord, and tremble
 Helpless at the Lions of Cromwell's shield,
 And losing courage she shall fall, and learn to lie down with a flattened Back.*

[. . .]

*Soon when you shall have turned yourself into a star like Virgo
 Pure Faith, and chaste Purity and morals shall flourish
 In your lands, Oliver; to you the virgin company
 Shall offer lilies and violets in vernal gardens,
 And purple roses in a humble style
 And they shall shade sacred marbles with undying garlands.*

[. . .]

*Scorpio shall set aside the barbs of his angry tail,
 And, gentle now, draw in his arms⁵⁷, blazing with Phoebean light
 And the seething limbs of the swift Crab.*

⁵⁷ The 'arms' of Scorpio extend into Libra and the expression 'the arms of Scorpio' is used (by metonymy) to mean Libra. This point is discussed at length in contemporary commentaries on Virgil, *Georgics* 1.33.

The similarities between Fisher's *Pro recuperata valetudine* and the section on Cromwell's fall and recovery in Marvell's *First Anniversary* have been noted elsewhere.⁵⁸ Overall, there is compelling evidence that Marvell and Fisher knew each other's work, and borrowed from and expanded upon it in both directions. Time and again we find strong coincidences of theme, subject and imagery, though with some distinctive differences borne out, too, by reading Marvell's *Hortus* alongside Fisher's Cromwellian panegyric of the early and mid 1650s. In Fisher we find expansion, repetition and variations on a given theme both within a work and between related works – all typical features of the neo-Latin panegyric tradition, with roots in Claudian, to which his work belongs, and effective methods for the creation of a coherent political mythology. In Marvell we find a more concentrated or distilled version of the same motifs.

Conclusion

The suggestive complexity of Marvell's political verse is created partly by the highly concentrated presence of multiple modes, drawn from a range of sources: in the case of *The Garden* and *Hortus*, the two poems, read alongside one another, suggest two related but distinct perspectives. Whereas the English poem is more plainly philosophical, with explicit references to Eden, contemplative separation and an ultimately religious eroticism derived from a poetic tradition made particularly fashionable by Sarbiewski, the Latin poem is the more politically suggestive. Any Latinate reader will recognise the allusive cues of the final lines, which use Horace to point towards a specifically political and panegyric context, suggesting that the novelty of the garden echoes, or represents, the dawning of a new regime.

⁵⁸ Moul, "Andrew Marvell and Payne Fisher", 524–548.

It is a complex and delicate matter to tease out and test why a poem “feels” to an experienced reader like the product of one particular historical moment rather than another. Such judgements are always partly subjective. Most modern readers of Marvell cannot read Latin verse with any ease; and even those who have a good knowledge of classical Latin are unlikely to be familiar with the range of contemporary Latin poetry (both British and continental) which Marvell knew. But the number of overlaps here with the Latin and English poetry of the 1640s and early 1650s (Hall, Wolveridge, Fane, Sarbiewski, Fisher), combined with what we already know of Marvell’s tendency to absorb recent reading in his verse, strongly suggest to me that Marvell’s *Hortus* is a poem written around 1654, recasting the late 1640s motif of Cavalier retreat into a garden poem which heralds and celebrates godly peace as a facilitator of art and contemplation, *otia sana* (*Hortus*, 57) and *lenta* (*In effigiem*, 2) – and that the peace it celebrates is not that of an already eight-year old Restoration, but the first year of the Cromwellian Protectorate.