

1991

"Ego, scriptor cantilenae": The Cantos and Ezra Pound

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"EGO, SCRIPTOR CANTILENAE":

THE CANTOS AND EZRA POUND

An Abstract of a Thesis
Submitted in Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Philosophy

Steven R. Gulick
University of Northern Iowa

August 1991

ABSTRACT

Can poetry "make new" the world? Ezra Pound thought so. In "Cantico del Sole" he said: "The thought of what America would be like / If the Classics had a wide circulation / Troubles me in my sleep" (Personae 183). He came to write an 815 page poem called The Cantos in which he presents "fragments" drawn from the literature and documents of the past in an attempt to build a new world, "a paradiso terrestre" (The Cantos 802). This may be seen as either a noble gesture or sheer egotism.

Pound once called The Cantos the "tale of the tribe" (Guide to Kulchur 194), and I believe this is so, particularly if one associates this statement with Allen Ginsberg's concerning The Cantos as a model of a mind, "like all our minds" (Ginsberg 14-16). But Pound was a Fascist and anti-Semite, was he not? This is what I think faces a reader of Pound: Perhaps the reader finds he is not so different from Pound, or any other "mind." Perhaps that is what is most disturbing. After all, do we not each wish to build our own little terrestrial paradise?

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August 1991

Volume I

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August 2, 1991
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This study by: Steven R. Gulick

Entitled: "EGO, SCRIPTOR CANTILENAE":
THE CANTOS and Ezra Pound

has been approved as meeting the thesis requirement for the
 Degree of Master of Philosophy.

<p><u>3 Sept 91</u> Date</p>	<p>_____</p> <p>Dr. Philip Furia, Outside Examiner, Thesis Committee, University of Minnesota</p>
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THIS BOOK IS FOR

BARBARA HEMANN

il migliora metà

IF SHE WANTS IT

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS TEXT

FOR THE WORKS OF EZRA POUND

- ABC of R: ABC of Reading. New Haven: Yale UP, 1934.
- CEP: Collected Early Poems of Ezra Pound. Ed. Michael John King. New York: New Directions, 1976.
- Con: Confucius: The Great Digest, The Unwobbling Pivot, The Analects. New York: New Directions, 1951.
- EP/DS Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespear: Their Letters 1909-1914. Ed. Omar Pound and A. Walton Litz. New York: New Directions, 1984.
- GB: Gaudier-Brzeska. New York: New Directions, 1970.
- GK: Guide to Kulchur. London: Owen, 1960.
- I: Impact: Essays on Ignorance and the Decline of American Civilization. Ed. Noel Stock. Chicago: Regnery, 1960.
- Inst: Instigations of Ezra Pound. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1920.
- J/M: Jefferson And/Or Mussolini. New York: Liveright; London: Stanley Nott, 1936.
- Let: The Letters of Ezra Pound. Ed. D. D. Paige. London: Faber, 1951.
- LE: Literary Essays. Ed. T.S. Eliot. New York: New Directions, 1954.
- L: Lustra of Ezra Pound with Earlier Poems. New York: Knopf, 1917.
- MN: Make it New: Essays by Ezra Pound. New Haven: Yale UP, 1935.
- OC "On Criticism in General." The Criterion. 1.2 (Jan. 1923): 143-56.
- PDq: Pavannes and Divigations. New York, New Directions, 1958.
- PDi: Pavannes and Divisions. New York: Knopf, 1918.

- Per: Personae: The Collected Shorter Poems of Ezra Pound. New York: New Directions, 1950.
- P/F Pound/Ford: The Story of a Literary Friendship. Ed. Brita Lindberg-Seyersted. New York: New Directions, 1982.
- P/J: Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound with Pound's Essays on Joyce. Ed. Forrest Read. New York: New Directions, 1967.
- PM: Patria Mia and the Treatise on Harmony. London: Owen, 1962.
- "Psy & T": "Psychology and the Troubadours." Spirit of Romance. London: Owen, [1952] 87-100.
- SP: Selected Poems. New York: New Directions, 1957.
- SPr: Selected Prose: 1909-1965. Ed. William Cookson. New York: New Directions, 1973.
- SR: The Spirit of Romance. London: Dent, 1910.
- T: The Translations of Ezra Pound. Ed. Hugh Kenner, New York: New Directions, 1963.

I have used the 1986 New Directions edition of The Cantos throughout this text. References appear as follows: (C83 535), which refers, in this instance, to The Cantos, Canto 83, page 535.

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"From the Arabs, alchemy found its way through Spain into Europe generally. In the Middle Ages it was chiefly the monks who occupied themselves with alchemy. The earliest works on European alchemy now extant are those of the English monk Roger Bacon and the German philosopher St. Albertus Magnus; both believed in the possibility of converting inferior metals into gold. This idea excited the imagination, and later the avarice, of many persons in the Middle Ages. They believed gold to be the perfect metal, and baser metals to be removed by various degrees of imperfection from gold. Thus they sought to fabricate or discover a substance so much more perfect than gold that it could bring the baser metals up to the perfection of gold. This substance they called the philosopher's stone."

--Seymore Z. Lewin,
 "Alchemy," Funk and Wagnalls Standard Reference Encyclopedia,
 1964 ed.

"But there is another way--in diametric opposition to that of social duty and the popular cult. From the standpoint of the way of duty, anyone in exile from the community is a nothing. From the other point of view, however, this exile is the first step of the quest. Each carries within himself the all; therefore it may be sought and discovered within. The differentiations of sex, age, and occupation are not essential to our character, but mere costumes which we wear for a time on the stage of the world. The image of man within is not to be confounded with the garments. We think of ourselves as Americans, children of the twentieth century, Occidentals, civilized Christians. We are virtuous or sinful. Yet such designations do not tell what it is to be man, they denote only the accidents of geography, birth-date, and income. What is the core of us? What is the basic character of our being?"

--Joseph Campbell,
The Hero with a Thousand Faces,
 (1949; Princeton: Princeton UP, 1973) 385.

"It is now time to raise a critical question in connection with the epiphany theory: Are they really revelations of truth or character, or do they merely appear to be truth to the consciousness which experiences them?"

--Zack Bowen

"Joyce and the Epiphany Concept:
A New Approach" (104)

PART 1

INTRODUCTION

Ezra Pound arrived in Paris, from London, in December, 1920. He and his wife, Dorothy, then spent the first three months of 1921 at St-Raphael near Cannes before taking a garret room in a Paris hotel--finally moving into a studio at 70 bis, rue Notre Dame des Champs the following December (Carpenter 383-384).¹ Shortly after World War I, in a loving, parodic tribute to Henry James, and the Jamesian parenthesis, entitled "Indiscretions, or, Une Revue De Deux Mondes," Pound speculated as to the possibility of renewing one's senses and perception:

Whereafter two days of anesthesia, and the speculation as to whether, in the development and attrition of one's faculties, Venice could give one again and once more either the old kick to the senses or any new perception; whether coming to the belief that human beings are more interesting than anything possible else--certainly than any possible mood of colours and footlights-like glare-up of reflection turning house-façades into stage card-board; whether in one's anthropo- and gunaikological passion one were wise to leave London itself--with possibly a parenthetical Paris as occasional watch-tower and alternating exotic

mica salis; and whether--the sentence being the mirror of man's mind, and we having long since passed the stage when 'man sees horse' or 'farmer sows rice,' can in simple ideographic record be said to display anything remotely resembling our subjectivity--and whether--to exhaust a few more semi-colons and dashes--one would--will, now that I am out of a too cramped room. . . . (PDg 3-4)

Paris did indeed prove to be "parenthetical," as John Alexander observes,² for Pound lived in London twelve years (where he became friends with W. B. Yeats, Wyndham Lewis, T. S. Eliot, and the sculptor Henri Gaudier-Brzeska), stayed in Paris slightly more than three years, and then settled in Rapallo, Italy for the next twenty.

Ezra Pound left England, he told an interviewer for the Paris edition of the New York Herald, because he believed "'the decay of the British Empire too depressing a spectacle to witness at close range,'" (qtd. in Stock, Life 235) and he later left Paris looking for "civilization." In 1922 he asked:

Is it possible to establish some spot of civilization, or some geographically scattered association of civilized creatures? One is up against this problem in a decadent wallow like London, in an enervated centre like Paris.³

But it was in Paris, after a long dry period of nearly three years (Slatin 188), that Pound again began work on The Cantos, his long, modernist poem, which I shall say, as Ronald Bush has said of the *Odyssey*, is "an analogue of the narrator's spiritual journey" (255), and which Pound

originally started writing in 1915. For James Joyce was living in Paris, also, and when Pound returned there from St-Raphael, Joyce, on April 16, handed him the "Circe" chapter of Ulysses (P/J 189), what Zack Bowen calls "the epiphany chapter" (112), in which Stephen realizes he and Bloom have the same essential nature (114). Pound wrote to Agnes Bedford saying "Joyce's new chapter is enormous--megaloscrumptious--mastodonic" (Let 230). T. S. Eliot also read the "Circe" chapter and shortly thereafter began his own long poem, The Waste Land, which Pound edited; and perhaps given "the old kick," or a "new perception," Pound, with renewed energy and a "post-Ulysses, post-Waste Land notion of compression" (Bush 239) began once more to write cantos.

Jo Anna Isaak has shown how in Ulysses Joyce's figures are "fragmented and dispersed in the way they would be on a cubist canvas" (39). Not only are the figures fragmented, but they are also multiplied and shown from various angles by "reflection and refraction" (39). As illustration, Isaak quotes the following passage in which Young Patrick Dignam stops to look at a poster in a window:

From the sidemirrors two mourning Masters Dignam gaped silently. . . . Master Dignam on his left turned as he turned. That's me in the mourning. . . . He turned to the right and on his right Master Dignam turned, hs cap awry, his collar sticking up. (U 250-251)

Isaak also gives us the example of Mr. Powers finding himself speaking to "the stalwart back of Long John Fanning ascending towards Long John Fanning in the mirror" (U 247). These passages are, Isaak says, "sophisticated versions of simultaneity in literature" (41). Throughout Ulysses we can see Bloom experiencing "present sensations and past memories" (Isaak 41). In the "Nausicca" episode, for instance, we find Bloom watching Gerty MacDowell:

Wait. Hm. Hm. Yes. That's her perfume. Why she waved her hand. I leave you to think of me when I'm far away on the pillow. What is it? Heliotrope? . . . Why Molly likes opoponax. Suits her with a little jessamine mixed in. . . . At the dance night she met him, dance of the hours. Heat brought it out. (U 374)

Joyce, states Isaak, is not attempting to enter the past as is done in flashbacks in other novels, but instead, with this technique, Joyce has the past overlapping upon the present (36) as we will later see Pound doing in The Cantos. In "Circe," then, we see Bloom's hallucinations are often based upon Stephen's experiences during "Bloomsday"⁴ and vice-versa (Bowen 112), and Bloom and Stephen experience the same hallucination in this scene where we find them standing together and looking in the mirror:

LYNCH

(Points.) The mirror up to nature. (He laughs.) Hu hu hu hu hu hu.

(Stephen and Bloom gaze in the mirror. The face of William Shakespeare, beardless, appears there, rigid in facial paralysis, crowned by the reflection of the reindeer antlered hatrack in the hall.) (U 567)

Bloom and Stephen then realize their identities are intertwined (just as Bloom's is with Odysseus and as Stephen's is with Telemachus). Thus, Hugh Kenner says, a major premise of Ulysses is that "a relatively limited number of structures defines the acts and relationships of people" (Ulysses 28): Bloom/Odysseus--Stephen/Telemachus are identical as part of an artistic process, a process "that intuits in many times comparable situations, whether in the mind of Homer of Chios or James Augustine Joyce" (29). And so, too, Ezra Pound would come to write an epic poem in which, he hoped, one man's consciousness would reflect the whole "tribe's" experience in the disorder of the modern world, although he had, at the beginning, doubts that it could do so, as we shall see shortly and as his three-year drought indicates. But he would write in Guide to Kulchur (1938): "There is no mystery about the Cantos, they are the tale of the tribe" (194).

Another writer Pound was familiar with and who was experimenting with cubist techniques was the French poet Jean Cocteau, a friend of Pablo Picasso. Pound reviewed Cocteau's Poésies, 1917-1920 in January of 1921. He was uncertain as to whether Cocteau's "ideographic representation" was comprehensible "even if one does read

every word and try to parse it in sequence," and then in an oft-quoted passage,⁵ he speaks of the modern consciousness as compared to that of the past, using the analogy of life in a village contrasted to that in the city:

The life of a village is narrative; you have not been there three weeks before you know that in the revolution et cetera, and when M le Comte et cetera, and so forth. In a city the visual impressions succeed each other, overlap, overcross, they are "cinematographic," but they are not a simple linear sequence. They are often a flood of nouns without verbal relations.⁶

Pound's description of the modern consciousness as receiving impressions which "succeed each other, overlap, overcross," nearly matches Isaac's description of "The Wandering Rocks" chapter in Ulysses: "The textual planes . . . superimposed, slip behind and within each other, plane intersecting narrative plane in bewildering reflexive interchange" (36). And although Pound must have seen something of this sort in Cocteau's work, and praised Cocteau for his "quality of perceptive intelligence," he was not yet ready to concede that such a style of presentation, ideographic representation, was able to express this sort of consciousness, which, in view of his later championing of his own "ideogrammic method" proves more than a little ironic. But after Pound moved to Paris he met Cocteau and in 1937 would say Cocteau was the only remaining "live writer in France" (SPr 453). One of

much earlier, in the Vorticist period in London. In a series of articles, "Affirmations," in The New Age and begun in January of 1915, Pound defined the "new form" (specifically, the sculpture of Gaudier-Brzeska) as "an arrangement of masses in relation" (GB 110) that were "expressive of emotional and intellectual forces" (109), and said "Intense emotion causes pattern to arise in the mind--if the mind is strong enough" (SPr 374). Form for Pound, then, can be seen as meaning "mental form" if it is expressive of these "emotional and intellectual forces" and, if so, we can say with Hugh Kenner that Pound's work "from Lustra to the last Cantos . . . is the longest working-out in any art of the premises like those of cubism" (Era 142).

* * *

I first learned of Ezra Pound through Ernest Hemingway. Hemingway, with his wife Hadley, came to Paris in 1922. Sherwood Anderson sent letters of introduction for Hemingway to several of the expatriates living there (Pound was to write to Ford Maddox Ford that Americans were arriving "one by one like leaves in autumn" [P/F 58]), including Gertrude Stein and Sylvia Beach (Carlos Baker 82). Hemingway was slow in seeking out these expatriates, Baker reports, but one day he and Hadley were invited to

tea at 70 bis, rue Notre Dame des Champs and Hemingway was put off by Pound as "Ezra drank cup after cup of tea, slouching in his chair, talking pontifically" and shortly after the visit Hemingway wrote a satire attacking Pound's "pretentious Bohemianism, his wild hair, his unclipped goatee, his open Byronic collar" (86).

The two later became friends, however, and Hemingway would write in A Moveable Feast:

Ezra was kinder and more Christian about people than I was. His own writing, when he hit it was so perfect, and he was so sincere in his errors, and so kind to people that I always thought of him as a sort of saint. He was also irascible but so perhaps have been many saints. (108)

Hemingway was then studying Cézanne's paintings. "I was learning something from the painting of Cézanne," he wrote later, "that made writing simple true sentences far from enough to make the stories have the dimensions that I was trying to put into them" (Feast 13). He was learning something from Cézanne, but wasn't articulate enough to explain it. It was, anyway, a secret (13). I was reading much Hemingway during a certain period and I also happened to be reading Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky; so, the passage in A Moveable Feast which caught my eye was this account of Hemingway discussing the Russians with Pound:

I remember asking Ezra once . . . what he really thought about Dostoyevsky.
 "To tell you the truth, Hem," Ezra said, "I've never read the Rooshians."

It was a straight answer and Ezra had never given me any other kind verbally, but I felt very bad because here was the man I liked and trusted the most as a critic then, the man who believed in the mot juste--the one and only correct word to use--the man who had taught me to distrust adjectives as I would later learn to distrust certain people . . . and I wanted his opinion on a man who almost never used the mot juste. . . .
(134)

At the time I knew very little about those two words, Ezra Pound, or the various connotations of those three syllables put together in that manner: religious poet, anti-Semitism, Modernism, Imagism, Fascism, prophet, evil, crazy, love, hope, charity, and treason. Nor had I yet read:

And from far

il tremolar della marina

chh chh

the pebbles turn with the wave

Le Paradise n'est artificiel

but is jagged,

For a flash

for an hour.

Then agony,

then an hour,

then agony,

Hilary stumbles, but the Divine Mind is abundant

unceasing

improvisatore

Omniformis

unstill . . . (C92 620)

I later came across Pound's name in the work of another writer I much admire, Wendell Berry. Berry often quotes Pound and one can find on the jacket of Berry's book, Standing by Words, one of Pound's favorite Chinese ideograms:



The following note appears inside:

The Chinese character on the jacket of this volume depicts a man beside the sign for "word." It is the written form of xìn, which Ezra Pound defined as: "Fidelity to the given word. The man here standing by his word."

This, then, was the extent of my familiarity with Pound when one cold, January night seven graduate students, myself included, met for the beginning session of a seminar in literary criticism. We were to choose a semester project which would culminate in each of us presenting our critical conclusions to the other members of the seminar. The guidelines for the selection of said project were as follows:

--an imaginative work or works neither very short nor very long--for example, several short stories, a play, four to eight poems, or a narrative (novel) of modest length . . .
--significant artistic merit

--subject of important and thorough critical discussions
 --if possible, the existence of statements by the author regarding the selected work(s) or literary art in general (from the course syllabus of Ken Baughman's "Graduate Topics in Literary Criticism," spring 1988, the University of Northern Iowa)

This study grew out of my choice of Pound for that project, and I chose him, I think, because I had in the back of my mind Hemingway's description of him as the "man who believed in the mot juste" and the man who distrusted adjectives, and, too, because of my admiration for Wendell Berry. But every writer, I believe, at one time or another feels he did not choose his subject. Carl Gustav Jung once wrote that "Art is a kind of innate drive that seizes a human being and makes him its instrument. The artist is not a person endowed with free will who seeks his own ends, but one who allows art to realize its purposes through him" (404).

I shall be returning to Jung (and Pound), but for now I should also like to quote the poet Gary Snyder in relation to Jung's comment concerning the artist as "one who allows art to realize its purposes through him." Snyder writes in The Real Work (a book of interviews and essays) of coming to this realization:

I finished off the trail crew season and went on a long mountain meditation walk for ten days across some wilderness. During that process --thinking about things and my life-- I just dropped poetry. I don't want to sound precious,

but in some sense I did drop it. Then I started writing poems that were better. From that time forward I always looked on the poems I wrote as gifts that were not essential to my life; if I never wrote another one, it wouldn't be a great tragedy. Ever since, every poem I've written has been like a surprise. . . .

You get a good poem and you don't know where it came from. "Did I say that?" And so all you feel is: you feel humility and you feel gratitude. And you'd feel a little uncomfortable, I think, if you capitalized too much on that without admitting at some point that you got it from the Muse, or whoever, wherever, or however. (79)

Of course, Snyder and Jung are speaking of works of art, or moreover, how art works through the artist. Lewis Hyde, who in his book The Gift also quotes the above passage from Snyder, speaks of how "An essential portion of any artist's labor is not creation so much as invocation. Part of the work cannot be made, it must be received . . ." (143). The artist receives a "gift" from "the Muse, or whoever, wherever, or however" and then:

Having accepted what has been given to him --either in the sense of inspiration or in the sense of talent--the artist often feels compelled, feels the desire, to make the work and offer it to an audience. The gift must stay in motion. "Publish or perish" is an internal demand of the creative spirit, one that we learn from the gift itself, not from any school or church. (146)

We might say, therefore, that while meeting in a mostly empty room for a seminar on literary criticism I was given a gift: the two words, Ezra Pound. The resulting feeling of being compelled, feeling the desire to "make the

work and offer it" becomes problematical when one also feels there is already too much being written on Pound, though I am, assuredly, not the first "critic" to think so.⁸ To return to our literary seminar once again and the criteria for the selection of a project, Pound's long poem, The Cantos, certainly is "the subject of important and thorough critical discussions"--hundreds of book-length studies, journal articles, and dissertations --some of which become a mirror of certain character traits in the writer of the poem and are often argumentative and clamorous⁹--discussions that are, I suppose, a type of mirror of the rest of the world, a world in which too much is being written on _____ (name a topic), too many words are let loose in, too much is made of the so-called "Information Age." Oftentimes events occur in the world where the only appropriate response would seem to be silence (or prayer, if you will). As a nation our reaction to events is rarely one of silence. We loathe silence. Each of us, it seems, is still the person Thoreau speaks of in Walden who upon waking "holds up his head and asks, 'What's the news?'" (396) and "'Pray tell me any thing that has happened to a man any where on this globe'" (396-397).

* * *

Pound was born in Hailey, Idaho in 1885 but left the United States in 1908 for Venice and London, and eventually settled in Rapallo, Italy in the 1920s. He only returned to the United States to "live" when he was brought here by the government to stand trial for treason, was found unfit to do so by reason of insanity, and was interned in St. Elizabeths Federal Hospital for the Insane in Washington D.C., an institution built in 1855, largely through the efforts of the champion of the mentally ill, Dorothea L. Dix, and built "in the collegiate Gothic style" with bricks made on the site (Hurd et al. 2: 144). The hospital stands on "high ground," just southeast of the junction of the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers, "overlooking the city of Washington, and from its grounds the finest view of the Capitol can be obtained, the majestic edifice showing clearly and fully from this locality, with nothing to diminish its grandeur" (Moore 269). While living in Italy during World War II Pound made broadcasts over Rome Radio, in which, the United States said, he made comments which aided the government of Benito Mussolini. Pound always maintained he was trying to save the Constitution:

God bless the Constitution
and save it
"the value thereof"
that is the crux of the matter
and god damn the perverters . . . (C79 486)

It was in America that Pound wanted to start the new Renaissance, an American "Risvegliamento" (PM 53).¹⁰ In 1909, nearly two years after leaving the United States, he wrote of Walt Whitman's place in American literary history and what his own place might be in that history:

From this side of the Atlantic I am for the first time able to read Whitman, and from the vantage of my education and--if it be permitted a man of my scant years--my world citizenship: I see him America's poet. . . .

I honour him for he prophesied me while I can only recognise him as a forebear of whom I ought to be proud. . . . Personally I might be very glad to conceal my relationship to my spiritual father and brag about my more congenial ancestry--Dante, Shakespeare, Theocritus, Villon, but the descent is a bit difficult to establish. And, to be frank, Whitman is to my fatherland (Patriam quam odi et amo for no uncertain reasons) what Dante is to Italy and I at my best can only be a strife for a renaissance in America of all the lost or temporarily mislaid beauty, truth, valour, glory of Greece, Italy, England and all the rest of it. (SPr 146)

To recover "all the lost or temporarily mislaid beauty, truth, valour, glory of Greece, Italy, England and all the rest," Pound, too, developed a penchant for facts, the "news." Shortly after his arrival in London he visited the British Museum, and he sat in the main reading room (as he tells us thirty years later in Guide to Kulchur):

with a pile of large books at my right hand and a pile of somewhat smaller ones at my left hand, I lifted my eyes to the tiers of volumes and false doors covered with imitation book-backs which surround that focus of learning. Calculating the eye-strain and the number of pages per day that a man could read, with deduction for say at least 5

per cent of one man's time for reflection, I decided against it. (53)

As Leon Surette says, "Surely only an American would imagine that he could or should single-handedly learn his cultural heritage" (112). Surette goes on to say that here we can also see "the modern Western man--whether of Europe or America--set adrift from his cultural heritage "by a condition known in computerese as information overload" (112), a condition portrayed by James Joyce in the figure of Leopold Bloom as Bloom "allowed his mind to range freely over all disciplines . . . but therefore became imprisoned in the superficial and the trite" (112).

Yeats used to say that Pound was trying to provide "a portable substitute for the British Museum" with his many lists of works he wished others would read. Pound said he would do so "like a shot, were it possible," but he decided it was not (LE 16; Let 343). He did, however, define an epic as "a poem including history" (LE 86); and so, when it came to writing his own epic, Pound's problem then, Surette says, was "how to make use of the past while avoiding the fate of Leopold Bloom" (113). In Jefferson and / or Mussolini Pound wrote:

I have never quarrelled with people when their deductions have been based on fact, I have quarreled when they were based on ignorance, and my only arguments for 15 years have been the dragging up of facts, either of literature or of history. Journalism as I see it is history of to-day, and literature is journalism that stays news. ("September Preface" xi)

Pound, however, distinguished between two types of facts. Any fact is, he said, "significant," but certain types of fact "give one a sudden insight" (SPr 22). There are facts which tell us who might have been elected in a certain year, who might have been banished for embezzling, but these type of facts are "of anytime and any country" and tell us "nothing that enlightens us" (22). But there is the other type of fact which Pound calls an "interpreting detail." As an example he quotes the following from Burckhardt: "In this year the Venetians refused to make war upon the Milanese because they held that any war between buyer and seller must prove profitable to neither" (22). This tells us, Pound says, that "the old order changes, one conception of war and the State begins to decline. The Middle Ages imperceptibly give ground to the Renaissance" (22).

It is this type of "interpreting detail" which Pound announced (in "I gather the limbs of Osiris," first published in The New Age in late 1911 and early 1912) that he was searching for with his "'New Method of Scholarship,'" what he called the method of "Luminous Detail" (SPr 21). But his American penchant for facts of this type caused him indeed, as he later wrote in Canto CXIII, to hitch his "sensibility to efficiency" (C 788), admiring Mussolini for having drained the "muck" from the marshes:

From the marshes, by Cicero, where no one else wd. have
drained it.

Waited 2000 years, ate grain from the marshes;
Water supply for ten million, another one million "vani"
that is rooms for people to live in.

XI of our era.

[the eleventh year of the Fascist era] (C41 202)

That literature is news "that stays news," that grain
was growing where there were once swamps, and that Pound
would make a connection between the two in a work praising
Mussolini (the quotation above from Canto 41 restates
Pound's thoughts in J/M) should not be surprising when we
consider Pound's goal in writing The Cantos. Pound wished
to write a poem which could show the way to "Paradise,"
would rebuild the ideal civilization, for after all,
"A civilization was founded on Homer, civilization and not
a mere bloated empire" (LE 21). This paradise, the Ideal
City, would be one where the religious, the political, the
economic, and the artistic dimensions of life would be in
harmony--the "paradiso / terrestre" (C, Notes for 117 et
seq. 802).

In Italy Pound saw things being done "As in a new
art movement" (J/M 84). Bookshop windows began to change:
"In place of the old line, Dante, Petrarch, Tasso . . .
there began to appear slowly translations of Kipling and
Dostoievsky . . ." (84). Stucco was being removed from

the old columns, "the pure lines of the romanesque . . . [were] dug out" (85). These were signs of "the Italian awakening" (84). "The people who know how to live are," Pound said, "so far as my personal existence and contacts have been concerned, mainly great artists (writers, any kind of constructors) . . ." (68). Mussolini's draining of the swamps thus was for Pound a type of artistic achievement and so he labeled Il Duce the "artifex" [the artist/craftsman] (92).

Shortly before Pound wrote Jefferson and / or Mussolini, he arranged a meeting with the "artifex" whereby he presented, or had sent ahead of time, A Draft of XXX Cantos (Stock, Life 306). Pound chose to begin Canto XLI with Mussolini's reaction to this gift:

MA QVESTO,"

said the Boss, "è divertente."

["But this is amusing." (Terrell 1:167)]

catching the point before the aesthetes had got there . . . (C 202)

In a sense Pound did become like Leopold Bloom: in imagining that Italy was on the verge of a great renaissance, one that he once had thought possible in the United States, he became "imprisoned in the superficial and trite" and failed to see through "The Boss." Ernest Hemingway also met Il Duce, but was as unimpressed with Mussolini as Pound was taken with the dictator. Hemingway

writes in a newspaper article (The Toronto Daily Star, 27 Jan. 1923) entitled "Mussolini, Europe's Prize Bluffer":

Mussolini is the biggest bluff in Europe. If Mussolini would have me taken out and shot tomorrow morning I would still regard him as a bluff. The shooting would be a bluff. Get hold of a good photo of Signor Mussolini sometime and study it. You will see the weakness in his mouth which forces him to scowl the famous Mussolini scowl that is imitated by every 19-year-old Fascisto in Italy. . . . Study his genius for clothing small ideas in big words. . . . And then look at his black shirt and his white spats. There is something wrong, even histrionically, with a man who wears white spats with a black shirt. . . .

The Fascist dictator had announced he would receive the press. Everybody came. We all crowded into the room. Mussolini sat at his desk reading a book. His face was contorted into the famous frown. He was registering Dictator. Being an ex-newspaper man himself he knew how many readers would be reached by the accounts the men in the room would write of the interview he was about to give. And he remained absorbed in his book. Mentally he was already reading the lines of the two thousand papers served by the two hundred correspondents. "As we entered the room the Black Shirt Dictator did not look up from the book he was reading, so intense was his concentration, etc."

I tiptoed over behind him to see what the book was he was reading with such avid interest. It was a French-English dictionary--held upside down. (Dateline 255)

Pound, however, in 1934 considered Mussolini "One of [the] most valued readers" of The Cantos (Let 335) and we can contrast Hemingway's opinion above with Pound's view as expressed in Guide to Kulchur (1938):

Great intelligence attains again and again to great verity. The Duce and Kung fu Tseu equally perceive that their people need poetry; that prose is NOT education but the outer courts of

same. Beyond its doors are the mysteries.
 Eleusis. Things not to be spoken save in secret.
 (144)

We can see here Pound's naivety, or at least his wishful thinking, but aside from this, it shows, I think, that Pound's epic ambition, his desire "To build the city of Dioce whose terraces are the color of stars" (C 425), to "write an epic poem which begins 'In the Dark Forest,' crosses the Purgatory of human error, and ends in the light" (SPr 167), began in a respect for the mysteries, the things which can't be spoken of "save in secret":

The modern author can write 'aim the union with nature' or 'consciousness of the unity with nature'. This is at the root of any mystery and is a matter of the degree of comprehension, the personal inspection of the candidate being an infinitely more effective way of perceiving what he understands and to what degree he is capable of understanding than is communication in writing. (SPr 59)

Pound filled The Cantos with examples of persons conscious of "the unity of nature," of times and places in which the consciousness of this unity produced a just society. And, too, there are examples of the force that Pound felt to be the root of all evil, the force "that divides, shatters, and kills" and "destroys every delineated symbol, dragging man into a maze of abstraction arguments, destroying not one but every religion" (I 44). And this force was usura:

With usura hath no man a house of good stone
 each block cut smooth and well fitting

that design might cover their face,
 with usura
 hath no man a painted paradise on his church wall
harpes et luz

.
 no picture is made to endure nor to live with
 but is made to sell and sell quickly
 with usura, sin against nature,
 is thy bread dry as paper,
 with no mountain wheat, no strong flour . . .

(C45 229)

With usura bookshop windows do not change. With usura stucco is not removed from old columns, wheat is not grown where marshes once were. And so Pound embraced Mussolini and blamed "high kikery" for usury. The religious poet could then say in a broadcast over Rome Radio, a broadcast typical for its seemingly sane beginning and its increasing absurdity and bizarre invectives:

I see out of my bedroom window a chapel built on a sane economic system. Namely, the peasants up that side of the mountain had the stone underfoot and wanted a chapel, so they got the stone out of the mountain-side and put up the chapel. I suppose they believe in something. And it is quite certain that the FASCIST regime approves of this sort of activity. I have my own religion and nobody here bashes me over the head for believing it. . . .

I see and approve the folks in Rapallo coming down to the sea on Easter morning, not so many as used to. I see the peasant women bringing their silk worm cocoons into church about Easter time

to get 'em blessed, hiding them under their aprons. All this shows respect for the divinity. Nobody taxes 'em for doing it or for NOT doing it. . . . All that is very pretty, it may or may not be part of a theory. I think it conduces to the amenities; ANYHOW, it is part of the good life, part of the art of living. ANY Chinese gentleman, on Wang Chin-Wei's side of the line at least would respect it, and Japanese Samurai would respect it.

I also respect it. I consider it part of civilization against which you have a horde of bloody barbarians financed by a bunch of skunks. Meet a few Mongoloid or Tar Tar communists. Meet a few of Baruch's importation. . . . Meet a few of these dirty swine, out to destroy Bach's music.

Bach? OUT.

Shakespeare? OUT.

Destroy everything that is conducive to civilization. Damn civilization. The Kike is all out for power. The Kike and the unmitigated evil that has been centered in LONDON since the government set the Red Indians on to murder the American frontier settlers. Has hurled the Slav, the Mongol, the Tartar OPENLY against Germany, AND POLAND, and Finland, and Romania. And SECURELY against all that is decent in America. Against the total American heritage. (Doob 119-120)

Pound's religion, which no one bashed him "over the head for," was a syncretism of neo-Platonism, ideas from medieval Catholic writers, paganism ("which at the base of its cosmogonic philosophy set the sexual phenomena whereby Life perpetuates itself mysteriously throughout the universe" and did not "disdain the erotic factor in its religious institutions but celebrated it" [SPr 55]), a belief that Ovid's Metamorphosis along with the writings of Confucius were "the only safe guides in religion" (Let 250), and a belief that "a light from Eleusis persisted

throughout the middle ages and set beauty in the song of Provence and of Italy" (SPr 53).

Eleusis was the site of the Greek celebration of fertility based on the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. Or rather, says Surette, "more accurately, the myth serves to explain in a veiled manner the nature of the Mysteries" (44). At Eleusis the candidates for initiation into the Mysteries would descend into the temple where a hierophant presided over the epopteia, a "showing forth" (44). The writer of the Hymn never describes what this showing forth is. This was apparently, however, "some kind of theophany" (44), a theophony which is only referred to because the poet's sebas (awe) is so great he is robbed of all speech (Kerényi, Religion 141). Thus Pound's belief that the mysteries were not to be spoken of "except in secret" (and, too, Alcibiades, it might be remembered, spoke openly of the mysteries and was thus sentenced to death). The Cantos, then, was to be a type of guide to this light: "A little light, like [sic] a rushlight / to lead back to splendour" (C116 797).

But Pound as "hierophant," the man who would build a new heaven on earth, could not stop spewing hate. At the time he made the broadcasts over Rome Radio, he, too, like Thoreau's waking man, loathed silence. And in his epic? Hyde describes the voice in long sections of the poem as "full of opinion without erotic heat, like an old

pensioner chewing his disappointed politics in a barbershop" (229), but there is, certainly, nothing quite as rabid in The Cantos as the excerpt from the broadcast I quoted above. There is much beauty in the poem, much leading "back to splendour":

The flash of waves under prows,
And the silver beaks rising and crossing.

Stone trees, white and rose-white in the darkness
Cypress there by the towers,

Drift under hulls in the night.

"In the gloom the gold
Gathers the light about it"...
Now supine in burrow, half over-arched bramble,
One eye for the sea, through that peek-hole
Gray light, with Athene. (C17 78)

In 1918 Pound commented that he was working on "a new long poem (really L O N G, endless, leviathanic)" (Let 157). One leaves a seminar on a dark, January night and walks into the library searching for "an imaginative work neither very short or very long" and comes face to face with Pound's 815 page leviathan dedicated to "the tradition of the undivided light" (Spr 307), i.e., the light of Eleusis, of Aphrodite, of Kung, and the Neoplatonists:

"To build light

目

jih

新

hsin

said Ocellus. (C94 642)

As John Steven Childs observes:

The Cantos are difficult: the hapless amateur opens the volume at random, and finds, to his dismay, that he is unable to "construe" a given page, much less determine the relation of that page to the one which follows or precedes it. The one unifying factor, in fact, seems to be a bewildering variety of symbols and languages, and the peculiar insertion into the poem of tracts of prose.

The professional reader, the critic, has a slightly different reaction depending on his attitude about modern literature, and his patience. His first response may well be that the monumentality of The Cantos is misplaced . . . and the difficulty gratuitous (does one really want to achieve proficiency in economics, Confucianism, or Chinese ideograms merely to read a poem?). The critic may legitimately ask whether the returns are worth the effort. (13)

Childs argues that for the professional critic this effort is "doubly repaid" (13). However, the "hapless amateur" whose curiosity has been piqued might, too, put forth some of this same effort and with help from, say, Carroll F. Terrell's A Companion to the Cantos of Ezra Pound, might learn that Ocellus, whom Pound "quotes" in the above passage from Canto XCIV, was listed by one of Pound's favorite Neoplatonic light philosophers, Iamblichus (1:17), as a Pythagorean (2:492) and thus Pound saw Ocellus as a

keeper of the tradition of the "one and impartible light of the Gods," light that is "everywhere one and the same whole" (Iamblichus, qtd. in Terrell, Companion 1:17). And, too, one can learn from Pound's translation of Confucius's Ta Hsio: The Great Digest (a work Pound first translated in 1928) that the ideograms jih⁴ (sun) and hsin¹ (new) were inscribed on the Emperor Tching Tang's bathtub in letters of gold, as Pound has it:

AS THE SUN MAKES IT NEW
 DAY BY DAY MAKE IT NEW
 YET AGAIN MAKE IT NEW. (Con 36)

We can further learn that Pound took this epigram (an epigram much earlier cited approvingly by Henry David Thoreau in Walden [393]) as his motto and chose Make it New as the title of his 1934 collection of literary essays. Armed with such knowledge, you, the "hapless amateur," decide the poem is of "significant artistic merit" and begin your study, concentrate on the more lyrical passages, the "images of the gods" (SPr 307), the light, try not to think too deeply of things such as anti-Semitism or Mussolini, become a little obsessed with the poem, the man, or the "Pound Industry" (Brooke-Rose 1), and perhaps too emphatically say "yes" to Hugh Kenner, that most partisan of Poundians, when he writes in 1987:

I have said nothing about the political controversies that stormed round the last third of Pound's life: the rant of the wartime broadcasts, the indictment, the imprisonment near Pisa and in a Washington madhouse. The emphasis

belongs where I keep it, on the continuities of the life of the mind and on the pleasures of his craggy texts. ("Ezra Pound" 241)

But after a time something starts to wear on the nerves a little. Maybe the Poundian sneer. Maybe coming upon too much wrong-headedness. Maybe the final straw is the transcripts of the radio broadcasts. Maybe. At any rate, in what is possibly an act of self-righteousness, the 75 or so books are packed in boxes and hauled back to the library. Maybe it is spring and you simply don't want to deal with the whole business just now. Maybe.

* * *

I mentioned earlier our usual distaste for silence. Even now, as I write this, I have the radio on--"background noise." In between songs the promotional spots shout out: "For all the latest hits . . . tune in, turn it up loud." Thomas Merton has said:

What is it that makes every man struggle with himself? It is the deep, persistent voice of his own discontent with himself. Fallen man cannot abide with himself. Now the apparent peace which the world gives is bought with the price of continual distraction. Distraction merely drowns out the inner voice, it does not answer any questions, or solve any problems, it merely postpones their solution. And behind the smokescreen of amusements and projects, the inner dissatisfaction marshals all its forces for a more terrible assault when the distraction shall have been taken away. . . .

The question itself is basic: how shall we face the contradiction between the ideal and the real in our society, the ideal and the concrete in ourselves? (Journey 101, 105)

I think Ezra Pound asked these same questions. He believed, as Hyde says, that what gifts we have come from the gods, but:

a "live tradition" is the storehouse in which the wealth of that endowment is preserved. Pound speaks certain names over and over again--Homer, Confucius, Dante, Cavalcanti--the lineage of gifted souls whose works informed his own. (147)

But in Three Cantos, often called the "Ur-Cantos" (cantos which Pound wrote in 1915 and which were the rough beginning to his epic, although they were later mostly discarded), he asks:

What have I of this life,

Or even of Guido? [Cavalcanti]

Sweet lie!--Was I there truly?

Did I know Or San Michele?

Let's believe it.

Believe the tomb he leapt was Julia Laeta's?

Friend, I do not even--when he led that street
charge--

I do not even know which sword he'd with him.

Sweet lie, "I lived!" Sweet lie, "I lived beside
him."

.

No, take it all for lies.

I have but smelt this life, a whiff of it--

The box of scented wood

Recalls cathedrals. And shall I claim;

Confuse my own phantastikon,
 Or say the filmy shell that circumscribes me
 Contains the actual sun;

confuse the thing I see

With actual gods behind me?

Are they gods behind me?

How many worlds we have! If Botticelli
 Brings her ashore on that great cockle-shell--
 His Venus . . .

.

Oh, we have worlds enough, and brave décors,
 And from these like we guess a soul for man
 And build him full of aery populations.

Mantegna a sterner line, and the new world
 about us:

Bared lights, great flares, new form, Picasso
 or Lewis.

If for a year man write to paint, and not to
 music. . . . (l. lines 160-193)¹¹

Using Browning's "meditative, / Semi-dramatic,
 semi-epic" form of narration (1.94),¹² Pound here,
 as Bush says, portrays a narrator who is in search of
 meaning (113). The narrator, however, is uncertain as to
 whether this meaning can be found in the present or past
 ("What have I of this life, / Or even of Guido [the live
 tradition]?") The phantastikon Pound speaks of was defined

by him in The Spirit of Romance: "the consciousness of some seems to rest . . . in what the Greek psychologists called the phantastikon. Their minds are . . . circumvolved about them like soap-bubbles reflecting sundry patches of the cosmos" (92). Thus his narrator sees only "sundry patches" of the truth, and he asks if he dares say that what he himself experiences is representative, if one man's consciousness is representative, of all men living in "many worlds": Shall he say, "the filmy shell that circumscribes me / Contains the actual sun"? For we are living in a world where "décors" have replaced truth and we can only "guess a soul for man" using only our own subjectivity.

Pound desires, then, to be a Botticelli and bring form to the gods as Botticelli brought Venus ashore. He desires to create a new world, "new form" as did Picasso and Pound's Vorticist friends Wyndham Lewis and Gaudier-Brzeska, new form "expressive of emotional and intellectual forces," and thus Pound desired to "write to paint":

It is no more ridiculous that a person should receive or convey an emotion by means of an arrangement of shapes, or planes, or colours, than that they should receive or convey such emotion by an arrangement of musical notes.
(GB 81)

Or to bring form to the gods? And are they gods?

The contradiction between "the ideal and the concrete" in Pound's self, when writing Three Cantos, was a question

of how he could become the poet capable of revealing the truth and what authority could he claim for his revelation. As Christine Froula has remarked, "Homer, the bard, had the mystified and mythified social authority of the Muse for his tale, Pound as poet-protagonist can claim for his poem only the authority of experience" (Paradise 158). And as we have seen, Pound wondered early on if what is reflected by one man's consciousness was the truth. Eventually he decided that representing his own consciousness was the only way possible to represent "the disruptions and unclosed difficulties of modern experience" (Paradise 2). As such, The Cantos would resemble Pound's earlier and most famous Imagist poem:

IN A STATION OF THE METRO

The apparition of these faces in the crowd;

Petals on a wet, black bough. (Per 109)

Pound's Vorticist gloss on this poem was the following:

I dare say it is meaningless unless one has drifted into a certain vein of thought. In a poem of this sort one is trying to record the precise instant when a thing outward and objective transforms itself, or darts into a thing inward and subjective.

This particular sort of consciousness has not been identified with impressionist art. I think it worthy of attention. (GB 89)

Pound thought it worthy of attention because, for him, this "particular sort of consciousness" could represent the universal in the particular, something he saw Joyce had

accomplished with the city of Dublin. "Dubliners," Forrest Read says, "made the city a formal principle for the first time in modern English literature; the lives of the Dubliners . . . were presented according to the pressures of the city and the form of emotion" (P/J 9). Pound felt Joyce presented things as they were, "not for only Dublin, but for every city" and the stories in Dubliners "could be retold of any town" (LE 401). These remarks were made in a review of Dubliners printed in The Egoist in 1914, and in 1922, in The Dial, Pound called Ulysses "an epoch-making report on the state of the human mind in the twentieth century" (LE 408) and said Bloom was "polumetis," or "many-minded" (LE 408; see P/J 195n9). In arguing that Joyce should receive the Nobel Prize for literature in 1924, Pound wrote:

Surely the highest idealism is that which tries to make others more aware of the relations between one thing, or one state of mind, and another; to make them more aware of the cosmos in which they live.

And if "Ulysses" has any existence, it exists as a great work of Katharsis. (P/J 220)

Thus by expressing his own consciousness as representative of the modern mind's experience when things "outward and objective" transformed themselves into things "inward and subjective," Pound hoped to cause the reader "suddenly to see" (GK 51), his aim, he said, "being revelation, a just revelation irrespective of newness or oldness" (51).

Pound began his epic shortly after World War I, when the world had been shattered. In Hugh Selwyn Mauberley, "distinctly a farewell to London" (Per 185) and "a study in form, an attempt to condense the James novel" (Let 248), Pound's anger shows in his expression of the senselessness of the war destruction and the deaths of Henri Gaudier-Brzeska and T. E. Hulme:

There died a myriad,
 And of the best, among them,
 For an old bitch gone in the teeth,
 For a botched civilization,

Charm, smiling at the good mouth,
 Quick eyes gone under earth's lid,

For two gross of broken statues,

For a few thousand battered books. (Per 191)

The world could be rebuilt he thought, a civilization and not "a mere bloated empire" based on décors and "a tawdry cheapness" (Mauberley, Per 189). The earthly paradise was possible and his poem would make it so. As lovers of literature we might wish poetry had such power, or perhaps such a thought is too frightening to even entertain, or too Faustian in its desire. But returning to Jung, finally, we see that a desire for such a teacher as Pound thought he could become, or the longing for a poet "capable of ending," say, "The Cantos" as Hugh Kenner puts it

(Era 377), i.e., the longing for a poet capable of writing paradise, lies within all of us:

The archetypal image of the wise man, the saviour or redeemer, lies buried and dormant in man's unconscious since the dawn of culture. . . . These primordial images are numerous, but do not appear in the dreams of individuals or in works of art until they are called into being by the waywardness of the general outlook. When conscious life is characterized by one-sidedness and by a false attitude, then they are activated --one might say, "instinctively"--and come to light in the dreams of individuals and the visions of artists and seers, thus restoring the psychic equilibrium of the epoch.

In this way the work of the poet comes to meet the spiritual need of the society in which he lives, and for this reason his work means more to him than his personal fate, whether he is aware of this or not. Being essentially the instrument of his work, he is subordinate to it, and we have no reason for expecting him to interpret it for us. . . . To grasp its meaning, we must allow it to shape us as it once shaped him. Then we understand the nature of his experience. (407-408)

It is legitimate to ask if the "meaning" of The Cantos could ever be grasped. Not because the poem is "difficult," for the difficulties can be gotten around if one is, as Childs suggests, patient enough. Rather, I would propose, the meaning is difficult to grasp because the meaning lies in the act of reading the poem itself: reading the poem is the meaning, for to do so is to participate in Pound's experience of writing the poem. As Froula says, "In an important sense, to read The Cantos is to 'read' the drama of Pound's struggle to transform the terms of epic to accommodate the modern world"

(Paradise 2). And if The Cantos is, as Allen Ginsberg once told Pound it was (and as I have perhaps suggested), "a model of the consciousness" (15), then we might see why we are inclined to pack up the 75 or so books and return them to the library. Is it possible we react this way because Pound forces us to ask ourselves Merton's question which is so basic: how shall we face the contradiction between the ideal and concrete in ourselves?

* * *

In the early 1960s, just before the dawn of the "Information Age," Pound went silent. He would rarely speak to visitors, although in 1967 he and Allen Ginsberg had a brief conversation concerning The Cantos. This is how Ginsberg relates part of the story:

I continued explaining the concrete value of his perceptions manifested in phrasing, as reference points for my own sensory perceptions --I added that as humor--HUMOR--the ancient humours--his irritations, against Buddhists, Taoists and Jews--fitted into place, despite his intentions, as part of the drama . . . record of flux of mind-consciousness. "The Paradise is in the magnanimity of the desire to manifest coherent perceptions in language."

"The intention was bad--that's the trouble--anything I've done has been an accident--any good has been spoiled by my intentions. . . ." Pound said this quietly, rusty voiced like an old child. (15)

Pound wrote no more cantos, but only fragments, as this found in "Notes for CXVII et seq.":

I have tried to write Paradise

Do not move

Let the wind speak

that is paradise.

Let the Gods forgive what I

have made

Let those I love try to forgive

what I have made. (C 802)

He died in 1972.

"The so-called major poets," Pound said, "have most of them given their own gift but the peculiar term 'major' is rather a gift to them from Chronos . . . it has been given them to heap together and arrange and harmonize the results of many men's labour" (LE 48-49).

This study is thus an attempt to respond to a gift received from "whoever, wherever, however" and an attempt to "stand by" that gift, those two words: Ezra Pound, and the question that follows.

Notes to Part 1

¹For a different account, see Stock, Life 235-238.

²As can be deduced from the title of Alexander's essay: "Parenthetical Paris, 1920-1925: Pound, Picabia, Brancusi and Léger," Pound's Artists 81-120.

³Pound, "Paris Letter," The Dial 73 (1922): 549.

⁴Did Pound invent this phrase? See LE 408.

⁵See, for example, Bush's discussion of this passage and his own notice of Pound's use of the term "ideographic" (Bush 231-232).

⁶The Dial 72 (1921): 110.

⁷See front inside-leaf of cover jacket of Berry's Standing by Words.

⁸As early as 1971, Christine Brooke-Rose asked herself, "And, moreover, why ANOTHER book on Pound?" Brooke-Rose 1.

⁹As examples, among others, see Brooke-Rose 255, and Donald Davie, Poet as Sculptor 243.

¹⁰PM is a revision of "Patria Mia" and "America: Chances and Remedies" which first appeared serialized in the New Age in late 1912 and early 1913 resp. PM was delivered as a manuscript to Ralph Fletcher Seymour in 1913 but the manuscript was lost, later to be found in 1950 and published by Seymour (Gallup 82). This information is also

related by Owen, the publisher, on page 8 of the first British edition, the edition I have used.

¹¹ Three Cantos was first published in Poetry as Three Cantos I, Three Cantos II, and Three Cantos III in June-August 1917. For a complete publication history see Bush xiii. Also see Bush 53-72 for the complete text.

¹² Again, see Bush 76-84 for a discussion of Pound's search for a narrative form and his adoption in Three Cantos of Browning's narrative technique used in Sordello.

"And he in his young youth, in the wake of Odysseus
 To Cithera (a.d. 1413) "dove fu Elena rapta da Paris"

 . . . and to Paphos,
 Donkey boys, dust, deserts, Jerusalem, backsheesh
 And endless fuss over passports;
 One goat for the Jordan, whether you go there or not,
 The school where the madonna in girlhood
 Went to learn letters, and Pilate's house closed to the public;
 .2 soldi for Olivet (to the Saracens)
 And no indulgence at Judas's tree; and
 'Here Christ put his thumb on a rock
 'Saying: hic est medium, mundi.'
 (That, I assure you, happened.
 Ego, scriptor cantilenae.)
 For worse? for better? but happened."

--Canto XXIV

PART 2

WILDERNESS AND PARADISE¹

If one believes with Ezra Pound that "All ages are contemporaneous" (SR vi), then the city of Venice was saved by a legend in the year 828 so that Ezra Pound might publish there, at his own expense, his first book of poems: A Lume Spento (With Tapers Quenched), dedicated to "William Brooke Smith, Painter, Dreamer of dreams."²

The legend concerns St. Mark, who after preaching the gospel at Aquileia, a town in northeastern Italy at the head of the Adriatic, set sail for Alexandria where he would later be martyred. Early in the journey, however, a storm broke, and St. Mark was forced to take refuge in a fisherman's hut on one of the islands in the lagoon off the coast. There he dreamt that his remains would one day lie on that island, Rialto, the island where the center of the city of Venice would come to rise out of the waters (M. Rivière-Sestier 13).

After the Venetians defeated Charlemagne's son Pepin in 809, the Doge of Venetia, Angelo Participazio, was seeking a way to draw the population of the surrounding isles (isles more vulnerable to attack) to Rialto in the center of the lagoon (Rivière-Sestier 13). It was then in 828 that two Venetian merchants, Rustico and Tribuno, arrived from Alexandria with the relics of St. Mark, relics they had pressured the monks of an Alexandrian monastery to sell to them for the small sum of 50 Zecchini. They then wrapped these relics in sides of bacon so that Moslem officials would avoid the basket the holy remains were hidden in and smuggled them out of Alexandria (Terrell, Com 1:50). Thus Rustico and Tribuno made the legend come true and the Doge had his drawing card; and, as Terisio Pignatti tells us, "the 'civitas Rivoalti' began to take on its final appearance, destined to lead to the shape of the future Venice" (5).

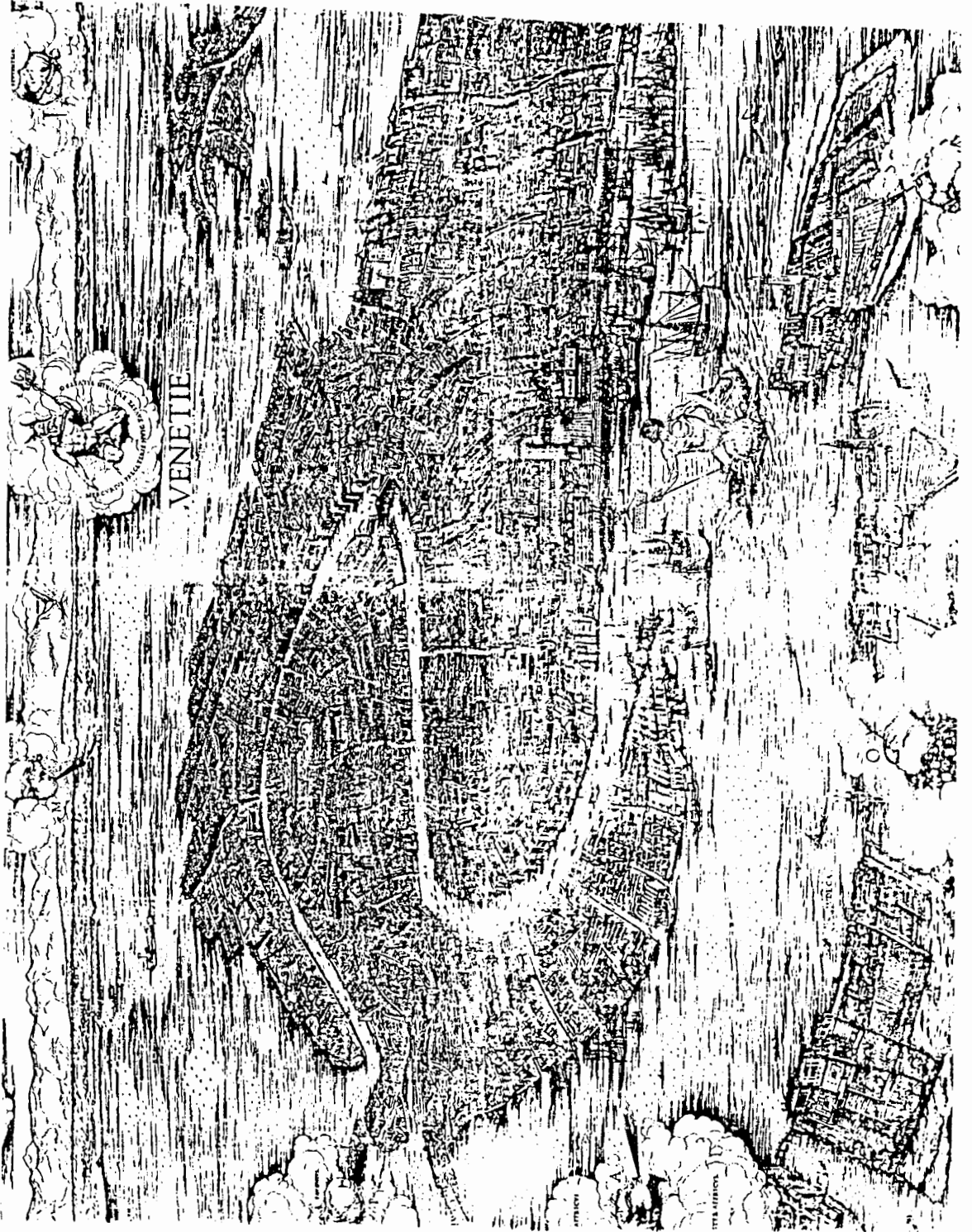


Fig. 1. Jocoipo De' Barbari, Plan of Venice; rpt. in André Chastel, Humanism 16.

Venice then adopted St. Mark as her patron saint, replacing St. Theodore of what was, in the opinion of the Venetians, "the lowly Eastern Church" (Terrell, Com 1:50), and immediately began building the religious center of St. Mark's as the resting place the evangelist had dreamed of. By 976, the year the original St. Mark's Church burned (Pignatti 5), a lodging house was constructed for pilgrims to the Holy Land (Lewis Mumford 322). This stood near where the old Campanile was first built in the twelfth century (322), the same campanile which collapsed in the summer of 1902 when Ezra Pound and his parents were visiting.³

Ezra Pound taught Romance languages at Wabash College, a Presbyterian institution at Crawfordsville, Indiana, from September 1907 through the early part of February 1908. He then left the country, setting sail for Europe on the RMS Slavonia (Carpenter 88), if not precisely in the "wake" of Odysseus, at least in the spirit: "Knowledge the shade of a shade, / Yet must thou sail after knowledge" (C47 236). For his intention was to eventually land in London where W. B. Yeats was and "Yeats knew more about poetry than anybody else" (Donald Hall 37). Art was, after all, "a matter of capitals" (GB 107), but like earlier pilgrims to the Holy Land before him, Pound stopped over in Venice, arriving there at the end of April (Carpenter 89), and he describes in The Cantos his lying in the Piazzetta under St. Theodore's column, St. Theodore atop the column and astride his crocodile, Pound passing his first days there:

And

I came here in my young youth

and lay there by the crocodile

By the column, looking East on the Friday,

And I said: Tomorrow I will lie on the South side

And the day after, south west.

And at night they sang in the gondolas

And in the barche with lanthorns;

The prows rose silver on silver

taking light in the darkness. (C26 121)

Venice is situated on 120 islands formed by 177 canals in the lagoon that separates the mouths of the Po and Piave rivers on the north end of the Adriatic Sea. "Venice" was founded by refugees from Padua who crossed the lagoon to escape Teutonic invaders in the fifth century AD. At the end of that century the first Doge, the chief magistrate, was chosen in a "pre-eminently democratic" fashion and the Venetians organized Venice as a republic, although the city itself did not yet exist ("Venice"; Rivière-Sestier 13). The Doges were elected by the people for life and in 1173 the Council Major, consisting of 480 members, was formed to monitor the actions of the Doges (Terrell, Com 1:100). The Doges and their family members were not above the law: In a crowded street, a young man threw his arms round a girl and kissed her, but this was only a ruse to steal the girl's

necklace. The girl recognized the young man as the Doge's son and complained to the authorities. The Doge condemned his son to death, as he did all thieves (Rivière-Sestier 89). Common thievery was severely frowned upon in Venice, but were it not for thievery, the city would not exist.

Mary McCarthy details a great deal of this theft which took place after the body of St. Mark was captured, this capture being "almost the last action of the Venetian merchants which could be considered 'holy'" (37). In 1100 the Venetians stole the body of St. Nicholas while on their way to Jaffa. In 1123, sacred relics from Tyre piled up high on the Riva degli Shiavoni and in 1125 St. Isidore's body was snatched from Christian Chios (37). The winged lion standing on top of St. Mark's column was most probably an Assyrian chimera, the statue of St. Theodore a Roman portrait-statue, his crocodile fifty different pieces "rudely clamped together" (38). Even the early doges displaced the bones of "pagans and paleo-Christians" and had themselves buried "in sarcophagi that did not belong to them" (44). But it was the Sack of Constantinople in 1204, McCarthy says, "that had netted the greatest booty" (43): the four Roman Emperors metamorphosed into Saracens and in turn metamorphosed to stone for attempting to rob the treasury of St. Mark's; the four bronze horses, each five feet high and weighing a ton, believed to be Greek of the third or fourth century BC, first stolen by Augustus from

Alexandria after the defeat of Antony, then by the Emperor Constantine, now again on the west front of St. Mark's, but stolen, in turn, by Napoleon and denuded of their gold (George Campbell Dixon 38).

St. Mark's altarpiece "in gold and jewels and enamels" was most probably stolen from the Church of Pantocrator in Constantinople (McCarthy 43). Elsewhere the church inside is faced with "Eastern Marbles, jasper and alabaster, porphyry and verdantique, sustained by Byzantine columns . . . of varying sizes and epochs, scarcely a pair alike" (43). On the outside, covering the brick, are thin marble veneers, also the spoils of war:

and they were put on haphazardly, green against gray, against red or rose or white with red veining, without any general principle of design beyond the immediate pleasure of the eye. On the Piazzetta side, this gives the effect of a gay abstract painting. Parvenu art, more like painting than architecture. . . . (44)

As for the rest of the city, the Venetians searched for stones in the cities destroyed by the barbarians. Columns were brought from Aquileia. Each merchant ship was to bring back two stones, one for San Marco, and the other for the city. Istrian stone, already worked and used to build Ravenna, was again used to build Venice. And all of this rests on millions of wooden piles which came by the destruction of the forests on the Dalmation coast.⁴ The city existed, says Chastel, "only by an effort of sheer will"

("Comments" 175) and was, Mumford tells us, "the best that a succession of energetic merchants and industrialists, who courted money and power, and the luxuries that money and power will buy, were able to conceive" (325). All of this is not to say that the city, the Queen of the Adriatic, did not become a work of art, a work of art built by thieves, thieves who were dreamers of dreams. McCarthy examines this paradox:

A commercial people who lived solely for gain-- how could they create a city of fantasy, lovely as a dream or a fairy-tale? This is the central puzzle of Venice, the stumbling-block that one keeps coming up against if one tries to think about her history, to put the facts of her history together with the visual fact that is there before one's eyes. . . . "Lovely as a dream or a fairy tale..." There is no contradiction, once you stop to think what images of beauty arise from fairy tales. They are images of money. Gold, caskets of gold, caskets of silver, the miller's daughter spinning gold all night long. . . .

A wholly materialist city is nothing but a dream incarnate. Venice is the world's unconscious: a miser's glittering hoard, guarded by a Beast whose eyes are made of white agate, and by saint who is really a prince who has just slain a dragon. (50)

Should it be surprising, then, that an American poet would find here a sacred city and write about that city in a poem dedicated to building a new sacred city, in a poem which also includes the poet's two other main interests: history and money?

* * *

Early on, Venice was divided into precincts, each precinct serving its appropriate function, whether industrial, residential, political, or religious. This served to keep the central Piazza, St. Mark's Square, clear of congestion (Mumford 324). Here, on the east end, were St. Mark's Church and the Doge's Palace.

Ezra Pound could lie by St. Theodore's column and gaze at the Doge's Palace, begun in 814 as a simple wooden structure and restored after the fire of St. Mark's in 976, restored again after a fire in 1105, and enlarged by Doge Sebastiano Ziani in the twelfth century (Dixon 30). Venice was governed by the Doges and the Council until 1508, but in 1297 Doge Pietro Gradenigo restricted the powers of the High Council, making the government less democratic and concentrating power in the hands of an oligarchy of families. The executive power was divided amongst commissions of Elders. These commissions formed the College which the Doge presided over and which in effect became the government. A Senate of 300 members was also formed and a cabinet consisting of six councillors and three judges was formed as well (Pignatti 6). With the formation of these bodies, Pignatti tells us, reconstruction and enlargement of the Hall of the Great Council became imperative and the High Council's destiny, "inevitably culminating in complete rebuilding of the palace, which thus came to assume its final form" (6). Councillors met four times between 1340

and 1415 to discuss this rebuilding, as Ezra Pound informs us, first in paraphrased Venetian state documents inserted into Canto XXV (documents which make up the bulk of this canto, and are, as George Dekker says, "a sort of compact history of the sensibility of Venetian officialdom" [32]), followed by a poetic explanation (ellipses are Pound's):

1340. Council of the lords noble, Marc Erizio
Nic. Speranzo, Tomasso Gradonico:

that the hall

be new built over the room of the night watch
and over the columns toward the canal where the walk is...
...because of the stink of the dungeons. 1344.
1409... since the most serene Doge can scarce
stand upright in his bedroom...

vadit pars, two gross lire

stone stair, 1415, for pulchritude of the palace

254 da parte

de non 23

4 non sincere

Which is to say: they built out over the arches
and the palace hangs there in the dawn, the mist,
in that dimness,
or as one rows in from past the murazzi
the barge slow after moon-rise
and the voice sounding under the sail. (C 117)

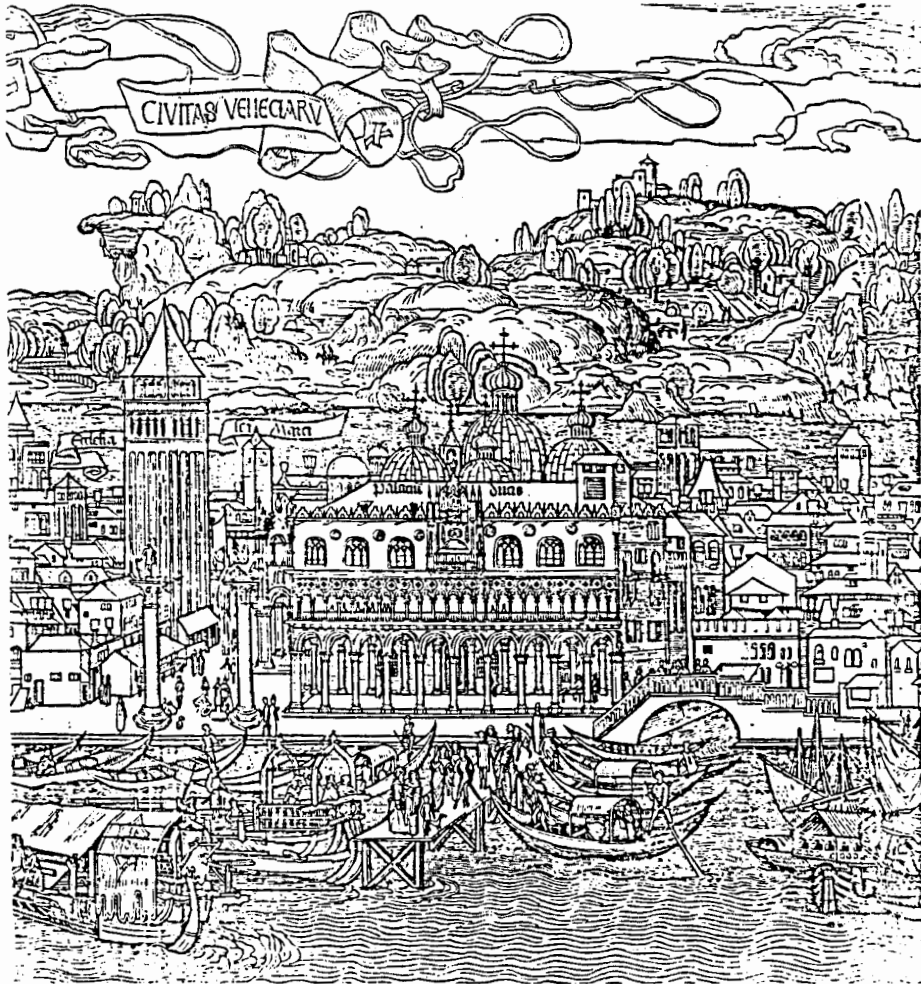


Fig. 2. View of the Doge's Palace with the domes of St. Mark's directly behind. At left is the Campanile and St. Theodore's column in the foreground; rpt. in Pignatti 8.

The hall having been extended "out over the arches," the Palace itself, as André Fraigneau says, finally "defied common sense with the upper part solid (two enormous rose marble cubes with few windows) resting on air (two rows of slender arcades as light and delicate as lace)" (Fraigneau N. pag.). And resting on air, the Ducal Palace "baseless,

hangs there in the dawn / With low mist over the tide-mark," or hangs in the sunset "With gold mist over the tide-mark" (C 98), as Pound rowing in past the embankments viewed it.

The Venetians who built the Doge's Palace were also inventors. They invented, McCarthy tells us, "the income tax, statistical science, the floating of government stock, state censorship of books, anonymous denunciations (the Bocca del Leone), the gambling casino, and the Ghetto" (128): a bit of information to add to the history contained in the preceding paragraphs, paragraphs which Pound may or may not have considered relevant as historical knowledge, his aim being revelation, "a just revelation irrespective of newness or oldness." Or,

To put it another way: it does not matter a two-penny damn whether you load up your memory with the chronological sequence of what has happened, or the names of protagonists, or authors of books, or generals and leading political spouters, so long as you understand the process now going on, or the processes biological, social, economic now going on, enveloping you as an individual, in a social order, and quite unlikely to be very "new" in themselves however fresh or stale to the participant. (GK 51-52)

Pound believed that the past is not known by us in chronological sequence. For the sake of convenience it can be laid out "anesthetized on the table with dates pasted on," but what we know, "we know by ripples and spirals eddying out from us from our own time" (GK 60). Therefore, Pound would write history "by tracing ideas, exposing the growth of a concept" or by isolating "the quality or the direction

of a given time's sensibility" (60). In writing history this way, in giving, say, "a compact history of the sensibility" of the Venetian oligarchy by the insertion of state documents into the text of his epic, Pound foregoes narrative and thus risks being criticised by historiographers and literary critics alike "for falsifying history, for embracing an erroneous analysis of history, for fantasizing history, and for idealizing history" (Surette 110). Pound, it must be admitted, is not often objective, but as Surette goes on to say:

The difficulty with the history contained in the Cantos . . . is not that it is false, prejudiced, distorted, or wrong-headed, but that it is a history which few if any of Pound's potential audience want. It is, of course, occasionally false, always prejudiced, habitually distorted, and often wrong-headed--or perhaps one should say always wrong-headed--but none of these shortcomings would stop people from reading the poem if Pound's prejudices and distortions reflected their own. (115)

"More important," perhaps, as Christine Froula says, Pound's "modes of history-writing do not simply reject an objective perspective but rather call into question the possibility of historical objectivity" (Paradise 158). This puts Pound on a plane, Froula says, with modern physics (159) and "more recent efforts of historians to demonstrate the wish-fulfilling status of all forms of narrative" (13). One such historian discussed by Froula is Hayden White, who has stated that by "common consent" of the "modern historiographical establishment,"

it is not enough that a historical account deal in real, rather than merely imaginary, events; and it is not enough that the account in its order of discourse represent events according to the chronological sequence in which they originally occurred. The events must be not only registered within the chronological framework of their original occurrence but narrated as well, that is to say, revealed as possessing a structure, an order of meaning, which they do not possess as mere sequence. (9)

Without narrative a history is considered "something less than a proper history" no matter how objective the historian has been or how carefully evidence is handled. Pound may indeed not often handle his evidence "carefully," but to make narrative a primary criterion for judging the value of a history is, Pound would say, to anesthetize the past, or to attempt, as White says, "to have real events display the coherence, integrity, fullness, and closure of an image of life that is and can only be imaginary" (27). For Pound, to desire narrative closure, whether in a history or in a poem including history, would mean to have the desire to encrust experience "with a bunch of beautiful lies"⁵ and to fail to represent what Froula calls "the constitutive status of error, the partiality of vision, the diversity of experience, and the diffusion of social authority and power in modern experience" (Paradise 168).

This insistence on narrative would, for the modern historiographer, rule out what are considered to be the two remaining types of historical representation: the annals and the chronicles. But White says that although these

forms are non-narrative, they too are conceptions of historical reality, "conceptions that are alternatives to, rather than failed anticipations of" the history proper (10). White gives an example of both of these, but I believe that the annals form, and the example of such that White provides, is especially relevant to Pound and his conception of history, so I shall confine my discussion to this form.⁶

White uses as his example the Annals of St. Gaul, a medieval annals, the text of which is contained in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, series Scriptores. This is a list of events that occurred in Gaul in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries which possesses "no central subject, no well-marked beginning, middle, and end, no peripeteia . . . no identifiable narrative voice," and no suggestion of any connection between events (11). The entries for the period 709-734 are as follows:

- 709. Hard winter. Duke Gottfried died.
- 710. Hard year and deficient in crops.
- 711.
- 712. Flood everywhere.
- 713.
- 714. Pippin, Mayor of the palace, died.
- 715. 716. 717.
- 718. Charles devastated the Saxon with great destruction.
- 719.
- 720. Charles fought against the Saxons.
- 721. Theudo drove the Saracens out of Aquitaine.
- 722. Great crops.
- 723.
- 724.
- 725. Saracens came for the first time.
- 726.
- 727.
- 728.

729.
 730.
 731. Blessed Bede, the presbyter, died.
 732. Charles fought against the Saracens at
 Poitiers on Saturday.
 733.
 734.

The list places us, White says, in a culture on the edge of dissolution, a culture of scarcity, a world of "death, devastation, flood, and famine" (11). Basic needs and the threat of these needs being unprovided are the concerns, but no connection is made between these needs and the conditions for their provision. Each listing seems to be as important or unimportant as any other listing, and the fact that these were listed at all seems to be their main import. Nor do we know who recorded the events or when the events were recorded.

The list begins with a title (and White questions if it is a title): Anni domini, which visually links the two columns. This "title" might lead us to believe that the annalist's ordering principle was the Christian mythos (the Creation, Fall, Incarnation, Resurrection, and Second Coming), but, says White, "the years have a regularity which the Christian mythos, with its clear hypotatic ordering of the events which make it up . . . does not possess" (12). The list of years locates events in chronological time, not in the time of eternity but in time "as it is humanly experienced" (12). This gives the history its necessary realism, for "The list of times is full, even

if the list of events is not" (12). But the account does not achieve closure, it simply stops with these last entries:

1045. 1046. 1048. 1049. 1050. 1052.
 1053. 1054. 1055.
 1056. The Emperor Henry died; and his son Henry succeeded to the rule.
 1057. 1058. 1059. 1060. 1061. 1062. 1063. 1064.
 1065. 1066. 1067. 1068. 1069. 1070. 1071. 1072.

As White points out, the entry for 1056 concerning the Emperor Henry's death and young Henry's succession to the rule is a small narrative; however, "this 'nareme,' floats easily on the sea of dates which figures succession itself as a principle of cosmic organization" (18). If we know "what was awaiting the younger Henry," that the son Henry went on to battle the popes over investiture, raising the issue of "where final authority on earth was located," White says, "we might be irritated by the economy with which the annalist recorded an event so fraught with future moral and legal implications" (18). The annalist, on the other hand, simply lists the years 1057-1072, apparently with the feeling that he fulfilled his duty. "What is involved," White asks, "in this refusal to narrate?"

The clue is in the events recorded:

709. Hard winter. Duke Gottfried died.
 710. Hard year and deficient in crops.
 . . .
 712. Flood everywhere.

 718. Charles devastated the Saxon with great destruction.

As discussed before, the listings are not "ranked" in any way, nor are events recorded which we might consider more significant than those included. But, as White points out:

It is only from our knowledge of the subsequent history of Western Europe that we can presume to rank events in terms of their world historical significance, and even then that significance is less "world historical" than simply Western European, representing a tendency of modern historians to rank events in the record hierarchically from within a perspective that is culture-specific, not universal at all. (14)

It is this culture-specific perspective, however, that makes a narrative representation of historical events possible, although, it could be granted, White says, that it is more "universalistic" to record events as the annalist did, "as they come to notice" (14). And, it is what gets put into the account, rather than what is left out, that leads us to an understanding of the nature of narrative; for the hard winter, the hard year, the floods, the devastation of the Saxons, and the deaths recorded, show an image of reality which contains no social system, a social system "present as a factor in the composition of the discourse only by virtue of its absence" (14). Thus from the point of view of the writer, who has no social system as a basis for ranking the events, the actions of Charles or Theudo are not different in kind from those of nature which brings floods or great crops--these "events" happen to people--and all are "seemingly incomprehensible" (14).

By contrast with this list of "incomprehensible" events with all of its attendant gaps representing death and scarcity, the list of years, "attesting to the fullness of time" (15), represents an attempt to fill in the gaps, to replace this emptiness in the list, and in life, with an image of "continuity, coherency, and meaning" (15). This list of years is a list of the "years of the Lord," and the years begin with the Incarnation and "relentlessly roll on to their potential end, the Last Judgment" (15). It is the absence of any "consciousness" of a social center which prevents the annalist from giving the list of events the same sort of fullness or meaning, and it is the absence of such a center which "undercuts" any impulse the annalist might have had to write a narrative account (15).

The only authority present in the account is the "Lord," who becomes the subject of the account, for it is "the Lord's years" which are treated "as manifestations of His power to cause the events" (19). This subject, however, is outside of the human time represented by the list of events and could not therefore, White says, function as the subject of a narrative (19). White wonders, then, if in order for there to be narrative, does not some authority equivalent to the Lord, but existing in time, need to be present in the historians consciousness? And what would this authority be?

White concludes, following suggestions by Hegel, that the kind of consciousness "capable of imagining the need to represent reality as a history" is only conceivable in terms of the social system, "a system of human relationships governed by law" (19):

Perhaps, then, the growth and development of historical consciousness which is attended by concomitant growth and development of narrative capability . . . has something to do with the extent to which the legal system functions as a subject of concern. If every fully realized story, however we define that familiar but conceptually elusive entity, is a kind of allegory, points to a moral, or endows events, whether real or imaginary, with a significance that they do not possess as a mere sequence, then it seems possible to conclude that every historical narrative has as its latent or manifest purpose the desire to moralize the events of which it treats. Where there is ambiguity or ambivalence regarding the status of the legal system, which is the form in which the subject encounters most immediately the social system in which he is enjoined to achieve a full humanity, the ground on which any closure of a story one might wish to tell about a past, whether it be a public or private past, is lacking. And this suggests that narrativity, certainly in factual storytelling and probably fictional storytelling as well, is intimately related to, if not a function of, the impulse to moralize reality, that is, to identify it with the social system that is the source of any morality that we can imagine. (18)

There is much in White's essay that I have had, by necessity, to exclude. But as White attempts to show, in an attempt that I think succeeds, behind the modern scholarly establishment's condemnation of the annals and chronicles as less than full histories (because of the failure to narrativize reality) lies the desire for histories to

"represent the moral under the aesthetic" (27), to give to reality "the odor of the ideal" (24), to suggest that our current moral order, seen from a culture-specific perspective, is what is to be desired. This is, I would suggest, a type of Darwinian hope that our own moral order is somehow on a higher plain than those moral orders whose passage from one to the other the historians' narratives are specifically designed to show. Or rather, narrative closure is sought to show such passages actually occur, but as White says, "The notion that sequences of real events possess the formal attributes of the stories we tell about imaginary events could only have its origin in wishes, daydreams, reveries" (27).

Simone Weil once wrote of the motives of the Greeks and Trojans in continuing the war. On account of Helen they attempted to destroy each other for ten years, yet "Not one of them except the dilettante warrior Paris cared two straws about her; all agreed in wishing she had never been born" (269), or as Pound has it:

"Eleanor, [helenaus] and [heleptolis]!"⁷

And Homer blind, blind as a bat,
 Ear, ear for the sea-surge, murmur of old men's voices:
 "Let her go back to the ships,
 Back among Grecian faces, lest evil come on our own,
 Evil and further evil, and a curse cursed on our children,

Moves, yes she moves like a goddess

.

And doom goes with her in walking,

Let her go back to the ships,

back among Grecian voices." (C2 6)

The scale of destruction was so great, says Weil, that Helen, "in the eyes of all" was a mere symbol of the real issue which could not be defined, "because it did not exist" (269). Were they fighting to protect a social system that defined the basis of their moral beliefs, something worth the certain destruction of Troy and the ruin of the Greeks' own homes because of their absence? No, they were not, Weil writes. Nothing was too great a sacrifice, "because they were all in pursuit of a literal non-entity whose only value was in the price paid for it" (269). Thus when the Greeks were contemplating quitting the fight, Odysseus and Athene could persuade them to continue by urging them to fight on for the ones who were already dead, "a reminder of the sufferings of their dead comrades was a sufficient argument to put them to shame" (269-270). Therefore there were more dead and the complete destruction of Troy for the honor of those who were already dead and could no longer care about abstractions such as glory, honor, or courage, three words that are, as Hemingway once said, "obscene beside the concrete names of villages, the numbers of roads, the names of rivers" (Farewell 185).

Pound began his epic during World War I and, as Froula has observed, "set it against the violence with which the Iliad so ambivalently inaugurates the Western tradition, the tradition of heroic tragedy" (Paradise 165), in a search for an "abstract 'paradise' which transcends the dogmas of closed cultures" (6). Pound, in 1909, rejected his mother's suggestion that he write an "epic" to the West by saying,

Epic to the West?? my Gawd!!What has the west done to deserve it. . . .

Whitman expressed America as Dante did midieval europe & America is too stupid to see it. (Of course the result is somewhat appalling [sic], but then . . .)

Kindly consider what an epic needs for a foundation:

1. a beautiful tradition
2. a unity in the outline of that tradition. Vid the Odyssey
3. a Hero, mythical or historical
4. a dam [sic] long time for the story to loose [sic] its gharish detail and get encrusted with a bunch of beautiful lies.

Dante in a way escapes these necessities. In reality he dips into a multitude of traditions & unifies them by their connection with himself.⁸

However, Pound always had wanted to write an epic (in what may have been a bit of revisionist history on his part, he told Donald Hall that he began The Cantos "about 1904, I suppose" [Hall 23]) and with the social system after the war utterly destroyed, at least a social system in which Pound could identify with, he rejected the "unity in the outline" of the Western tradition, and the list of events would thus be written with ellipses and gaps:

And because that son of a bitch,

Franz Josef of Austria.

And because that son of a bitch Napoléon Barbiche...

They put Aldington on Hill 70, in a trench

dug through corpses

With a lot of kids of sixteen,

Howling and crying for their mamas,

And he sent a chit back to his major:

I can hold out for ten minutes

With my sergeant and a machine-gun.

And they rebuked him for levity.

And Henri Gaudier went to it,

and they killed him,

And killed a good deal of sculpture,

And ole T.E.H. he went to it,

With a lot of books from the library,

London Library, and a shell buried 'em in a dug-out,

And the Library expressed its annoyance.

And a bullet hit him on the elbow

...gone through the fellow in front of him [...]

[.]

And Fletcher was 19 when he went to it,

And his major went mad in the control pit,

about midnight, and started throwing the phone about

And he had to keep him quiet

till about six in the morning,

And direct that bunch of artillery.

And Ernie Hemingway went to it,

too much in a hurry,

And they buried him for four days.

[.]

Liste officielle des morts 5,000,000. (C16 71-72)

The list of events here, it could be said, is not different in kind from those listed in the Annals of St. Gaul, contained in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, series Scriptores. That is, they are equally incomprehensible: Liste officielle des morts 5,000,000, "For an old bitch gone in the teeth, / For a botched civilization" (Per 191). Pound did not even have the option of listing the years in an attempt to give meaning to the incomprehensible, to the number 5,000,000, to another obscene abstraction. He could not list the "Lord's years" to fill out the form. As he would later say to Hubert Creekmore:

As to the form of The Cantos: All I can say or pray is: wait till it's there. I mean wait till I get 'em written and then if it don't show, I will start exegesis. I haven't an Aquinas map; Aquinas not valid now.-- -- -- -- -- (Let 418)

The open-ended form of The Cantos, then, reflects Pound's view that there was no longer a center from which to "moralize," to condense history into a story which displays, as White says, "an image of life that is and can only be imaginary" (27). Pound struggled to find such a form early on in his writing of The Cantos, a form

necessary to reflect the moral collapse of the Western tradition. In Three Cantos I, Pound "considers the relationship between history and art" (Sanford Schwartz 143) in a dialogue with Robert Browning whose Sordello Pound saw as a possible model for a narrative form:

Hang it all, there can be but one Sordello!
 But say I want to, say I take your whole bag
 of tricks,
 Let in your quirks and tweeks, and say the
 thing's an art-form,
 Your Sordello, and that the modern world
 Needs such a rag-bag to stuff all its thought in;
 Say that I dump my catch, shiny and silvery
 As fresh sardines flapping and slipping on the
 marginal cobbles?

(I stand before the booth, the speech; but the
 truth

Is inside this discourse--this booth is full
 of the marrow of wisdom.)

Give up th' intaglio method.

.

And half your dates are out, you mix your eras;

.

Does it matter?

 Not in the least. Ghosts move about me
 Patched with histories. You had your business:

To set out so much thought, so much emotion;
 To paint, more real than any dead Sordello,
 The half or third of your intensest life
 And call that third Sordello;

And you'll say, "No, not your life,
 He never showed himself."

Is't worth the evasion, what were the use
 Of setting figures up and breathing life
 upon them,

Were't not our life, your life, my life,
 extended?

I walk Verona. (I am here in England.)

I see Can Grande. (Can see whom you will.)

 You had one whole man?

And I have many fragments, less worth?

Ah, had you quite my age, quite such a
 beastly and cantankerous age?

You had some basis, had some set belief.

Am I let preach? Has it a place in music?

(Bush 53-54)

Here we see Pound struggling with "reality, historicity, Robert Browning, . . . [and] his own soul" (Peter Makin, Cantos 50). Eventually his solution to these struggles was to excise the poet as "visible self" and to leave in only what he felt most "intensely" (Makin 52) as a way of

presenting a more accurate portrayal of both the world and what was Pound's own genuine self. The open-ended form he chose was then a form in which Pound could express his beliefs without moralizing ("Am I let preach? Has it a place in music?"), without compressing all into a dogma, whether the dogma of religious belief, or the dogma of a closed culture. Pound indeed had his own beliefs and biases, and in The Cantos there is a hierarchy of values about which Pound moralizes in his own way, but his "dogma," the guiding "hypothesis" in his selection of historical and literary fragments is, as Surette says, more "implicit rather than explicit in the Cantos" (115-116). And this hypothesis can be stated simply, as Surette does:

the social, cultural and economic health of a society depends upon the clarity and honesty of its means of communication; the most important of which in a functional sense is money, followed by language, and the arts. In terms of causal sequence, however, it is the quality of the arts which determines the quality of the other modes of communication. (116)

Working from this point of view Pound then placed his emphasis on the understanding of the "process," the process enveloping the individual in the social order and the past as it affects lived experience in the present, rather than imposing on history a smooth surface from a culture-specific stance which Pound saw as provincialism, provincialism being "ignorance of the nature and custom of foreign peoples, a desire to coerce others, a desire for uniformity--uniformity

always based on the temperament of the particular provincial desiring it" (SPr 197).

Such provincialism Pound saw in the Prussian university system which the American system emulated and where the professional historians and scholars held up "an ideal of 'scholarship', not an ideal of humanity" (SPr 191), and in Pound's view this could only lead to tyranny:

The 'State' forgot the 'use' of the man; 'scholarship', as a function of the State', forgot the use of the individual, or, at least, mislaid it, secreted for its own purpose. 'Philology' laid hold of the arts, and did its best to make them knuckle under. Kunstwissenschaft was exalted. The arts also were to become a function of the State, duly ordered and controlled. (SPr 196).

Against this tyranny of scholarship Pound proposed "a correlation of learning" such as might have once existed in the University of Paris (GK 54), something the "anglo-saxon world has never developed" (54); and, he wished for a reform of literary scholarship:

The history of an art is the history of masterwork, not failures, not of mediocrity. The omniscient historian would display the masterpieces, their causes and their inter-relation. . . . All ages are contemporaneous. It is B.C., let us say, in Morocco. The Middle Ages are in Russia. The future stirs already in the minds of the few. This is especially true of literature, where the real time is independent of the apparent, and where many dead men are our grand-children's contemporaries. . . .

What we need is a literary scholarship, which will weigh Theocritus and Mr Yeats with one balance, and which will, with equity, give praise to beauty before referring to an almanack. (SR vi)

It is this that Pound in The Cantos aspires toward: By the correlation of learning, examining what once was known, "exposing the growth of a concept," and by examining "the quality . . . of a given time's sensibility," the past could be "made new" and relevant to present experience and forms of perception so that a civilization might again be possible on earth and existing in time.

As early as 1913, in Patria Mia, Pound advocated for the United States a university system which would restore "fervour and well-lit discussion, citing as precedent the conditions existing in the University of Paris in the time of Abélard" (PM 62).⁹ Pound tells us if we read the life of Abélard we will find that Abélard, "having learned reason in the school of Roscelin" came to Paris "and there found someone, whose name I and nearly everyone else have forgotten, holding the chair of philosophy," and Abélard, by superior argument, drove the "gentleman whose name we have forgotten" out of the University. And Abélard left, and the professor returned. And Abélard returned, and the professor departed (62-63).¹⁰ And:

In course of time Abélard took up the ascetic life and went into the wilderness, and five thousand students went after him and camped in the wilderness, enduring all manner of hardships. And this was at a time when the universities were a far from negligible factor in the intellectual life of Christendom.

Now it is inconceivable that in this day and decade any unknown man could oust any professor of anything by a mere display of superior intelligence. (63)

Abélard himself was ousted from Paris when Heloise insisted on keeping their marriage a secret so as not to harm Abélard's career. This angered Heloise's uncle, Canon Fulbert, who arranged for Abélard's emasculation (W. T. Jones 191). After Abélard recovered he took refuge at the royal Abbey of St. Denis, but angered the monks there when he drew to their attention a passage by the Venerable Bede showing that the patron of St. Denis, Dionysius the Areopagite, Paul's Athenian convert ("but there were some who attached themselves to him and became believers, among them Dionysius the Aeropagite and a woman called Damaris, and others besides . . ." [Acts 17.34]). who was seen as the bearer to the West of the apostolic faith and the Greek ideals of science and knighthood (George H. Williams 169), was not at one time the bishop of Athens, as the monks fervently believed, but rather had been the bishop of Corinth. The monks grew violent and Abélard fled to the wilderness (163), to the ascetic life Pound speaks of.

The Church long considered itself a provisional paradise, but after the Church replaced the Roman empire with its own, several of the Church Fathers and various hermits and monks, reacting to what they felt was arrogance on the Church's part, replaced the notion of the Church as paradise with that of the monk's cell in the wilderness (Williams 41). Abélard, although regarding Jesus Christ as

the founder of the various orders of monks and nuns, dedicated his new church in the wilderness to the Holy Spirit, "not only as Comforter, but as patron of Christian learning" (163). This, too, led Abélard to trouble, for it was widely held that a church could only be dedicated to Christ or the Three Persons as one (163); but in this manner Abélard wove the "transferential, the paradisiac, and the christological themes" (162) into a larger concept of the Christian community of learning:

in the Holy Spirit as well as in the eternal Christ, founder of the monastic ordo, Abélard located the divine sanction for the tremendous intellectual effort he was making to reconcile the classical and biblical traditions of reason and faith over against Bernard of Clairvaux. (163)

Gregory IX enlarged this reasoning in his conception of the University of Paris itself as "veritable paradise of the Church universal" (166). Just as the Trinity has three attributes: potentia, sapientia, and benignitas, the three orders of society, the knights, the clerics, and the king, correspond respectively to the Father (potentia), the Son (sapientia), and the Holy Spirit (benignitas). By this analogy the pope attempted to insure the autonomy of the university (166-167).

Each of the centers of Christian learning, then, either the monastery or the university, was considered a provisional paradise. It was in these institutions that the classics were preserved by transferring them from papyrus to

parchment; it was in these institutions that Latin was still spoken in daily conversation (Mumford 247). At St. Victor, in 1120, Hugh composed his Didascalicon for the students who came to the school of the Victorines so that they might have a program for the study of the traditional arts and sciences, a compendium, of sorts, of all that should be known to relieve "the physical weaknesses of earthly life" and restore "that union with divine Wisdom for which man was made" (Jerome Taylor 4). Hugh's Didascalicon, therefore, took its place in the tradition of didactic literature from Cicero and Quintilian to Augustine and Bede (3).

Bernard of Clairvaux, who coined the term paradisus claustralis, also used a tripartite scheme in his theory of education. Bernard believed the way to truth for the layman was through common sense and believed dialectics and the study of literature should be reserved for the secular clergy. The monastery, however, the enclosed paradise, was to remain primarily a school of charity and the monks way to truth lay in mystical contemplation. This "association of states of life with epistemological methods" (John R. Sommerfeldt 179) and Bernard's sentiments towards dialecticians were at the root of his struggle with Abélard.¹¹

All of this, oddly enough, leads us to Harvard, which in attempting to become the only American university of



Fig. 3. Conventionalized representation of Hugh of St. Victor from ms Vulcanianus 46, f. 130, University Library, Leiden; rpt. in Taylor, frontispiece.¹²

"this protestant and puritan country"¹³ was founded on a tripartite stratagem, beginning with an emphasis on the christiological theme: the notion that while the State confirms the corporate right to grant degrees, "the doctoral or professional authority is akin to and in succession to prophetic authority and finds its ultimate sanction in Christ, whose threefold office was that of priest, prophet (doctor) and king" (Williams 157). The transferential theme was represented by the founders of Harvard being conscious of the succession "whereby under God's providence, learning had been transferred from antiquity through the medieval institutions to the New World" (157). And finally, the founders of Harvard could hope that "through self-discipline and the integration of faith and reason" fallen man could be restored (157), thus continuing the idea of the provisional paradise.

The theological conception of the university was the foundation of many other Christian institutions and the concept can be discerned at nearly every college and university in the United States, in the form of the campus green--"the symbol of Paradise restored amidst the wilderness" (211).

Ezra Pound arrived to teach at one such Christian institution--Wabash--the Presbyterian college at

Crawfordsville, Indiana, in the fall of 1907. Shortly after he secured the job he wrote to his mother:

Wabash nailed & everything most delightful. . .
 French Spanish & Italian to run as I hang
 please. . . . & Blessed of lost blessed jokes on
 you dear. I did it without the essentials of all
 life a coat, a collar, a neck tie. Also my shoes
 were not shined. After 21 years . . . I can
 retire to Venice on half pay & live and loaf as I
 please. (qtd. in Carpenter 71)

The town billed itself as "The Athens of America," Athens, the original Athens, being that great center of learning from which, in the Dionysian legend, Dionysius the Areopagite brought the Greek ideal of Wisdom and his own treatises, the Divine Names and the Mystical Theology, which, due to his Irish translator Scotus Erigena and the monks of St. Denis, "set the Middle Ages on its ear" (Merton, Conjectures 162). So that Crawfordsville was continuing the tradition of the Western Christian mythos which traces knowledge and culture as having passed from the prophets of Israel on to Athens and to France and to the New World. Indeed, the high school yearbook is still called The Athenian, the athletes themselves, "Athenians" (Ernest L. Boyd 44).

It must be said that the town folk, as well as many students and faculty members of the Presbyterian school, found Pound odd. He was generally perceived as being "the Latin Quarter type" (Stock 43). There were numerous incidents, heavily frowned upon, involving cigarette

smoking, drinking from a flask, late night visits to hosts not particularly glad to receive visitors at midnight, and there were Pound's own unorthodox teaching methods. There was also Pound's interest in a particular widow whom the college president, Dr. Mackintosh, was also very much interested in. On his part, Pound decided the entire state of Indiana was "the last or at least the sixth circle of desolation" (Stock 40). Neither Pound nor the college nor the members of the community were happy with the situation.¹⁴

Wabash prided itself on the cultural enrichment it attempted to provide to the students and the community (Boyd 43). Pound, however, found no University of Paris there, but Pound was no Abélard arguing a position on intellectual grounds against a Bernard of Clairvaux arguing in favor of the school of charity, although differing philosophies and charity itself would enter into the argument. The end came, it is said, "on a bitterly cold night":

in his first winter at Crawfordsville. He had taken the rooms vacated the year before after long occupancy by Professor McClain. After reading late into the night he walked downtown through a blizzard to mail a letter. On the street he met a girl from a stranded burlesque show, penniless and suffering from the cold. He took her to his warm rooms. She spent the night in his bed, he on the floor of his study. He went off to his eight o'clock recitation in the morning. The ladies from whom he rented the room, the Misses Hall, went upstairs to make the bed and found in it the girl from burlesque. . . . They telephoned

the president and a trustee or two. Shortly after there was a discussion between these gentlemen and Mr. Pound, a discussion at distinctly cross purposes. The elder statesmen really did not have the kinds of mind they were at once suspected of having, but on the contrary recognized an impulsive action that was not only innocent but excellently charitable. But they were aware, too, from the accumulated evidence of several months, of a gulf too wide to be bridged between two different philosophies.¹⁵

Shortly thereafter Pound came to face the concrete reality of St. Mark's dream: Venice, a "provisional paradise" built of stolen stone where the young Ezra loafed "there by the crocodile / By the column" (C26 121). At the end of his chapter on Dante in The Spirit of Romance, entitled "Il Maestro," Pound discusses how great poets "construct" their works of art:

Great poets seldom make bricks without straw; they pile up all the excellences they can beg, borrow, or steal from their predecessors and contemporaries, and then set their own inimitable light atop of the mountain. (171).

Stuart Y. McDougal has noticed how this passage "evokes the topography of the Purgatorio" and how it describes "a model of poetic influence which could be applied to Pound as well as Dante" (Dreaming 68). Pound's own annals, his many fragments with their attendant gaps and ellipses, his quotations, whether from literary or historical sources, lie on the page, stolen marble veneers covering the bricks of St. Mark's:

The Book of the Council Major

1255 be it enacted:

That they mustn't shoot crap in the hall
of the council, nor in the small court under
pain of 20 danari, be it enacted:
1266 no squire of Venice to throw dice
anywhere in the palace or
in the loggia of the Rialto under pain of ten soldi
or half that for kids, and if they wont pay
they are to be chucked in the water. be it enacted
In libro pactorum
To the things everlasting
memory both for live men and for the future et
quod publice innotescat
[and which may be publicly known]
in the said date, dicto millessimo . . .

["the year and the year and the date in a formal date"]¹⁶
of the illustrious lord, Lord John Soranzo
by god's grace doge of Venice in the Curia
of the Palace of the Doges,
neath the portico next the house of the dwelling of
the Castalidio and of the heralds of the Lord Doge.
being beneath same a penthouse or cages
or room timbered (trabesilis) like a cellar
one Lion male and one female simul commorantes
[.]
and in the said millessimo and month on a sunday
12th. of the month of September about sunrise on

St. Mark's day early but with the light already apparent
 the said lioness as is the nature of animals
 whelped per naturam three lion cubs vivos et pilosos
 living and hairy [. . .]
 [.]

I John Marchesini Ducal notary of the
 Venetians as eyewitness saw the
 nativity of these animals thus by
 mandate of the said Doge wrote this
 and put it in file.

Also a note from Pontius Pilate dated the "year 33"
 Two columns (a.d. 1323) for the church of St. Nicholas of the
 palace 12 lire gross
 To the procurators of St. Marc for entrance to the
 palace, for gilding the images and the lion over the door
 ...to be paid... (C25 115-116)

The best copyists in the monasteries of the Middle Ages
 were those who could not read (Kenner, "Gabler" 14). Pound,
 however, trained as a philologist, read as Hugh of St. Victor
 would have his students read:

The method of expounding a text consists of
 analysis. Analysis takes place through separating
 into parts or through examination. We analyze
 through separation into parts when we distinguish
 from one another things which are mingled together.
 We analyze by examination when we open up things
 which are hidden. (Didascalicon 150)

Pound used philology as a model for writing The Cantos
 (Dickie, "Reading" 820). Like Abélard, who used Platonic,
 Neoplatonic, Stoic, and Hermetic texts from Plato,

Chalcidius, Macrobius, and Vergil to argue against the existence of a world-soul with "the philosopher whose name we have forgotten,"¹⁷ Pound appreciated "the part in the whole," placing a "high value on analysis" and "delighting in dissection, holding off as long as possible the apprehension of the whole" (Dickie, "Reading" 820). He was not only interested in "the facts or myths of history but also in the texts that revealed them" (Dickie, Long Poem 117); and so he would write "as a careful reader reads, pondering over words, examining their context, exploring their intrinsic truths" (110), examining the sacred texts, hoping to get at the truth inside: "the truth / is inside this discourse" (Three Cantos I). In examining these texts, in searching for the truth inside, Pound hoped to discover "how to deal with the present":

One wants to find out what sort of things endure, and what sort of things are transient; what sort of things recur . . . to learn upon what the forces, constructive and dispersive, of social order, move. . . . (PM 49)

In examining the texts of the old Anglo-Saxon poems "The Seafarer" and "The Wanderer," for example, Pound said he found "expression of that quality which seems to me to have been brought to England from the South, and it has found on the island something in the temper of the race which has strengthened it and given it fibre" (PM 45), and when he came to translate "The Seafarer" he, following the lead of scholars of his day, excised those Christian elements added

to the poem by "Christianizing scribes," thus allowing it to speak again as a pre-Christian poem (Fred C. Robinson 212). "The Seafarer" was a poem containing lines "which alone in the works of our forebears are fit to compare to Homer":

They were made for no man's entertainment, but because a man believing in silence found himself unable to withhold himself from speaking. And that more uneven poem, The Wanderer, is like to this, a broken man speaking:

Ne maeg werigmod wryde withstandan
ne se hreo hyge helpe gefremman:
for thon domgeorne dreorigne oft
in hyra breostcofan bindath faeste.

'For the doom-eager bindeth fast his blood-bedraggled heart in his breast'--an apology for speaking at all, and speech only pardoned because his captain and all the sea-faring men and companions are dead. . . . (LE 64)

In 1932, in a letter to John Drummond, Pound said of The Cantos: "best div. prob. the permanent, the recurrent, the casual" (Let 321). James Wilhelm notes that this tripartite scheme roughly parallels Pound's belief in states of mind which he took from Richard of St. Victor (10), who came to St. Victor most probably after Hugh's death (in 1141), but was a disciple of Hugh's by study (Kirchberger 13). The Order itself had been founded by none other than William of Champeaux, Abélard's nemesis at the University of Paris who was a friend of St. Bernard's and who also emphasized contemplation, although the Order "retained the ideal of scholarship" but "confined its teaching to the members of its own community" (Kirchberger 17).

Richard, in Benjamin Major, and following Hugh, says "we may regard one and the same object" in one way by thinking (cogitatio, "a vague kind of thinking" [Kirchberger 136]), in another way by meditation, and in another by contemplation (136), not "by a different road, but by a different movement" (137):

Thinking moves from one thing to another rambling aimlessly. Meditation is perseveringly intent on one thing only. Contemplation sheds the light of a single ray upon innumerable objects. The depth of the mind is given expanse and immensity by the intelligence and the point of understanding many things, and acute to penetrate many subtleties. (137)

Pound glossed this as "modes of thought" and said "in the first the mind flits aimlessly about the object, in the second it circles about it in a methodical manner, and in the third it is unified with the object." This is, he said, "something a man can check up on. It is a knowledge to be verified by experience. I mean ours with St. Victor's" (GK 77). In Canto XXV, then, among the Venetian state documents, one can find the following:

"as the sculptor sees the form in the air...
 "as glass seen under water,
 "King Otreus, my father...
 and saw the waves taking form as crystal,
 notes as facets of air,
 and the mind there, before them, moving,
 so the notes needed not move.

...side toward the piazza, the worst side of the room that no one has been willing to tackle, and do it as cheap or much cheaper...

(signed) Tician, 31 May 1513

(C 119)

The texts relating to the building of the Doge's Palace, or to the painting of the rooms inside, exist now, as evidenced by Pound's examination of them (and it is clear Pound wants us to know he examined these) and our reading of them in our own time, our experiencing them as Pound "reads" them. And so, too, does Homeric Hymn V, "To Aphrodite," from which Pound takes the passage "King Otreus, my father... [sic]." In the Homeric Hymn, Aphrodite takes the form of a human and tells Anchises her father is King Otreus, the legendary king of Phrygia, so that she might lie with Anchises.¹⁸ But Dale Carne-Ross reminds us that Pound is not polysemous: "his first level doesn't point beyond itself" (213). This is one of the things Pound learned in all his study of Medievalism. In his famous essay on Cavalcanti he says:

We appear to have lost the radiant world where one thought cuts through another with a clean edge, a world of living energies 'mezzo oscuro rade', 'resplende in se' perpetuale effecto', magnetisms that take form, that are seen, or that border the visible, the matter of Dante's paradiso, the glass under the water, the form that seems a form seen in a mirror, these realities perceptible to the sense, interacting. . . . (LE 154)

The Doge's Palace "hangs there in the dawn, the mist, / in that dimness" (C25 117), built as a consequence of the lust for money and power, what might be considered the ephemeral, the mind flitting "aimlessly about an object," thinking Richard says, being "the careless glance of the soul prone to restless wandering" (137). But the Palace is, too, the product of art, built by craftsman and artists. The form is in the "air" as seen as one rows in from past the murazzi, the form built by human hands, but this is a consequence, too, of what Pound calls the permanent, "the mind unified with the object." Aphrodite lies with Anchises; and man, through creativity and art, participates in this divine fecundity: the waves take form as crystal, Aphrodite rises from the water on the cockle shell, new forms are created. For "the Divine Mind is abundant / unceasing / improvisatore / Omniformis / unstill" (C92 620), every intellect is capable of assuming every shape--"Et Omniformis," Psellos, 'omnis / 'Intellectus est.' God's fire" (C23 107).¹⁹ The form is in the air, "the mind there, before them, moving." These realities are "perceptible to the sense," they are part of lived experience as is Pound's own text, for a text, too, as Hugh Kenner says, "is something hands have fashioned" ("Gabler" 13), a new form growing out of man's participation in the Divine, Pound might say, but always a scriptor there, "Ego, scriptor cantilenae," the I, the writer of the canto.

During the war, then, his companions T. E. Hulme and Gaudier-Brzeska dead and others scattered, Pound set off into the wilderness to recover Paradise, to write his own Didascalicon ("I am perhaps didactic; so in a sense, or in different senses are Homer, Dante, Villon. . . . It's all rubbish to pretend art isn't didactic. A revelation is always didactic" [Let 248]). To learn what was once known, one had to live it, or as Peter Makin says:

One must experience the world until the meaning is perceived. One cannot sit around and wait. And since the meaning will arise from these experiences they must be recorded. But how to show these experiences . . . and which way to set off. . . ? (55)

One must choose, Sartre said, to live or to narrate.²⁰ Pound chose to live, and to avoid the latter he chose to do what he perceived Dante had done: to dip "into a multitude of traditions and unify them by their connection with himself" (see above 63). In the wilderness where the provisional paradise that was the monastery was located, the monks would return to the cloister after their toil in the fields, each taking his place in the long line. And each man would take the Rosary from his pocket and say silently, "over and over again, the name of the Queen of Heaven: 'Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee'" (Merton, SSM 471). Pound walked through the wilderness hoping to arrive at that "paradiso terrestre" while saying his own prayer:

Dante, Confucius, Homer, Frobenius, Cavalcanti,
 Aristotle, Ovid, de Gourmont, Aquinas, Douglas,
 Gesell, Gaudier-Brzeska, Yeats, Brancusi, Joyce,
 Wyndham Lewis, Picasso, Gemisto, Ocellus,
 Plotinus, Erigena, Richard St. Victor, Saint
 Anselm, Appolonius, Jefferson, Mussolini, Adams.²²

A litany chanted even as he gathered the sacred texts,
 or relates doing so:

In the year of grace 1906, 1908, or 1910, I
 picked from the Paris quais a Latin version of
 the Odyssey by Andreas Divus Justinopolitinus
 (Parisiis, In officina Christiani Wecheli,
 MDXXXVIII), the volume containing also the
Batrachomyomachia, by Aldus Manutius, and Hymni
Deorum rendered by Georgius Dartona Cretensis.
 (LE 259)

. . . and "lost a Latin Iliads for the economy of four
 francs" (259). And so The Cantos begin with a translation
 of a Latin translation by Andreas Divus of Book XI of the
Odyssey, Odysseus' journey to Hell, written using the
 rhythms and alliteration of the language of exile Pound
 discovered in "The Seafarer," perhaps as an apology for
 speaking at all:

And then went down to the ship,

Set keel to breakers, forth on the godly sea, and

We set up mast and sail on that swart ship,

Bore sheep aboard her, and our bodies also

Heavy with weeping, and winds from sternward

Bore us out onward with bellying canvas . . .

.

And Anticlea came, whom I beat off, and then Tiresias Thebar

Holding his golden wand, knew me, and spoke first:

"A second time? why? man of ill star,

"Facing the sunless dead and this joyless region?

"Stand from the fosse, leave me my bloody bever

"For soothsay."

And I stepped back,

And he strong with the blood, said then: "Odysseus

"Shalt return through spiteful Neptune, over dark seas,

"Lose all companions." And then Anticlea came.

Lie quiet Divus. I mean, that is Andreas Divus,

In officina Wecheli, 1538, out of Homer . . . (C1 3-5).

And yet . . .

This Book was

LA FRAISNE

(THE ASH TREE)

dedicated

*to such as love this same
beauty that I love, somewhat
after mine own fashion.*

But sith one of them has gone out very quickly from
amongst us it given

A LUME SPENTO

(WITH TAPERS QUENCHED)

in memoriam eius mihi caritate primus

William Brooke Smith

Painter, Dreamer of dreams.

Fig. 4. Dedication page of A Lume Spento; rpt. CEP 5.

"shd/I chuck the lot into the tide-water?

le bozze "A Lume Spento"/

and by the column of Toderò

shd/I shift to the other side

or wait 24 hours. . . . (C 460)

Notes to Part 2

¹ The title of this chapter is taken from George H. Williams' Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought.

² Pound took the title A Lume Spento from Dante, Purg. 3.132. Smith was a friend of Pound's at the University of Pennsylvania who died of consumption.

³ Or Aunt Frank? See Carpenter 39; Kenner, Era 348.

⁴ Rivière-Sestier 1, 69; Chastel, "Comments," 175.

⁵ See 8n, below.

⁶ In this discussion of the annals I am indebted to White, whose analysis of the annals I shall either be quoting or paraphrasing throughout.

⁷ Pound here uses the name Eleanor, from Eleanor of Aquitaine, for that of Helen of Troy. Eleanor, Terrell relates, "was the archetype of the femme fatale, inspiring both strife and poetry" (Com 1:5). "helenous" and "heleptolis" (I have replaced the Greek script) are puns meaning "ship-destroying and city-destroying" from Aeschylus's Agamemnon (Terrell, Com 1:5).

⁸ Pound, letter to Isabel Weston Pound, [autumn 1909], Letters of Ezra Pound, transcribed by D. D. Paige, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; qtd. in Margaret Dickie, Long Poem 106-107.

⁹ PM can also be found in SPr 101-141.

¹⁰ The professor "who's name we have forgotten" was William of Champeaux and the argument concerned the the universal in the particular. Abélard argued that while the word "man" is "an actually existing reality, the essence 'man' has no existence of its own" (Gilson, Christian Philosophy 160). In short, Abélard argued that William was ascribing to names "what is true of things only" (154, 161).

¹¹ Mumford 247; Taylor 4; Sommerfeldt 179; and Gilson, Christian Philosophy 164.

¹² "Produced at Fulda in 1176-77, it [the representation] accompanies the text of Hugh's Didascalicon. On the open book appears the first sentence of the Didascalicon: Omnium expetendorum prima est sapientia in qua (perfecti boni) forma consistit (Of all things to be sought, the first is that Wisdom in which the Form of the Perfect Good stands fixed)." See Taylor verso of second flyleaf.

¹³ Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi American (Boston 1702) 1.1: 2, page 9; qtd. in Williams 154.

¹⁴ For all of this see Boyd 43-54; Carpenter 69-83; and Stock 36-43.

¹⁵ James Insley Osborne and Theodore Gregory Groner, Wabash College: The First Hundred Years (Wabash College, 1958) 291-292; qtd. in Boyd 45.

16 Terrell's trans. See Com 1:100.

17 See Taylor 13 & 19.

18 See Homeric Hymn V 413; Terrell 1:95.

19 Terrell's trans. Com 1:92

20 Cited in Merton, Vow 29.

21 See Rabaté 50. Rabaté states Pound uses these names in rapid sequences to set cultural vortices in motion.

Mailla's work are a French translation of the official abridgment of the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ("Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government"), the Chinese dynastic chronicles. Pound's Cantos LIII-LVI are an exceedingly compressed version of this condensation, and Cantos LVII-LXI are taken from a supplement compiled by de Mailla and his editor.¹ Pound opens this section of The Cantos, Cantos LII-LXXI (1940), which also contains the John Adams Cantos, with an explanation of his use of the French form of Chinese names, the "Rays" ideogram from Ernest Fenollosa's The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry, and a table of contents:

Table

PAGE	
Rays idiogram [sic] from Fenollosa collection	254
CANTO	
LII. LI KI	257
LIII. Great Emperors	262
First dynasty HIA	
Tching Tang of CHANG (second dynasty) b.c.	
1766	
Third dynasty TCHEOU b.c. 1122-255	
Confucius (KUNG FU TSEU) 551-479	
.	
LXI. Yong Tching (Chi tsong hien Hoang Ti) 1723	334
Kien Long 1736	

In the text the names of Emperors and of Dynasties are in CAPS

Thus in 79 pages (beginning with Canto LIII and ending with Canto LXI's conclusion on page 340) Pound compresses eleven volumes of a neo-Confucian history of China covering more than 5,000 years. Pound worked very rapidly compiling this information. As Surette tells us, Pound finished the Fifth Decad, the section previous to the China/Adams portion, in March 1937. But in July of 1937 he had no new cantos to give to Ronald Duncan for the Townsmen and by June of 1938 he was only half-way through de Mailla's Historie. Suddenly in March of 1939 Faber had "in their hands the typescript" of twenty cantos, the China and Adams cantos being written together (146).

Pound's American publisher, James Laughlin, apparently found the Chinese section incomprehensible (Makin, Cantos 212). Pound disagreed and felt any sort of preface or, possibly, too, the table of contents was unnecessary, as can be seen in this letter written to Laughlin:

Dear Jas/: Cantos 52/71 can NOT have a preface in the book. Cover gives ample space for blurb. The set is not incomprehensible. Nobody can summarize what is already condensed to the absolute limit. The point is that with Cantos 52/71 a NEW thing is. (Stock, "Verse is a sword" 265)

Michael Alexander states, however, that "we can see why Pound prefixed to these 165 pages a Table of Contents; without it we might not have been able to follow them" (186). Surette says "No commentary on the Chinese cantos could possibly reduce them to ready intelligibility," the

entire section being "essentially marginalia" on de Mailla's "perfectly coherent and consecutive narrative" (147). And, the Chinese and Adams cantos are those which Hyde referred to as "deadly dull, never informed with the fire . . . or surprise that are the mark of living images" (230). A sample may suffice to explain these critics' attitudes:

Now after the end of EULH and the death of his eunuch
were Lieou-pang, and Hiang-yu

who had taste for commanding

but made no progress in letters,

saying they serve only to transmit names to posterity
and he wished to carve up the empire

bloody rhooshun, thought in ten thousands

his word was worth nothing, he would not learn fencing. And
against him

Lieou-pang stored food and munitions

b.c. 202 so that he came to be emperor, KOA,

brought calm and abundance

.

And Lou-kia was envoy to Nan-hai, with nobility,
and wished that the king (the books Chu king and Chi king)

be restored

to whom KAO: I conquered the empire on horseback.

to whom Lou: Can you govern it in that manner?

whereon Lou-kia. . . .

(C54 275-276)

Again Pound chants the names: Lieou-pang. Hiang-yu. These two particular names are of those who "made no progress in letters, / saying they serve only to transmit names to posterity." Yet this very passage appears to serve just such a purpose--the transmitting of names only. The entire section might be described as representing the documentary method of presenting history unbridled. We see, with Wendy Stallard Flory, Pound "moving hurriedly, superficially, and mechanically" through this material (Record 164). There is no Doge's Palace here hanging in mist, no concrete image of the past informing the present, no attempt to recover past experience or modes of perception. Nor is there a renewal of the spirits, as Hyde says, of those that went before Pound (147) as Pound had done with his translation of Divus, as he had done with his invocation of Botticelli in his desire to bring new form to the gods. No such bringing form to the gods as in this passage from Canto III:

I SAT on the Dogana's steps

For the gondolas cost too much, that year,

And there were not "those girls", there was one face,

And the Buccentoro twenty yards off, howling "Stretti",

And the lit cross-beams, that year, in the Morosini,

And peacocks in Kore's house, or there may have been.

Gods float in the azure air,
 Bright gods and Tuscan, back before ever dew was shed.
 Light: and the first light, before ever dew was fallen.

(C 11)

Here in the China cantos, however, there is only Pound "arbitrarily" picking and choosing what to include in his poem (Davie, Sculptor 160). And it is not that the history included is uninteresting per se, but as Surette says (after explicating a passage from Canto LIII which also contains Latin excerpts and translations from Alexandre Lacharme's Latin translation of the Confucian Odes ("Siuen went against the tartars . . .") [C 270-271]):

There is a certain pleasure in deciphering these lines for the scholar who has ample time and financial support to take him to a great research library. The reward of his labours is an understanding of how Pound came to create such a puzzling pastiche. Once possessed of such knowledge, the whole passage makes sense. . . . This sense, however, is accessible only to Pound himself, and to the occasional reader who has the time and inclination to trace Pound's footsteps. In other words, the historical verse of the Chinese cantos is private in a peculiarly musty and bookwormish manner. And this extreme privacy is not alleviated by any local felicity of expression. (153).

Musty. Bookwormish. Still, there is plenty of interest here. There is the following passage, for example, concerning a specific gentleman who wrote on his bathtub, a gentleman Henry David Thoreau may have learned of in 1839 while reading, as a student at Harvard, The Phenix; A collection of old and rare fragments (Kenneth Walter Cameron

152); or, he may have walked down to the Athenaeum, Mailla's Historie being there at about this time (Kenner, Era 230).

But one reads in Walden: "They say that characters were engraven on the bathing tub of king Tching-thang to this effect: 'Renew thyself completely each day; do it again, and again, and forever again'" (Walden 393). And in Canto 53:

Fou-hi by virtue of wood;

Chin-nong, of fire; Hoang Ti ruled by the earth,

Chan by metal.

Tchuen was lord, as is water.

CHUN, govern

YU, cultivate,

The surface is not enough,

from Chang Ti nothing is hidden.

For years no waters came, no rain fell

for the Emperor Tching Tang

grain scarce, prices rising

so that in 1760 Tching Tang opened the copper mine (ante
Christum)

made discs with square holes in their middles

and gave these to his people

wherewith they might buy grain

where there was grain

The silos were emptied

7 years of sterility

der im Baluba das Gewitter gemacht hat

Tching prayed on the mountain and

wrote MAKE IT NEW

on his bath tub

Day by day make it new

cut underbrush,

pile the logs

keep it growing.

Died Tching aged years an hundred,

in the 13th of his reign.

'We are up, Hia is down.'

Immoderate love of women

Immoderate love of riches,

Cared for parades and huntin'.

Chant Ti above alone rules.

Tang not stinting of praise:

Consider their sweats, the people's

If you wd/ sit calm on throne. (C 264-265)

Fou-hi, Chin-nong, Hoang Ti, Chan, Tchien, CHUN, YU.

The names, like the Lord's years, roll on relentlessly.

Fou-hi, Chin-nong, Hoang Ti, Chan, Tchien. These were the five emperors of the legendary period of China who followed those of the mythical:

Ante Christum

40,000.[?] The three august ones. Each rules 18,000 years.

4,000. [?] Yeou reigns and invents housebuilding.

新 hsin¹
[new]

日 jih⁴
[sun]²

日 jih⁴

新 hsin¹

- 2852-2737. Fou-hi reigns and invents calendar, makes musical instruments, invents writing.
- 2737-2698. Chin-nong reigns and teaches art of agriculture.
- 2697-2597. Hoang Ti reigns and begins official historiography, invents bricks.
- 2596-2514. Chan. Poor ruler.
- 3513-2436. Tchuen. Grandson of Hoang Ti.
- 2357-2259. Yao. Ideal emperor. Controlled floodwaters of Yellow River.
- 2255-2205. Chun reigns. Great governor and astronomer. Regulates order and ceremonies of religious rites.

(Terrell, Com 1: 203-205)

We leap forward, then, to Tching Tang, the founder of the Shang-Yin Dynasty, the first historically verifiable state (1766-1122). Tching Tang (Ch'êng T'ang) ruled from 1766-1753 BC and came to power when the Hsia (Hia in The Cantos) Dynasty fell because of the failure to "stand firm in the middle," for shooting "past the mark" (C13 59) in an atmosphere which fostered the "immoderate love of women / Immoderate love of riches":



Hsia

Hia! Hia! is fallen

for offence to the spirits

For the sweats of the people. (C53 265)

Chapter II

Pound begins the Chinese history cantos with a translation of the Li Ki, the Chinese Book of Rites which proscribes organic regulations and the duties government officials must do each month to stay in harmony with the cyclic return of the seasons, "each marked by a peculiar rite, so as to weave a network of correspondences between colours, foods and activities, thus pointing to an ordered and centred cosmos" (Rabaté 90).³ The Li Ki is held in high esteem for it is believed to contain Confucius's views on the proper conduct for governments (Terrell, Com 1: 201):

Then goes the sun into Gemini
 Virgo in mid heaven at sunset
 indigo must not be cut
 No wood burnt into charcoal
 gates are all open, no tax on the booths.
 Now mares go to grazing,
 tie up the stallions
 Post up the horsebreeding notices
 Month of the longest days
 Life and death are now equal
 Strife is between light and darkness

(C52 258-259)

During the Hsia Dynasty, however, the rites have not been observed; the spirits are offended for "the surface is

not enough, / from Chang Ti nothing is hidden" (C53 264). Chang Ti is the Supreme Ancestor, the Ruler of Heaven, the active divine force (Terrell, Com 1:204). Thus there is drought and "7 years of sterility" (C 264). To combat this sterility Tching Tang first opens the copper mine and makes coins which he gives to the people "wherewith they might buy grain / where there was grain" (264). This recalls Pound's views of usura which brings "palsey to bed, lyeth / between bride and her bridegroom / CONTRA NATURAM" (C45 230) and makes bread "dry as paper / with no mountain wheat" (C 229) for usura brings sterility and ceases distribution. Tching Tang is then seen as a ruler who combats economic sterility by distributing coins for the people and by again practicing the rites by praying on the mountain.

Karl Kerényi has written of the Greeks' distinction between zoe, "mere life, life uncharacterized," and bios, the word for "characterized existence" (Religion 13). Since existence is the equivalent of bios, existence, Kerényi says, demands a characteristic style (13). In religion this style would include a religious attitude, "by which we understand man's entering the presence of God or his immediate confrontation of the 'absolute'" (14), the "absolute" being everything "before which a man stands religiously, as before the divine" (14). This attitude is a "festal" attitude through which the characterized existence, the bios, "is clearly manifested in a definite, concrete

action." Always a "'Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise', or a 'Here I dance, I cannot do otherwise', or a 'Here I sacrifice, I cannot do otherwise'" (15). Style, as characterized existence, can thus be defined as action.

Tching Tang's "definite, concrete action" was to pray on the mountain so that rain might again fall. Pound then relates Tang's action to that of Leo Frobenius, the German anthropologist, "der im Baluba das Gewitter gemacht hat" (C53 264), "the white man who made the tempest in Baluba" (C38 189). This refers to the story of Frobenius in Biembe where an African tribe was threatening to attack but were discouraged from doing so by a thunderstorm, a thunderstorm they believed Frobenius "made" (Terrell, Com 1: 157, 205). Pound first read Leo Frobenius's work in 1925 or 1926,⁴ although he thought Henri Gaudier-Brzeska may have mentioned him during the early London years (Davenport, "Pound &" 35).

Frobenius thought each "artefact and gesture" gave a diagnosis of the "state of culture" from which it came (Makin, Cantos 241-242). According to Makin, "These gestures and elements are likely to be the most profoundly diagnostic of their organisms; for at the moment of producing them (as Pater might have said) the organism was most intensely 'itself'" (241). In examining artefacts and gestures Frobenius attempted to learn what the "inherent 'style'"⁵ of a culture was. As Pound relates:

Hence the yarn that Frobenius looked at two African pots and observing their shapes and proportions, said: if you will go to a certain place and there digge, you will find traces of a civilization with such and such characteristics.

As was the case. In event proved. (GK 61)

It was this hands-on examination that Pound admired in Frobenius, as he had admired the hands-on approach used by the nineteenth-century paleontologist Louis Agassiz. In the fall of 1846, Agassiz, already famous as an expert on fishes and glaciers, arrived in the United States from Sweden and was appointed professor of zoology and geology at the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard (Robert D. Richardson, Jr. 364). Later he founded the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology, which was the prototype for the New York Museum of Natural History (366). He published his first American book, Principles of Zoology, in 1848, and he later began an ambitious project which was to be entitled Contributions to the Natural History of the United States of America:

Its four handsome volumes remain as a triumph of thought and scholarship. So carefully do they begin, holding entire libraries of fact in perfect balance with original research, that the mind marvels at the inconceivably fine book the finished work would have been; for in 1,600 pages Agassiz has but described the embryology of the North American turtles and the anatomy of the most elusive and perishable of creatures, the jellyfish and his kin. (Davenport, Intelligence 7)

Although this was indeed never completed, Agassiz acknowledged his debt to a certain Henry David Thoreau who,

Davenport says, "was not to be wholly identified with the transcendental hermit of the literary handbooks" but was, rather, "a scientist, the pioneer ecologist, one of the few men in America with whom he [Agassiz] could talk, as on an occasion when the two went exhaustively into the mating of turtles" (1-2), Thoreau having collected many specimens of the hard-shelled quadrupeds for Agassiz:

Sailed back on Hubbard's redstart path, and there saw a mud turtle draw in his head, of which I saw the half, about eight rods off. Pushed to the spot, where the water was about a foot deep, and at length detected him. . . . At first, I suspect, I mistook him for a rock, for he was thickly covered with a short green moss-like conferva (?),--a venerable object, a true son of the meadow, suggesting what vigor! Perchance to make the moss grow on your back without injuring your health! How many things can he sustain on his shell where the mosses grow? He looked like an antediluvian under that green, shaggy shell, tougher than the rock you mistake it for. No wonder the Indian revered him for a god. Think of the time when he was an infant. There is your native American, who was before Columbus, perchance. Grown, not gray, but green with the lapse of the ages. . . . He was fourteen and one half inches long by twelve at the broadest places, and weighed twenty-five pounds and three ounces. The claws were an inch and a quarter long beyond the skin, and very stout. You had to exert yourself to turn him over on a plane surface, he held down so firmly with his claws, as if grown to it. He took my hand into his shell with his tail and took the skin with it. (J 8: 344-346)

From before the time of Columbus, before, even, the time of Noah's flood this creature perchance existed, which was fitting, as it was Agassiz "who discovered the Ice Age" (Davenport 21) and thereby laid to rest (against much resistance from the leading geologists of the day) the

notion that "the erratic boulders . . . gravel ridges, kettles in sand plains, polished and striated rock, and surface deposits of drift" were found scattered about this great earth due to "the Noachian deluge" or something similar (Lurie 97).

Agassiz was born in Moiters, Switzerland in 1807. His parents were of the middle class--his father a Protestant pastor, his mother the daughter of a doctor--and they wished for Agassiz to enter the field of business as a young man, but Agassiz dared dream at the age of fifteen, Lurie says, to "attend a German university, study in Paris, and then 'begin to write' as a professional scholar" (4-5; 12). With the help of a professor of his, Louis persuaded his parents to postpone the intended business career and he was allowed to attend, for two years, the Academy of Lausanne, a college which prepared students for university study (13-14).

It was at Lausanne that Agassiz became acquainted with the writings of the naturalists Jean Baptiste de Monet de Lamarck and Georges Cuvier (15), and so when the two years were over, Agassiz thought that he might like to follow in the footsteps of these two great naturalists. But his parents would have objected to such a career plan, and so he again, with the help of his physician uncle, used inducement, this time to persuade his parents that he wished to become a physician and should be allowed to attend a university, even though his true desire was to become a

professional naturalist, and his wanting to become a physician was a way to get to a university (but he had, too, a strong desire to please his parents). Thus he was allowed to attend the medical school of the University of Zurich, and later, to go to Heidelberg, after he told his parents Zurich was "not quite good enough," and then to the University of Munich, "the best way for him to achieve a proper medical education," and, by the way, although I doubt he mentioned it, Munich was the new center of Naturphilosophie (16-29).

He did not wish to disappoint his parents, and so he kept up the appearance of pursuing a medical degree. In the meantime, however, while at Munich, he began at the age of 21 to examine the specimens of fishes taken from the Amazon River in Brazil by Johann Baptist von Spix in the years 1817-1820. Spix died in 1826 and never completed writing the descriptions, or drawing the sketches, of these fishes. A certain Professor Von Martius, who accompanied Spix to Brazil, asked Agassiz to perform this duty, and in May of 1829 Agassiz earned a doctorate in natural history, something, Von Martius had told him, would give the title page of Agassiz's first book, Brazilian Fishes (which was published that same month), "distinction" (41). In the fall of that year he attended the annual meeting of German naturalists and physicians in Heidelberg and was received with much enthusiasm, especially after announcing his plans

to complete a study of the fresh-water fishes of Europe, "a monumental treatise in ichthyology" (46). In the following January he received ("finally," perhaps, from his parents' point of view) his degree in medicine. His mother wrote, thanking him "for the happiness you have given me in completing your medical examinations, and so securing to yourself a career as safe as it is honorable" (qtd. in Lurie 48).

Agassiz dedicated Brazilian Fishes to Georges Cuvier. He sent the book to the naturalist along with a letter in which Agassiz asked Cuvier to take into account that the work was "the first literary essay of a young man" (qtd. in Lurie 40). Cuvier was by this time the most distinguished (or at least, the most visible) naturalist in France. He gained a position in the Museum of Natural History in Paris in 1795. He was given a full chair in comparative anatomy in 1802 and served as president of the institution's Assembly in the years 1808-1809 (Outram 166-167; 187).

The Museum of Natural History had as its beginning a suggestion by Louis XIII's chief physician that a royal plant garden be created. Parliament approved the suggestion on June 6, 1626. Plans were finalized in 1635 and the King's Garden (Jardin du Roi) opened in 1640 (Duval 29-30). At the time, Italy was the center of botanical studies, "chiefly because there had been no break there between antiquity and the modern era" (Duval 21). From the early days of the

Empire the Romans had collected plant specimens and the Italians were the first to build true botanical gardens which soon became "legendary" (22). The first of these was established by the Venice Senate in 1525 at Padua; the garden at Pisa opened in 1544. The French had some catching up to do.

But by the end of the seventeenth century, Duval says, "the French botanical school was considered one of the best in the world" and Paris "fast became the chief center of attraction for all plant lovers" (30). Botanists in those days were great travellers, "wanderers" who "went off to die for flowers" (191). Yet the plants they brought back with them, if the botanists made it back alive, that is, themselves could not be kept alive until after Guy Crescent Fagon, who took over the directorship of the Jardin in 1664, constructed greenhouses. The wandering botanists could then bring or send many plants from such areas as the tropics and these could be grown and studied at Paris (35).

Some of the most helpful wanderers turned out to be the Jesuit priests in China. The French Jesuits discovered that the growing of flowers and trees was considered a sacred art in China, that plants had been classified since antiquity in regards to their medicinal powers, that "the emperor's gardens were maintained by mandarins who watched over the bamboo with particular care" (38).

Previous to this, a German Jesuit, Father Schall, had become counselor to the Emperor Chouen-tche and a tutor to his son, K'ang-hi. The Jesuits impressed the Chinese and made an arrangement whereby the Chinese Christians were allowed to call God T'ien (Heaven) and could retain their ancestor worship. Thus thousands were "converted" and churches were built (37-38):

So the Jesuits brought in astronomy

(Galileo's, an heretic's)

music and physics from Europe,

Grimaldi, Intorcetta, Verbiest,

Koupelin. Subject of yr/ Majesty,

prescribed of the tribune of rites:

True that the Europeans have passed zealously many dangers and have brought us astronomy, and founded cannon which have served us in civil wars, and that one shd/ reward their services in negotiating with the Orosians.

They have not made any trouble.

We permit lamas, hochangs and taotés to go to

their churches

It wd/ seem unwarranted to forbid only these Europeans to go to their temples. We deem therefore that they be so permitted indiscriminate to pray and burn perfumes.

3rd day 2nd moon of the 31st year of KANG HI (C60 328)

When Father Schall died, K'ang-hi named his successor, Father Verbiest, the director of the Peking observatory. Verbiest wrote to King Louis XIV and asked for several assistants. Louis XIV immediately chose ten Jesuits to be sent to Beijing. A reception was held for them at the Académie des Sciences before their departure. Six of the Jesuits travelled by sea and four by overland, the overland journey taking two years and these four fathers did not arrive in China until 1687. Reports soon after came to the Académie des Sciences and seeds came to Fagon (38-39).

Then to France came the wisteria. Then the Chinese pink. The China aster, Chinese delphiniums, Chinese rhododendrons, "Asian jasmine," and tea. The tea would not grow well in the greenhouses and since the French were not yet interested in drinking tea anyway, the Jardin du Roi did not pursue its cultivation. Instead the King's Garden concentrated its efforts on the soybean, the liliium, the ailanthus, the imperial peonies, the hibiscus, the paper mulberry, the oriental thuja, the spindle tree, the forsythia, the hydrangea, the gardenia, the camellia, and, especially, an herb the French called "panacea," i.e., ginseng. Louis XIV desired to send for some Chinese gardeners, but trouble, not tea, was brewing (39-40).

Problems came first from Rome. The Vatican told the Jesuits that too many concessions had been made to Chinese philosophy. Pope Clement XI condemned the Chinese rites.

China would have to be abandoned if it could not be Roman
Catholic (40-41):

European litterati

having heard that the Chinese rites honour Kung-fu-tseu
and offer sacrifice to the Heaven etc/

and that their ceremonies are grounded in reason
now beg to know their true meaning and in particular
the meaning of terms for example Material
Heaven and Changti meaning? its rule?

Does the manes of Confucius

accept the grain, fruit, silk, incense offered

and does it enter his cartouche?

The European church wallahs wonder if this can be reconciled.

And the archbishop of Antioch spent a year in Canton

mousing round but not coming to Pekin

but was, next year, permitted,

Monseigneur Maillard de tournon

from Clemens, papa (Number XI) the Kiao Hoang. . . .

(C60 329-330)

Clement succeeded in insulting K'ang-hi and the emperor
was urged to expell all missionaries and to distrust all
Europeans, especially the Dutch who sailed into China's
harbors aboard vessels armed with one hundred cannon each
(C60 331). Thus a 1669 edict was resurrected:

Dug up edict of '69

PERMIT only Verbiest and his colleagues

We vote to pardon all converts
 provided they pull down their churches, and again May eleventh
 MISSIONARIES have well served in reforming our
 mathematics
 and in making us cannon

and they are therefore permitted to stay
 and to practice their own religion but

no chinese is to get converted
 and they are not to build any churches
 47 europeans have permits

they may continue their cult, and no others.

.

Verbiest, mathematics

Pereira professor of music, a treatise in chinese and manchu

Gerbillon and Bouvet, done in manchu

revised by the emperor as to questions of style

A digest of philosophy (manchu) and current

Reports on the mémoires des académies

des science de Paris.

Quinine, a laboratory set up in the place.

He ordered 'em to prepare a total anatomy, et

qu'ils veillerent à la pureté du langage

et qu'on n'employât que des termes propres

(namely CH'ing ming)

正名

["Tseu-Lou asked: If the Prince of Mei appointed you head of the government, to what wd. you first set your mind?

Kung: To call people and things by their names, that is by the correct denominations, to see that the terminology was exact" (GK 16).]

En son Palais divers ateliers

wanted the best European models
for paintin' an' scuppchure, his works in one hundred volumes
wuz emperor KANG HI 61 years
from 1662 and came after him

LXI

YONG TCHING

his fourth son, to honour his forebears
and spirits of fields
of earth

heaven

utility public

sought good of the people, active absolute, loved

No death sentence save a man were thrice tried

and he putt out Xtianity

chinese found it so immoral (C60-61 331-334)

And from the Jesuits in China had come "rhododendrons,
jasmine, and sweet oranges, but," says Duval, "these provided

scant consolation. The curtain had fallen over a world of botanical treasures" (41).

Chapter III

Guy Crescent Fagon oversaw the Jardin du Roi for fifty-four years in total. He died in 1718, three years after Louis XIV. Fagon was a "discoverer of men" (63), men such as Joseph Pitton De Tournefort, who invented a new plant classification because, he said, there must be "a precise method to the naming of plants, for fear that the number of names does not eventually equal the number of plants." If all could name plants as they wished, Tournefort said, "The result would be not only great confusion but an astonishing burden for the memory . . ." (qtd. in Duval 43). Therefore he designed the first botanical system, one based on the characteristics of the plants' flowers, "a complex structure of constant characteristics" (qtd. in Duval 44). Fagon, duly impressed, recruited Tournefort and named him professor of botany. Tournefort completed the study of 8,846 plants and published his findings in Eléments de botanique ou Méthode pour connaître les plantes. This work got Tournefort elected to the Académie des Sciences in 1699.

Fagon and Louis XIV then sent Tournefort to the Levant with instructions to "make observations of natural history and ancient and modern geography, but also of the trade,

religion, and customs of the various inhabitants" and, too, Tournefort was to identify "the plants of the ancients, and perhaps, in addition, of those they missed" (Duval 45). He travelled to the Levant, visiting Georgia, Armenia, Persia, Asia Minor, and the Greek Islands. He scaled Mount Ida, that mountain upon which Paris handed the golden apple to Aphrodite and sealed the fate of Troy. Tournefort found the mountain "the most unpleasant mountain I have ever seen . . . with no trace of a forest, no landscape, pleasant solitude, stream, nor spring" (qtd. in Duval 46). He visited Delos and observed the pillaging of the temple, columns broken to make stairsteps, the stone quarried by masons. He visited Constantinople, climbed Mount Ararat and later reached the summit of Mount Olympus. He returned to Paris and he and Fagon began the classification of all that Tournefort had collected, but this was not completed, for Tournefort, who had managed to avoid hostile troops as well as robbers throughout his journey, was crushed against a wall by a passing carriage and died in 1708 (46-53).

There was more trouble early and late for the Jardin: In 1705, Augustan Lippi, another of Fagon's discoveries, was, along with a diplomatic party he was traveling with, assassinated (62). Then Fagon died and by 1739 the director of the Jardin, Antoine de Jussieu, another of Fagon's finds, was reduced to paying for his own tools, for fertilizer, for transplantations, and rather ignobly carrying cedars in his

hat from England (68). It was then that Georges Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon arrived.

Buffon entered the Académie des Sciences at the age of twenty-six in 1733. He was wealthy. He had stature. He was "the central character in the scholarly world of Paris" (65). He had studied law (to please his father), medicine, mathematics, and physics. He translated and championed Sir Isaac Newton (65). He was appointed Jussieu's supervisor in 1739. His dream was to write a history of the animals, the plants "and the earth which bore them" (66). He did so. It was entitled Histoire naturelle. Of nature he said:

Brute Nature is hideous and dying; I, and I alone can render her pleasant and living. Let us drain these marshes, bring to life these stagnant waters, by making them flow, forming them into streams and canals, utilizing this active and devouring element, hitherto hidden from us, and which we have learnt to use by ourselves. Let us set fire to this useless growth, these old, half-decayed forests, then cut away what the fire has not consumed. Soon, in place of the reed and water lily, from which toads make their poison, we shall see the ranunculus and the trefoil. . . . A new Nature will be shaped by our hands. (qtd. in Duval 66-67)

Buffon renovated the Garden. He organized flower beds and Antoine de Jussieu arranged the plants in a new order. Buffon added more fossils and live animals to the Garden. The Cabinet du Roi, which was to become the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, was all of two rooms in 1739. Buffon moved to the hotel Lebrun so that his own apartments could be used for the Muséum. He was able to purchase land

between the Garden and the Seine, land owned by the monks of the abbey of Saint-Victor. Money was available because Buffon was powerful within the corridors of power (65-68). In fact, Buffon ruled over the Jardin with near "dictatorial authority," Outram says, running the garden "as his private domain," and in many ways as a profitable "private business venture" (162). He did so until his death in 1788 (161).

The emphasis at the Jardin in the days of Buffon was primarily placed upon the collections, although they were relatively small. When a new constitution was instituted, along with new funding methods, a governing body composed of the holders of twelve chairs was formed, each chair having equal rights and salary, and the emphasis at the Jardin became directed toward teaching and research within all the non-mathematical sciences. The constitution brought prominence to the teaching of anatomy, human and comparative, and chairs were created in chemistry, geology, zoology, mineralogy, and plant cultivation; special gardens were developed which were used for rare plants and the agricultural breeds of plants. There was, too, a menagerie of living animals created (161-164).

The collections and the menagerie benefited from the Revolutionary war, the Terror, and the Napoleonic wars. Not far behind the troops of the Revolutionary armies were André Thouin and Barthélemy Faujas de St Fond who stole any specimens, books, and instruments they could find in the

conquered territories. The Muséum's collections grew with holdings from "the conquered, the exiled, and the guillotined" (164-165). The Terror, too, with its "reversal of patronage" enabled Cuvier to join the staff of the Muséum and to begin work on the anatomy collection, first sorting the skeletons in the cabinet "which Buffon had had piled up like bundles of firewood" (165; Cuvier qtd. in Outram 176).

By the time Agassiz arrived in Paris in December of 1831, the Jardin du Roi had first become the Jardin des Plantes, and in turn, in 1794, the official name became the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, and the Muséum now contained seventy acres of botanical gardens, labs, zoology, geology, and mineralogy galleries, and Cuvier's museum of anatomy and paleontology (Lurie 54). Agassiz was anxious to work with Cuvier and he brought with him 200 pages of his manuscript of what would become Poissons fossiles, along with sketches of those fossils he had been studying (sketches done by Joseph Dinkel, an artist Agassiz employed first in Munich), which he hoped would impress the great naturalist. This proved to be the case and Agassiz soon had access to the specimens under Cuvier's jurisdiction as well as the use of a small lab. Gaining access to the specimens was in fact a great coup for Agassiz, for Cuvier was planning his own work on fossil fishes and Agassiz, by design, planned just such an outcome: that is, Cuvier would defer to the younger man the chance to publish such a work:

M. Cuvier . . . has been led to make a surrender of all his materials in my favor. I foresaw clearly that this was my only chance of competing with him, and it was not without reason that I insisted on having Dinkel with me in passing through Strasbourg and . . . Carlsruhe. Had I not done so, M. Cuvier might still be in advance of me. Now my mind is at rest on this score (Agassiz, letter to his mother; qtd. in Lurie 57)

Nevertheless, Agassiz took the role of disciple with Cuvier as tutelary (64). He soon learned the value of direct observation. He learned how to reconstruct fossil remains based on the principle of "the correlation of parts." He learned how to identify fossils based on the anatomical knowledge of other life forms. Cuvier was convinced that there was no concrete evidence that animals developed from previous animals. This view was, Agassiz thought, based on careful observation of the evidence. Empiricism, then, gradually came to take its place alongside the theories of Naturphilosophie in Agassiz's mind (60-61).

Cuvier had a theory of types. He believed that there were four great branches in which all members of the animal kingdom could be placed: vertebrates, articulates, mollusks, and radiates. Within each type a comparison could be made of all animals in that type as to their rank and character. But those animals could in no way be compared with any animal in any other type. This plan was for Agassiz "an intellectual antidote," Lurie says, to the notion of a unity of all beings as they rose on a "progressively ascending scale" as suggested by Naturphilosophie (61).

Cuvier's system of classification also was (along with his force of character and encyclopedic publications) what made him so visible. Cuvier increased the collection in comparative anatomy five-fold in his first eight years at the Muséum and at the time of his death the collection filled fifteen rooms containing twelve thousand specimens. Moreover, Cuvier carefully arranged the collection so as to perfectly show his system of classification, a system which the collection's arrangement, based on physiological and philosophical grounds instead of aesthetic criteria, seemed to prove, so that anyone viewing the collection saw "striking physical evidence of his [Cuvier's] capacity to justify his claims to be able to provide an ordering of nature" and the arrangement also tended to re-enforce the notion of Cuvier as a "magician of nature, the possessor of a universal understanding" (Outram 176-177).

Cuvier believed catastrophic events occurred in history which wiped out nearly all of life on earth, new forms of life then replacing the old in different geological time periods. There was, according to the evidence examined, Cuvier thought, no relation between the fossils found and present-day animal life. Agassiz came to share this view and to go further in that he became convinced that all life apparently perished during these catastrophic events and life was then created anew each time. In this way, Agassiz was able to blend the Naturphilosophie he

learned at Munich with the empiricism he learned from Cuvier and discover, he felt, "the essential meaning and order that the Deity had impressed on organic creation" (Lurie 61-63).

Cuvier died in May of 1832. Agassiz stayed in Paris and studied the fossils which Cuvier had turned over to him. Less than a year after arriving in Paris, however, Agassiz took a teaching job in Neuchâtel, Switzerland. Agassiz's research was finished on the fossil fishes, and he felt he could do his writing at Neuchâtel, and although he was offered a professorship in Heidelberg, he turned the offer down (75-76). Recherches sur les poissons fossiles was published in separate parts beginning in 1843. The full title of the five volumes of Poisson fossiles, a work which covered 1700 species of fishes, was: Researches on the Fossil Fishes, comprising an introduction to the study of these animals; the comparative anatomy of organic systems which may contribute to facilitate the determination of fossil species; a new classification of fishes, expressing their relations to the series of formations: the explanation of the laws of their succession and development during all the metamorphoses of the terrestrial globe, accompanied by general geological considerations; finally, the description of about a thousand species which no longer exist and whose characters have been restored from remains contained in the strata of the earth (80).

The publication of Poisson fossiles made Agassiz's reputation as a "master naturalist" (79). He once longed to make a journey to a distant and "exotic" land as had those naturalists with whom he studied in Munich and who told tales filled with adventure (35); but even as he was writing the five volumes which represented his work in ichthyology, he would make his mark through the study of a portion of nature which travelled at most a few feet per year. These were the Alpine glaciers of the Bernese Alps, the Valaisian Alps, and the Rhône Valley (95).

An Alpine glacier forms because the snow which falls in high valleys melts at a slower rate than the rate of snowfall. Early snows are then compressed and form a body of ice which has a granular structure and is composed of strata formed by successive snowfalls and atmospheric dust. When the glacier reaches a depth near 100 feet it begins to move down the valley. As it does so, rock debris forms what are called lateral moraines along the sides of the glacier. A medial moraine is formed when two glaciers meet and the lateral moraines of each combine (Linehan, "Glaciers"). Agassiz studied one such medial moraine at the Unteraar glacier. This moraine was formed when the Lauteraar and Finsteraar glaciers joined. Here Agassiz established an observation station and the moraine showed "the height, extent, advance, and retreat of the glacier in former times" (Lurie 96).

The observations Agassiz made provided evidence for a past Ice Age rather than a "Noachian deluge" and he published Etudes sur les glaciers in late 1840 (97). For Agassiz, however, the main import of his find was that it verified his and Cuvier's view of great catastrophic events which resulted in the destruction of life and the creation of new life. Others, such as Darwin, who complimented Agassiz on his work, saw the Ice Age concept as a rational explanation for the wide distribution of species (97-98; 100).

Agassiz, however, believed that animals originated where they lived and remained within the same area since the day they were created and that these areas were fixed since the first day (Richardson, Jr. 364). He thought there existed "no direct lineage between faunas of different ages. There is nothing like parental descent connecting them" (qtd. in Richardson, Jr. 365):

And nothing furnishes the slightest argument in favor of their mutability; on the contrary, every modern investigation has only gone to confirm the results first obtained by Cuvier, and his views that species are fixed. (Agassiz, "Essay" 83)

The connection between past and present species, Agassiz believed, was to be found in the Creator's plan from which "He has never swerved in any particular" (Richardson, Jr. 365). This plan included "prophetic" types, "how the embryonic conditions of higher representatives of certain types, called into existence at a later time, are typified, as it were, in representatives . . . which have existed at

an earlier period" (qtd. in Richardson, Jr. 365). He admitted that there were a great number of "deversified opinions" on classification systems but one point which was not disagreed upon was "the existence in nature of distinct species" (Essay 32-33) and he wondered if man's attempts at classifying and arranging objects of study were not more than an artificial contrivance:

Are they the devices of the human mind to classify and arrange our knowledge in such a manner as to bring it more readily within our grasp and facilitate further investigations, or have they been instituted by the Divine Intelligence as the categories of his mode of thinking? Have we, perhaps, thus far been only the unconscious interpreters of a Divine conception, in our attempts to expound nature? and when, in our pride of philosophy, we thought that we were inventing systems of science and classifying creation by the force of our own reason, have we followed only, and reproduced, in our imperfect expressions, the plan whose foundations were laid in the dawn of creation, and the development of which we are laboriously studying--thinking, as we put together and arrange our fragmentary knowledge, that we are anew introducing order into chaos? (36-37)

Agassiz's theories, which Richardson, Jr. calls "theistic, Christian, Calvinist" and typological, would later discredit Agassiz in the age of Darwin (365-367), but he never abandoned his belief in a divine plan. Theodore Lyman said of him:

Last, and above all, Agassiz was a man of inborn spiritual belief, which made a primary element in nature, and which entered into all his interpretations of the outer world. That material form was a cover of a spirit appeared to him a truth fundamental and almost self-evident. (qtd. in Bell 114-116)

Agassiz, whose motto was "Go to Nature; take the facts in your own hands; look, and see for yourself!"⁶ always felt his greatest achievement was the fact that he "taught his students to observe" (qtd. in Richardson, Jr. 366). It was this emphasis on observation which impressed Pound, a method he thought could be used to study poetry:

WE live in an age of science and of abundance. The care and reverence for books as such, proper to an age when no book was duplicated until someone took the pain to copy it out by hand, is obviously no longer suited to "the needs of society," or to the conservation of learning. The weeder is supremely needed if the Garden of the Muses is to persist as a garden.

The proper METHOD of contemporary biologists, that is careful and first-hand examination of the matter, and continual COMPARISON of one "slide" or specimen with another.

No man is equipped for modern thinking until he has understood the anecdote of Agassiz and the fish:

A post-graduate student equipped with honours and diplomas went to Agassiz to receive the final and finishing touches. The great man offered him a small fish and told him to describe it.

Post-Graduate Student: "That's only a sunfish."

Agassiz: "I know that. Write a description of it."

After a few minutes the student returned with the description of the *Icthus Helioplodokus*, or whatever term is used to conceal the common sunfish from vulgar knowledge, family of *Helichtherinkus*, etc. as found in text-books of the subject.

Agassiz again told the student to describe the fish.

The student produced a four-page essay.

Agassiz then told him to look at the fish.

At the end of three weeks the fish was in an advanced state of decomposition, but the student knew something about it. (ABCR 3-4)

It could be said, I think, that Agassiz, in examining directly the various specimens which nature provided, was

searching for the Creator's "inherent style" as expressed through the organism: the matter as a cover for the spirit. Frobenius, too, in his examination of artefacts and gestures, was searching for the spirit in the matter: the distinctive characteristics of a culture, the "inherent style." These characteristics, this style, Frobenius said, was the culture's "paideuma" (Surette 129), the "tangle or complex of the inrooted ideas of any period," according to Pound (GK 57). These inrooted ideas could be discerned in the artefacts and gestures, the products of a culture's actions, the manifestations of its bios, its characterized existence. As Makin points out, Agassiz and Frobenius confirmed Pound's view that "There was a great understructure, present in all things and imparting to them their nature" (Cantos 255). In the context in which Makin speaks, this undercurrent is the relation between macrocosm and microcosm, the "electric godhead in the fine and small" as Makin puts it (Cantos 256). And for Pound this understructure could be discerned not only in nature but also by observing ideas as they went into action:

When I said I wanted a new civilization, I think I could have used Frobenius' term.

At any rate for my own use . . . I shall use Paideuma for the gristly roots of ideas that are in action. (GK 58)

Chapter IV

Ezra Pound studied the strata of ancient texts, the specimens of past epochs, searching for the paideuma in past times and cultures. The Comprehensive Mirror which Pound compressed into his Chinese history cantos is described by Philip Furia as a "documentary 'Venice,' where textual canals link past and present, East and West" (84).

According to Furia, the Mirror was originally compiled and edited in AD 1084 by a Sung dynasty scholar named Ssu-Ma Kuang. Kuang collected old historical records and this collection was intended to be used as a practical guide to the present government. Later generations revised and updated this history and in the twelfth century, Chu Hsi condensed, revised, and transformed the Mirror into a treatise from which princes and emperors might learn the art of ruling well by following the teachings of Confucius and by learning from previous model rulers (76-77).

In the eighteenth century the Manchu emperor, K'ang Hsi, commissioned a Mongolian translation of the Mirror and Father Joseph de Mailla derived his Historie Générale de la Chine from this version. De Mailla apparently desired that his Historie would open communication between Europe and China and inspire political reform in France. But the work was suppressed by the Church because de Mailla refused to change the ancient dates of the Mirror to conform to the

chronology of the Bible (77). Forty years later, after de Mailla's death, the work was published in 1777. Pound's interest in the document, Furia states, lies in these "historical transformations" of the Mirror itself:

Among the Confucian morals pointed out by the Mirror is that, among their other virtues, good dynasties carefully preserved and put into action ancient documents, while corrupt dynasties ignored or even destroyed the sacred texts. The Mirror itself is a synecdoche for all precious documents, and we trace its heroic career through Chinese history as an emblem for the enduring power of vital texts to guide a culture toward the harmonious relationship with nature celebrated in its rituals. (77)

Pound, then, in examining and again translating this document, is once again putting it, and the Confucianism it propounds, "into action." With Confucius Pound felt he had discovered an ethical system to complement the mysteries and the light of Eleusis (Bernstein 79). And this ethical system was itself grounded on direct examination, the examination of the heart:

The great learning . . . takes root in clarifying the way wherein the intelligence increases through the process of looking straight into one's own heart and acting on the results; it is rooted in watching with affection the way people grow. (Con 27)

The two ideograms for this, as Pound has them in his translation of the Great Digest, The Unwobbling Pivot, and The Analects are:

The eye (at the right) looking straight into the heart.



What results, i.e., the action resultant from this straight gaze into the heart. The "know thyself" carried into action. Said action also serving to clarify the knowledge. . . . (Con 21)

This "straight gaze" and the action that follows results in a light which can be diffused throughout the empire, according to Confucius, if the ruler who wants to do so follows the example of those who went before him. The first action to be taken was to classify things into organic categories:

When things had been classified in organic categories, knowledge moved toward fulfillment; given the extreme knowable points, the inarticulate thoughts were defined with precision [the sun's lance coming to rest on the precise spot verbally]. Having attained this precise definition [aliter, this sincerity], they then stabilized their hearts, they disciplined themselves; having self-discipline, they set their own houses in order; having order in their own homes, they brought good government to their own states; and when their states were well governed, the empire was brought into equilibrium. (brackets are Pound's, Con 33)

To bring order into the world, then, requires self-discipline and this self-discipline is a matter of the will, a "steady or fixed heart" (SPr 88). The ethics of Kung and Mencius (372-289 BC; in China, the philosopher second in importance to Kung), Pound said, are "volitionist" (94): "The proper man has a shell and a direction" (Con 268). And the sign for this directed will is Tsin Sin, "the sign for 'raise' and the sign for 'will'":

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Tsin Sin (Spr 84)

Pound believed this to be "our solidest join with Dante" (SPr 93). For it represents what the "scholar's aim" should be:

They translate it "exalt the aim". This is definitely Dante's directio voluntatis, with no ambiguity possible. The top of the will sign is the scholar-officer sign, and its base the heart. The lifting up is structural. (93)

Dante speaks of the directio voluntatis in De Vulgari Eloquentia (Literature in the Vernacular) in his discussion of what subjects are worthy of being spoken of in verse using "the illustrious vernacular." Only the greatest subjects, Dante said, are worthy of being treated in this manner (brackets are ed.'s):

But we must discuss what things are greatest; and first in respect of what is useful. Now in this matter, if we carefully consider the object of all those who are in search of what is useful, we shall find that it is nothing else but safety. Secondly, in respect of what is pleasurable; and here we say that that is most pleasurable which gives pleasure by the most exquisite object of appetite, and this [70] is love. Thirdly, in respect of what is right; and here no one doubts that virtue has the first place. Wherefore these three things, namely, safety, love, and virtue, appear to be those capital matters which ought to be treated of supremely, I mean the things which are most important in respect of them, as prowess in arms, the fire of love, and the direction of the will. (71; bk. 2, ch. 2)

Chapter V

In the fall of 1909 the Regent Street Polytechnic, in London, advertised the following: "A COURSE OF LECTURES ON MEDIAEVAL LITERATURE will be given by Ezra Pound, M.A. (Sometime Fellow in the University of Pennsylvania) Author of 'Personae.' On Monday evenings at 8:30 o'clock . . ."

(qtd. in Charles Norman 34). The fee for the course was 25 shillings; the fee for a single lecture was two shillings. Olivia Shakespear (cousin of Lionel Johnson, friend of W. B. Yeats) and her daughter Dorothy each paid the full 25s. Dorothy, in 1965, described her impression as "dismal"--the lecturer constantly over-estimating the intelligence of his audience (Stock, Life 73). Mr. Pound often dined out beforehand and would then lecture, on, say, the Divina Commedia, while wearing his evening clothes (81). Dorothy married Ezra Pound anyway--in 1914.

Pound reworked these lectures into his first book of prose: The Spirit of Romance: AN ATTEMPT TO DEFINE SOMEWHAT THE CHARM OF THE PRE-RENAISSANCE LITERATURE OF LATIN EUROPE, a book he called his "history of the world" (qtd. in Stock 70). The twelfth century was his favorite age, or, "more exactly, that century whose centre is the year 1200" (SR 13). That century gave us certain gifts: Richard of St. Victor's "keenly intellectual mysticism," Romanesque architecture (ostensibly, "more admirable than the artificially classic

modes of the Renaissance"), and the "corresponding excellence" of the forms of Arnaut Daniel's canzoni (SR 13).

The songs of Daniel and the Romanesque Church of San Zeno were "perfect gifts" (13); the church itself was "the ultimate perfection."⁷ Pound may have decided this was so while correcting the proofs of The Spirit of Romance at Sirmione, Italy, in March of 1910 (Stock, Life 85). Sirmione, where Catullus and Cavalcanti once walked, at the southern end of Lake Garda, was only 30 miles from Verona where the church of San Zeno stood and where, Pound said, "a good deal" of the Divina Commedia was written.⁸ Dante was the "culmination" of Pound's favorite age; he anticipated the Renaissance "only as one year's harvest foreshadows the next year's spring" (SR 176). The Commedia, in which Arnaut Daniel is praised as the best craftsman in Provençal--"il miglior fabbro,"⁹ and the Romanesque San Zeno Maggiore¹⁰ were not dissimilar in design and construction:

In architecture, mediaeval work means line; line composition and design: Renaissance work means mass. The mediaeval architect envied the spider his cobweb. The Renaissance architect sought to rival the mountain. They raised successively the temple of the spirit and the temple of the body. The analogy in literature is naturally inexact; Dante, however, sought to hang his song from the absolute, the centre and source of light; art since Dante has for the most part built solidly from the ground. (176)

It is in Dante's hanging "his song from the absolute," his philosophy and theology derived from the church fathers "in the works of the centuries immediately preceding

him" (SR 104), his "intellect guided by classic learning, mystical theology, and the beneficent powers" (117), his verse influenced by his study of the Tuscan poets who were able to "gambol through the complicated Aquinean universe with an inconsequent preciseness" (91), and Dante's "magnanimity" that welded these diverse elements together which causes Pound to say that Dante, in the Commedia, "triumphantly" caught "the age in a net" (85). And this "welding" together to catch the age takes a "continuous curiosity," a "persistent energy," whether a poet like Dante or a poet who aspires to be a Dante. Both need the qualities of an Agassiz in order not to wither as a writer:

he must have a continuous curiosity, which of course does not make him a writer, but if he hasn't got that he will wither. And the question of doing anything about it depends on a persistent energy. A man like Agassiz is never bored, never tired. The transit from the reception of stimuli to the recording, to the correlation, that is what takes the whole energy of a lifetime. (Hall 27)

Dante's precision, then, "both in the 'Vita Nuova' and the 'Commedia' comes from the attempt to reproduce exactly the thing which has been clearly seen" (SR 114). In the Vita Nuova the vision had been of Beatrice so that The New Life is "the tale of Love the revealer, of Love the door and the way into the intelligence, of Love infinite" (SR 108). And in the Commedia the "'Lord of terrible aspect' is no abstraction, no figure of speech" (114), but a vision seen.

However, adds Pound, "There are some who can not or will not understand these things" (114).

But even for Dante, the means of expressing this vision were prepared for him: There was the philosophy and theology of the Church Fathers, there was the prose of Richard of St. Victor which became poetry, "not because of its floridity, but because of its intensity," there was the technique of "accented poetry" which Arnaut Daniel, Guido Cavalcanti, and Guinicelli "brought to perfection" (104). And there was the Albigensian crusade, "a sordid robbery cloaking itself in religious pretence" which ended "the gay savoir" in Provence and caused the song to move to Tuscany, the entire culture of Provence being destroyed by "a long and bloody Crusade, the first to be authorised against a Christian country," one that began in 1209 and lasted twenty years (Makin, Provence 221). 15,000 Albigenses were massacred in Béziers alone (Sydney R. Packard, "Albigenses"), and during the Inquisition that followed many more were killed in "mopping up" operations (Provence 224). In Canto XXIII, Pound gives some of the flavor of this gay savoir and the acridness of the loss of Provençal culture:

And my brother De Maensac
 Bet with me for the castle,
 And we put it on the toss of a coin,
 And I, Austors, won the coin-toss and kept it,
 And he went out to Tierci, a jongleur

was any Manicheanism in Provence, or that the Provençal poets were dualistic pagans, as they were accused of being,:

But they are not pagans, they are called pagans, and the troubadours are also accused of being Manichaeans, obviously because of a muddle somewhere. They are opposed to a form of stupidity not limited to Europe, that is, idiotic asceticism and a belief that the body is evil.
(LE 150)

And while Pound was against a belief in "idiotic asceticism," he admired the self-discipline of the early saints, the anecdotes of their lives being "of commendable human actions, not of eccentricities or excesses" (GK 142) and some knowledge of these stories was necessary to "appreciate fully certain passages in the 'Divine Commedia'" (SR 87). He also admired the self-discipline of the early monks as discussed in Chapter 48 of The Rule of St. Benedict and to which "much of the inner culture of the Middle Ages" may be traced:

Concerning daily manual labour: Idleness is the enemy of the soul; hence brethren ought at certain seasons to occupy themselves with manual labour, and again at certain hours in holy reading. Between Easter and the Kalends of October let them apply themselves to reading from the fourth to the sixth hour. From the Kalends of October to the beginning of Lent let them apply themselves to reading until the end of the third hour, and in these days of Lent let them receive a book apiece from the library and read it through"--Regola, St Benedict. (SR 2)

And then there was St. Francis who, grounded in caritas, loved his mistress holy poverta,¹¹ but also loved "'brother sun,' 'sister moon, and the stars,' 'brother

wind,'" and "'brother fire'" (SR 89) as expressed in "The Canticle of Brother Sun" (Pound's trans.):

Most high, Signor,
 Yours are the praises,
 The glory and the honours,
 And to you alone must be accorded
 All graciousness; and no man there is
 Who is worthy to name you.
 Be praised and exalted,
 My Lord, of all creatures,
 And especial of the most high Sun
 Which is your creature, O Lord, that makes clear
 The day and illumines it,
 Whence by its fairness and its splendour
 It is become thy face. . . . (SR 88)

Thus, writes Pound, "St. Francis had poured forth his religious fervour in the tongue of the people" and "The means are prepared" for "Il Maestro," as Pound calls Dante (SR 104-105), Dante being for Pound, as Stuart Y. McDougal says, "the culmination of a medieval renaissance which began with the development of a vernacular literature in the tenth century" (Bornstein 69). McDougal then quotes a 1912 Pound statement that could neatly summarize the first five chapters in The Spirit of Romance: "I am constantly contending that it took two centuries of Provence and one of Tuscany to develop the media of Dante's masterwork"

(Bornstein 69; LE 9-10). I think, though, Pound would agree with Glauco Cambon when Cambon says, "Dante's Middle Ages interest us above all because they became Dante in Dante's experience, culminating in his work . . ." (4).

Chapter VI

In the days of St. Benedict, it was not uncommon for those monks reading Scripture to interpret what they read in four different senses. This method of Scriptural interpretation had become popular in the last of the fourth century in Egyptian and Palestinian monastic circles and was brought into Western monasticism by John Cassian (360-435), who instituted monastic life in Provence sometime after 403.¹² The four senses of Scripture were:

- (1) the literal or historical sense, (2) the allegorical or Christological sense, (3) the tropological or moral or anthropological sense, and (4) the anagogical or eschatological sense.
- (Fry 475)

In the medieval period these four senses of interpretation were "enshrined in the common place jingle: Littera gesta docet, quid creanda allegoria; Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia" (Fry 474n13). In "Epistola X," a letter to Lord Can Grande, the vicar-general of Verona, Dante explains that the sense of the Divine Comedy "is not simple, but on the contrary it may be called polysemous":

that is to say, "of more senses than one" ; for it is one sense which we get through the letter, and another which we get through the thing the letter

signifies; and the first is called literal, but the second allegorical or mystic. And this mode of treatment, for its better manifestation, may be considered in this verse: "When Israel came out of Egypt, and the house of Jacob from a people of strange speech, Judaea became his sanctification, Israel his power." For if we inspect the letter alone the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt in the time of Moses is presented to us; if in the allegory, our redemption wrought by Christ; if the moral sense, the conversion of the soul from the grief and misery of sin to the state of grace is presented to us; if the anagogical, the departure of the holy soul from the slavery of this corruption to the liberty of eternal glory is presented to us. (347-348; par. 7)

Pound discusses Dante's explanation in The Spirit of Romance, naming the four senses as the literal, the allegorical, the anagogical, and the ethical. These four senses are described in terms of a mathematical parallel by Pound (who took algebra, solid geometry, and plane trigonometry his freshman year at the University of Pennsylvania [Stock, Life 12]), and then are further explained:

For this form of the arcana, we find the best parallel in the expressions of mathematics. Thus, when our mathematical understanding is able to see that one general law governs such a series of equations as $3 \times 3 + 4 \times 4 = 5 \times 5$, or written more simply, $3^2 + 4^2 = 5^2$, $6^2 + 8^2 = 10^2$, $12^2 + 16^2 = 20^2$, etc., one expresses the common relation algebraically thus, $\underline{a}^2 + \underline{b}^2 = \underline{c}^2$. When one has learned common and analytical geometry, one understands that this relation, $\underline{a}^2 + \underline{b}^2 = \underline{c}^2$, exists between two sides of the right angle triangle and its hypotenuse, and that likewise in analytics it gives the equation for the points forming the circumference of any circle. Thus to the trained mathematician the cryptic $\underline{a}^2 + \underline{b}^2 = \underline{c}^2$ expresses:

1st. A series of abstract numbers in a certain relation to each other.

2nd. A relation between certain abstract numbers.

3rd. The relative dimensions of a figure ; in this case a triangle.

4th. The idea or ideal of the circle.

Thus the "Commedia" is, in the literal sense, a description of Dante's vision of a journey through realms inhabited by the spirits of men after death; in a further sense it is the journey of Dante's intelligence through the states of mind wherein dwell all sorts and conditions of men before death; beyond this, Dante or Dante's intelligence may come to mean "Everyman" or "Mankind," whereat his journey becomes a symbol of mankind's struggle upward out of ignorance into the clear light of philosophy. In the second sense I give here, the journey is Dante's own mental and spiritual development. In a fourth, the "Commedia" is an expression of the laws of eternal justice; "il contrapass," the counterpass, as Bertran calls it ("Inf." xxiv.), or the law of Karma, if we are to use an Oriental term. (115-16)

Stuart McDougal complains that Pound secularizes Dante in this passage, especially in Pound's attributing "'the clear light' to 'philosophy' and his second explanation of the 'counterpass' as 'the law of Karma'" (Bornstein 72). These two passages "underscore the amount of distortion" in Pound's gloss on Dante's explanation says McDougal, and he further states that Pound is "simply not interested in Dante as a Christian poet" (72); and, further, he says Pound stresses this secular reading when Pound "argues that it is 'expedient' to view Dante's 'descriptions of the actions and shades as descriptions of men's mental states in life, in which they are, after death, compelled to continue'" (72). And, therefore, McDougal continues, "Absent from this passage is any notion of damnation. Pound's comments reveal

more about his own dramatic monologues than about Dante's poem" (72-73). Pound might be tempted to counterattack this line of thought by first suggesting that McDougal had not read "Epistle X," for it was not the Purgatorio Dante sent to the vicar-general as McDougal states; rather, it was the Paradisio. But beyond that, Dante himself says the poem can be read on the literal level as "the state of souls after death" ("Epistle X" 348; par. 7), which would include McDougal's insistence on damnation, but the subject of the Commedia can also be taken allegorically, Dante says, as "man, as by good or ill deserts, in the exercise of the freedom of his choice, he becomes liable to rewarding or punishing justice," which I would venture to say is not far from Pound's interpretation of the "descriptions of the actions and shades as descriptions of men's mental states in life, in which they are, after death, compelled to continue" (SR 117).

Hugh of St. Victor once warned against trying to see a multiple meaning in every work. There are, he said, "certain things which are intended to be understood spiritually only, certain things that emphasize the importance of moral conduct, and certain things said according to the simple sense of history" (Taylor 121; Didascalicon, bk. 5, ch. 2). But Pound, who had first studied Dante under William Shepard at Hamilton College and had written to his mother in 1905 that there was not any

"phenomenon of any importance in the lives of men and nations that you cannot measure with the rod of Dante's allegory" (qtd. in Stock, Life 20), was following Dante's lead and did not so much ignore the Christian aspects of the poem (he later in the chapter discusses Dante's satan as "undeniably and indelibly evil" in comparison to Milton's devil which "later critics," Pound said, decided was "intended for the hero," and he compares Milton's god, "a fussy old man with a hobby," to Dante's, an "ineffable divinity" [165]), as pick up on the strong secular aspect of the poem which Dante deliberately placed there. As Pound says at the beginning of his own little book:

As to my fitness or unfitness to attempt this treatise: Putnam tells us that, in the early regulations of the faculty of the University of Paris, this oath is prescribed for professors: "I swear to read and to finish reading within the time set by the statutes, the books and parts of of books assigned for my lectures." This law I have, contrary to the custom of literary historians, complied with. (vii)

Christianity itself, Etienne Gilson has said, was, too, opposed to "idiotic asceticism," the belief that nature was evil. The medievals, as defenders of the concept of grace, "defended not less the nature that God made, doubly precious since God Himself died to save it" (Spirit 422). To enable man to refer the "dignity" of his nature "to God at all," Gilson says, "he must perforce know something about it" (422). And in order to restore nature to its uncorrupted state, to apply a remedy, "something of the

anatomy of the soul" had to be known and this could not be learned "without the body," or the body studied except in reference to the whole universe (423). As grace was there "only to perfect nature, having first restored it," the medieval philosophers had to maintain "on the one hand a philosophy of nature while at the same time building up a theology of supernature, and of integrating the first with the second." To suppose that the work might be "ruinous to either is once more to forget the very principle that inspired the whole enterprise" (423).

Dante, in writing the Commedia, was inspired by the same principle. It was inevitable that he, too, would philosophize, and in doing so form a Christian philosophy. For, as Gilson says:

The inevitability does not flow from the essence of Christianity, which is a grace, but arises from the very nature of the recipient of the grace. This recipient is a nature, and nature is the proper object of philosophy. As soon as a Christian begins to reflect on the subject that carries grace, he becomes at once a philosopher. (Spirit 419)

Dante was then only carrying on the tradition of Christian thought when he said of Adam and Christ: "That the human nature never was nor can / Be such as was in those two persons seen" (435; Par. 13.86-87).¹³ And he believed, with Christian thinkers before him, according to Ernst H. Kantorowicz, that "it was the goal of every Christian . . . to recover the original image of man such as it had been

before the fall," and also, due to the Incarnation, "to participate in the divine nature of Christ" and re-establish "in himself the original integrity of human nature" and thereby unite the "paradisian Adam with that of Christ, the new Adam" (King's 483).

Dante, Kantorowicz says, in his concept of both a terrestrial and celestial paradise being possible, "secularized" the Adam-theology and built up "a doctrine of a purely human regeneration which was not identical with the doctrine of Christian regeneration--though the one did not need to contradict the other" (484). G. Giovannini has pointed out that "we forget" how much of the secular is included in the Divine Comedy, "how often the poem turns to empire and city-state" (Pound and Dante 9). Giovannini emphasizes that "a key word" for the interpretation of both the Divine Comedy and The Cantos is "cive" as in the question asked of Dante in his Paradiso (Divine Comedy 408; Par. 8.115-6):

would it be worse for a man on earth "se non fosse cive"--if he lacked a "sense of civility" in Pound's rendering. The hero simply answers yes, "e qui ragion noncheggio": no reason need be asked in the Heavenly City, for the reason is visible all about the hero, who is witness to a perfect order where every soul is rightly [sic] placed and perfectly happy. This order in Dante is many things in a divine sense. But it is also an order according to nature [emphasis added], according to a given and diverse quantum in each man. (Giovannini 10)

Thus it is Virgil who guides Dante through the Inferno and through Purgatory where Dante is reborn in a "moral and ethical" sense, purified and regenerated through moral philosophy and civic virtue. And finally, "baptized by fire," Dante entered the terrestrial paradise, "the loss of his natural judgment and of his inner and outer freedom" due to original sin were "undone when Dante crossed the flames . . . without the intervention of the Church and its sacraments" (Kantorowicz 489). In doing so, Dante becomes, as Adam was in Paradise, representative of mankind, "both species and individual" (493), by virtue of the fact, as Virgil tells him: "Your will is free, straight, and whole, and not to follow its direction would be sin: wherefore I crown and mitre you (king and bishop) over yourself" (Purg. 27.140-142).¹⁴

It is doubtful that Pound would have missed this in the Commedia, familiar as he was with medieval thought and Dante. In fact, as Giovannini points out, "the young Pound" did notice it, and Giovannini quotes the following passage from The Spirit of Romance in which Pound states: "Dante constantly strives for a nobler state on earth" (Giovannini 9; SR 181). And so when Pound says "Dante's intelligence may come to mean . . . 'Mankind,' whereat his journey becomes a symbol of mankind's struggle upward out of ignorance into the clear light of philosophy," far from distorting Dante, he is being faithful to Dante's own vision

of a secular paradise where mankind, "by the forces of intellect and supreme reason alone" (Kantorowicz 489) might reach human perfection and prepare himself for "supra-human perfection within the Church" (487).¹⁵

The notion of a secular paradise, then, most probably entered the young Pound's mind through his study of Dante, or at least it is worth considering that this may indeed have been "Pound's Dantean Inheritance" which left him "Dreaming a Renaissance," as the title of McDougal's essay suggests (Bornstein 63). This is not to say that Pound did not dream of a Renaissance of language and poetry, as McDougal shows, for we must remember, as Cambon says, "It is . . . [Dante's] poetry that leads us back to the philosophy, not vice versa" (4). The means are prepared.

Chapter VII

He'd done some reading. After all, he said in "How I Began," an article in T. P.'s Weekly, June 6, 1913, "I knew at fifteen pretty much what I wanted to do. I believed that the 'Impulse' is with the gods; that technique is a man's own responsibility." Scholarship would not help one to write poetry, "but it does help him to destroy a certain percentage of his failures. It keeps him discontented with mediocrity" (Grace Schulman, Pound 24-25).¹⁶ He resolved that by the time he was thirty he would "know more about poetry than any man living," that he would know "what was

accounted poetry everywhere, what part of poetry was 'indestructible,' what part could not be lost by translation" (24-25). In 1930, in an autobiographical sketch written for Louis Untermeyer, he stated that he "Entered U.P.Penn at 15 with intention of studying comparative values in literature (poetry) and began doing so unbeknown to the faculty."¹⁷ He suggested it, once, i.e., that the university allow him to do a thesis "on some reading matter OUTSIDE the list of classic authors included in the curriculum." They turned him down and a Professor "MacD" apparently wrote: "And besides, Mr.Pound, we shd. have to do so much work ourselves to verify your results." This was at the University of Pennsylvania in 1906,

despite the fact Fellowships are given for research and that a thesis for Doctorate is supposed to contain original research.

Even if results were wrong, or vague, or contained, like all verbal manifestations, a component of error? even IF the student wd. be sure of not wasting his time etc. etc. safety first. . . . (GK 215-216)

Throughout his college career, he said, he continued this search for values:

In this search I learned more or less nine foreign languages, I read Oriental stuff in translations, I fought every University regulation and every professor who tried to make me learn anything except this, or who bothered me with "requirements for degrees." (Schulman 25)

Perhaps more modest in his old age, he told Donald Hall in 1960, "I did have some things in my head when I got to

London, and I had heard of Catullus before I heard about modern French poetry" (Hall 31). He heard of Catullus. He heard of Horace. He heard of Martial. He studied them at Hamilton Whigham, "Pound and Catullus" 65), and at Penn with a certain Professor MacDaniel (Carpenter 58).

Gaius Valerius Catullus might have been born in 84 BC. 54 BC might have been the year of his death. Julius Caesar knew Catullus's father, who was a citizen of Verona. Thirty miles west of Verona Catullus's family, or Catullus himself, owned a villa on the peninsula known, in Latin, as Sirmio, on Lake Garda (Whigham, Poems of Catullus 13). Catullus described Sirmio thus in poem 31 of the Carmina:

Apple of islands, Sirmio, & bright peninsulas, set
 in our soft-flowing lakes or in the folds of ocean,
 with what delight delivered, safe & sound,

from Thynia

from Bithynia

you flash incredibly upon the darling eye.
 What happier thought
 than to dissolve
 the mind of cares
 the limbs from sojourning,
 and to accept the down of one's own bed
 under one's own roof
 -held so long at heart . . .

and that one moment paying for all the rest.

So, Sirmio, with a woman's loveliness, gladly
 echoing Garda's rippling lake-laughter,
 and, laughing there, Catullus's house

catching the brilliant echoes!

(Whigham 88)

Catullus was "perhaps the leading figure" of a movement of writers, the "new poets," who "felt themselves united, in an almost arrogant manner, for certain things in poetry, and against others" (Whigham 13, 26-27). His poems disappeared for fourteen hundred years and one day turned up in the bunghole of a wine barrel ([11]). At least (or only) two copies were made before the codex disappeared again (44). The translation of poem 31 above was made by Whigham, who said, shortly after translating the Carmina, that except for Pound's "unremitting work, skill and extraordinary gifts of poetic insight I should not now have the weapons to do whatever it is I have done with Catullus" ("Ezra Pound and Catullus" 76).

"Besides knowing living artists I have been in touch with the tradition of the dead," Pound wrote in "How I Began" (Schulman 24). While correcting the proofs of the The Spirit of Romance, Pound "lazed and worked as he saw fit" at Sirmione (Stock, Life 85): "the same old Sirmio that Catullus raved over a few years back" he wrote to his mother (qtd. in Stock, Life 84). He wrote to Hilda

Doolittle and told her to forget about going to London and visit Lake Garda instead: "I've been about a bit and I know paradise when I see it" (qtd. in Stock, Life 87). He later wrote "'Blandula, Tenulla, Vagulla,'" a "little" song of joy honoring the "paradisaal beauty of Lake Garda" (Froula, Guide 29) and the sunlight raining through the leaves of the olive trees on Sirmione:

WHAT hast thou, O my soul, with paradise?

Will we not rather, when our freedom's

won,

Get us to some clear place wherein the sun

Lets drift in on us through the olive leaves

A liquid glory? If at Sirmio,

My soul, I meet thee, when this life's outrun,

Will we not find some headland consecrated

By aery apostles of terrene delight,

Will not our cult be founded on the waves,

Clear sapphire, cobalt, cyanine,

On triune azures, the impalpable

Mirrors unstill of the eternal change?

Soul, if She meet us there, will any rumour

of havens more high and courts desirable

Lure us beyond the cloudy peak of Riva? (Per. 39)

Lazing and working at Sirmione, Pound could imagine Catullus there or imagine himself meeting "the Muse of

Catullus's haunt" (Froula, Guide 31).¹⁸ Pound was in touch, he said, "with the tradition of the dead," because he thought of the dead as living. In "Provincia Deserta," a poem concerning a walking tour he took of Provence in 1912 (Carpenter 180-183), he writes:

I have climbed rickety stairs, heard talk of Croy,
Walked over En Bertran's old layout . . .

.

I have said:

"Here such a one walked.

"Here Coeur-de-Lion was slain.

"Here was good singing.

"Here one man hastened his step.

"Here one lay panting."

.

I have walked these roads;

I have thought of them living. (Per. 122-123)

He thought of them living. At times he thought of them living through him:

No man hath dared to write this thing as yet,
And yet I know, how that the souls of all men great
At times pass through us,
And we are melted into them, and are not
Save reflexions of their souls.
Thus I am Dante for a space and am
One François Villon, ballad-lord and thief

Or such holy ones I may not write,
 Lest blasphemy be writ against my name;
 This for an instant and the flame is gone.

("Histrion," CEP 71)

He thought of Latin as a living language, for "Provençal, Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Catalan, Roumanian and Romansch" were at one time "ways of speaking Latin somewhat more corruptly than the Roman merchants and legionaries spoke it" (SR 2). Pound admired Catullus for his "directness of presentation," his Latin, like the French poetry Pound later "heard of," was "unencumbered by non-functioning words" (LE 33). His work was the type of "living art" Pound longed for at this time in his career:

As far as the "living art" goes, I should like to break up cliché. . . . For it is not until poetry lives again 'close to the thing' that it will be a vital part of contemporary life. As long as the poet says not what he, at the very crux of a clarified conception, means, but is content to say something ornate and approximate, just so long will serious people, intently alive, consider poetry as balderdash--a sort of embroidery for dilettantes and women. . . . Or again, since I seem to flounder in my attempt at utterance, we must have a simplicity and directness of utterance, which is different from the simplicity and directness of daily speech, which is more 'curial', more dignified. This difference, this dignity, cannot be conferred by florid adjectives or elaborate hyperbole; it must be conveyed by the art. . . .

There are few fallacies more common than the opinion that poetry should mimic the daily speech. . . . (Spr 41)

Just as Dante's precision "comes from the attempt to reproduce exactly the thing which has been clearly seen,"

Daniel and Cavalcanti's precision comes from their testimony being of "the eyewitness, their symptoms are at first hand" (LE 11). Catullus's, Daniel's, and Cavalcanti's art was "living art" because it lived "close to the thing." There was in it that "explicit rendering, be it of external nature, or of emotion" that was missing in the Victorians (LE 11). Pound had various "degrees of contempt" for "Milton and Victorianism and the softness of the 'nineties'" and had nothing but "reverence" for "Dante and Villon and Catullus" (LE 362). He viewed the nineteenth century as "a rather blurry, messy, sort of a period, a rather sentimentalistic, mannerish sort of a period" (LE 11). In Catullus, especially, he found a "neatness" and a "hardness" (OC 154)¹⁹ to counteract this "blurry, messy" period. Catullus was not "Swineburnian" (LE 36). For this reason, in a 1942 discussion of influences, he would say:

And I consider the hours spent with Layamon's Brut, or copying a prose translation of Catullus by W. MacDaniel; Ibbotson's instruction in Anglo-Saxon, or W. P. Shepard's on Dante and the troubadours of Provence—more important than any contemporary influences. (Spr 319)

In the Spirit of Romance Pound speaks of two different kinds of art: "there are works of art which are beautiful objects and works of art which are keys or passwords admitting one to a deeper knowledge, to a finer perception of beauty" (162). Dante's art, he said, "is of the second sort" (162). The "key" to this deeper knowledge was in

Dante's "epithets of primary apparition," those epithets which "give vividness to description and stimulate conviction in the actual vision of the poet" (167). Pound quotes Aristotle as saying that "The apt use of metaphor, arising, as it does, from a swift perception of relations, is the hallmark of genius" (166), and goes on to say that Dante's "vividness depends much on his comparison by simile to particular phenomena" (168), simile being "a more leisurely expression of a kindred variety of thought" (167):

thus Dante, following the Provençal [of Daniel], says, not "where a river pools itself," but

"Si come ad Arli, ove il Rodano stagna."

"As at Arles, where the Rhone pools itself."

(SR 168)

The Provençal comes from the fourth stanza of Daniel's "Sols Sui Que Sai Lo Sobraffan Qe M Sortz," a canzone Dante praises in De Volgari Eloquentia as the type of canzone which has "the degree of construction we call most excellent" (86-87; bk. 2, ch. 6). Pound makes this point (SR 18) and then says that the following passage from the fourth stanza--"for the Rhone, from the water that swelleth it, hath never such turmoil as doth that torrent which pools itself with love in my heart, on seeing her" (SR 19)--is "Dantescan in its vivid and accurate description of the emotion, and in its taking a particular river for comparison" (20). Dante, Pound says, did something very

similar when he says "'Dove l' Adige stagna' (where the Adige pools itself)" (20).²⁰ It is the direct presentation of particulars that gives an "accurate description of the emotion." For Arnaut "conceived, that is, a manner of writing in which each word should bear some burden" (SPr 27). A manner of writing "which made him chary of his rhymes, impatient of tunes that would have distorted his language, fastidious of redundance;" and the "fineness of Arnaut's senses" which made him this way made him "likewise accurate in his observation of Nature" (27). Thus Dante, for example, uses Arnaut "as a symbol of perceptive intelligence . . . seeing out of its time and place" (27-28). This is what Pound admired most in Dante, Daniel, Villon, Cattulus, Cavalcanti, and Homer--what made their art "living" as compared to the poetry of the nineteenth century:

It is much easier to think of the Odyssey or Le Testament or Catullus's Epithalamium as something living than as a series of cenotaphs. After all, Homer, Villon, Propertius, speak of the world as I know it, whereas Mr. Tennyson and Dr. Bridges did not. Even Dante and Guido with their so highly specialised culture speak of a part of life as I know it. ATHANATOS. (Spr 390).

That part of life, that is, of the vision seen:

There is the subtler music, the clear light
 Where time burns back about th' eternal embers.
 We are not shut from all the thousand heavens:
 Lo, there are many gods whom we have seen,

Folk of unearthly fashion, places splendid,
 Bulwarks of beryl and of chrysoprase.

Sapphire Benacus [Lake Garda], in the mists and thee
 Nature herself's turned metaphysical,
 Who can look on that blue and not believe?

("The Flame," Per. 50)

Pound said in 1912 that he "would much rather lie on what is left of Catullus's parlor floor and speculate the azure beneath it and the hills off to Salo and Riva with their forgotten gods than discuss any processes and theories of art whatsoever" (LE 9). However, in his "Osiris" essays, written in 1911 and 1912, he discusses two types of authors, the "symtomatic" and the "donative" (Spr 28). The "symptomatic" author's works are those that "one might have expected in such and such a year and place" (25). The "donative" author, however, "seems to draw down into the art something which was not in the art of his predecessors" (25), and this type of author's "light remains visible" and "he has attained his own virtù" (30-31):

The soul of each man is compounded of all the elements of the cosmos of souls, but in each soul there is some one element which predominates, which is in some peculiar and intense way the quality or virtù of the individual; in no two souls is this the same. It is by reason of this virtù that a given work of art persists. It is by reason of this virtù that we have one Catullus, one Villon. . . . It is the artist's business to find his own virtù. This virtue may be what you will:

Luteum pede soccum, ...
Viden et faces
Splendidas quatiunt comas!
Luteumve papauer.

It may be something which draws Catullus to write of scarlet poppies, of orange-yellow slippers, of the shaking, glorious hair of the torches; of Propertius to

Quoscumque smaragdos
 Quosve dedit flavo lumine chrysolithos.
 --'The honey-coloured light.'

(Spr 29)

Having discovered this virtù, the artist sets about to build his "microcosmos," and this is done by discerning the "peculiar virtù in others" (29) and holding these "powers" in "orderly arrangement about one's own." This process is "uncommon," but "Dante, of all men, performed it in the most symmetrical and barefaced manner" (29).

To build his own "microcosmos" then, Pound needed to discover his own virtù, but at this stage in his career, he still had not done so, nor did he know how. Nor did he know if his perceptions were accurate enough, if he, like Homer, Catullus, Villon, Cavalcanti, Dante, or Arnaut ("the better craftsman"), had the necessary qualities which would enable him to weld his language and perception so as to express his own vision, his own intelligence "seeing out of its own time and place":

The very small children in patched clothing,
 Being smitten with an unusual wisdom,
 Stopped in their play as she passed them

And cried up from their cobbles:

Guarda! Ahi, guarda! ch' é be' a!¹

But three years after this
 I heard a young Dante, whose last name I do not
 know--
 For there are, in Sirmione, twenty-eight young
 Dantes and thirty-four Catulli;
 And there had been a great catch of sardines,
 And his elders
 Were packing them in the great wooden boxes
 For the market in Brescia, and he
 Leapt about, snatching at the bright fish
 And getting in both of their ways;
 And in vain they commanded him to sta fermo!
 And when they would not let him arrange
 The fish in the boxes
 He stroked those which were already arranged,
 Murmuring for his own satisfaction
 This identical phrase:

Ch' è be'a

And at this I was mildly abashed.

¹ Bella ("The Study in Aesthetics," Per 96-97)

Chapter VIII

He continued his search. By June 15, 1910, Pound was sailing toward New York from London after leaving Sirmione (Carpenter 148). He stayed in New York briefly and arrived in Philadelphia to visit his parents by June 27 (Stock, Life 89). The Spirit of Romance went on sale in the United States in July after being released by Dutton & Co. The cost was \$2.50. "Too dear," thought Pound (Life 89). A reviewer in the Boston Evening Transcript wrote:

Mr. Pound is a man of clear insight and happy enthusiasm, who is potentially a great critic. But within him there is a hunger for publicity which weakens the fibre of the work. . . . As a genuine poet, he should prove a sympathetic critic. But to find himself he must first get lost. (qtd. in Life 89)

He was soon to do so. While in America that summer, he entertained the possibility of entering the business world with one "Baldy" Bacon, a man of somewhat dubious character:

Baldy's interest

Was in money business.

"No interest in any other kind uv bisnis,"

Said Baldy. (C 53).

A certain scheme planned with Baldy did not pan out (Carpenter 149-150) and Pound spent two weeks with Walter Rummel, a musician, at Homer and Isabel Pound's summer home in Swarthmore (150). Rummel and Pound then lived in a flat

together back in New York. Pound spent some time touring the city and worked on an introduction to translations of Guido Cavalcanti (Stock, Life 91). His first book of poems to be published in America, Provença, was issued on November 22. The blurb on the jacket read this way:

Mr. Pound is the American poet who has so significantly won his spurs in London. Provença is the first American edition of his work and contains the best of the two volumes, Personae and Exultations, already brought out in England, with new poems which are to be issued in England separately under the title Canzoniere. . . .
(qtd. in Life 92)

In England he had taken the privately printed A Lume Spento to Elkin Mathews's bookshop to be sold there (Life 55). Pollock & Co. published A Quinzane for this Yule in 1908; Mathews then brought out both Personae and Exaltations in 1909 (Gallup 3-7). By the time Provença was published Pound was three weeks past being all of 25 and "Pound's Conquest of London," James J. Wilhelm says, "has to be attributed in a large part to the kindly publisher and bookseller Elkin Mathews":

At Mathews' clubby place of business Pound met the learned and hospitable Ernest Rhys, who introduced him to May Sinclair, who introduced him to Ford Maddox Ford, who introduced him to Violet Hunt, who introduced him to Brigit Patmore, who introduced him to Richard Aldington--to whom Pound introduced Hilda Doolittle when she finally turned up in London. . . .

Elkin Mathews also arranged for Pound to meet a promising young poet named James Griffyth Fairfax, who presented Pound to a society woman named Mrs. Alfred (Aunt Eva) Fowler, who, in turn, presented him to Olivia Shakespear, who soon began to attend

Pound's lectures at the London Polytechnic Institute. . . . Pound found Olivia the most charming woman in London, and he was also captivated by her daughter, the lovely and talented Dorothy, who eventually became his wife. Olivia was the lover of William Butler Yeats, and so the avenue to "the greatest living poet of the English-speaking world" was assured. (American Roots 205-206).

And this is why we find Pound in August of 1910 going to Coney Island with W. B. Yeats's father (J. B. Yeats, the painter) and Pound's patron John Quinn (Carpenter 153), and "Yeats père on an elephant" (Let 95). New York, Pound thought, was a sign that "America has a chance for Renaissance" because of its architecture: "Did not the palaces of the Renaissance have an advertising value? Is it anything but normal that architecture should be first to answer the summons?" (PM 11; 15). The architecture of New York City gave him hope that "after a people has learned a fineness of beauty from good buildings, after it has achieved thus the habit of discrimination, it will not be long patient of unsound and careless production in the other arts" (15). When Dante was writing, architectural work still meant "line, composition, and design" (SR 176). And in the architecture of New York Pound saw line:

And this is a Renaissance. As touching the metropolitan tower; the 'campanile' form has been obsolete for some centuries. When towns ceased to need watch towers the 'campanile' ceased as a living architectural mode.

With the advance of steel construction it has become possible to build in the proportions of the campanile something large enough to serve as an office building. This tower is some 700 odd feet

high and dominates New York as the older towers dominate hill towns of Tuscany. It is white and very beautiful. (PM 17).

This tower was the "Metropolitan Life" tower and beside it was "Dr. Parkhurst's church," a "scrap of building" that was "a re-birth, a copy, as good as anything Palladio cribbed from Vitruvius" (17). Thus New York might possibly be "the most beautiful city in the world":

It is not far from it. No urban nights are like the nights there. I have looked down across the city from high windows. It is then that the great buildings lose reality and take on their magical powers. They are immaterial; that is to say one sees but the lighted windows.

Squares after squares of flame, set and cut into the ether. Here is our poetry, for we have pulled down the stars to our will. (19)

But in America he found "no writer and but one reviewer who had any worthy conception of poetry, The Art" (Let 43).

By March 21 of 1911 he was in Paris working with Rummel on the music of the troubadours. In May Elkin Mathews sent Pound the page-proofs of what was now entitled Canzoni (Stock, Life 96-97), and two months later, when the book was published in July, Pound was back on the shores of Lake Garda contemplating the light there, the "amber light" as one poem excised from Canzoni has it:

I would sing of exquisite sights,

of the murmur of Garda:

I would sing of the amber lights,

or of how Desenzano

Lies like a topaz chain

upon the throat of the waters. (CEP 216)

This passage is from "Redondillas, or something of that sort," which Pound first tried to revise and then deleted (Stock, Perspectives 68), a deletion he worried about.²¹ He sent a copy of Canzoni to Dorothy anyway:

A7

CANZONI

1911

a. First edition:

[In black] CANZONI | OF | EZRA POUND | [in red: device] | [in black] LONDON | ELKIN MATHEWS, VIGO STREET | MCMXI

viii, 5 I, [I], [4] pp. 19 3 X 13 3 cm. Streaky grey cloth lettered in gold at top of front cover, and, on spine; CAN | ZONI | OF | EZRA | POUND | ELKIN | MATHEWS, or (later) brown paper boards lettered in gold at centre of front cover, and, on spine: CAN | ZONI | ELKIN | MATHEWS; end papers; fore and bottom edges untrimmed.

Published July 1911 at 3.s. 6d.; 1000 sets of sheets printed (of which an undetermined number--not more than 500--were issued as part of Canzoni & Ripostes (1913)). Imprint at foot of page [52]): Chiswick Press: Printed by Charles Whittingham and Co. Tooks Court, Chancery Lane, London.

Dedication on page [v]: To Olivia and Dorothy Shakespear

(Gallup 12-13)

Dorothy wrote to Ezra and said (the brackets are the editors):

[missing] Canzoni "with the Author's compliments" have just come. I have been waiting for them for some while. I did not realise there would be so many new ones. You have done a lot of work this last year--as I gather you have been translating Guido [Cavalcanti] & [Arnaut] Daniel--as well.

Canzoni have given me courage again. . . .

If you come to London you will come to see me, won't you? Meanwhile, dear, write well, & may the triune azure envelope you.

Yours.

London is a woeful place,
 Shropshire is much pleasanter.
 Then let us smile a little space
 Upon fond nature's morbid grace, C

Oh, Woe, woe, woe, etcetera. . . .

-Ockley - ball forty four feet

~~Redondillas, or something of that sort~~

I SING the gaudy to-day and cosmopolite civilization
 Of my hatred of crudities, of my weariness of
 banalities,

I sing of the ways that I love, of Beauty and delicate
 savours,

No man may pass beyond
 the nets of good and evil

For joy 's in deepest hell
 and in high heaven,.

About the very ports
 are subtle devils.

I would sing of exquisite sights
 of the murmur of Garda;

I would sing of the amber lights,
 or of how Desenzano

Lies like a topaz chain
 upon the throat of the waters.

I sing of natural forces
 I sing of refinements

I would write of the various moods
 of nuances, of subtleties.

~~Only one man would have called this a poem The Age~~

Fig. 5. A portion of "Redondillas," a 114 line poem deleted from Canzoni, from the page-proofs in the Humanities Research Center of the University of Texas at Austin; rpt. Stock, Perspectives 68.

P.S. . . .

I will surely meet you at Sirmio--where we will pause awhile--then perhaps Riva will call--after we are rested. This phantasy pleases me. . . .²²

(EP/DS 34)

He wrote back (again, brackets are the editors):

[Desenzano]
[Lago di Garda]
[16 July 1911]

Dearest Coz:

There aren't so many 'new ones'. I realize it's a bit confusing. The masterpiece was to have been the table of contents but some of the poems got on my nerves & I cut out 15 pages of 'em at the last minute. I tried to get an arrangement that would do a little of what Hugo botched in his Legend des Siecles. Artistically speaking its [sic] supposed to be a sort of chronological table of emotions: Provence; Tuscany, the Renaissance, the XVIII, the XIX, centuries, external modernity (cut out) subjective modernity. finis. (& advs. of early work added by E.M. [Elkin Mathews]-the binding my own). I don't suppose any body'll see it--the table of contents--in this light but when my biographers unearth this missive it will be recorded as an astounding proof of my genius. The plan is filled in, as you see, with translations and stuff more or less revised. The Abelard was done two years ago, I think. (37-38)

The table of contents would have been the "masterpiece" because Pound perceived the book to have been a unity of design which the deletion of the fifteen pages of poems damaged. He told Elkin Mathews in 1916:

This shaping up a book is very important. It is almost as important as the construction of a play or a novel. I neglected it in "Canzoni" and the book . . . is not so good as the others. I was affected by hyper-aesthesia or over-squeamishness and cut out the rougher poems. (P/J 285)

Thus his comment that "the book would have been better if they had been left in" (P/J 285). But they were not; nor was the following explanation, originally contained in notes at the end of the book:

The canzoni have already been assailed and on this account I feel that I may be permitted to venture toward that dangerous thing, an explanation; or rather, I ask you to consider whether it be not more difficult to serve that love of Beauty (or, even of some particular sort of Beauty) which belongs to the permanent part of oneself, than to express some sudden emotion or perception which being unusual, being keener than normal, is by its very way of being, clearly defined or at least set apart from those things of the mind among which it appears. (qtd. in Life 100)

He was still very much the Aesthete (with a capital A), as Hugh Kenner has noted:

He had left behind the use of troubadour lives or troubadour poems as subject matter; had pieced their formal rituals, and literary London's blessed-damosel diction, and mediaevalism and "Spirits Terrene" and other aesthetic stuff into a unity worthy of a poet's vocation, and had come to think of the Canzone as "the high mass of poetry," whose elaborate stanzas "serve that love of Beauty [capitalized] . . . [sic] which belongs to the permanent part of oneself"--to one's fine Pre-Raphaelite soul, in short--in poems as ceremoniously dated as the Villanelle of a Temptress Stephen Dedalus composed on waking one morning with his soul "all dewy wet." (Era 79)

As can be seen by what Pound considered the "modern," that is, "Redondillas, or something of that sort," where "Beauty," it can be seen, too, was again capitalized:

I sing the gaudy to-day and cosmopolite civilization
Of my hatred of crudities, of my weariness of banalities,
I sing of the ways that I love, of Beauty and delicate
savours.

.
 I sing of the diverse moods
 of effete modern civilization.
 I sing of delicate hues
 and variations of pattern;
 I sing of risorgimenti,
 of old things found that were hidden,
 I sing of the senses developed,
 I reach towards perceptions scarce heeded.
 If you ask me to write world prescriptions
 I would write so that any can read it:
 A little less Paul Verlaine,
 A good sound stave of Spinoza,
 A little less of our nerves
 A little more will toward vision. (CEP 218)

Yet he was not as far from finding himself by losing himself as one might think. He was practicing this rather Biblical discipline, we might say, even as Canzoni was being issued, for at Sirmione, he was shedding himself of his aestheticism, although he did not know this, and was indeed close to finding his own virtù, escaping the "softness of the 'nineties,'" by going to the "oldest known English,"²³ the Anglo-Saxon of The Seafarer. His translation begins this way:

May I for my own self song's truth reckon,
 Journey's jargon how I in harsh days
 Hardship endured oft.
 Bitter breast-cares have I abided,
 Known on my keel many a care's hold. . . . (CEP 188)

Which should, with its rhythm and alliteration, remind you
 of²⁴ . . .

But not yet.

Chapter IX

The letter to Dorothy continues:

The Guido [Cavalcanti] is the part of last years work that has the most in it, I'll bring you the proof sheets when I come, that is, I think I'll have 'em then. Mrs. F. [Fowler] has heard some of them. Arnaut [Daniel] is not so important as poetry but the eagle [Yeats] was interested & I've writ a monstrous long introduction. I go to Milan next week to look up a mss that's said to have some music in it. Of course nothing could have done so much for my own work, technically, as the two translations. The Canzoni is a sort of Purgatorio with the connecting links left out. I feel now with it done and the 2 translations done, as if I were 'sul monte' [on the mountain] & out where I could breathe. (EP/DS 38)

He was going to stop at the Ambrosian Library in Milan while on his way to Geissen, in Germany, where Ford Madox Hueffer (later Ford) was waiting "in vain," as Stock tells

us, for a divorce (Life 103). He was aided in his search for the Arnaut manuscript by the librarian, Achille Ratti, who later "ended up in the Vatican" (C80 502) as Pius XI (Kenner, Era 114): "(and the Pope's manners were so like Mr Joyce's, / got that way in the Vatican, weren't like that before)" (C38 187).²⁵ Pound copied the music to Arnaut's second and eighteenth canzones and relates in Canto XX his taking them to Emil Levy, a Provençal scholar in Freiberg:

And I went to old Lévy, and it was by then 6.30
in the evening, and he trailed half way across Freiburg
before dinner, to see the two strips of copy,
Arnaut's, settant'uno R. superiore (Ambrosiana)
Not that I could sing him the music.

And he said: Now is there anything I can tell you?"

And I said: I dunno, sir, or

"Yes, Doctor, what do they mean by noigandres?"

And he said: Noigandres! NOIgandres!

"You know for seex mon's of my life

"Effery night when I go to bett, I say to myself:

"Noigandres, eh, noigandres,

"Now what the DEFFIL can that mean!" (C20 89-90)

"Noigandres" is found in the last line (7) of the first stanza of Daniel's thirteenth canzone, as can be found in Wilhelm's Poetry of Arnaut Daniel: "e jois lo grans, e l'olors d'enuo[c] ga[i]ndres,"--"And joy the seed, the

Abgrat fidoz q' d'launa Larma.
so deurat au p' enchaibra itra.

Can musue delachabra.
 On almeu dai sui genuli hoz n' ita.
 Anz me su curt pt' q' stare nu iute.
 Eno ai mebre n' fremista m' ucla
 pt' qe no sui lefes dena laua.
Tal pace ai qel sui trop d'marma.
 Delcorz lefos no delarma.
 Ecoz setas acelat d'inz sachabra.
 Aep' m'inaural coze q' cel duria.
 Car lostus serz lu onul es nouit.
 d'leis sui aissi ochary iuda.
 N'no cretu chastic damie nidole.
Canc l'asoz dems onde.
 No ama pt' m' ta paqer arma
 Laitaz uerit coes loden del uigla.
 Selca plaguet uelgrester d'achab.
 Demu pod far lamozs qiz elcoz
 m'itra.
Oyeu tot quol qoz forz d'freuel
 puois fleuit l'estoca u'li. ueria.
 Ed' ad' foze netor iuncle.
 Tam finamor coze cella qel co' m'it.
 Noere q' for coze ne neie enarma.
 On quill estei foze enplaxa odim
 chabra.
Oros carz nor fleis t'ate l'ida.
Casim sepm eten ungle.
 Oer coze fleis o l'estoca enlauna.
 Cul mes duoi tois epalais echab.
 End'am ta finure parer m'oncle.
 Et paradie nauza dole tois m'oz.
 Etia nule hoz p'be ama lu ita.
Arnaut finet id' d'ist'oz du
 gle dole.

Jerem.
Chanzo dol .mor son plan
 eprim sui poe era totonoull uo
 cil auchoz am son decolor de
 tuta flor auerda lafuolla cil
 ch'ic cil braul son alonbraul de
 au telz plabruolla.
Pele breiz auch los ch'iz elrefno
 Ep qom nome faza crim.
 O'ri elim moz d'ualoz ab'it damoz.
 d' no ai coze qe tuolla.
 Car s'be f'at' la'it' armu
 enpt' ual m' iuguolla.
Peur ual agnoullz damoz.
 Lades tribucha so feignoz.

Fig. 6. The musical setting of Arnaut Daniel's second canzone from Manuscript G, R 71 Superiore, 73v, which Pound copied and took to Levy, Biblioteca Ambrosiana of Milan; rpt. Wilhelm, "Musical Appendix," Poetry of Arnaut [136].

scent the warder from annoyance," as Wilhelm translates it (54-55), following the lead of Lévy:

d'enuo [c] ga [i] ndres: Simplest emendation (see line 29) for what others print as d'enoï gandres; gaindres or gandres, like other "g" rhymes, is a variant of an -ir verb; for gandir, see Levy, PD, 201, with the meanings "escape, avoid, flee, protect, guarantee"; also, SW, IV, 35. (Wilhelm 107n7)

Which means Levy knew. As Kenner says: "we are not to suppose that Levy spoke that day only of his bafflement":

and Pound's text and final translation, first published in Instigations, concur with Lavaud's 1910 edition (which he cites) in following Levy's reading:

. . . Bestir my heart to put my song in sheen
T'equal that flower which hath such properties,
It seeds in joy, bears love, and pain ameises.
(Era 116)

Pound's translation can be found on page 313 in Instigations. And he does cite Lavaud and says:

. . . any man who would read Arnaut and the troubadours owes great thanks to Emil Levy of Freiburg i/b for his long work and his little dictionary (Petit Dictionnaire Provençal-Français, Karl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, Heidelberg), and to U. A. Canell, the first editor of Arnaut . . . and lastly to René Lavaud for his new Tolosan edition. (Inst 295)

And:

En Arnaut was the best artist among the Provençals, trying the speech in new fashions, and bringing new words into writing . . . so that he taught much to Messire Dante Alighieri as you will see if you study En Arnaut and the "De Vulgari Eloquio"; and when Dante was older and had well thought the thing over he said simply, "il miglior fabbro." (289)

And at the university which I attend, Instigations had been checked out eight times since 1922 before I came across it in the spring of 1989. It sat, unread, for 29 years before that. The essay, "Arnaut Daniel," was reprinted in Literary Essays in 1956. Literary Essays had been checked out nineteen times since 1957. It sat, unread, for eight years before I "laid my hand" on it. PN511.P625 is its "shelf" number, as opposed to 71 R superiore.²⁶ I do not know if any future Pope, with or without the manners of "Mr. Joyce's," works in the library. The call number for Instigations is PN771.P7. Pardon, now, the coffee stains.

In that library you may find, also, a book by one Francis Hueffer: The Troubadours: A History of Provençal Life and literature in the Middle Ages. London, 1878. The "first book in English," Kenner tells us, on the inventors of "Provençal forms" (Era 78). PC.3304H8:

But another far more lasting monument has been erected to Arnaut in the immortal lines of the 'Purgatorio,' where Guido Guinicelli, in answer to Dante's enthusiastic praise of his poetry, points to another shade, and

'O frate, disse, questi ch' io ti scerno
 Col dito (ad additoò uno spirto innanzi)
 Fu miglior fabbro del parlar materno.
 Versi d' amor e prose di romanzi
 Soverchiò tutti . . .

Canto xxvi., verses 115-119

'O brother,' cried he, pointing with his hand,
 'This spirit whom I show far better knew
 To weld the language of his native land.
 In lays of love and in romances too
 He bore the palm.' . . .

(CAYLEY'S translation.)

This artful 'smith of his mother-tongue' is our troubadour, who when addressed, replies in pure Provençal, a language evidently quite familiar to Dante. . . . (46)

Pound was off to Giessen to visit Francis Hueffer's son (the letter to Dorothy ended: "--My address after Aug. 1st. is c/o F.M. Hueffer, 15 Friedrichs Strasse, Giessen, a/L. Germany"), for Ford Maddox Hueffer wished Pound to act as his secretary (Carpenter 160). While there Pound showed Hueffer Canzoni and later related the following well-known story (it helps if one has seen a picture of the rather rotund Mr. Hueffer):

And he felt the errors of contemporary style to the point of rolling (physically, and if you look at it as mere superficial snob, ridiculously) on the floor of his temporary quarters in Giessen when my third volume displayed me trapped, fly-papered, gummed and strapped down in a jejune provincial effort to learn, mehercule, the stilted language that then passed for 'good English' in the arthritic milieu that held control of the respected British critical circles. . . .

And that roll saved me at least two years, perhaps more. It sent me back to my own proper effort, namely, toward using the living tongue. (Spr 462)

And soon he was no longer saying things like "There are few fallacies more common than the opinion that poetry should mimic the daily speech," although even that statement was made after Ford's dramatic lesson. It took time to realize what he knew all along. He had read Catullus. He had read Daniel. He had read Cavalcanti. He had read a book by a man named Dante entitled "Literature in the Vernacular," De Vulgari Eloquentia. PQ4315.6.H6 1929.

Chapter X

A retrospect (print in **bold** is from Hilda Doolittle, End to Torment):

Friday

March 7, 1958

Snow on his beard. But he had no beard, then.
Snow blows down from pine branches, dry powder on
the red gold. "I make five friends for my hair,
for one for myself."

Or did he wear a soft hat, a cap pulled down
over his eyes? A mask, a disguise? His eyes are
his least impressive feature. But am I wrong?
They seem small; color? Pebble green? Surely not
an insignificant feature. Gothic, as they call
it, the moonlight drifts through these etched
trees. Cold? (3)

Pound saw, on his 1911 trip to New York, an apartment house which he called "a fine spirit of experiment at work" (PM 18). The apartment house was apparently west of Central Park, and there someone had "stuck on the façade of a Gothic cathedral. The result is bad," he said, "but the spirit which tries this sort of thing is bound to win through to some better ending" (18). Hilda Doolittle remembers a "Gothic" sort of evening, in 1905, moonlight drifting "through these etched trees." Did he wear a mask? A disguise? Hilda lived in Upper Darby. Her father was a professor of astronomy at the University of Pennsylvania. They met, Hilda Doolittle and Ezra Pound, at a Halloween party in 1901. Pound was wearing a green robe. "He said it was not Chinese. . . . It went with Ezra who had Gozzoli

bronze-gold hair and the coat caught up with his hair and odd eyes" (H. D., qtd. in Wilhelm, American Roots 102).²⁷ She was 15 and he 16. Odd eyes: "darker than pervanche? / Pale sea-green, I saw eyes once . . ." (C97 676), "green of the mountain pool / shone from the unmasked eyes in half-mask's space" (C81 520). Surely not an insignificant feature, "unmasked eyes in half-mask's space." Or did he wear a mask? A disguise?

He gave her books:

He brought me volumes of Ibsen and of Bernard Shaw. He brought me Whistler's Ten O'Clock. He scratched a gadfly, in imitation of Whistler's butterfly [the butterfly with which Whistler signed his paintings] as a sort of signature in his books at that time. He was a composite James McNeill Whistler, Peer Gynt and the victorious and defeated heroes of the William Morris poems and stories. He read me "The Haystack in the Floods" with passionate emotion.

He brought me the Portland, Maine, Thomas Mosher reprint of the Iseult and Tristram story.^[28] He called me Is-hilda and wrote a sonnet a day; he bound them in a parchment folder. . . . (23)

He called her Dryad. He called the book "Hilda's Book"--(13.7 cm. x 10.5 cm.)--

hand-bound and sewn in vellum, of 57 leaves (first leaf handwritten on vellum), with vellum closures. Due to heat or water damage, the first (vellum) leaf has fused to the paper leaf behind it (partially obscuring the poem beginning, "I strove to make a little book," which has been deciphered with the help of another manuscript in the Pound Archive . . .) The last paper leaf has also fused to the back vellum. The title, "Hilda's Book," is handwritten in black ink, in ornamental script, on the front cover. . . . All but two of the poems are typed, with a blue ribbon. . . . (Michael King, "Hilda's Book" 67)

Heat. Or, water damage. He gave her a ring in 1905 and they were engaged. Her parents disapproved. He left for Wabash. He returned:

"What is it?" "I found her in the snow, when I went to post a letter. She was stranded from a traveling variety company. She had no where to go. I asked her to my room. She slept in my bed. I slept on the floor." **"What is it? There is more to it than that. . . ."** A clergyman, a cousin of my mother's, had told her--**"What what? what?"**

"They say in Wyncote that I am bi-sexual and given to unnatural lust." I did not understand the words. Nowadays [1958] any sophisticated teenager would laugh at them. But this is--1906? 1907?

"You must come away with me, Dryad." "How can I? How can I?" His father would scrape up enough for him to live on. I had nothing. "Anyway," an old school friend confided, as if to cheer me up, "they say that he was engaged to Mary Moore, anyhow. Bessie Elliot could have had him for the asking. There was Louise Skidmore, before that." What is it? What is it? The engagement, such as it was, was shattered like a Venetian glass goblet, flung on the floor. (15)

Ezra left. He went to London. Hilda became romantically involved with Frances Gregg, a childhood girl friend who **"filled the gap in my Philadelphia life after Ezra was gone, after our 'engagement' was broken"** (8), **"like a blue flame,"** she said (8). Ezra returned. He and Hilda renewed their engagement. Ezra went back to London. He persuaded her to follow. She did. She traveled to France in the spring of 1911 with Frances and Mrs. Gregg, Hilda holding Frances tight while they hid in an empty lifeboat so that Mrs. Gregg could not see. In Paris, Hilda met Walter Rummel. She heard him play piano the summer

before at Swarthmore, at the summer home of Ezra's parents. This summer, she fought with Mrs. Gregg over Frances, Hilda being accused of destroying Frances' morals. She was, therefore, anxious to get to London. She arrived there by October 6 and took an apartment at 8 Duchess Street. Ezra escorted her about town and followed this with kisses. He and Walter Rummel took a house together:

"What did you feel when this--this Walter told you that?" "Look--it's impossible to say. I felt bleak, a chasm opened--." "But you said you loved this girl, this Frances--and you were going around with Richard--." "I don't know what I felt. . . . His name was Walter Morse Rummel. His father was a German [his grandfather: "the Morse-Code Morse"²⁹]. . . .

"You mean, Ezra told people that you were engaged to him?" "I don't know--only Walter said, 'I think I ought to tell you, though I promised Mrs. Shakespear not to,--don't let her know or anyone. But there is an understanding. Ezra is to marry Dorothy Shakespear. He shouldn't tell other people or imply to other people that he--that you--.'" "Did you speak to Ezra about this?" "No."

"What exactly did he say to people?" "O--I don't know. . . .[sic]" (18)

Heat. Or water damage. Hilda met Richard Aldington in 1912, the same year Frances again turned up in London, now married to Louis Wilkinson, the best friend of the man Frances really loved, Llewelyn Powys, brother of John and Theodore, but Llewelyn suffered from tuberculosis. Hilda married Aldington on October 18, 1913. He left her, after affairs on both sides and the birth of H. D.'s daughter by another man, in 1919. Frances and Wilkinson separated by 1925. In the early thirties Frances was living in poverty

in a wooden bungalow on the beach at Plymouth (England). Her daughter and son lived with her. Her mother lived in a hut behind her. Hilda sent Frances a few of her books. Frances thanked her for the works and said she was now living with John Cowpers Powys, the English novelist and critic and brother of Llewelyn, and was happy.

Heat. Or water damage. Plymouth was bombed by the Nazi's in 1941. Frances Gregg's house took a direct hit, the only house in that section of Plymouth to do so. Frances, her daughter, and her mother were killed. Neighbors laid flags over the empty hole where the bungalow once was. "Hilda's Book" was found in or near that hole. It sustained some sort of heat or water damage:³⁰

I strove a little book to make for her,
 Quaint bound, as 'twere in parchment very old,
 That all my dearest words of her should hold,
 Wherein I speak of mystic wings that whirr
 Above me when within my soul do stir
 Strange holy longings
 That may not be told. . . .

(Pound, "Hilda's Book," End to Torment 69)

Immensely sophisticated, immensely superior, immensely rough-and ready, a product not like any of the brothers and brothers' friends--and boys we danced with (and he danced badly). One would dance with him for what he might say. It didn't matter with a lot of people around. Here, in the winter woods, it seemed significant.

It seemed at the same time, infinitely trivial--was he showing off? Why must he say it? He said, "She said, 'Have you ever kissed a girl before?' I said, 'Never under the Rock of Gibraltar.'"

No need, then to ask the question. First kisses? In the woods, in the winter--what did one expect? Not this. Electric, magnetic, they do not so much warm, they magnetize, vitalize. We need never go back. Lie down under the trees. Die here. We are past feeling cold; isn't that the first symptom of rigor mortis? (3-4)

One would dance with him for what he might say. It didn't matter with a lot of people around. Here, it seemed significant--was he showing off? Why must he say it? "What exactly did he say to people?" O--I don't . . . He said:

The Tree

I stood still and was a tree amid the wood,
 Knowing the truth of things unseen before;
 Of Daphne and the laurel bow
 And that god-feasting couple old
 That grew elm-oak amid the wold
 'Twas not until the gods had been
 Kindly entreated and been brought within
 Unto the hearth of their hearts' home
 That they might do this wonder thing;
 Naethless I have been a tree amid the wood
 And many new things understood
 That were rank folly to my head before. (Per 3)

Chapter XI

Pound, as a student of the troubadours, wrote in 1912 that he believed "a certain number of people in Provence developed their own unofficial mysticism" ("Psy & T" 91). These "servants of Amor," those who were literate and knew music, "had been taught in the monasteries" (91). Therefore they were familiar with the "Visions and the doctrines of the early Fathers." They were, however, not "troubled" with the "'dark night of the soul,' and the kindred incommodities of ascetic yoga" (91).

This "unofficial mysticism" was based on a troubadour's own experience, Pound said. This experience was one of those things "about which he [the troubadour] had, for some reason or other, a reticence." The expression of this experience can be found, "not so much in the words" of a poem--"which anyone can read--but in the subtle joints of the craft." And here Pound makes a claim for the "craftsman" over, say, your average reader, for he says that the truth of the experience is only able to be read in those "subtle joints" which are "perceptible only to the craftsman" (my emphasis) (88). Or, Pound further explains, there are two schools of poetry. The first school is that which always has "the popular ear" and is that school which desires poetry to be simple enough that the meaning is perceptible on a first reading. The second

school, however, and within which Pound places Dante and Arnaut Daniel, produces canzoni that are (and we might remember this phrase as one of Mr. Kenner's favorites [see above 168]) the "good art as the high mass is good art" and must be "conceived and approached as ritual" (89). Again, only those "who are already expert" will understand the meaning, those who have experienced something similar:

I believe in a sort of permanent basis in humanity, that is to say, I believe that Greek myth arose when someone having passed through delightful psychic experience tried to communicate it to others and found it necessary to screen himself from persecution. Speaking aesthetically, the myths are explications of mood: you may stop there, or you may probe deeper. Certain it is that these myths are only intelligible in a vivid and glittering sense to those people to whom they occur. (92)

And artists, "the antennae of the race" (LE 58),³¹ would be those to perceive such things first, and their art, then, will "give us a great percentage of the lasting and unassailable data regarding the nature of man, of immaterial man, of man considered as a thinking and sentient creature" (LE 42). Poetry, therefore, "is a sort of inspired mathematics, which gives us equations, not for abstract figures, triangles, spheres . . . but equations for the emotions" (SR 5). But at the same time, the artist must protect himself from those who do not understand. Tuscan poetry, for example, Pound said, was "of a time when the seeing of visions was respectable" and the poet took "delight in definite portrayal of his vision" (SR 92). And

in Dante, it might be remembered, it was "the faculty of vision" which Pound praised: Dante's precision in reproducing "exactly the thing which has been clearly seen" (114). Pound adds, however, that "there are some who can not or will not understand" (114), those, possibly, who follow the school of poetry that desires meaning to be found directly in the words, "which anyone may read" (again, my emphasis), anyone who is not a craftsman, or who, then, is "not properly 'sacerdos'" ("Psy & T" 95):

The first myths arose when a man walked sheer into 'nonsense', that is to say, when some very vivid and undeniable adventure befell him, and he told someone else who called him a liar. Thereupon, after bitter experience, perceiving that no one could understand what he meant when he said that he 'turned into a tree' he made a myth--a work of art that is--an impersonal or objective story woven out of his own emotion, as the nearest equation that he was capable of. . . . (LE 431)

Pound, at the beginning of "Psychology and the Troubadours," says: "The 'chivalric love,' was, as I understand it, an art, that is to say, a religion. The writers of 'trobar clus'³² did not seek obscurity for the sake of obscurity" (87). He was not the first to feel that the poetry was obscure for the sake of something other than this. He was not the first to feel that it was poetry for those who read "the crannies perceptible only to the craftsman." Perhaps he was not the first to feel that art was a type of religion. There was, after all, Walter Pater, who in the conclusion to The Renaissance, on page 239, not

only speaks of "love of art for its own sake" (a statement that was, as F. C. McGrath has written, taken rather out of context by those who ignored "Pater's own emphasis on the moments' sake" [The Sensible Spirit 106]), but also states the following in his first chapter: "The central love-poetry of Provence, the poetry of the Tenson and the Aubade, of Bernard de Ventadour and Pierre Vidal, is poetry for the few, for the elect and peculiar people of the kingdom of sentiment" (16-17).

Pound, on his part, takes his evidence from, and likens the work of art woven out of the poet's own emotion to, the "mantle of indigo" spoken of in a passage in Arnaut Daniel's twelfth canzone, "Doutz brais e critz," in which Daniel speaks of his lady as having "made me a shield, extending over me her fair mantle of indigo, so that the slanderers might not see this" ("Psy & T" 89). Pound says that this passage implies "a visionary significance." The evidence rests, he admits, "on a very narrow base," but he also argues that one should consider, "in following the visionary interpretation," the climate of Provence, the "sensitive temper" of Arnaut, and what poetry was to become in Guinicelli, Guido Cavalcanti, and Dante (90). Pound cites especially "Ballata V" of Cavalcanti which has the ending "Vedrai la sua virtù nel ciel salita."

In his "Introduction" to Sonnets and Ballate (Anderson, Pound's Cavalcanti 11-20), Pound once again

speaks of virtù: "Virtute, 'virtue,' 'potency'" which would require, he says "a separate treatise," but adds that Pater beforehand defined virtù in the preface to The Renaissance (12). In his preface, Pater says (using Wordsworth as a model):

"The heat of his genius . . . has crystallised a part of it [Wordsworth's work], . . . depositing a fine crystal here or there . . . [where] we can trace the action of his unique, incommunicable faculty, that strange, mystical sense of a life in natural things, and of man's life as a part of nature. . . . Well! that is the virtue. . . . (Renaissance xxi)

But in a line such as "Verdrai la sua virtù nel ciel salita," Pound says, "La virtù is the potency, the efficient property of a substance or person" which "modern science and modern mysticism are both set to confirm" ("Introduction" 13). Pound explains that in the Ptolemaic system the heavens were clear concentric spheres, "each one endowed with its virtue, its property for affecting man and destiny" (13). He translates "Verdrai la sua virtù nel ciel salita" as "'Thou shalt see the rays of this emanation going up to heaven as a slender light.'" Or,

returning and correlating this line with the first stanza of the ballata, one subtle body issues from the lips of the lady, from that a subtler body, and from that a body of pure flame, "the star," in which is heard the voice. (13n5)

This "ecstasy," Pound says, is derived from the "contemplation of the flowing" and he equates this flowing with the "positive and negative" of sex, like that of the

positive and negative of two charged electric "poles," spark leaping across an arc, or as the telegraph, "a charged surface--produced in cognate manner--attracting to it, or registering movements in the invisible aether" ("Psy & T" 93):

First kisses? In the woods, in the winter--what did one expect? Not this. Electric, magnetic, they do not so much warm, they magnetize, vitalize. We need never go back. Lie down under the trees. Die here. We are past feeling cold; isn't that the first symptom of rigor mortis? (4)

There are "two paths" to this ecstasy, this realization "that man has in him both 'sun' and 'moon,'" the "greater" cosmos corresponding to the "little cosmos," he said (94). The first path is that of the ascetic monk who develops "at infinite trouble and expense, the secondary pole within himself," the "charged surface which registers the beauties" by "'contemplation.'" In the second path, the "charged surface is produced between the predominant natural poles of two human mechanisms," that is, "Sex is . . . of a double function and purpose, reproductive and educational" (94). Sex-as-education is a well-known theme in The Cantos, as oft-demonstrated by the quotation of the following from Canto XLVII, a canto in which Odysseus, after having taken Molu to protect himself, lies with Circe and thereby learns what he must first do to return home:

This sound came in the dark

First must thou go the road

to hell

And the bower of Ceres' daughter Prosperine,
 Through overhanging dark, to see Tiresias,
 Eyeless that was, a shade, that is in hell
 So full of knowing that the beefy men know less than he,
 Ere thou come to thy road's end.

Knowledge the shade of a shade,
 Yet thou must sail after knowledge

.....

Hast thou found a nest softer than cunnus
 Or hast thou found better rest
 Hast'ou a deeper planting, doth thy death year
 Bring swifter shoot?
 Hast thou entered more deeply the mountain?

The light has entered the cave. Io! Io!
 The light has gone down into the cave,
 Splendour on Splendour!

By prong have I entered these hills:
 That the grass grow from my body,
 That I hear the roots speaking together,
 The air is new on my leaf,
 The forked boughs shake with the wind.

Is Zephyrus more light on the bough, Apeliota
 more light on the almond branch? (C47 236-238)

Pound thought there was a type of asceticism practiced along the "chivalric" path to ecstasy, a type of asceticism "more subtle than that of the celibate ascetics," an asceticism for the "purgation of the soul by a refinement of, and lordship over, the senses" (90), some type of "delay" to increase "the psychic function" (97), whereby the "servants of Amor" came upon "nothing so apparently morbid as the 'dark night,'" but, "the living conditions of Provence gave the necessary restraint" to produce a "tension sufficient for the results" (97). The result was "the vision gained without machination" from "the 'natural course of events,' the exalted moment, the vision unsought" (97), that ecstasy that "is not a whirl or a madness of the senses, but a glow arising from the exact nature of the perception" (91):

An art is vital only so long as it is interpretive, so long, that is, as it manifests something which the artist perceives at greater intensity, and more intimately, than his public. If he be the seeing man among the sightless, they will attend to him only so long as his statements seem, or are proven, true. . . .

The interpretive function is the highest honor of the arts, and because it is so we find that a sort of hyper-scientific precision is the touchstone and assay of the artist's power. . . .

If we apply this test, first, as to the interpretive intention on the part of the artist, second, as to the exactness of presentation, we shall find that the Divina Commedia is a single elaborated metaphor of life ; it is an accumulation of fine discriminations arranged in orderly sequence. . . . (87-89)

Recall that Pound considered Dante's intellect to have been "guided by classic learning, mystic theology, and the beneficent powers," so that "men's inner selves stand visibly before the eyes of Dante's intellect," and Dante's descriptions are of "men's mental states in life" (SR 117). For Pound, who felt it impossible to "follow the Dantesquan cosmos in an age of experiment" (Hall 49), the talk of the gods, too, reflected "men's mental states in life," as he said in "Religio: or, The Child's Guide to Knowledge":

What is a god?

A god is an eternal state of mind.

What is a faun?

A faun is an elemental creature.

What is a nymph?

A nymph is an elemental creature.

When is a god manifest?

When the states of mind take form.

When does a man become a god?

When he enters one of these states of mind.

.

Are all eternal states of mind gods?

We consider them to be so.

.

In what manner do gods appear?

Formed and formlessly.

To what do they appear when formed?

To the sense of vision.

And when formless?

To the sense of knowledge. . . . (SPr 47-48)

It was the function of the artist, "the seeing man among the sightless," to keep these eternal states of mind, the gods, as it were, alive in a society wanting meaning perceptible on a first reading. Pound, in a note to "Guillame de Lorris Belated: A Vision of Italy," a poem in

his Personae of 1909 (a book dedicated to Mary Moore, one of his "fianceés"), cites Richard of St. Victor's Benjamin Minor and Richard's discourse "On the preparation of the soul for contemplation," in which, Pound said, Richard states that the mind in contemplation:

radiates from a centre, that is, as from the sun it reaches out in an infinite number of ways to things that are related to or dependent on it.

The words above are my own, as I have not the Benjamin Minor by me.

Following St. Victor's figure of radiation: Poetry in its acme is expression from contemplation. (CEP 99)

Contemplation for Pound, up until the time he wrote "Psychology and Troubadours" in 1912 at any rate, and most likely the rest of his life, meant being in touch with "the vital universe," that which is "about" us: "the universe of fluid force, and below us the germinal universe of wood alive, of stone alive" (92). Poetry from contemplation could prepare the way for the gods to once more appear, although in a tentative manner:

The Return

SEE, they return; ah, see the tentative

Movements, and the slow feet,

The trouble in the pace and the uncertain

Wavering!

See, they return, one, and by one,

With fear, as half-awakened;

As if the snow should hesitate

Chapter XII

There are very few left who know what he looked like then. There is a hint of a young, more robust Ignace Paderewski [33] or even the tawny Swinburne, if his frail body had ever reached maturity. But this young (already) iconoclast is rougher, tougher than the Polish poet or the border bard. It is whispered among us that he "writes," but he has not spoken of this to me yet. "Where are you? Come back--," is shouted by the crowd above on the icy toboggan-run. "Shout back," I say, and he gives a parody of a raucous yodel, then "Haie! Haie! Io," (you have read this in his poems). He seems instinctively to have snapped back into everyday existence. He drags me out of the shadows. (4)

Did he wear a mask, then? A disguise? We can say yes to this question, but a persona can be used for more than a shield from "Los deshauzitz" ("Those vile unelect").³⁴ As Thomas H. Jackson, in The Early Poetry of Ezra Pound, has said, "the line between the outcast and the seer is faint" (66) and says: "Poet as Christ is the obvious analogue," for Pound's use of masks is also "strangely like a religious discipline, on behalf of art and mankind," a "self-immolation" of which "the persona is the emblem and device" (68). Peter Makin has remarked that "Nineteenth-century America hungered after vicarious glory and the glamorous deed" as a substitute for the life "repressed in the name of wealth" (Provence 9). Pound was not immune to the attraction of "Glamour and Politics" inherent in the troubadour vidas (9). He, too, as Makin has said elsewhere,³⁵ had something to escape, what Hugh

Kenner has called "a comfortable culture of fervid blankness" ("Ezra Pound" 205):

At a certain point the raison d'être for the whole economic structure was the Sunday-afternoon tea and chat, this being the ideal end of the consumer chain: for the heavy industry fed light industry, that ultimately some might sit among the latter's products and chat, and that others might aspire to. (Makin, Cantos 1-2)

But a different type of "economic structure" was what Pound desired. The "Pound Industry"³⁶ would be based on virtù. He would apply his own "industry" in recovering the virtùs of the masters of old, recover them for the present, and in doing so he would find his own. Kenner often speaks of Pound bringing "blood for the ghosts" so the dead might be able to say all they "wanted to say" ("Ezra Pound" 233; "Blood for the Ghosts" 331-348). It also brings us into that type of economy Lewis Hyde speaks of as "the commerce of the creative spirit," a commerce Pound's "creative life was animated by" where "'tradition' appears as both the source and ultimate repository of his gifts" (147). Marianne Korn has also discussed Pound's reproduction of "the virtù of the persona of the poet, Bertran de Born," especially in "Sestina: Altaforte" where Pound says "Judge ye! Have I dug him up again?" (Per 28; Korn 21). This act was, Korn says, a "critical activity, in that it involved a large degree of precise analytical awareness as well as the ability to express that perception" (21). Her use of the word "reproduction" is particularly apropos to Pound and his

conception of a poet's genius. Pound, in Gaudier-Brzeska, tells us there are "two ways of thinking of man":

firstly, you may think of him as that toward which perception moves, as the toy of circumstance, as plastic substance receiving impressions; secondly, you may think of him as directing a certain fluid force against circumstance, as conceiving instead of merely reflecting and observing. (89)

Thus the virtù can be seen as that "fluid force" directed against circumstance, the artist conceiving meaning, rather than "merely reflecting" (See also Korn 23). N. Christoph de Nagy likewise observes that Pound's "'personae' . . . function as a loudspeaker that reinforces Pound's own voice" ("Pound and Browning" 124). As Pound himself elsewhere said in Gaudier-Brzeska:

In the "search for oneself," in the search for "sincere self-expression," one gropes, one finds some seeming verity. One says "I am" this, that, or the other, and with the words scarcely uttered one ceases to be that thing.

I began this search for the real in a book called Personae, casting off, as it were, complete masks of the self in each poem. I continued in long series of translations, which were but more elaborate masks. (85)

This prompts Charles Tomlinson to see "an active rôle for the poet: what is projected into the self calls for an answering effort of the self to embody and utter its discovery. The dead must rise again in the poetry" (Poetry 53-54). In this way, then, Pound practices the "religious discipline" of a type of "self-immolation" which Jackson says was in the service of art, but it also allows

Here a word kiss!

Pass I on

Unto Lady "Miels-de-Ben,"

Having praised thy girdle's scope

How the stays ply back from it;

I breathe no hope

That thou shouldst . . .

Nay no whit

Bespeak thyself for anything.

Just a word in thy praise, girl,

Just for the swirl

Thy satins make upon the stair,

'Cause never a flaw was there

Where thy torse and limbs are met

Though thou hate me, read it set

In rose and gold¹

Or when the minstrel, tale half told,

Shall burst to liltng at the praise

"Audiart, Audiart" . . .

Bertrans, master of his lays,

Bertrans of Aultaforte thy praise

Sets forth, and though thou hate me well,

Yea though thou wish me ill,

Audiart, Audiart.

Thy livliness is here writ till,

Audiart,

Oh, till thou come again.²

And being bent and wrinkled, in a form
 That hath no perfect limning, when the warm
 Youth dew is cold
 Upon thy hands, and thy old soul
 Scorning a new, wry'd casement,
 Churlish at seemed misplacement,
 Finds the earth as bitter
 As now seems it sweet,
 Being so young and fair
 As then young and wry'd,
 Broken of ancient pride,
 Thou shalt then soften,
 Knowing, I know not how,
 Thou wert once she

Audiart, Audiart

For whose fairness one forgave

Audiart,

Audiart

Que be-m vols mal.

[Though thou wish me ill]

¹ I.e. in illumed manuscript.

² Reincarnate

[ellipses and notes are Pound's] (Per 8-9)

In Bertran's own poem, as Peter Makin has explained, and as in the original story which can be found in Francis Hueffer's "Seige of Autafort.--Bertran's Death" in The Troubadours (208-210), Bertran has had a quarrel with the Lady Maenz after having written songs in praise of another lady, whereby Lady Maenz "angrily discarded her lover" (Hueffer 208). Therefore Bertran travels the country seeking out the most beautiful women and borrowing from each "her greatest charm (metaphorically it must be understood)" (208). In the original poem, Bertran states that he will go on begging these charms "to make a borrowed lady / until I get you back" (Makin, Provence 15). In the biography of Bertran, it is said that he does, indeed, win his lady back, albeit with the help of another lady who intercedes and patches things up for Bertran after Lady Maenz's heart was unmoved by the poem "flattering alike to the divers ladies whose beauties are commemorated, and to the one who in her being concentrates and surpasses the charms of all others" (Hueffer 209-210).

Makin tells, however, that Pound, on the basis of "Que be-m vols mal," on the basis of this small "germ," transforms Bertran's poem into one which implies a complete rejection of Bertran by Lady Maenz, but in doing so, Pound was following the tradition of the authors of the vidas and razos Pound used: the "picking up of stimuli from semantic trivialities and misreadings to augment the imaginative part

of a re-creation" (Provence 13). Thus Pound's own voice comes through in the poem, even to the extent that he places into the poem the theme of reincarnation. According to Makin:

In Na Audiart Pound's Bertran intimates that since the lady is using her bodily privileges with arrogance she will come to a sticky transmigration. At the moment when she is speaking, she 'fits' her Platonic form perfectly. According to the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the shape in which one will be reincarnated depends on how one behaves in the present. . . . (Provence 13)

Thus Audiart will return "bent and wrinkled, in a form / that hath no limning" and she will find "earth as bitter / As now seems it sweet" until her pride is broken and she will somehow realize she was once "Audiart, Audiart / For whose fairness one forgave" (Per 9). And Bertran is metamorphosed into "Pound's Bertran" who speaks for Pound, Pound fashioning, Christine Froula says, "a retaliatory song" not "unworthy of Bertran" whom Dante places "in the circle of hell reserved for 'makers of discord'" (Guide 19). In the Inferno, Bertran, this "stirrer up of strife" as Pound calls him at the beginning of "Sestina: Altaforte" (Per 28), is forced to carry his severed head in punishment for the discord he roused on earth:

. . . "Behold what I have merited!

Thou who, still breathing, goest the dead to view

See if any suffer punishment as dread.

Know, that thou may'st bear tidings of me true,

Bertran de Born am I, and the Young King
 My evil promptings to rebellion drew.
 Father and son did I to quarrel bring.
 Ahitophel wrought not more on Absalom
 And David with the malice of his sting.
 Such union since I made asunder come,
 I carry alas! dissevered this my brain
 From the live marrow it fed its vigour from.
 Thus retribution's law do I maintain."

(Dante, The Divine Comedy 153; Inf 28.130-142)

Pound may have then captured perfectly Bertran's virtù, and yet Makin and Stuart McDougal tell of another difference between the original Bertran and Pound's Bertran / Pound. McDougal cites a passage from Hugh Witemeyer's The Poetry of Ezra Pound: 1908 -1920, in which, Witemeyer draws our attention to Bertran's:

His attention moves systematically downward from her bodice to her girdle and finally to "Where thy torse and limbs are met." Picking up the word 'entiera' from the Provençal . . . De Born applies it genitally: "'Cause never a flaw was there." (Witemeyer 77; McDougal, Troubadour Tradition 53-54)

McDougal says this tells us that Bertran's interest in Audiart "is that of the voyeur, rather than a lusty participant in the pleasures she could offer" (54). Bertran is content "to chronicle her beauty in the 'rose and gold' of the manuscript, and to send her a 'word kiss'!"

Pound's persona, then, "shies away from sexual contact" and prefers "instead to take refuge in art" (54).

Makin puts a slightly different twist on the interpretation, pointing out Pound's background as one "extremely desensualised" and Pound's "leanings toward the idea of chastity" (Provence 14), which we saw earlier in his views on the tension necessary to increase the "psychic function" of sex. Makin says Bertran's poem comes from a man who is able to "compare and savour" (17) women and who in the last stanza speaks of a "greedy" love "springing up / with which my body is so avid" (16), whereas Pound's product is "a Yeatsian sex-in-the-head" with Pound "elaborating an aesthetic 'moment'" leading to the "Romantic idea of 'ecstasy'" (18).

Chapter XIII

First kisses? In the woods, in the winter--what did one expect? Not this. Electric, magnetic, they do not so much warm, they magnetize, vitalize. We need never go back. Lie down under the trees. Die here. We are past feeling cold; isn't that the first symptom of rigor mortis? (3-4)

He called her Dryad. That was her virtù as he perceived it. Webster's says: "dry ad, Dry ad, n. [L. dryas (-adis); Gr. dryas (-ados) a wood nymph, from drys, a tree.] in Greek mythology, a nymph living in a tree; a wood nymph (Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary 1983 ed.)

But as Pound said, in 1918, "The undeniable tradition of metamorphosis teaches us that things do not remain always the same. They become other things by swift and unanalysable process" (LE 431). What exactly did he say to people? "O--I don't know. . . ." Drifting. Drifting. He said (in 1911):

As to twentieth century poetry, and the poetry which I expect to see written during the next decade or so, it will, I think, move against poppy-cock, it will be harder and saner, it will be what Mr. Hewlett calls 'nearer the bone'. It will be as much like granite as it can be, its force will lie in its truth, its interpretative power (of course, poetic force does always rest there); I mean it will not try to seem forcible by rhetorical din, and luxurious riot. We will have fewer painted adjectives impeding the shock and stroke of it. At least for myself, I want it so, austere, direct, free from emotional slither. (LE 12)

He said:

Good art never bores one. By that I mean that it is the business of the artist to prevent ennui; in the literary art, to relieve, refresh, revive the mind of the reader--at reasonable intervals--with some form of ecstasy, by some splendour of thought, some presentation of sheer beauty, some lightning turn of phrase--for laughter, especially laughter of the mind, is no mean form of ecstasy. (SR vii)

Things do not always remain the same. "They become other things by swift and unanalysable process":

Some sort of rigor mortis. I am frozen in this moment.

Perhaps I held it all my life, it is what they called my "imagery"; even now, they speak of "verse so chiselled as to seem lapidary," and they say, "She crystallizes--that is the right word." This moment must wait 50 years for the right word.

Perhaps he had said it; perhaps in the frost of our mingled breath, the word was written. (3)

Drifting.

Drifting. Meeting with him alone or with others at the Museum tea room. We all read in the British Museum tea room. Dark walls and statues that looked dingy. Frances had gone home. I could wait till my parents came. My father, at 70, had retired from the University. My mother wrote, "We could meet in Genoa." I had my own allowance now. Drifting? "But Dryad," (in the Museum tea room), "this is poetry." He slashed with a pencil. "Cut this out, shorten this line. 'Hermes of the Ways' is a good title. I'll send this to Harriet Monroe of Poetry. Have you a copy? Yes? Then we can send this, or I'll type it when I get back. Will this do?" And he scrawled "H.D. Imagist" at the bottom of the page. (18)

Or did he wear a soft hat, a cap pulled down over his eyes? A mask, a disguise? His eyes are his least impressive feature. But am I wrong? They seem small; color? It is whispered among us that he writes . . .

Adams, John, second president of the United States.
 Adkins, M.D., pseud.
 Aeschylus, Greek tragic poet.
 An American, pseud.
 Agassiz, (Jean) Louis (Rodolphe), American naturalist, b. in Sweden.
 Albigensians, various, "they called us Manicheans / Wotever the hellsarse that is."
 Anselm, Saint.
 Apollo, Greek god, son of Zeus and Leto, brother of Artemis.
 Apollonius of Tyana, first century Pythagorean mystic.
 Atheling, William, pseud.
 B., H., pseud.
 B., J., pseud.
 B., N., pseud.
 B., R. A., pseud.
 B., V., pseud.
 Bacon, Francis ("Baldy"), shifty money-man.

Bertran, Born de, Provençal jongleur.
 Binyon, Laurence, English poet, playwright, and critic.
 Bloom, Leopold, Greek king, warrior, adventurer, carpenter,
 shipwright, and farmer.
 Botticelli, Sandro, Italian painter.
 Brisco, Herbert, pseud.
 Browning, Robert, English poet.
 Catullus, Gaius Valerius, Roman lyric poet.
 Cavalcanti, Guido, Tuscan poet.
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, English poet.
 Coleridge, S. T., English poet.
 Confucius, Chinese philosopher.
 "Cretan," Georgio Dartona, Renaissance interpreter.
 Daniel, Arnaut, "il miglior fabbro."
 Dante Alighieri, Italian poet.
 Dias, B. H., pseud.
 Dionysis, Greek god, son of Zeus and god of the vine.
 Divas, Andreas, translator of The Odyssey.
 E. P., poet, "wrong from the start."
 Eliot, T. S., English poet, "Reverend."
 Erigena, John Scotus, Scottish philosopher, b. in Ireland.
 Exton, Thayer, pseud.
 Fenollosa, Ernest Francisco, American sinologist and
 transcendentalist.
 Ferrex, pseud.
 Frobenius, Leo, German anthropologist.
 Foster, J[ohn], T., pseud.
 Francesco d'Assisi, Saint.
 Gourmount, Rémy de, French man of letters.
 Grosseteste, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, English theologian,
 and light philosopher.
 Hall, John, pseud.
 Hawkins, Henry, pseud?
 Hermes, the messenger of the gods.
 Hesiod, Greek didactic poet, farmer.
 Homer, Greek epic poet.
 Horace, Latin poet.
 J., D. E., pseud.
 James, W., pseud.
 Janus, Hiram, pseud.
 Jefferson, Thomas, third U.S. president and farmer.
 L., B., pseud.
 L., J., pseud.
 Larkin, Melvin, pseud.
 Levy, Prof. Emil, Provençal scholar.
 Llewmys, Weston, pseud.
 Li Po, Chinese poet.
 M., M., pseud?.
 McC., T., pseud.
 Mailla, Père de Moyriac de, French Jesuit missionary and
 translator.

Malatesta, Sigismundo, Renaissance condotiere.
 Mauberley, Hugh Selwyn, English [?] aesthete and poet.
 Mencius, Chinese philosopher.
 Mussolini, Benito (Il Duce), Italian Fascist leader;
 premier, and dictator (1922-43); executed.
 Nemo, pseud.
 Odysseus, wandering Irish Jew.
 Old Glory, pseud.
 Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso), Roman poet.
 Plethon, Gemisthus, Neoplatonist.
 Plotinus, Egyptian Neoplatonist.
 Poictiers, Guillaume de, "the first troubadour."
 Pound, Ezra, American.
 Pound, Ezra, American poet and critic.
 Pound, Ezra, Anti-Semite [?].
 Pound, Ezra, economist [?].
 Pound, Ezra, Fascist [?].
 Pound, Ezra, "Grandpa"
 Pound, Ezra, historian [?].
 Pound, Ezra, "il miglior fabbro."
 Pound, Ezra, Imagist [?].
 Pound, Ezra, Insane [?].
 Pound, Ezra, Saint [?].
 Pound, Ezra, Satyr [?].
 Pound, Ezra, Traitor [?].
 Pound, Ezra, Vorticist [?].
 Propertius, Sextus, Roman poet.
 Sanders, Abel, pseud.
 Sappho, Greek lyric poetess.
 Scriptor Ignotus, Bertold Lomax, English Dante scholar and
 mystic.
 Seafarer, The, Anglo-Saxon seafarer.
 Sordello, Provençal troubadour.
 V., J., pseud.
 V., M., pseud.
 V., T., J., pseud.
 Venison, Alf (Alfie, Alfred), pseud.
 Ventadorn, Bernart de, Provençal troubadour.
 Vignon, John, pseud.
 von Helmholtz, Baptiste, pseud.
 von Helmholtz, Bastien, pseud.
 Wanderer, The, Anglo-Saxon seaman.
 Watson, A., pseud.
 Watson, William, pseud.
 William IX of Aquitaine, troubadour.
 X. pseud?.
 X, Ezra I. Y. H., pseud.
 Yeats, William Butler, Irish poet and dramatist.
 Z., pseud. (from Gallup 457-548; Kenner, Era 593-606;
 "A Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography;" and many of these
 are of my own making, or adapted from various critical
 works)

"What did your father mean by 'I don't say there was anything wrong this time?' did he know about it? You don't say how he knew about it." "Good Lord--it's implied--there was talk. . . ."

"Was this a Quaker college? Was it far from Philadelphia?" "I don't think Quaker--Middle West somewhere--not very near--." "It must have been very hard for you in a family like that. Were you jealous of this girl he found who slept in his bed?"

"How could I be jealous of anyone who slept in his bed?" "Then you didn't--?" "Do you expect me to go into biological, pathological details?" "Yes." "But why?" Because it's interesting and because I always knew there was something you wouldn't tell me. . . ."

"Mr. Pound, I don't say there was anything wrong. . . . [sic]" Mr. Pound, it was all wrong. You turn into a Satyr, a Lynx, and the girl in your arms (Dryad, you called her), for all her fragile, not yet lost virginity, is Maenad, Bassarid. [37] God keep us from Canto LXXIX, one of the Pisan Cantos. (16-17)

Her father had told him not to come to the house so often, because of the Crawfordsville incident. He came anyway, meeting her in another wing of the house. Her father caught them curled together on a couch, although they were never caught in the "act," for the "act" never occurred. The reason? James Wilhelm explains:

Hilda was always an ideal to him. That was why in the British Museum tea room he was ecstatic when he read her verses and saw that she had a genuine talent. She had fulfilled his ideal; she had become kindred--the way a troubadour makes his beloved assume a masculine guise in order to be equal to him. That was why he named her H. D. It was a fresh baptism, meant to shut out the profane, acting like a troubadour senhal or "secret name"; and it destroyed forever the silly name of Doolittle, the appellation of her forbidding father. (American Roots 111).

Much has been written on Imagism. Questions are raised as to who "officially" began the movement, who had more influence on Pound: Ford, Hulme, Fenollosa? Herbert Schneidau's Ezra Pound: The Image and the Real, for instance. That is one place the word is written. But as Martin A. Kayman has said, "Pound hence first created 'Imagisme' by making H.D. a member of a group of which there were--as yet--no other members (unless Pound himself is to be counted)" (Modernism 53). By the time Des Imagistes was published, Pound was putting a Vorticist spin on the tenents of that non-existent group and Amy Lowell had taken control of that non-existent movement launched to get Hilda Doolittle published (See Kenner, Era 173-191).

Mr. Pound, with your magic, your "strange spells of deity," [38] why didn't you complete the metamorphosis? Pad, pad, pad, . . . come along, my Lynx. Let's get out of here. You are suffocating and I am hungry. You spoke of grapes somewhere--you were starving. (17)

H.D. Imagist.

Chapter XIV

The "earliest phases" of the Renaissance, Walter Pater wrote, "have the freshness which belongs to all periods of growth in art, the charm of ascêsis, of the austere and serious girding of the loins in youth" (The Renaissance, xxiii). As F. C. McGrath has shown, Pater thought of and used ascêsis "in the broader sense of the original Greek meaning exercise or practice in the pursuit of any goal" and it "always implied for Pater the qualities of order, restraint, discipline, and control" (The Sensible Spirit 217). McGrath cites Pater's essay "Style" in which Pater expands on his concept of "the charm of ascêsis":

Self-restraint, a skillful economy of means, ascêsis, that too has a beauty of its own; and for the reader supposed there will be an aesthetic satisfaction in that frugal closeness of style which makes the most of a word, in the exaction from every sentence of a precise relief, in the just spacing out of word to thought, in the logically filled space connected always with the delightful sense of difficulty overcome. ("Style" 17; McGrath 224)

Pater, McGrath points out, links ascêsis to the "masculine scholarly conscience" (McGrath 222), the conscience of the scholar being not unlike the sculptor's "for the material in which he works is no more a creation of his own than the sculptor's marble" ("Style" 12; McGrath 223). And like the sculptor, "in literature, too, the true artist may be best recognised by his tact of omission"

("Style" 18). Pater's "masculine scholarly conscience" may, too, be likened to Pound's view of the poet, as Charles Dekker once stated: "the poet, like the sculptor, like the male, releases the form which is immanent in his materials" (Cantos 134). Dekker made these remarks in connection with Pound's comment in his "Cavalcanti" essay in which he said:

The best Egyptian sculpture is magnificent plastic; but its force comes from a non-plastic idea, i.e. the god is inside the statue. . . . The god is inside the stone, *vacuos exercet aera morsus*. The force is arrested, but there is never any question of its latency, about the force being the essential, and the rest 'accidental' in the philosophic technical sense. The shape occurs. (LE 152)

In The Cantos it is put more succinctly:

stone knowing the form which the carver imparts it
the stone knows the form . . . (C74 430)

"For in truth," Pater said, "all art does but consist in the removal of surplusage":

from the last finish of the gem-engraver blowing away the last particle of invisible dust, back to the earliest divination of the finished work to be, lying somewhere, according to Michelangelo's fancy, in the rough-hewn block of stone. ("Style" 19-20)

Agostino di Duccio had "a gracious facility for illustration" (Franco Borsi 134). His virtù lay in his ability to carve bas-reliefs. In 1461, Hugh Kenner tells us, Agostino went to Florence, unable to find work elsewhere:

and what the Florentines wanted was big things. They commissioned a marble giant. On a huge block, fetched down from Carrara, he chisled half-heartedly, till he noticed he'd gotten one

shoulder lower than the other, and gave up. It stood around, "ruined," so one story goes, till Michelangelo saw possibilities in its assymetrical pose and extricated a "David' from Duccio's listless mess. ("Hiddenmost Wonder" 10)

For Pater, the writer who was "the martyr of literary style" was Gustave Flaubert, who strove for the "one word for the one thing," le mot juste, "the unique word, phrase, sentence, paragraph, essay, or song, absolutely proper to the single mental presentation" ("Style" 29).

One day Pound would say, "I believe no man can now write really good verse unless he knows Stendhal and Flaubert" (LE 32). But he learned this from Ford Maddox Ford, then Ford Maddox Hueffer, who had "a sense of the mot juste. The belief that poetry should be at least as well written as prose, and that 'good prose is just your conversation'":

This is out of Flaubert and Turgenev and Stendahal, and what you will. It is not invention but focus. . . . The common word is not the same as mot juste, not by a long way. (GB 115)

Flaubert made le mot juste his philosophy, as Pater tells us, that is, this "idea of a natural economy" (30). Pater quotes the following of one of Flaubert's French commentators:

There are no beautiful thoughts ([Flaubert] . . . would say) without beautiful forms, and conversely. As it is impossible to extract from a physical body the qualities which really constitute it--colour, extension, and the like, without reducing it to a hollow abstraction, in a word, without destroying it; just so it is

impossible to detach the form from the idea, for the idea only exists by virtue of the form. (30)

". . . no ideas but in things," William Carlos Williams said, "Say it, no ideas but in things" (Paterson 1.1.). Or as Pound put it: "I believe that the proper and perfect symbol is the natural object" (LE 9), for, again, "it is not until poetry lives again 'close to the thing' that it will be a vital part of contemporary art" (Spr 41).

McGrath has outlined Pater's association of the Ionic impulse in Greek art with "the centrifugal forces in culture and history," forces aligned with the Heraclitean "flux of the primal matter of human experience" (Sensible 217). McGrath shows how Pater preferred the Doric impulse which he associated with "order, harmony, sanity, self-discipline, and dignity" (218). He quotes the following from "The Marbles of Aegena"

. . . in art also the religion of Apollo was a sanction of, and an encouragement towards the true valuation of humanity, in its sanity, its proportion, its knowledge of itself. ("Marbles" 255; McGrath 219).

Pater earlier says that while Demeter and Dionysis represent the spiritual in the "grass" and the "green sap" respectively, and remain in thought "almost wholly physical," Apollo is the "'spiritual form' of sunbeams" and thus becomes the "'spiritual form' of inward or intellectual light" and:

He represents all those specially European ideas, of a reasonable, personal freedom, as

understood in Greece ; of a reasonable polity ; of the sanity of soul and body, through the cure of disease and of the sense of sin ; of the perfecting of both by reasonable exercise or ascésis ; his religion is a sort of embodied quality, its aim the realisation of fair reason and the just consideration of the truth of things everywhere. (Pater, "Marbles" 254)

Pound, too, associated Apollo with a type of ascésis similar to Pater's and Flaubert's. As he said in "I Gather the Limbs of Osiris," some people are more fortunate than others. There are those, "the unfortunate," who "move by words disconnected from the objects to which they might correspond, or more unfortunate still in blocks and clichés of words" (SPr 28). There are those, however, Pound thought, who were blessed, "some, favored of Apollo," who thought "in words that hover above and cling close to the things they mean" (28-29). Or, as we found it in Canto LII, "Call things by their names" (C 261), and as we find it in The Great Digest, and as Massimo Bacigalupo has reminded us in The Forméd Trace, Pound would choose both Demeter, the "earthy goddess," and "the god (ho Theos) of the precise definition" (430), Apollo, who:

runs thru his zodiac,

.

not in memory,

in eternity . . . (C106 752)

Or as Pound has it in his Confucius:

. . . The precise definition of the word, pictorially the sun's lance coming rest on the precise spot verbally. The righthand half of this compound means: to perfect, bring to focus. (20)

Meaning, "Sincerity":

And Kung said, and wrote on the bo leaves:

If a man have not order within him

He can not spread order about him;

And if a man have not order within him

His family will not act with due order;

And if the prince have not order within him

He can not put order in his dominions.

And Kung gave the words "order"

and "brotherly deference"

And said nothing of the "life after death."

(C13 59)

Elsewhere Pound had said: "I believe in technique as the test of a man's sincerity; in law when it is ascertainable; in the trampling down of every convention that impedes or obscures the determination of the law, or the precise rendering of the impulse (LE 9). The "laws" which should be applied to your art to prove the sincerity of your vocation as an Imagist were as follow:

1. Direct treatment of the 'thing' whether subjective or objective.
2. To use absolutely no word that does not contribute to the presentation.

3. As regarding rhythm: to compose in the sequence of the musical phrase, not in sequence of a metronome. (LE 3)

Apollo, the Doric influence, Pater said, "introduced the intelligent and spiritual human presence" ("Marbles" 256) into what McGrath calls the "bewildering, dazzling Ionic world of Greek handicraft" (219). It was the Doric which Pound found so appealing in Hilda Doolittle's "Hermes of the Ways." In October of 1912 he sent Hilda's poems to Harriet Monroe along with the following note:

I've had luck again, and am sending you some modern stuff by an American. I say modern, for it is in the laconic speech of the Imagistes, even if the subject is classic. At least H.D. has lived with these things since childhood, and knew them before she had any book knowledge of them.

This is the sort of American stuff I can show here and in Paris without its being ridiculed. Objective--no slither; direct--no excessive use of adjectives, no metaphors that won't permit examination. It's straight talk, straight as the Greek! And it was only by persistence that I got to see it all. (Let 45)

By persistence, and perhaps "as the sculptor sees the form in the air," Pound cut and slashed and created a movement "in the air" as it were:

I was 21 when Ezra left and it was some years later that he scratched "H. D. Imagiste," in London, in the Museum tea room, at the bottom of a typed sheet, now slashed with his creative pencil, "Cut this out, shorten this line."

H.D.--Hermes--Hermeticism and all the rest of it. (40)

He always wanted to start a movement, a "Renaissance." In 1913, when he began associating with the sculptor Henri Gaudier-Brzeska and the artist and writer Wyndham Lewis, he

wrote to William Carlos Williams, saying, "We are getting our little gang after five years of waiting" (Let 65). For "Imagisme" as a movement had not fulfilled his dream, perhaps because as a movement it had not really existed, as Martin A. Kayman has shown and as Hugh Kenner has intimated.³⁹ When Pound sent his note to Harriet Monroe he in effect, says Kayman, "created 'Imagisme' by making H.D. a member of a group of which there were--as yet--no other members (unless Pound himself is to be counted)" (53):

From this . . . Pound produced a 'movement' and/or a 'theory' at the level of the signifier: the word 'Imagiste' necessarily implies other 'Imagistes' and a notion of 'Imagisme'. It operates by means of the implied totalisation of a synecdoce: a partial quality of a poem is named ('imagist(ic)'), and this is inscribed in such a way ('Imagiste') as to imply another totality of an undefined plurality of writers with a common aesthetic. (53)

Even with all of Pound's talk of a "School," Kayman says, "Imagisme" at this point "is one man's made-up word for a quality in another person's poem (a poem he himself had 'corrected'), signified by a term which implies an already constituted movement and/or poetic theory" (54). Also in October of 1912, Pound published in Ripostes five of T. E. Hulme's poems, what Pound titled as "The Complete Poetical Works of T. E. Hulme With Prefatory Note" (Per 251). In the note Pound stated that he reprinted the poems "for good custom, a custom out of Tuscany and of Provence" and said: "As for the 'School of Images' which may or may

not have existed," the school's descendants, "Les Imagists," had the future "in their keeping" (Per 251). This "School," renamed by Pound, was the "Secession Club," which consisted of Hulme, Flint, Florence Farr, and Joseph Campbell. In this way, Kayman says:

Pound draws a relation between two signifiers which each appropriate an approximate reality: the Imagistes of 1912 and the 1909 Club signified as a 'School of Images'. The relation thus generated is not entirely false, but it is so inscribed at the level of the signifier so as to transform the historical object and relation. . . . The reason for doing so would appear to be the same as we have been observing throughout: to generate the illusion of a movement by means of the retrospective endowment of a patrimony. (62).

Or, in other words, by not calling things by their right name, Pound created a "movement" dedicated to doing so, although, it was not necessarily his fault that a movement so created did not actually develop into one, for as Kayman points out, the meaning of "Imagiste" was, "if Aldington is to be believed," never understood by H.D. or Aldington (54), and as Kenner says, "All the confusion about Imagism stems from the fact that its specifications for technical hygiene are one thing, and Pound's doctrine of the Image is another" (Era 186). The doctrine was this:

An 'Image' is that which presents an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time. I use the term 'complex' rather in the technical sense employed by the new psychologists, such as Hart, though we might not agree absolutely in our application.

It is the presentation of such a 'complex' instantaneously which gives that sense of sudden liberation; that sense of freedom from time limits

and space limits; that sense of sudden growth, which we experience in the presence of the greatest works of art. (LE 4)

By the time Des Imagistes, an anthology containing works by Pound, H.D., Aldington, Flint, Amy Lowell, James Joyce, and others, was published in 1914, Pound was putting a Vorticist spin on his Doctrine of the Image, and the "movement" as Kenner tells us, "was loose enough for Amy Lowell to appropriate it" (Era 178). Pound came up with the name for Vorticism, too, but both it and Amy Lowell were more palpable than Imagism as a movement had ever been. Imagism, Pound told Harriet Monroe, "was started not very seriously chiefly to get H. d.'s five poems a hearing without its being necessary for her to publish a whole 'book'" (qtd. in Kenner, Era 177).

Pound has a problem in 1915: The image being defined "as that which presents an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time," is, therefore, "real because we know it directly" (GB 86). In consequence, "Browning's 'Sordello' is one of the finest masks ever presented," but "Dante's 'Paradiso' is the most wonderful image." Pound, when he said this, did not mean that the Paradiso was an "imagistic performance," but instead, "The permanent part is Imagisme, the rest, the discourses with the calendar of saints and the discussions about the nature of the moon, are philology" (86). Pound knew Paradise existed. He had seen it at Sirmio, the "triune azures, the impalpable / Mirrors

unstill of the eternal change" (Per 39), these "triune azures" Dorothy wished for him to be enveloped by. Yet he did not know how to bring these to form. Someone once said of Flaubert:

What he believed in was Style: that is to say, a certain absolute and unique manner of expressing a thing. . . . For him the form was the work itself. As in living creatures, the blood, nourishing the body, determines its very contour and external aspect, just so, to his mind, the matter, the basis, in a work of art imposed, necessarily, the unique, the just expression, the measure, the rhythm--the form in all its characteristics. (qtd in Pater, "Style" 37)

And Pater added: "If the style be the man, in all the colour and intensity of a veritable apprehension, it will be in a real sense 'impersonal'" (37). And Pound said he "believed in an absolute rhythm":

I believe that every emotion and every phase of emotion has some toneless phrase, some rhythm-phrase to express it.

(This belief leads to vers libre and to experiments in quantitative verse.)

To hold a like belief in a sort of permanent metaphor is, as I understand it, "symbolism" in its profounder sense. It is not necessarily a belief in a permanent world, but it is a belief in that direction. (GB 84)

"The Return," Pound thought, was "an objective reality," an impersonal poem, "and that fact brings us back to what I said about absolute metaphor" (85), for "The point of Imagisme is that it does not use images as ornaments. The image is itself the speech. The image is the word beyond formulated language" (88). "(To break the pentameter, that was the first heave)" he writes in Canto

LXXXI. The problem was, then, to bring Doric order into the Heraclitean flux, order as in a poem, to have the words "live close to the thing," so that the poem is the image of this flux, the image is the flux, the image is the "permanent basis in humanity." Bringing form to the gods meant, as it did for Flaubert, that "the form was the work itself." As May Sinclair said in 1915:

The Victorian poets are Protestants. For them the bread and wine are symbols of reality, the body and the blood. They are given "in remembrance." The sacrament is incomplete. The Imagists are Catholic; they believe in Transubstantiation . . . For them the bread and the wine are the body and blood. They are given. The thing is done. Ite Missa est. (88)

The "god is in the stone." There was no denying that. Lake Garda was there. Pound had walked there, in Sirmione, where he "heard the young Dante," where there are "twenty-eight young Dantes and thirty-four Catulli; / And there had been a great catch of sardines" (Per 96), and there was a young boy who wished to arrange these in some sort of aesthetic order, an order he perhaps saw inherent in the material, as others had before him:

A vast fragment of marble had long lain below the Loggia of Orcagna, and many a sculptor had his thought of a design which should just fill this famous block of stone, cutting the diamond, as it were, without loss. Under Michelangelo's hand it became the David. . . . (Pater, Renaissance 80)

And Pound struggled to do the same, even as his "elders," i.e., society, said it was not possible:

Hang it all, there can be but one Sordello!
 But say I want to, say I take your whole bag
 of tricks,
 Let in your quirks and tweeks, and say the
 thing's an art-form,
 Your Sordello, and that the modern world
 Needs such a rag-bag to stuff all its thought in;
 Say that I dump my catch, shiny and silvery
 As fresh sardines flapping and slipping on the
 marginal cobbles?

.

I walk Verona. (I am here in England.)
 I see Can Grande. (Can see whom you will.)

You had one whole man?

And I have many fragments, less worth?

Less worth?

Ah, had you quite my age, quite such a
 beastly and cantankerous age?

You had some basis, had some set belief.

Am I let preach? Has it a place in music?

I walk the airy street,

See the small cobbles flare with the poppy
 spoil.

'Tis your "great day," the Corpus Domini,
 And all my chosen and pennisular village
 Has made one glorious blaze of all its lanes--

Oh, before I was up--with poppy flowers.

Mid-June: some old god eats the smoke, 'tis

not the saints;

And up and out to the half-ruined chapel--

Not the old place at the height of the rocks,

But that splay, barn-like church the Renais-

sance.

Had never quite got into trim again.

As well begin here. Began our Catullus:

"Home to sweet rest, and to the waves deep

laughter,"

The laugh they wake amid the border rushes.

This is our home, the trees are full of laughter,

And the storms laugh loud, breaking the

riven waves

On "north-most rocks"; and here the sunlight

Glints on the shaken waters, and the rain

Comes forth with delicate tread, walking from Isola Garda--

Lo soleils plovil,

As Arnaut had it in th' inextricable song.

The very sun rains and a spatter of fire

Darts from the "Lydian" ripples; "locus undae,"

as Catullus, "Lydiae,"

And the place is full of spirits.

(Three Cantos I; Bush 53-55)

Chapter XV

"What is it? What is it?" They would never answer directly. They would say, "He is so eccentric." "What is it?" "He is impossible; he told Professor Schelling that Bernard Shaw was more important than Shakespeare." "What is it?" "He makes himself conspicuous; he wore lurid, bright socks that the older students ruled out for freshmen. The sophomores threw him in the lily pond. They called him 'Lily' Pound." "What is it?" He's taking graduate courses now; that happened, if it happened, long ago. Why do the faculty ladies concern themselves with such small matters? What is it? He's gone far enough away now, as an instructor in Romance languages.

"What is it?" He came back he came back, he came back. (14)

He wrote Poetry Canto I. He wrote Poetry Canto II. He wrote Poetry Canto III. They were begun, probably, in 1915. They were printed in 1917. They were not "objective" or "impersonal." He continued working. By December of 1919 he was up to Canto VII, Miles Slatin tells us, but then:

Unexpectedly, here the poem stopped: no further reference to the composition of the Cantos seems to have been made until 1922, some three years later. (Slatin 188)

He might have been stuck, but he was not "dead" (as he said in another context 50 years later [Hall 47]). He had already been instrumental in getting A Portrait of An Artist as a Young Man published as well as Wyndham Lewis's Tarr. He had also been instrumental in persuading Harriot Monroe to publish Eliot's "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock." He had been involved in the publishing of Joyce's Ulysses. Eliot said of Pound:

No one could have been kinder to younger men, or writers who, whether younger or not, seemed to him worthy and unrecognised. No poet, furthermore, was, without self-depreciation, more unassuming about his own achievement in poetry. . . . He liked to be the impresario for younger men as well as the animator of artistic activity in any milieu. ("Pound" 26)

By the time Pound arrived in Paris he had written Hugh Selwyn Mauberley: (Life and Contacts), "so distinctly a farewell to London that the reader who chooses to regard this as an exclusively American edition may as well omit it" (Per 185). He moved to Paris and became friends with Ernest Hemingway. Hemingway said of him:

Ezra Pound was always a good friend and he was always doing things for people. The studio where he lived with his wife Dorothy on the rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs was as poor as Gertrude Stein's studio was rich. It had very good light and was heated by a stove and it had paintings by Japanese artists that Ezra knew. They were all noblemen where they came from and wore their hair cut long. Their hair glistened black and swung forward when they bowed and I was very impressed by them but I did not like their paintings. . . . Ezra also liked Picabia's painting but I thought then that it was worthless. I also disliked Wyndham Lewis' painting which Ezra liked very much. He liked the works of his friends, which is beautiful as loyalty but can be disastrous as judgment. We never argued about these things because I kept my mouth shut about things I did not like. If a man liked his friends' painting or writing, I thought it was probably like those people who like their families, and it was not polite to criticize them. . . . Ezra was kinder and more Christian about people than I was. His own writing, when he would hit it right, was so perfect and he was so sincere in his mistakes and so enamored of his error, and so kind to people that I always thought of him as a sort of saint. He was also irascible but so perhaps have been many saints. (Feast 107-108)

In November of 1921 T. S. Eliot stopped over in Paris on his way to Lausanne, where he was to take a doctor-prescribed rest. He handed Ezra Pound a 40-page manuscript of a poem entitled "He Do the Police in Different Voices." Pound made some suggestions and Eliot then took it to Lusanne with him. He worked on the poem there and he and Pound corresponded by letter as to further changes. On December 24 Pound wrote to Eliot:

Caro mio: MUCH improved. I think your instinct had led you to put the remaining superfluities at the end. I think you had better leave 'em, abolish 'em altogether for the present. . . .

Complimenti, you bitch. I am wracked by the seven jealousies, and cogitating an excuse for always exuding my deformative secretions in my own stuff, and never getting an outline. (Let 233-234)

Eliot returned to Paris in January of 1922 and again submitted the manuscript to Pound. Pound then wrote to John Quinn saying:

Eliot came back from his Lausanne specialist looking OK; and with a damn good poem (19 pages) in his suitcase; same finished up here; and shd be out in Dial soon, if Thayer isn't utterly nutty.

About enough, Eliot's poem, to make the rest of us shut up shop. . . . (Valerie Eliot xxii)

Eliot later said: "It was in 1922 that I placed before him in Paris the manuscript of a sprawling poem called The Waste Land which left his hands, reduced to about half its size" ("Pound" 28). It was published later that year by Boni & Liveright and dedicated to Ezra Pound, "il miglior fabbro."

Twit twit twit twit twit twit twit
Tereu tereu
So rudely forc'd.
Ter

Unreal City, (I have seen and see)
Under the brown fog of your winter noon
Mr. Eugenides, the Smyrna merchant,
Unshaven, with a pocket full of currants
(C.i.f. London: documents at sight),
Who asked me, in ~~accidental~~ French,
To luncheon at the Cannon Street Hotel,
(And perhaps a weekend at the Metropole.)

*2-
-ed*

*demotic
dam per'afsey*

Twit twit twit
Jug jug jug jug jug jug
Tereu
O swallow swallow
Ter

London, the swarming life you kill and breed,
~~huddles between the concrete and the sky,~~
Responsive to the momentary need,
Vibrates unconscious to its formal destiny,

B - 18 - 5

~~keeping no count how to think, nor how to feel,
But lives, in the ~~ambiguities~~ of the observing eye.
~~XX~~
~~Spontaneous noises, burrowing in between~~
Some minds, aberrant from the normal equipoise~~

*ant
Palmer Court
Greenwich*

Record the motions of these pavement toys
And trace the cryptogram that may be curled
Within the faint perceptions of the noise,
Of the movement, and the lights!

Not here, O ~~glance~~ *glance*, but in another world.

At the violet hour, the hour when eyes are back and hand
Turn upward from the desk, the human engine waits -
Like a taxi throbbing waiting at a stand -
~~To spring to pleasure through the horns of busy cities,~~

I firesias, though blind, throbbing between two lives,
Old man with wrinkled female breasts, can see
At the violet hour, the evening hour that strives
Homeward, and brings the sailor home from sea,

Fig. 7. A portion of "HE DO THE POLICE IN DIFFERENT VOICES: Part II" as edited by Pound; rpt. Valerie Eliot 30.

In May of 1922 Canto VIII, a Canto Pound had not made any previous reference to, suddenly appeared in the Dial (Slatin 189). Ronald Bush cautions against leaping to any conclusions as to the effect of The Waste Land as an example for Pound to follow and begin again to work on The Cantos (239-240). Rather, Bush says, Pound read both The Waste Land and the final chapters of Ulysses approximately at the same time, and from them he learned how he might apply Dante's De Vulgari Eloquentia to his own long poem (244), how he could treat differing subjects with different styles. Pound outlined this in "On Criticism in General," which Bush says defined "a set of standards for his [Pound's] epic poem" (246). These standards were based on "finely dissociated styles" (Bush 246) ranging from Homer's "onomatopoeia" to Stendahl's "revolt against abstract cutting statement" (OC 156). Pound himself, in the Imagist days, had said "Go in fear of abstractions":

Don't use such an expression as 'dim lands of peace'. It dulls the image. It mixes an abstraction with the concrete. It comes from the writer's not realizing that the natural object is always the adequate symbol. (LE 5)

What was then Canto VIII in May 1922 is now (and has been at least since 1925) Canto II. In the spring of that year 1922, Pound announced that on Oct. 30, 1921, "The Christian era came definitely to an END" (qtd in Bacigalupo 33n33). It had been replaced, he said, by the era of Zagreus and he drew up a calendar "conceived as the dial of

a clock," the months following "one another clockwise, winter beginning at 9 (Feast of Zagreus and Pan), and summer at 3" (34). Oct. 30, 1921 happened to be Pound's thirty-sixth birthday and the same day Joyce finished Ulysses (33). Thus Canto II is, Bacigalupo says, the "manifesto of the new era and celebration of its god, Dionysus." Bacigalupo believes Pound conceived himself as a reincarnation of Dionysus: "poet as man" (Odysseus) in the first Canto and "poet as god" in the second. I am not convinced of the validity of this interpretation, but Bacigalupo's statement is true that a "new clarity" comes into the poem through the "process of layering":

the principal inspiration is Ovid, yet he is also but one link in a textual chain reaching back to the Homeric Hymn to Dionysus . . . and forward to Ovid's translator Golding, whose Metamorphosis, "the most beautiful book in the language" (ABR 127), Pound has particularly in mind. . . . (35)

My own opinion is that Pound speaks through Acoetes, "a plain man and craftsman of navigation" in Ovid's Metamorphosis, as Makin tells us (Cantos 130). The Canto begins with Pound's address to Browning taken from Poetry Canto I:

Hang it all, Robert Browning,
there can be but the one "Sordello."
But Sordello, and my Sordello?
Lo Sordels si fo di Mantovana.

["Sordello was of Mantuan territory of Sirier" (LE 97)]

.
 The ship landed in Scios,

men wanting spring-water,

And by the rock-pool a young boy loggy with vine-must,

"To Naxos? Yes, we'll take you to Naxos,

Cum' along lad." "Not that way!"

"Aye, that way is Naxos."

And I said: "It's a straight ship."

And an ex-convict out of Italy

knocked me into the fore-stays,

(He was wanted for manslaughter in Tuscany)

And the whole twenty against me,

Mad for a little slave money.

And they took her out to Scios

And off her course...

And the boy came to, again, with the racket,

And looked out over the bows,

and to eastward, and to the Naxos passage.

God-sleight then, god-sleight:

Ship stock fast in sea-swirl,

Ivy in scupper-hole.

Aye, I, Acoetes, stood there,

and the god stood by me . . .

.

And where was gunwale, there now was vine-trunk,

And tenthрил where cordage had been,

grape-leaves on the rowlocks,
 Heavy vine on the oarshafts,
 And, out of nothing, a breathing.
 hot breath on my ankles,
 Beasts like shadows in glass,
 a furred tail upon nothingness.
 Lynx-purr, and heathery smell of beasts,
 where tar smell had been,
 Sniff and pad-foot of beasts,
 eye-glitter out of black air.

.....

And Lyaeus: "From now, Acoetes, my altars,
 Fearing no bondage,
 fearing no cat of the wood,
 Safe with my lynxes,
 feeding grapes to my leopards,
 Olibanum is my incense,
 the vines grow in my homage."
 The back-swell now smooth in the rudder-chains,
 Black snout of a porpoise
 where Lycabs had been,
 Fish-scales on the oarsmen.
 And I worship.
 I have seen what I have seen. (C2 7-9)

Mr. Pound, with your magic, your "strange spells of deity," why didn't you complete the metamorphosis? Pad, pad, pad, . . . come along, my Lynx. Let's get out of here. You are suffocating and I am hungry. You spoke of grapes somewhere--you were starving. (17)

H.D. Imagiste.

Chapter XVI

"What is it? What is it?" "Go in fear of abstractions."

"Call things by their names." A curious thing occurs in the China Cantos. A curious word, or words. "In the beginning was the word, and the word has been betrayed," he said (I 44). "Bhud." "Bhud-foés." "Bhud rot" "Bhud mess." "Bhudha." "Taozers" "Taotsse." "hochangs." "shave-heads." "eunuchs."

As Rabaté has shown, in the China Cantos "the 'wisdom' of Chinese emperors and Confucian ministers is . . . conveyed by incremental repetition; little items are piled up and at times pasted together through the intervention of the American voice" (101). The American voice intervenes to "paste" together the wisdom of various emperors and this wisdom is derived from a "concept of natural order," from a "reverence" of this order. This voice, then, must "appear both as an organic offshoot and as the constant pedagogical reminder of a rappel à l'ordere" (101-102). According to Rabaté, this is why Pound can not include in his history the cheng ming, the "principle of

rectification of names" (101) found in Pound's own translation in Guide to Kulchur:

Tseu-Lou asked: If the Prince of Mei appointed you head of the government, to what wd. you first set your mind?

KUNG: To call people and things by their names, that is by the correct denominations, to see that the terminology was exact.

正名

(GK 16)

Rabaté states that by the rectification of names a ruler would not be seen as imposing order. Rather, each person would have his place in a system seen as a natural reality. Rabaté quotes from Mailla's Historie:

When asked by King-Kong what good government means, Kung replies that it means that 'the master be master, and the subject, the subject; That the father be the father, and the son, the son' (Il consiste en ce que le maître, soit maître & le sujet, sujet; que le père, soit père, & que le fils, soit fils'--Historie, II, p 201). And King-Kong comments, 'Nothing truer, said King-Kong; for if the master is not the master, the subject is not a subject; if the father is not the father, the son is not the son. Whatever riches one may possess besides, one cannot find any rest'. . . . (101)

Order is then preserved for each knows his place in society, something the Chi-King, or Book of Odes also emphasizes. In Canto LIX the young Manchu emperor Chun Tchi writes that the Chi-King is "less a work of the mind than of affects / brought forth from the inner nature" (C 324). The book is used to "Ut animum nostrum purget, Confucius ait,

dirigatque / ad lumen rationis ["To purge our minds,
Confucius says, / and guide [them] to reason." (Terrell 1:
251)]" (C59 324):

That this book keep us in due bounds of office
the norm

show what we shd/ take into action;

what follow within and persistently

CHI KING ostendit incitatque. Vir autem rectus
et libidinis expers ita domine servat

["the Shih Ching shows and exhorts. But the just man
and the one free from lust serve their masters"
(Terrell 1:251)]

with faith, never tricky, obsequatur parentis
nunquam deflectat

["obeys his parents / never turns aside" (1:251)]

all order comes into such norm (C59 324)

Pound's layering of voices is used to emphasize this
division of society, although, I might add, Rabaté says
only that it "may reflect" this division (100), and the
voice is also used, Rabaté says, to emphasize the "cyclic"
nature of Chinese history, the recurring return of order:

The increasing ritualisation of history, which
ends by the pure assertion of recurring order--
order as recurrence and recurrence as order--very
uncritically mimes the historical movement by
which Confucius has been sanctified, promoted to
the rank of official sage, and invoked to conceal
or initiate all the dynastic restorations in
China. (104)

Against this recurrence of order, Pound places the Buddhists, the Taoists, and the eunuchs. "The proper man," it might be remembered, "has a shell and a direction" (Con 268), the directio voluntatis, the right direction of the will:

The will, the direction of the will,
directio voluntatis, the officer
 standing over the heart. (Con 22)



The great emperor, then, a ruler whose state will last through the ages, can be likened to the artist:

The greater the artist the more permanent his creation. And this is a matter of WILL.

It is also a matter of the DIRECTION OF THE WILL. And if the reader will blow the fog off his brain and think for a few minutes or a few stray half-hours he will find this phrase brings us ultimately both to Confucius and Dante. (J/M 16)

The idiomatic voice heard in the China Cantos contrasts the Confucian "hard shell and a direction" against the Buddhists who are seen and spoken of in terms of a type of "looseness," a type of ooze, a type of sewage. The first mention of the "Buddhists" comes in Canto LIV. As Philip Furia has said, "Among the Confucian morals pointed out by the Mirror [Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government, the text Mailla took his history from] is that, among their other virtues, good dynasties carefully preserved and put into action ancient documents, while corrupt dynasties ignored or even destroyed the sacred texts" (77). Two of these sacred texts were the Book of History (the Chu King in

The Cantos) and the Book of Odes (the Chi King), both supposedly compiled by Confucius himself (Terrell 1:214-215). During the Han Dynasty, these texts were restored under the emperor Kao Huang Ti:

And Lou-kia was envoy to Nan-hai, with nobility,
and wished that the king (the books Chu-king and Chi-king)
be restored

to whom KOU: I conquered the empire on horseback.

to whom Lou: Can you govern in that manner? (C54 276)

Under HAN SIEUN: "The text of books reestablished" (C54 280), but then: "And now was seepage of bhuddists" (C54 280). The Mirror was a neo-Confucian text and as such biased against Buddhism, and, too, Mailla, a Jesuit, also deplored Buddhism, according to Terrell (1:218). In this manner Pound was then being faithful to his source. Terrell tells us that the emperor Han Ming dreamed one night of "a holy man in the West named Foé" and sent "ambassadors to discover his teachings" (1:218). Foé is the French transliteration of Fu, "the name of the Buddha and more commonly the name given to Buddhist priests" (1:223). Mailla describes the doctrine of the Foé as an infection, but Pound goes further, describing the Foé as "damn bhuddists" (C54 285). During the Han dynasty, Furia says, it was the dowager queen "Tééou-Chi" who (81):

. . . brought back the scholars

and the books were incised in stone

46 tablets set up at the door of the college
inscribed in 5 sorts of character (C54 281)

But the empire was now infected with the Buddhist doctrine, a "seepage" of this doctrine into the state, and the Han dynasty was also infected with Taoism and in the groves of bamboo there was "booze" and there "they sang: emptiness is the beginning of all things" (C54 281). There was nothing but "backsheesh, taoists, bhuddists" (281), so Han was down: "Down! HAN is down" and thus came the Tçin dynasty and it, too, ended in "Bhud mess" (C 282).

Pound's handling of the names of the Buddhists and Taoists emphasizes that there is no place in a Confucian state, a state in which a hierarchical order is established by the calling of "people and things by their right names," for those whose very names shift spellings, the spellings emphasizing the oozing of these names. In the China Cantos, the spellings of Buddhist and Taoist slip from one variation to another: "Bhuddists." "Bhud mess." "Bhud rot." Taoists are variously known as "Taoists" (C 281), "Taosers" (696), "Taotssé" (283), and "Taozers" (285). Makin has also noticed this "spluttering contempt . . . expressed in phonetic metaphors of fizz, swish, blurr" (Cantos 222) against the admiration for the "shell and direction" of the proper man, this shell "a sort of case-hardened phallus" (222). Elsewhere there are "hochangs" and "shave-heads." There was the emperor, Ou Ti, who became a Buddhist and

imported 3000 priests and allowed the construction of 13,000 Buddhist temples (Terrell 1:222):

halls were re-set to Kung-fu-tseu
 yet again, allus droppin' 'em and restorin' 'em
 after intervals. And there was war on the Emperor OU TI
 Hochang consider their own welfare only.

And the 46 tablets that stood still there in Yo Lang
 Were broken and built into Foés temple (Foés, that is
 goddam bhuddists.)

this was under Hou-chi the she empress.

OU TI went into cloister

Empire rotted by hochang, the shave-heads and
 Another boosy king died. (C54 284)

We can here see why Pound holds such a contempt for these devotees of other doctrines, for they have destroyed the sacred texts. The contemplation they practice is equivalent to getting drunk ("another boosy king," "booze in the bamboo grove") as opposed to the knowledge gained by the contemplation of Kung's texts. For Kung and his "interlocutors" were "totalitarian" in their thinking--they thought, Pound said, "for the whole social order" (GK29). The knowledge gained in the Odes, or in any other type of poetry, could not be gained anywhere else:

The reason for reading the Book of the Odes, the books of poetry, that is the books of basic poetry whether in Ideogram and collected by Kung (B.C. 500 or whatever) from the 15 hundred years

before his time, or by me or even by Dr. Ward (English Poets) is that poetry is totalitarian in any confrontation with prose. There is MORE in and on two pages of poetry than in or on ten pages of any prose save the few books that rise above classification as anything save exceptions. (GK 121)

The idiomatic voice Pound uses in his references to the Buddhists and Taoists is not dissimilar to that found in the Hell Cantos, those cantos which depicted "contemporary England, or at least Eng. as she wuz when I left her" (Let 262):

The slough of unamiable liars,
 bog of stupidities,
 malevolent stupidities, and stupidities,
 the soil living pus, full of vermin,
 dead maggots begetting live maggots,
 slum owners,
 userers squeezing crab-lice, pandars to authority,
 pets-de-loup, sitting on piles of stone books,
 obscuring the texts with philology,
 hiding them under their persons,
 the air without refuge of silence,
 the drift of lice, teething,
 and above it the mouthing of orators,
 the arse-belching of preachers.
 And Invidia,
 the corruptio, foetor, fungus,

liquid animals, melted ossifications,
 slow rot, foetid combustion,
 chewed cigar-butts, without dignity, without tragedy,
m Episcopus, waving a condom full of black-beetles,
 monopolists, obstructors of knowledge,
 obstructors of distribution. (C14 63)

The Buddhists in the China Cantos can be seen to be equivalent to the usurers "obscuring the texts with philology," as they have destroyed the texts to build their own temple; the "seepage of bhuddists" too obscures the texts. Those that destroy the texts are in relation to usury in another manner, for they both, in Pound's view, cease distribution, whether distribution of goods or knowledge:

WITH USURA

wool comes not to market
 sheep bringeth no gain with usura
 Usura is a murrain, usura
 blunteth the needle in the maid's hand
 and stoppeth the spinner's cunning. (C45 229)

This is why Pound would link "calling things by their names" and distribution, for "with usura there is no clear demarcation": "Call things by the names. Good sovereign by distribution / Evil king is known by his impost" (C52 261).

The terms Pound uses to characterise the "bhuddists" and "taozers" might also be seen as being related to the way Pound characterised the poets of the nineteenth century, that "rather blurry, messy sort of a period, a rather sentimentalistic, mannerish sort of period" (LE 11). Individuals of both groups, it could be said, lacked "the will toward order" of the "great man" (J/M 99). The "bhuddists" could be seen as the "aesthetes" of the Empire. But this would be generalising, and Pound warned against abstractions, did he not? He said, "Against order, lao, bhud and lamas" (C 318). And this lack of "the will toward order" was the greatest crime:

And as for these Bhud-foés,

they provide no mental means for

Running an empire, nor do taoists

With there internal and external pills

--is it external? the gold pill?--

to preserve them from physical death?

and as for those who deform thought with iambs...

ten billion wordings

and destroy the five human relations,

Is the Bhud likely to return for these harridans?

(C98 687)

This passage is paraphrased by Pound from The Sacred Edict, the Sheng U, "which consisted of sixteen maxims issued by Emperor K'ang Hsi in 1670 (Wilhelm, Later 133).

The "five human relations" were:

1. prince and minister
2. father and son
3. husband and wife
4. elder and brother
5. friend and friend (Wilhelm 135)

The Buddhists on the other hand, knew man "by negation":

Bhud: Man by negation.

But their First Classic: that the heart shd/be straight,
The phallos perceive its aim.

Tinkle, tinkle, two tongues? No.

But down on the word with exactness,

against gnashing of teeth (upper incisors)

.....

paltry yatter,

But as Chu said, nowt to do with taking hold of anything
in the four coigns of the universe,

No handle,

no clear kuan³ ["control" (Terrell 2:641)]

chao⁴ kuan³

["care for control" (2:641)]

care for control,

But to live as flowers reflected,

as moonlight,

free from all possessiveness in affections

but, as Chu says, egoistical. (C99 702-703)

One such man not troubled by the "incommodities of ascetic yoga" nor the aestheticism of those who "live as flowers reflected" was Benito Mussolini, "il Duce," the "artifex" whom Pound associated with the Chinese emperors:

When Mussolini has expressed any satisfaction it has been with the definite act performed, the artwork in the civic sense, the leading the Romans back to the sea, for example, by the wide new road into Ostia.

So Shu, king of Soku, built roads. What sort of shouting would the Chinese have raised for the release of the Lake of Abano, an exhilaration that might perfectly well have upset a considerable equanimity? (J/M 100).

This reminds one of those "mythical" emperors who were known for what they accomplished: "YEOU taught men to break branches / Seu Gin set up the stage and taught barter . . ." (C 262), and in Canto LIV Mussolini is compared to Han Sieun Ti who entertained a Tartar Prince--Mussolini, in 1938, having put on a demonstration of submarine maneuvers for Adolf Hitler in the sixteenth year of the Fascist era (Kenner, Era 435):

He was the Prince of Hiong-nou

And the kings of Si-yu, that are from Tchang-ngan to the
Caspian

came into the Empire

to the joy of HAN SIEUN TI

(pretty manoeuvre but the technicians
watched with their hair standing on end

anno sixteen, Bay of Naples) (C 279-280)

A pretty manoeuvre. Pound also compared Mussolini to another constructor, artifex, a builder of mansions, libraries, a university, and a new nation, Thomas Jefferson:

"I remember having written you while Congress sat at Annapolis,

"on water communication between ours and the western country,

"particularly the information....of the plain between

"Big Beaver and Cayohoga, which made me hope that a canal
navigation of Lake Erie and the Ohio . . .

.

. I consider this canal,

"if practicable, as a very important work.

T. J. to General Washington, 1787 (C31 153)

Chapter XVII

Thomas Jefferson took office as governor of Virginia on June 2, 1779. The military operations of the Revolution would not end for two years. The Assembly of Virginia, short of monies to run both the government and provide arms and supplies for the militia, resorted to printing paper money. The inevitable result was inflation and the Assembly then attempted to raise money by decreeing new taxes (Nathan Schachner 180). Savannah fell to the British in 1778 and then Charleston fell on May 12 of 1779. Cornwallis was moving toward Virginia ("American Revolution").

A QUESTO,"

said the Boss, "è divertente."

catching the point before the aesthetes had got
there. . . . (C 202)

JEFFERSON
AND/OR
MUSSOLINI

*L'IDEA STATALE
FASCISM AS I HAVE SEEN IT*

BY
EZRA POUND

Volitionist Economics

NEW YORK: LIVERIGHT PUBLISHING CORP.

LONDON: STANLEY NOTT

Fig. 8. Title leaf of

Jefferson and/or Mussolini, 1935.

The year 1779 was, too, when the capitol of Virginia was moved to Richmond. Once optimistic about the outcome of the war, Jefferson became increasingly discouraged. Virginia sent many troops to the Continental army and thus relied on its militia to defend Virginia itself. But the militia was hardly under Jefferson's control, refusing at times to assemble and especially at planting or harvest time, and Virginia had no money to provide equipment for the men Jefferson mustered to send to the armies in the south (Schachner 187).

On January 4 of 1781, Benedict Arnold and 900 troops disembarked from the British fleet out of New York at Westover on the James River, twenty-five miles from Richmond. Jefferson called out the militia and he and the remaining government of Virginia escaped with only a store of arms and gunpowder and a few public records. (200-201). No militia arrived and Arnold entered Richmond unimpeded. Arnold burned all that was connected with the hub of Virginia's arms manufacture and several other private and public buildings (202). The next day Arnold returned to Westover and the protection of the ships' guns (202). Jefferson continued to attempt to arouse his government and citizens into action but to no avail. His government, Schachner says, "had reached the nadir of impotence: (209).

Arnold returned in May and Richmond was again threatened with only 200 men there to defend the capitol

(211). It was Lafayette who came to the rescue, driving Arnold off. Arnold hooked up with Cornwallis, however, and on May 20 the British were again heading toward Richmond (212). On May 14 Jefferson told Lafayette there was no hope in calling out a militia which refused to participate (214). Schachner says that all Jefferson could do "was write letters and orders that no one seemed even to pretend to obey" (211). The governor and the Assembly removed themselves to Charlottesville (212). On June 1, 1781 Jefferson resigned (214). Cornwallis sent Lt. Col. Bonastre Tarleton to capture whatever members of the Assembly were left in Charlottesville and Governor Jefferson. Jefferson went to his home at Monticello, but was forced to leave, barely escaping Tarleton's troops who were visible as they stormed up the mountain (215-216).

Eventually, Washington arrived with 2000 American and 4000 French troops to reinforce Lafayette. Washington altogether had 15,000 troops with which to attack Cornwallis ("American Revolution"). Cornwallis had 8300 regular army troops and 2000 escaped slaves who thought Britain's victory would give them freedom. In Yorktown, Virginia, then, Cornwallis began building defensive earthworks. On September 5, a British fleet sailed to the Virginia Capes and found 26 French warships anchored there. Rear Admiral Thomas Graves allowed the French to form their battle lines, a courtesy "true to the rules of 18th-century

warfare" (John D. Broadwater 808). Five days later Graves retreated to New York. Cornwallis was surrounded and the seige of Yorktown began. Sixty British vessels remained in defensive positions. In an attempt to prevent a naval attack on Yorktown, Cornwallis ordered his men to scuttle these ships. Carpenters, whose job it was to keep these ships in top condition, carefully, with fine chisels, cut neat, square holes below the waterline "true to professional standards" (811). Cornwallis surrendered October 19, 1781.

Jefferson, however, had to face an inquiry of his actions as governor. The Assembly met on December 12 and Jefferson attended to answer the charges in person. The charges were in relation to the lack of response in the face of warnings of imminent attack. The committee, however, had no tangible evidence to go on and so instead, in a flowery resolution unanimously passed, thanked Jefferson for his service. Jefferson resolved to never serve in public office again (Schachner 218-220).

Chapter XVIII

Jefferson retired to his farm and composed Notes on the State of Virginia, his only book-length work of prose, a compendium of observations on the "Politics, laws, geography, climatology, natural history, anthropology,

religion, manners, architecture and a host of other topics," in relation to the history of Virginia (Schachner 224), but also a "comprehensive survey" of all of America (234). Jefferson also spent time planting fruit trees and strawberry beds at his second home of Poplar Forest (237). His wife Martha died on September 6, 1782, and Jefferson's friends thought he might then be persuaded to undertake an appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary to negotiate the peace treaty with Britain. Jefferson accepted the appointment, having always desired to see Europe, and was set to sail on the French frigate Romulus on December 19. The Romulus, however, was frozen in and there was a further delay when it was learned that British ships were waiting to stop the frigate (237-240). The trip was thus delayed, more than once in fact, and Congress finally informed him in April of 1783 that peace was close at hand and Jefferson would not need to make the trip (242).

So Jefferson remained in the newly free (and at peace) United States and on June 6, 1783 Virginia appointed him as delegate to what was then called the Congress of the Confederation (244; "Continental Congress"). Before leaving for Philadelphia in October Jefferson spent time at Monticello cataloging his book collection which numbered 2,640 volumes (245), these having been collected only since 1770 after a fire at Shadwell which destroyed his birthplace and the works he had collected to that point (77). He

classified the works, Schachner says, according to a scheme devised by Francis Bacon with Jefferson's own ideas added so that the works were arranged "according to their conformity to the faculties of the mind":

I, Memory, exemplified in History;
 II, Reason, under which went books of philosophy;
 III, Imagination, to which adhered the Fine Arts.
 History he divided into Civil and Natural, with appropriate subbranches; Philosophy into Moral and Mathematical, appending a significant footnote that "the term and division of Metaphysics is rejected as meaning nothing or something beyond our reach or what should be called by another name." And the Fine Arts flowered into Gardening, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, Oratory and Criticism. It is tempting to believe that the careful ordering of the divisions of the Fine Arts represents his own critique on their relative importance. (245)

He arrived in Philadelphia on October 29, 1783. No Congress was to be found there, having hastily departed to Princeton due to a rather aroused group of unpaid soldiers. Jefferson followed but no Congress was found there, either, Congress having now moved to Annapolis, Maryland, "further removed from the camps of a sullen army" (247). Congress did, finally, get down to business, the most important of said business being the ratification of the peace treaty with Great Britain which contained a clause that required the treaty to be ratified within six months of its signing (September 3, 1783) or become null and void (249). This required delegates from nine states to approve the ratification, but four months later only six states were present. Finally in late January nine states were present

and the ratification was passed and Congress settled down to discuss other matters pertaining to the running of a new nation, but: "though nine States were still officially present, they were largely represented by such skeleton crews that a single delegate of any one of several States could, by his bare negative, halt any legislation" (Schachner 250). Added to this problem of states being unwilling to send representatives was the interminable debates that dragged on so that, in the view of Jefferson, matters which could have been settled in a day took up to a week. "Our body," he said, "was little numerous, but very contentious. Day after day was wasted on the most unimportant questions" (qtd. 251).

Chapter XIX

Thomas Jefferson wrote to George Washington on March 15, 1784, the letter Pound, in Canto XXXI, quotes Jefferson referring to (see above 243). Jefferson complains to Washington of the "crippled state" of Congress at Annapolis:

DR. SIR

Annapolis Mar. 15. 1784

Since my last nothing new has occurred. I suppose the crippled state of Congress is not new to you. We have only 9. states present, 8 of whom are represented by two members each, and of course, on all great questions not only an unanimity of states but of members is necessary, an unanimity which never can be obtained on a matter of importance. The consequence is that we are wasting our time and labour in vain efforts to do business. . . . (Papers 7:25)

At issue in Congress was the Northwest Territory. The Articles of Confederation, approved by Congress in 1777, were designed to provide Congress with more definite powers than those Congress had assumed during the war, those powers pertaining to raising an army, borrowing money, and the ability to conclude treaties ("United States"). These Articles were not completely ratified until 1781 when Maryland did so only on the condition that all states give up to the United States any claims to portions of this Northwest Territory.

Virginia's original charter fixed the boundaries of Virginia "west and northwest from sea to sea" ("Virginia"), and thus Virginia held title to much of the Northwest Territory and also held title to what is now Kentucky. Virginia gave up the deeds to much of the Territory and the Articles of Confederation were passed. Jefferson then drafted a plan for the government of the Territory. Besides Jefferson's Statute for Religious Liberty and the Declaration of Independence, this was, Schachner says, one of Jefferson's most important documents, "for it set up the principle that new states could be carved out of the illimitable West, eventually to the Pacific Ocean" (252). Jefferson drew the boundaries for the states to be created in the Northwest Territory and named the states Sylvania, Michigania, Cheronesus, Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Illinoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia, and Pelisipia (252). Far

more important were Jefferson's conditions for the formation of governments in the new states:

- 1) That they shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America.
- 2) That they shall be subject to the Government of the United States in Congress assembled.
- 3) That they shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts.
- 4) That their respective governments shall be in republican forms.
- 5) That after the year 1800 there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the states except as punishment for a crime. (252)

The last provision was not to pass, just as it was stricken from the Declaration of Independence and Virginia's law code, where in both cases Jefferson had attempted the abolishment of the scourge of slavery (253; 134; 153-154). Without the final clause the agreement was passed, but even so, Congress still possessed very little real power, having no executive or judicial authority and having only the power to request funds from the states, but no power to force the states to relinquish any of these funds ("United States"). Therefore the only major legislation passed was that in regard to the Northwest Territory, that which consisted of what is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota ("United States"). Jefferson wished for rapid growth and settlement of this territory and felt that this would be accomplished with more speed by "carving out" new states instead of having the territory remain as part of the present states. When the people of Kentucky desired to have a state of their own, then, Jefferson did

not fight this move, but encouraged it, not only for the above reason, but because he wanted to preserve for Virginia control of the best route for a canal which might be built to open up a shipping channel from the Potomac to the Ohio River and therefore to the Great Lakes, and this control might be lost if Kentucky departed from Virginia "in wrath" (253-254). Jefferson's letter to Washington continued:

The union of this navigation with that of the Patowmac is a subject on which I mentioned that I would take the liberty of writing to you. I am sure it's [sic] value and practicability are both well known to you. This is the moment however for seizing it if ever we mean to have it. All the world is becoming commercial. Was it practicable to keep our new empire separated from them we might indulge ourselves in speculating whether commerce contributes to the happiness of mankind. But we cannot separate ourselves from them. Our citizens have had too full a taste of the comforts furnished by the arts and manufactures to be debarred the use of them. . . . (Papers 7:26)

Washington, on March 29, 1784, replied to Jefferson's letter concerning this possible canal:

My opinion coincides perfectly with yours respecting the practicability of an easy and short communication between the waters of the Ohio and Potomac, of the advantages of that communication and the preference it has over all others, and the policy there would be in this State of Maryland to adopt and render it facile. . . .

More than ten years ago I was struck with the importance of it; and, despairing of any aids from the public, I became a principal mover of a bill to empower a number of subscribers to undertake at their own expense, on conditions which were expressed, the extension of navigation from tide water to Will's Creek, about one hundred fifty miles. . . . The war afterwards called men's attention to different objects, and all the money they could or would raise was applied to other purposes. But with you I am

satisfied that not a moment ought to be lost in recommencing this business, as I know the Yorkers will delay no time to remove every obstacle in the way of the other communication, so soon as the posts of Oswego and Niagara are surrendered. . . .

I will not enter upon the subject of commerce. It has its advantages and disadvantages ; but which of them preponderates, is not now the question. From trade our citizens will not be restrained, and therefore it behoves us to place it in the most convenient channels under proper regulations, freed as much as possible from those vices, which luxury, the consequences of wealth and power, naturally introduce.

The incertitude, which prevails in Congress, and the non-attendance of its members, are discouraging to those, who are willing and ready to discharge the trust, which is reposed to them; whilst it is disgraceful in a high degree to our country. . . .

Long as this letter is, I intended to be more full on some of the points, and to touch on others; but it is not in my power, as I am obliged to snatch moments, which give you this hasty production of my thoughts on the subject of your letter, from company. With very great esteem and regard, I am, &c.

P.S. Have you not estimated the distance from Cuyahoga to New York too high. (Writings 10: 375-380)

The plan for a canal would have to wait, but Jefferson would not have to sit much longer in a Congress whose members' "trade" was "to question everything, yield nothing, and talk by the hour" (qtd. in Schachner 251), for on May 7, 1784, Congress appointed Jefferson as Minister Plenipotentiary to join John Adams and Benjamin Franklin in France (Schachner 256). The ministers were in charge of negotiating treaties of commerce with the European nations, which would prove difficult as these nations "sought their own advantage," as England had done in any

negotiations involving commerce, "and were indifferent to the interests of others" (256). Under the mercantile system as it stood in Europe, home industries were subsidized and otherwise helped to grow, which helped raise taxes to support the armies which in turn were used to enforce oppressive measures, and so the home country might exploit colonial holdings for the raw materials and precious metals; the colonies in turn were forced by embargoes and other measures into a dependence on the home country for the manufactured products the home country's subsidized industries produced ("Mercantilism").

In England especially, this system resulted in the creation of the Bank of England, a stock and money market, and the appearance of "moneyed men" and "stockjobbers" (Drew R. McCoy, "Political Economy" 107). It was generally felt by agrarianists in England that such a system was corrupt, allowing the manipulation of Parliament, granting special favors to speculators in public funds, and further encouraging unproductive, but highly lucrative, forms of economic activity through subsidization by unjust taxation (McCoy 108).

Jefferson's dream was for an agrarian society of land holders who in relative economic equality would share in the productive and natural resources of nature (McCoy 105). There was a point, Jefferson believed, when a society and the people of that society would lapse into corruption,

and this point was reached when the people lost their independence by becoming dependent on either the government, by being idle, or by being landless, become dependent upon an elite class of employers, such as the owners of the industrial plants in England (McCoy 105-107). This dependence, Jefferson said, "begets subservience and venality, suffocates the germ of virtue, and prepares fit tools for the designs of ambition" (qtd. in McCoy 105). The essence of this virtue was self-discipline and industry. Thus Jefferson foresaw a society in which the members of that society either worked on their own land or in their own shops producing necessities for local markets (McCoy 106). It was his belief that the governments of the United States would "remain virtuous for many centuries":

as long as they are chiefly agricultural, and this will be as long as there shall be vacant lands in any part of America. When they get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become as corrupt as in Europe. (qtd. in McCoy 106)

This corruption, Jefferson thought, was an inevitable process of time in relation to social growth. Therefore, Jefferson sought to slow this process by opening up commerce so that farmers would have markets for their products and by also opening up lands to the west, as in the Northwest Territory and later via the Louisiana Purchase. As McCoy says, Jefferson "sought to throw space and foreign markets in the way of time" (107).

Jefferson thought that the winning of the Revolution had restored to America a condition of virtue, a condition of virtue that had not existed in America or England since 1066, the year of the Battle of Hastings, that battle which forever changed the land of the Angles and Saxons, a land of farmers whose language, as inherited by us, includes the words for "sheep, shepherd, ox, earth, plough, swine, dog, wood, field, and work" (Robert McCrum 61) They were a people with close ties to the natural world. "A return to origins," Pound said, "invigorates because it is a return to nature and reason. The man who returns to origins does so because he wishes to behave in the eternally sensible manner . . . (LE 93).

* * *

"By Hilaritas", said Gemisto, "by hilaritas: gods;
and by speed in communication. (C98 690)

DE VULGARI ELOQUENTIA

BOOK II: FROM TROY THROUGH ROME, ALBION, AND BEYOND

Chapter I

Amenophis IV worshipped the sun. He was the last pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty, ruling Egypt from approximately 1375 to 1358 BC. He introduced into Egypt the cult of Aten, the sun-god, and thereby introduced "solar monotheism." He ordered all traces of polytheism

to be destroyed, including references to the "gods" on any monuments. He changed his name to Ikhnaton, meaning "Aten is satisfied." He moved his court to a new city which he called the Horizon of Aten at the site of Tell el-Amarna where he constructed solar temples and palaces. Aten was seen as being the one and only creator of the universe. His rays spread to all his creatures and he embodied order, justice and truth. By his light he renewed life each day and gave subsistence to all life on earth: "Thus the light rains, thus pours, e lo soleills plovi1 / The liquid and rushing crystal / beneath the knees of the gods" (C4 15). Hymns, closely resembling the Psalms of the Hebrews, were written for Aten, and the monotheism Ikhnaton established in Egypt may have been the forerunner of the Hebrew prophets'. But this monotheism was not popular in Egypt and following the death of Ikhnaton's son-in-law, Tutankhamen, polytheism returned ("Egypt;" Van de Walle 52-53; "Ikhnaton").

A dealer in clay tablets, or fragments of tablets, could make a fairly good living in Cairo in the 1870s. These sales were, necessarily, on the black market, for the Egyptian government passed strict laws concerning the traffic in antiques. At this time, however, there was a large demand for tablets from or near Amarna. Intrigued by the 160 tablets the Berlin Museum owned, a British archeologist, William Flinders Petrie, began digging at

Amarna in November of 1891. He found the archives of Amenophis IV. The tablets in these archives were easily read, for the script was Akkadian (Babylonian), the language of international negotiations (Ceram 29-30). The tablets were to rain light on a mystery which interested not a few historians and archeologists in the late nineteenth century--the mystery of the Hittites, those ancient peoples mentioned in the Old Testament:

When the sun had set and it was dark, there appeared a smoking firepot and a flaming torch passing between the animals' pieces. That day Yahweh made a covenant with Abram in these terms:

'To your descendents I give this country,
from the River of Egypt to the Great River,

the River Euphrates, the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Hittites, the Perixxites, the Rephaim, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.' (Gen. 15.17-22)

Archibald Henry Sayce was lecturing before the Society for Biblical Archeology in 1880. He announced that based on various widely-scattered finds of stone tablets and fragments thereof, and on the Biblical evidence, he had reached the conclusion that the Hittites had once possessed a huge empire in Northern Syria and had expanded into Anatolia. Previous to this it was thought that the Hittites were only a minor tribe among the other minor tribes mentioned in the Bible. All the Assyrian and Egyptian accounts referred to the Hittites as having been

defeated in many battles. No one seemed to notice that this was over a period of 700 years. No one believed Sayce. After all, even the Greeks and Romans, who lived over two thousand years ago, did not, apparently, remember the Hittites. Sayce became known, disparagingly, as the "inventor" of the Hittites (Ceram 23-27).

A letter was found in the Amarna archives--one of hundreds--yet this tablet came from a "King of Hatti" named Suppiluliumas and in the letter Ikhнатon is congratulated on becoming pharaoh. The letter proved Sayce right in his assumption, for it gave scholars the first verifiable date for a Hatti king. The Hittites were a great power, but, says Ceram "they had not dwelt in Northern Syria, as had been assumed hitherto. It became clear that they must have infiltrated into Syria from Asia Minor, and that not before around 1400 B.C." (32). Such was the state of Hittitology at the beginning of this century. Hugo Winckler would change all that.

Hugo Winckler was an anti-Semite, an unusual thing for an Orientalist to be, Ceram says, and he adds that the "jack-booted anti-Semites and race theorists" could have learned something from Winckler, for he had no racial theories: "Civilized peoples," Winckler said, "are never racially pure; rather they are always the product of a large number of strata formed by more or less different races" (qtd. in Ceram 50). Strata. An archeologist's word. A

geologist's word. As one digs down through the various strata created by differing civilizations or different times one can read the history of the world and its peoples. The history of the world, however, includes a long list of those who desired to create strata by repression or by the burying, figuratively and literally, of other races.

Winckler was born in Graefenhainichen, in Saxony, in 1863. He was an Assyriologist who believed that anything of any importance or worth originated in Babylon and he "forthwith despised any humanist who dared to speak up for the umbilical tie between Western and Greek culture" (50). Winckler was interested in tablets found at Amarna which were written in a readable cuniform script but in an unknown language. Addressed to a king of Arzawa they became known as the "Arzawa letters" (32). Back in 1832 a Frenchman named Charles-Felix-Marie Texier, in search of Tavium and evidence of the Celts who were settled there in Roman times, discovered the ruins of a former great city at Boghazköy (a village known to the Greeks as Pteria, 150 miles south of modern-day Sinop in Turkey ["Boghazköy"]) (9). In 1893 another French archeologist had found clay tablets at Boghazköy written in "Arzawa" (32). Winckler was interested in these and he traveled to Boghazköy in October of 1906. There he found what he had dreamed he might: tablets again inscribed in Akkadian, which he could read, and he discovered one which was an account of a treaty signed

between Ramses the Great and King Hattusilis III, the King of Hatti, the same treaty Winckler had read of in Egyptian hieroglyphics on a temple wall at Karnak (56-59).

Winckler believed he had found the capital of the Hittite empire, but he needed more evidence and immediately began planning a return expedition for 1907. He had no money, however, and he requested funds from Otto Puchstein, the director of the German Archeological Institute in Berlin. But Puchstein could give him no funds. He did, on the other hand, give him the name of a philanthropist Winckler could personally speak to. The philanthropist agreed to fund Winckler's expedition if Winckler agreed to have the architecture of the ruins studied as well. Thus Winckler's second trip was financed by James Simon, a Jewish banker. In 1907, although his methods were crude compared to modern-day archeology, Winckler discovered the governmental archives of the Hittites in the "Hittite Foreign Office" at Boghazköy in central Turkey (59-65; Wood, In Search 174).

Winckler died in 1913. His homeland of Saxony, first settled by the Saxons in the second century AD, had been invaded by Charlemagne in 772 and the inhabitants forcibly converted to Christianity. Charlemagne's descendants created the duchy of Saxony in the ninth century. Duke Henry of Saxony became king of Germany and his son Otto became Holy Roman emperor in 962 ("Saxony"). By the

twelfth century Frederick Barbarossa of the Hohenstaufen house, the ruling house of the Holy Roman Empire, became King of Germany and was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1152. Frederick I had much trouble with factions in Italy who resented his insistence on having the power to name the governor of each town. Frederick warred with Milan and its allies between 1158 and 1162. He installed a series of antipopes against Pope Alexander III who supported the Milanese. In 1167 he attacked the Leonine City in Rome and installed Paschal III on the papal throne. In that year the Lombard League was formed which consisted of the cities of Milan, Parma, Padua, Verona and six others. For seven years this league built up its military strength. Frederick planned what was his fifth expedition to Italy to put down the Lombard League. The Duke of Saxony, Henry the Lion, refused to participate. The Lombard League defeated Frederick in a battle which was notable because it was the first battle in which infantry had defeated a mounted group of knights. Frederick was forced to acknowledge Alexander III as pope and sign the Peace of Constance ("Frederick I").

For refusing to take part in the expedition, Henry, a member of the Welfs, was placed under a ban by the empire and dispossessed of his lands and exiled to England. This feud between the Welfs and the Waiblingens (named for an estate of the Hohenstaufen house) became known, by a corruption of language, as the struggle of the Guelphs and

Ghibellines, the Guelphs supporting the papacy and the Ghibellines supporting Imperial authority represented by Frederick I. This feud raged well up until the fourteenth century. The nobles generally supported the Ghibellines, and the cities supported the Guelphs. Later the dispute was more geographical: Pisa, Verona, and Arezzo in the northern part of Italy leaning toward the Ghibellines, and Bologna, Milan, and Florence supporting the Guelphs ("Guelphs and Ghibellines").

Dante's father was a Guelph. His mother was from a Ghibelline family (SR 105). His friend, Guido Cavalcanti, was by marriage the head of the Ghibellines ("Cavalcanti"). Dante himself fought against the Ghibellines at Campaldino in 1289 (SR 106). Later on, when the chief struggle in Florence concerned the Blacks (Guelphs supporting the pope) and the Whites (Guelphs supporting neither the pope nor the imperial power), Dante, a prior of Florence, exiled the leaders of both factions, one of the leaders of the Black Guelphs being Guido Cavalcanti, whose cohorts included members of the family of Dante's wife. Cavalcanti contracted malaria while in exile and although he was allowed to return to Florence he died shortly thereafter. Dante, sent on a diplomatic mission to the pope, was absent from Florence when the Whites were driven out of the city by the Blacks, and thus he, too, suffered exile (SR 106). Pope Benedict XII in 1334 forbade even the

names of the Guelph and Ghibelline to be used in any manner "under pain of the censures of the Church" ("Guelphs").

As for Saxony, after Frederick I dissolved the duchy, a series of small, and not so small, political intrigues and wars shifted Saxony's borders and size several times until 1871 when Saxony became one of the kingdoms of the new German Empire. The German Empire formed an alliance with Austria in 1879 and Italy joined in 1882, thus forming the Triple Alliance. But in 1911 Italy attacked Turkey, an ally of Germany. The Balkan states took advantage of this conflict to organize and they declared war on Turkey on October 18, 1912, launching the First Balkan War. An armistice was signed on April 19, 1913, but on June 29 the Second Balkan War began, largely due to Serbia's resentment at not obtaining further territory along the Adriatic in the peace settlement. After the second peace treaty was signed, on August 10, Serbia became a strong and ambitious nation. Frightened by this, Austria-Hungary began increasing its Army. Bulgaria and Turkey, wanting revenge against the Balkans, did the same. So, too, did France and Germany, and when Gavril Princip, a Serb nationalist, shot Archduke Francis Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo, the stage was set which would allow Bedrich Hrozný, a Czech archeologist and Orientalist, to begin to decipher the Hittite language ("Balkan Wars;" "Saxony;" "World War I").

Chapter II

Bedrich Hrozný was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army when the First World War broke out. His superior turned out to be a Viennese, one Lieutenant Kammergruber. In effect, being in the Austro-Hungarian army was for Hrozný the equivalent of receiving a research grant, for Kammergruber allowed Hrozný to pursue his study of the Hittite language. Hrozný's first paper on the Hittite language was published during his service years. So, too, was his second. Kammergruber even allowed Hrozný to spend weeks at a time in Constantinople studying cuneiform Hittite material (Ceram 79-80).

Hrozný began his attempt to decipher Hittite by searching for proper names. The script used in the Akkadian texts had at one time been simply picture writing which eventually became syllabic script that retained a great deal of the earlier pictures. The Hittites took over this "ideogrammic" writing and these ideograms could be read by scholars such as Hrozný. Hrozný examined these ideograms and with painstaking examination of details he discovered that the Hittite language resembled grammatical forms found in Indo-European. He discovered a Hittite sentence which contained the Sumerian ideogram for "bread" and found that the English word "eat," the Latin word edo, and the Old High German word ezzán seemed remarkably similar to ezzatteni in

the Hittite sentence. In the same sentence he found vâdar, which "rhymed" with English water, German wasser, and Old Saxon watar. As Ceram says:

Further conclusions followed. Since the archeologists were able to establish the period at which the Boghazköy texts originated as the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., Hrozný could lay claim to having deciphered possibly the oldest Indo-European language. His texts compared in age with the oldest parts of the Rig Veda, the Hindu scriptures, which had begun to take shape in India around the middle of the second millenium B.C. (84)

Furthermore, Hrozný established that the Hittite language belonged to the "centum" group of Indo-European languages, the western branch which includes Greek, Latin, Celtic and Germanic. Ceram points out the significance of this:

For does not "water," uttered as a cry in a desert landscape, mean parching thirst? Vâdar, water, wassar--how staggering it is to realize that with three thousand years intervening, a Frisian living on the North Sea coast of Germany and a Pennsylvania Dutchman of Eastern North America would understand a Hittite's cry of thirst! (86)

In the year 1250 BC, or thereabout, at approximately the same time Moses was leading the Chosen People out of Egypt, a certain Emperor Hattusilis III of Hatti, the land of the Hittites, wrote a letter to the king of Ahhiyawa concerning an Ahhiyawan ally named Pijamaradus, asking the "Great King" of Ahhiyawa to write to this Pijamaradus and "Tell him that the King of Hatti and I, that in the matter of Wilusa over which we were at enmity, has persuaded me,

changed my mind, and we made friends. A . . . war is wrong for us" (Wood, Troy 205). In Wilusa was a town called Taruisa which was ruled by a prince whose name was Alaksandus (187). This town was apparently loyal to the Hittites for over 400 years and its people, known to the Hittites, possibly, as the Drdny, fought along side them at the battle of Kadish in Syria in 1275 (188). Wilusa was apparently attacked by Pijamaradus, an ally of the brother of the Ahhiyawan king. This brother, Tawagalwas, was based in Millawanda and it was from here that Pijamaradus launched his expeditions (182). Pijamaradus had not only attacked Wilusa, but also another ally of the Hittites, Manapa-Dattus, the king of the Seha river land, and he also attacked and pillaged Lazpas, an island in the Aegean sea.

Hattusilis eventually traveled to Millawanda, from which Pijamaradus and Tawagalwas had fled, and it is while there that he composed his letter to the Ahhiyawan king, asking for the extradition of Pijamaradus, but not wanting to start a war (183), even though the king of Ahhiyawa may have actually been involved in the first attack in Wilusa (205). It was not long after this, however, that we find the deposed ruler of Wilusa in exile (205). This letter, and the other information pertaining to Wilusa, was found in the archives of the "Hittite Foreign Office" by Winckler in 1906-1908 in the ruins of Hattusas (the Hittite name for Baghazköy) (Ceram 59; 174).

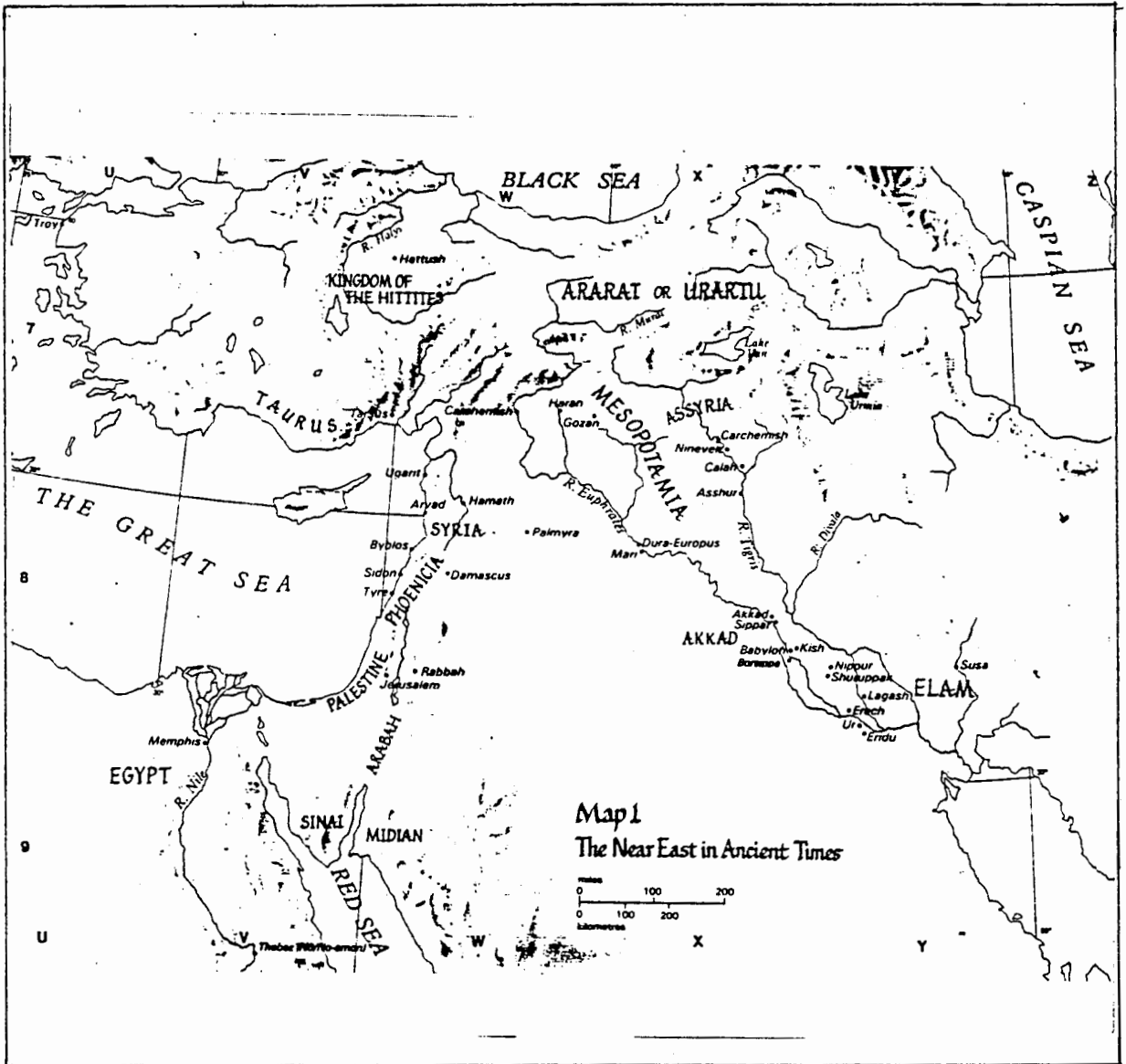


Fig. 9. The Ancient Near East at the time of Ikhnaton, King Hattusilus III, and, possibly, Menelaos, Helen, and Odysseus. Troy is in the upper-left corner on the west edge of Anatolia, the land of the Hittites; Map 1 in the New Jerusalem Bible.

For in the beginning was the word:

And Heaven came, bringing on night and longing for love, and he lay about Earth spreading himself full upon her. Then the son from his ambush stretched forth his left hand and in his right took the great long sickle with jagged teeth, and swiftly lopped off his own father's members and cast them away to fall behind him. And not vainly did they fall from his hand ; for all the bloody drops that gushed forth Earth received, and as the seasons moved round she bare the strong Erinyes and the great Giants with gleaming armour, holding long spears in their hands, and the Nymphs whom the call Meliae^[40] all over the boundless earth. And so soon as he had cut off the members with flint and cast them from the land into the surging sea, they were swept away over the main a long time : and a white foam spread around them from the immortal flesh, and in it there grew a maiden. First she drew near holy Cythera, and from there, afterwards, she came to sea-girt Cyprus, and came forth an awful and lovely goddess, and grass grew up about her beneath her shapely feet. Her gods and men call Aphrodite, and the foam-born goddess and rich-crowned Cytherea, because she grew amid the foam, Cytherea because she reached Cythera, and Cyprogenes because she was born in billowy Cyprus, and Philommedes^[41] because she sprang from the members. And with her went Eros, and comely Desire followed her at her birth at the first and as she went into the assembly of the gods. This honour she has from the beginning, and this is the portion allotted to her amongst men and undying gods,--the whisperings of maidens and smiles and deceits with sweet delight and love and graciousness. (Hesiod, Theogony lines 177-206)

Aphrodite was the wife of Hephaestus, the god of craftsmen and the keeper of the "creative flame" (Pierre Grimal, "Greece" 129). In The Odyssey, it is Hephaestus whom the minstrel sings of, Hephaestus who makes the net of chains "light as a cobweb" (Homer Od. 8.292) to catch Aphrodite with her lover Arês, and "So trussed, they could

not move apart, nor rise" (Od. 8.310). Thus Hephaestus also became the god of cuckoldry. Arês was the god of war, "the sacker of towns" (Theogony 936), and his sister Eris was the goddess of Discord. Both they and Aphrodite were destined to be inexorably bound to the fate of the Hittites's allies, the Drdny.

On the wedding day of King Peleus, a "strong man whom the gods loved" (Il. 24.73), and the "Silvery footed" sea nymph Thetis (Il. 24.147), those two who were destined to be the parents of Achilles (whom the Hittites were to know better as Pijamaradus), all the gods and goddesses were present except Eris, who had not been invited. A banquet followed and during the celebration Eris, the sower of Discord, threw a golden apple into the banquet hall which had an inscription on it reading "to the most beautiful" (Grimal, "Greece" 133). Hera, Athene, and Aphrodite were in attendance, and each felt she deserved the apple. Zeus could not decide which goddess was most beautiful. He therefore moved the contest to Mount Ida in Ilios where Paris, Aléxandros, was tending some sheep and was to act as judge (Wood, In Search 21), or as Helen tells it in Euripides's The Trojan Women:

Alexander was the judge of the goddess trinity.

Pallas Athene would have given him power to lead the Phrygian arms on Hellas and make it desolate.

All Asia was Hera's promise, and the uttermost zones

of Europe for his lordship, if her way prevailed.
 But Aphrodite, picturing my loveliness,
 promised it to him, if he would say her beauty surpassed
 all others. . . . (lines 924-931)

The story is also related (but just barely and not
 until the final book) in the Iliad:

. . . Aléxandros
 made his mad choice and piqued two goddesses,
 visitors in his sheepfold: he praised
 a third, who offered ruinous lust. (Il. 33-36)

Aléxandros first met Helen at Amyklai in Lakonia where
 the palace of Menelaos stood (Wood 21). Menelaos and
 Agamemnon had fled to Amyklai from Mycenae after Aegisthus
 had killed Atreus, their father (Grimal 159). Agamemnon had
 previously stayed in Amyklai, having been threatened by the
 brothers of Clytemnestra after his marriage to her.
 Clytemnestra was the daughter of Tyndareus and Leda and she
 was the sister of Helen. When Agamemnon and Menelaos
 arrived in Amyklai, they found a gathering of princes there,
 each vying for the hand of Helen. Tyndareus was to choose
 who the lucky suitor would be, but feared any choice he made
 would cause war. Odysseus, the prince of Ithaca, suggested
 to him that all the suitors be bound by an oath to accept
 whoever Helen chose and to agree to give aid to the chosen
 suitor if anyone violated his rights. This was agreed to
 and Helen chose Menelaos (Grimal 159).

6:07 p.m. CST, January 16, 1991. Marlin Fitzwater announces that war has begun between the United States and Iraq.

Chapter III

Menelaos feasted Aléxandros for ten days in his house when that prince of Troy came to visit. But Menelaos had to depart for Crete and Helen, the gift to Aléxandros Aphrodite had promised, departed with Aléxandros. In doing so Helen abandoned her only daughter: Hermione.

Menelaos sought help from his older brother, Agamemnon, and they gathered the Greek princes together who were bound by their oath to help. They met at Aulis. As Homer tells, there were 164 kingdoms represented (Wood 132):

Next were the men who held the well-built city,
 Mykênai, and rich Korinth, and Kleônai,
 and Orneiai and fair Araithyréa
 and Sikyôn where first Adrêstas ruled;

 Their hundred ships
 were under the command of Agamémnon,
 son of Atreus: he it was who led
 by far the greatest number and the best. . . .

 Next, those of Lakedaimôn, land of gorges,
 men who had lived at Pharis, Sparta, Messê
 haunted by doves, Bryseiai, fair Augeiai,
 Amyklai, too, and Helos by the sea,
 and Lass and the land around Oitylos:

These Menelaos, Agamémnon's brother,
 lord of the warcry, led with sixty ships,
 and drawn up separately from all the rest
 they armed, as Menelaos on his own
 burned to arouse his troops to fight. He burned
 to avenge the struggles and groans of Helen.

.
 Idomeneus, famed as a spear-fighter,
 led the Kretans: all who came from Knossos,
 Gortyn, the town of many walls, and Lyktos,
 Milêtos and Lykastos, gleaming white,
 Phaistos and Rytion, those pleasant towns--
 all from that island of a hundred cities
 served under Idomeneus, the great spearman,
 whose second in command, Merionês,
 fought like the slaughtering god of war himself.
 Eighty black ships had crossed the sea with these.
 (Il. 569-658)

From Aulis the Greeks, who then called themselves
 "Achaiwoi" and "Dannans or Argives" (Wood, In Search 21, 178),
 sailed toward what the Achaiwoi called Wilios, the W having
 been dropped from later Greek (Wood 142). In Wilios was
 Troia, home of the Dardanians (19), where fair Helen was.
 In a lost tragedy of Euripides the story is told of Telephus,
 a king of Mysia, who was attacked by the Achaiwoi when they
 mistook Telephus's kingdom for Troia (Grimal, "Greece" 160).

Troas, that area which surrounded Troia, was in turn a subdivision of Mysia ("Mysia"), and Mysia may have been known as Wilusa by the Hittites. Telephus defeated the Achaiwoi and they returned to Achaiwia (Wood 206; 178) to reassemble eight years later at Aulis:

and winds from the north pinned down our hulls at Aulis,
 port of anguish . . . head winds starving,
 sheets and the cables snapped
 and the men's minds strayed,
 the pride, the bloom of Greece
 was raked as time ground on,
 ground down, and then the cure for the storm
 and it was harsher--Calchas cried,
 "My captains, Artemis must have blood!"--
 as harsh the sons of Atreus
 dashed their scepters on the rocks,
 could not hold back the tears . . .

(Aeschylus, Ag. lines 193-204)

Agamemnon, having offended Artemis by killing her stag, then sacrificed Iphigenia and became, Pound says, the "father of war / Agamemnon killed that stag, against hunting rites" (C89 602). The winds then changed and the fleet, those ships from Mycenae, Lakonia, and Miletus (Millawanda), was free to sail to the Dardanelles, where near there Troia lay. They first stopped at Lesbos and Tenedos and then beached their ships at Troy (Wood 23). During the time

before the actual battle began, Achilles and Agamemnon
raided and sacked Lesbos, Skyros, Tenedos, Chryse, and
Lyrnessus (Wood 23; Grimal 160), and Achilles took Lyrnessos
and:

broke that town
in one charge, with Athêna and Lord Zeus,
making its women spoil, taking their day
of freedom from them. . . . (Il. 20.193-196)

The war itself lasted ten years and Taruisa was reduced
to rubble and the news was winged by the god of fire from
Mount Ida to Mycenae:

From Troy

to the bare rock of Lemnos, Hermes' Spur,
and the Escort winged the great light west
to the Saving Father's face, Mount Athos hurled it
third in the chain and leaping Ocean's back
the blaze went dancing on to ecstasy--pitch pine
streaming gold like a newborn sun--and brought
the word in flame to Mount Makistos' brow. . . .

(Ag. 283-290)

But one of Troy's sons was destined to rule in a
new land. His name was Aeneas, the son of Anchises and
Aphrodite, and he was forced into exile:

And that was when Troy was down, all right,

superbo Ilion...

And they were sailing along

Sitting in the stern-sheets,
 Under the lee of an island
 And the wind drifting off from the island.
 "Tet, tet..."

what is it?" said Anchises.

"Tethnéké," said the helmsman, "I think they
 "Are howling because Adonis died virgin."

"Huh! tet..." said Anchises,

"well, they've made a bloody mess of that city."

"King Otreus, of Phrygia,
 "that king is my father."

and saw then, as of waves taking form,
 As the sea, hard, a glitter of crystal,
 And the waves rising but formed, holding their form.
 No light reaching through them. (C23 109)

Chapter IV

The ship Aeneas sailed on was most probably made of timber which was naturally curved (Chapelle, "Ships"). It may have been what is known as a single-level galley, or one-banked galley (Chapelle, "Galley"). These were long and narrow open boats with short decks on either end with a gangway running down the center over where the rowers sat. The oars pivoted through ports cut in the topsides and above these hung shields on a rail most likely made from rope, the rowers' shields hanging there to protect the rowers from the

enemy. On the Greek one-banked galleys there were approximately twenty rowers per side and the galley itself was from 75 to 80 feet long and usually had a single mast and sail as well (Chapelle, "Galley").

As early as the Assyrian Empire, which was around the time of the Hittites, two-banked galleys were being constructed, i.e., with one bank of rowers seated above the other, and with a fighting deck above both banks. Early Greek vase paintings also show one-banked galleys with such a deck (Chapelle). So it is possible that Aeneas was sailing on either a one or two-banked galley, Troy having fallen in the Bronze Age when the Assyrian and Hittite empires were at their peak, and while the Israelites were crossing the desert, the Red Sea having parted so that there was no need for them to build either a one-banked or two-banked galley.

Aeneas, having been twice-saved by his divine mother during the battle for Helen, and after having taken a few detours, arrived in Carthage, blown there by a strong storm. Carthage was founded by the Phenicians, from Tyre (Tyrians, as Virgil calls them) who were led by a woman named Elissa. Homer knew the Phenicians as the Sidonians. So, too, did the writers of the Old Testament. The Phenicians established their first settlements in the 28th century BC. Phenicia was a loosely-united group of city-kingdoms on a narrow strip of land on the east coast of the Mediterranean

where modern-day Lebanon now slowly self-destructs. Egypt, intent on building an empire, invaded Phenicia around 1800 BC and held this territory until 1400 BC when the Hittites raided Egyptian territory and gave the Phenicians an opening to become independent ("Phenicia"). The Phenician language belongs to the Canaanite group, as does Hebrew, of the northwest branch of the Semitic languages. The alphabet we use came to us, by way of the Greeks and Romans, from the Phenicians ("Phenician Language"). In the Phenicians's heyday, Tyre and Sidon were two of the most powerful city-kingdoms and often traded positions as the dominant city.

Tyre being a commercial city the Phenicians were in need of good ships. They were the "most able shipbuilders of ancient times" (Chapelle, "Ships"). They were, also, the first to use two or more banks of oars. A two-banked vessel was known as a bireme, a three-banked as a trieme. The Greeks, after Helen's and probably Homer's times, began using quadremes and quinquiremes. In Phenician, Carthage is "Qart Hadashast," which means "new city" or "new capital" (P. G. Walsh 17). By Homer's day, and for 500 years after, Carthage would be the great commercial center of the Mediterranean. It was at "Qart Hadasht" that Aeneas met Elissa. Virgil, however, calls her Dido (Walsh 17).

Dido and Aeneas became lovers, but this was not to last, for Jove sent Mercury to remind Aeneas of his destiny:

. . . "What are you doing,
 Forgetful of your kingdom and your fortunes,
 Building for Carthage? Woman-crazy fellow,
 The ruler of the gods, the great compeller
 Of heaven and earth, has sent me from Olympus
 With no more word than this: what are you doing,
 With what ambition wasting time in Libya?
 If your own fame and fortune count as nothing,
 Think of Ascanius at least, whose kingdom
 In Italy, whose Roman land, are waiting
 As promise justly due." (Aen. 4.268-278)

Aeneas left Carthage and finally landed on the shores of Italy where the Sybil guided him through the underworld. There they crossed the river Styx with help from Charon and, after speaking to Dido, Aeneas travels to Elysium to visit with his father, Anchises. Anchises explains to him how souls come to the River Lethe to be cleansed and once more return to life, and then Anchises shows Aeneas his offspring that were to found the Eternal City, Rome:

"Glory to come, my son, illustrious spirits
 Of Dardan lineage, Italian offspring,
 Heirs of our name, begetters of our future!
 These I will name for you tell our fortunes:
 First, leaning on a headless spear, and standing
 Nearest the light, that youth, the first to rise
 To the world above, is Silvius; his name

Is Alban; in his veins Italian blood
 Will run with Trojan; he will be the son
 Of your late age; Lavinia will bear him,
 A king and sire of kings; from him our race
 Will rule in Alba Longa . . .

.

"And there will be a son of Mars; his mother
 Is Ilia, and his name is Romulus,
 Assaracus' descendant. On his helmet
 See, even now, twin plumes; his father's honor
 Confers distinction on him for the world.
 Under his auspices Rome, that glorious city,
 Will bound her power by earth, her pride by heaven
 Happy in hero sons, one wall surrounding
 Her seven hills . . .

.

Others, no doubt, will better mould the bronze
 To the semblance of soft breathing draw, from marble,
 The living countenance; and others plead
 With greater eloquence, or learn to measure,
 Better than we, the pathways of the heaven,
 The risings of the stars: remember, Roman,
 To rule the people under law, to establish
 The way of peace, to battle down the haughty,
 To spare the meek. Our fine arts, these, forever."

Anchises paused a moment, and they marvelled,

And he went on:--"See, how Marcellus triumphs,
 Glorious over all, with the great trophies
 Won when he slew the captain of the Gauls,
 Leader victorious over leading foeman.
 When Rome is in great trouble and confusion
 He will establish order, Gaul and Carthage
 Go down before his sword, and triple trophies
 Be given Romulus in dedication." (Aen. 6.787-905)

Following his journey through the underworld, Aeneas lands at Latium which is ruled by Latinus. Latinus was the father of Lavinia. An oracle had told Latinus he was not to give Lavinia's hand to anyone but an alien. Latinus believed Aeneas to be this alien and in rewarding Aeneas with Lavinia's favor, Latinus angered Turnus, the Latin suitor of Lavinia. Turnus then left the Latium and went to the Rutulians. Turnus was able to rouse the Latin population and the Rutulians against Aeneas and the Trojans when Ascanius killed a pet stag belonging to Sylvia, the daughter of the royal hersman, Tyrrheus. Aeneas, however, sought the help of Evander, an Arcadian who had settled on the Albula River (now the Tiber) where Rome would one day rise. Evander, too, was able to enlist the aid of the Etruscans. The Etruscans had been ruled by a cruel tyrant named Mezentius who had since joined Turnus in the battle against the Trojans. Therefore the Etruscans, who desired to bring Mezentius to justice for his cruelty, joined in

the battle in which the Trojans and Etruscans eventually gained the upper hand, although the war did not end until Juno, who aided Turnus throughout the war, agreed to allow Aeneas to win a duel fought with Turnus if Jove agreed that the Trojans must take the Latin tongue and style of dress, and the Trojan warriors forget their Trojan origins (Aen. Books 8-12).

Aeneas then married Lavinia and reigned over Latium. After Aeneas's death, Ascanius ruled at Lavinium while Lavinia went to live with Tyrrheus. Lavinia gave birth to the son of Aeneas, Aeneas Sylvius, and returned to Lavinium to rule when Ascanius decided to found Alba Longa. Ascanius then had a son named Iulus, and in an agreement worked out after the death of their parents, Iulus and his descendents, it was decided, would rule in matters of religion, and Aeneas Sylvius and his descendants would become kings (Abbott 171).

And Aeneas Sylvius begat Latinus Silvius who begat Alba who begat Atys. Then Capys ruled, then Capetus, then Tiberinus drowned in the Albula and thus the river's name became Tiber, and Agrippa then ruled and begat Romulus Silvius. And Romulus Silvius was struck by lightning and power came to Aventinus and then Proca gained power and begat Numitor and then Amulius. And Amulius usurped power and drove Numitor out of Alba Longa and decreed that all of Numitor's male children should die. And Numitor begat Rhea

Silvia and Amulius decreed that she shall be a Vestal Virgin so that no heirs of Numitor would rule. And Mars raped Rhea Silvia and begat Romulus and Remus and Amulius decreed that these twins were to be drowned. And Romulus and Remus were placed in a basket and set in the flood waters of the Tiber and the waters receded and a she-wolf suckled the twins until Faustulus, the royal herdsman, found said basket and gave Romulus and Remus to his wife to raise. And when Romulus and Remus were young men they killed Amulius and restored Numitor to power (Livy 37-39; 1.3-1.6). And Romulus begat Rome.

Chapter V

The Capitoline wolf, the bronze statue of the she-wolf which suckled Romulus and Remus, the "Symbol of Rome," is of 5th century BC Etruscan origin. The figures of the twin boys were added during the Renaissance (Gore 736). As for the origin of the Etruscans, historians are uncertain.

Hesiod, in his Theogony, calls the Etruscans Tyrsenians:

And Circe the daughter of Helius, Hyperion's son, loved steadfast Odysseus and bare Agrius and Latinus who was faultless and strong: also she brought forth Telegonus by the will of golden Aphrodite. And they ruled over the famous Tyrsenians, very far off in a recess of the holy islands. (1011-1016)

Around 1200 BC, the Mycenaean trading empire, that empire which kings such as Agamemnon had represented, collapsed. Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, Thebes, Orchomenos, Araxos, Krisa, Menelaion, and Miletus were destroyed (Wood, In Search 214; Keller 10). The Achaiwoi forgot how to write. The Hittite empire collapsed (Gore 719). Both the Assyrians and Egyptians were attacked by what were called the Sea Peoples. In fact, the "Sea Peoples" got their name from the Egyptians (Wood 217). They were not a single group, however, but a conglomerate of a number of people migrating at this time (Wood 217-218). The cause of these migrations might possibly have been a vast drought (222). This led Herodotus to believe that the Tyrrhenians migrated to Italy from Lydia, although Dionysius of Halicarnassus believed the Etruscans were native to Italy (Gore 718). Massimo Pallotino, the foremost Etruscan scholar of our day, says the Etruscans were always in Italy, possibly "two or three thousand years before Christ" (qtd. in Gore 719):

Careful study of the archeological documents in our possession is sufficient to persuade us that both the predominant role and absolute chronological priority in the formation of the civilization of ancient Italy belong to Etruria. (qtd. in Keller 22)

The Etruscans were an agricultural people. They began the intensive cultivation of the olive and the grape, which before had grown naturally in Italy (Gore 730). They built dams and canals for collecting surplus water for

irrigation (Keller 55). They developed a system of cuniculation, learned, probably, from the Phenicians, using underground tunnels to drain the land of excess water (Keller 54). Farmers these days still use this system, installing vast lengths of plastic tile lines. It was the Etruscans, too, who drained the swamps at Palentine. The Etruscans also built artificial lakes to catch the winter rain water which was then carried by terra-cota pipes to the vineyards (Keller 55). In 1951, Guilio Del Pelo Pardi, an Italian anthropologist and agricultural engineer interested in the "history and pre-history of agriculture" and who was working with Boris de Rachewiltz, the son-in-law of an American poet named Ezra Pound, discovered ancient canals near Rome, "a perfectly engineered irrigation system" which was "far too old by many thousands of years to fit in with established chronology" (Stock, Reading 111): "(Del Pelo Pardi / came on cunicoli)" (C91 724).

The Etruscans developed a breed of horse whose descendents still race at Sienna, one of the original Etruscan settlements (Keller 56; Gore 745). They raised sheep and hogs (the hogs were grazed on acorns and trained to obey the herdsman's trumpet call) (Keller 56). In the Chiana valley, where the province of Tuscany is, that province from whence came Guido Cavalcanti, the Etruscans developed a breed of white cattle called the chianini (Gore 713; Friend 95). Today they are called the Chianina and

are the largest domestic cattle in the world (Friend 95). The Chianina are all white with black hooves, eyelids, and switches. Calves are tan until three to four months old. "Italy" is derived from Italia which is derived from the Greek word Fitalia which means "land of cattle" or "land of calves" (Boak and Sinnigen 7; Keller 13). The Chianina were bred for draft purposes and meat. It was these animals the Etruscans plowed the red soil of Etruria with. Etruria stretched from Rome to Pisa and there were variations in the size of these Chinina due to climate and variations in the quality of grazing lands. The largest today are those near Sienna; the smallest are those in the mountains near Florence. Near Pisa the animals are of an intermediate size. An official Herd Book was started in 1932, sponsored by the Italian government of Benito Mussolini (Friend 96).

In the late sixties and early seventies, American cattlemen imported and used much Chianina semen to increase the size of American beef cattle. For years in the United States, the model of the ideal beef animal was the short and the wide, but to improve carcass weight and the quality of the meat, a taller, leaner animal was desired. The Chianina, developed 2700 years ago, became the new model. If I remember correctly, the Chianina cross, due to double muscling and calving difficulties, lost favor with American cattlemen. But these problems were solved with other, similar breeds from Europe, and possibly, though I don't

know, cattelman solved the problem with the Chianina itself. These white cattle, used as draft animals in Italy to plow the red earth, were to play a role in the life of another American, an American poet in an American Army prison camp, grasping at anything to save his mind, and his life, too, I suspect, near Pisa shortly after Italy fell to the Allies in World War II:

and as for the solidity of the white oxen in all this

perhaps only Dr Williams (Bill Carlos)

will understand its importance,

its benediction. He wd/ have put in the cart.

(And the Jaz slidin' down Pike's Peak on a tea tray)

The shadow of the tent's peak treads on its corner peg marking the hour. The moon split, no cloud nearer the Lucca. In the spring and autumn

In "The Spring and Autumn"

there

are

no

righteous

wars

(C78 483)

It may be remembered that the herdsman Lavinia stayed with was named Tyrrheus and that the Greek name for the Etruscans was "Tyrrhenians." The first king of Rome, upon Rome becoming a city, was an Etruscan, Tarquinius Priscus

(Keller 121). The Etruscans ruled Rome for over a century, until 509 BC (Gore 734). It was Tarquinius who drained the swamps, laid out the city (Keller 123). It was the Etruscans that taught the Romans how to build roads (43). It was the Etruscans who taught the Romans to grow Triticum dicoccum, a strain of wheat called emmer (Keller 56). It was the Etruscans who taught the Gauls to make wine (Gore 730). The Etruscans most probably taught the Romans to make sandals (712). We have a "c" in our alphabet due to the Etruscans (726). They borrowed their alphabet from the Greeks who learned to write again during the Iron Age (725). The Etruscan language is a non Indo-European one of which only a few words are known.

On an Etruscan goblet, written in Greek letters, is the following inscription: "Ana Remiru has made me" (725). Ezra Pound and Edgar Williams (Edgar, the brother of Dr. Williams), found a column at the Church of San Zeno in Verona in 1911 with a similar inscription which read, in Latin, "ADAMINUS DESCO GEORG IO. ME FECI T," or as Pound has it in The Cantos: "Adamo me fecit" (C45 230), meaning, Terrell tells us, "Adam made me" (1:179). Perhaps it was not such an afterthought as Kenner suggests (Era 323). It was the Etruscans from whom the Romans took the toga (Gore 735). The Roman Catholic Church took the crozier still used today from the old Etruscan religious rite used to lay out a city, one the Romans adopted. A priest of the Etruscans

would take the staff and mark out the north-south and east-west axis of the cosmos, and then the streets were layed out accordingly. The wall, being sacred, was laid out using a white bull and white cow hitched to a plow, the cow being on the inside of the furrow, the plow turned so that the clods fell inward. The clods marked the wall, the furrow the ditch. At gates the plow was raised, for, Keller says, the gates were not sacred (83-85): "There is worship in plowing" (C99 711).

Ezra Pound's daughter by Olga Rudge, Mary, wedded Boris Baratti (who was half Russian and half Italian) in 1946. They eventually moved into a castle, Schloss Brunnenberg, near Tirolo in the Tyrol, the Tyrol variously part of Austria, or part of Italy, once stretching to Lake Garda (Carpenter 779-781; "Tirol"). Baratti requested from the Vatican permission to resurrect a title granted to a Ghibelline ancestor of his by the Holy Roman Emperor in the twelfth century. He was allowed to do so and Baratti became Prince Boris de Rachewiltz, examiner of cuniculi (Carpenter 781). Boris de Rachewiltz wrote Massime degli antichi Egiziani and is thus, as an Italian Egyptologist and Ezra Pound's son-in-law, somewhat responsible for the hieroglyphs in Rock-Drill (Kenner, Era 539). A portion of Schloss Brunnenberg is now, I heard on the radio one day, a museum of ancient farm equipment. Here in Iowa, where I live, and farmed, the most celebrated antique farm equipment is the

tractors made in the 1930s, 40s, and 50s, shortly after the introduction of which, most farmers quickly destroyed any evidence that they were ever backward enough to use anything like a draft animal or implement, much less any sort of plow which might have resembled anything the Etruscans may have used. "In the Spring and Autumn" the land looks dead: plowed black one way or the other, there being very little grazing or hay land left which might be used to fatten, say, white cattle with black hooves and switches and tan calves kicking up their heels, the plowing done as quickly as possible, the fences removed so as not to interfere with the speed of reaching the intended goal, the boundary fences removed so that even the weeds can't grow green there, and, so that, I suspect, the farmer can imagine that there are no boundaries or limits to what he could do with his/her four-wheel-drive tractor and a sixteen-foot chisel plow:

The founder must wear his toga girt up in the ceremonial fashion and must yoke a white bull and a white cow to a plow, the bull on the right and the cow on the left. The plowshare must be of bronze. Then he plows a furrow, the cow being led on the inside while he holds the plow so the clods fall inward. These clods of earth indicate the future city wall, and the furrow indicates the ditch. At places where a gate is to be, the plow is lifted up, for the gates are not sacred, though the wall is, and the whole area delimited by the furrow, which constitutes the city as templum, is a consecrated space. (Keller 84)

Is there worship in plowing?

Etruria was the largest trading partner Carthage had. They might have been the first to develop a two-masted ship

in the Archaic age, that age which followed the Bronze and the Dark ages (Gore 731). Pliny the elder believed the Etruscans were also the inventors of the ram. An early vase backs up his claim (735). In the glory days they ruled the seas. Livy says that around the time of Aeneas's landing, for example, "Etruria, indeed, had at this time both by sea and land filled the whole length of Italy from the Alps to the Sicilian strait with the noise of her name" (Early 36; 1.2).

At Populonia, in the sixth century, the Etruscans developed a major iron industry. The land in Tuscany was rich with iron. Oxen pulled ships loaded with ore from Elba up on the beaches at Populonia. There, huge furnaces burning cartload after cartload of wood from the interior removed the iron from the ore. These furnaces, however, were not very efficient. Only 30-40 percent of the iron was removed. The slag piled high on the beaches until it covered the burial tombs which were always placed outside of the city (Gore 730; Keller 60). Mussolini mined this slag to build bombs and tanks during World War II. He also borrowed something else from the Etruscans: the fascis, the bundle of rods enclosing a double-headed axe from which the Fascist party took its name (Keller 46). But as we have seen, the Etruscans lost Rome at the turn of the fifth century, and this began a decline of the great Etruscan

city-states (Gore 739), a sort of "collective suicide" it has been called (739), for the Etruscans were strong believers in fate.

The Greeks from Syracuse won a decisive battle at Cumae, near Naples, against the Etruscans in 474 BC, ending Etruscan mastery of the seas. The Gauls increasingly became a threat from the north. The Romans gave land to the peasants to buy their loyalty. The Etruscans, ruled by princes, had no such loyalty. The Rassenas, as they called themselves, were loyal only to their particular city (Gore 739). They believed their civilization would last only eight centuries. They in effect gave up trying, according to Mario Torelli, so powerful was their attachment to their view of fate:

Towards the end their priests would interpret such things as insect swarms as signs that the "last Etruscan century" had arrived. At the end they just wanted to merge with the Roman world.
(qtd. in Gore 739)

Chapter VI

It was 259 years after the Greeks from Syracuse contributed to the demise of the Etruscan civilization, that a fleet of sixtyquinqueremes commanded by Marcellus, that descendent of Aeneas whom Anchises had pointed out in the underworld, entered the Ionian Sea and began a siege of Syracuse. Each quinquereme carried 300 oarsmen in five banks and 120 Roman soldiers armed with bows and arrows,

(Ipsen 44). Marcellus tied eight of these quinqueremes together in pairs to make four large vessels called harps (45). The inside oars "being shipped so as to allow of the sides being brought together," and storied towers were built on the decks with machinery for battering the wall placed on these (History 3:220; 24.34).

Syracuse lies on the southeast coast of Sicily and was settled by Greeks from Corinth in 733 BC who drove away the Sicels from the island of Ortygia from which the city expanded to the mainland (Ipsen 10; "Syracuse"). By the time the Romans attacked, Syracuse had an outer wall surrounding this expansion and an inner wall surrounding the original settlement on Ortygia (Ipsen 10). For fifty-four years before the Roman attack the city was governed by a peace-loving "tyrant" named Hiero II. Hiero eventually aligned himself with the Romans during the First Punic War, supplying food to the Romans in turn for protection from Carthage (44). This gave Syracuse nearly perfect peace and allowed Hiero to build several public works without the use of excessive taxation (12).

Hiero was friends with the great mathematician Archimedes. It is Archimedes who is famous for running naked through the streets of Syracuse while shouting "Eureka!" which as we use it in English translates as "I have found it" (15). Archimedes is also famous for "Archimedes' principle," that is, his principle of

displacement. Archimedes performed a number of experiments with floating bodies and wrote two treatises discussing these experiments and propositions concerning floating bodies. In "On Floating Bodies I" Archimedes states in Proposition 6:

If a solid lighter than a fluid be forcibly immersed in it, the solid will be driven upwards by a force equal to the difference between its weight and the weight of the fluid displaced.
(Archimedes 57)

This explains why, say, a quinquereme loaded with 300 oarsmen and 120 warriors and their equipment will not sink, but instead rides in the water at the level where the weight of the water displaced equals the weight of the ship and crew and assorted machines of war, because the hull is designed to displace a volume of water heavier than the combined weight of the hull and cargo (Gifford). The Romans, nor anyone else before them, did not know this principle, although the hulls of ships had been designed to follow this law for centuries. But it was Archimedes, lying in his bathtub it is said, who formulated the principle and thus ran through the streets shouting "Eureka!"

Archimedes is also credited with the invention of the block and tackle, the windlass, the worm gear, and what is called Archimedes's screw (Ipsen 7-8; 29). His "screw," also known as the cochlias, was a device something like, I think (reports vary), a modern-day grain auger. Archimedes apparently saw a somewhat similar device in Egypt

which was used to raise irrigation water from a lower to a higher level (Ipsen 29). The illustration Ipsen provides at least looks like a modern-day grain auger, but E. J. Dijksterhuis says Vitruvius described it thus:

On a wooden cylinder, whose height is as many feet as the diameter finger's breadths, have been eight helices, which start from the vertices of a regular polygon in the upper surface and the pitch of which is equal to the circumference of the the basic circle. On these helices have been provided screw threads of flexible branches, which together from the imitation of the snail shell (. . . cochlea) to which the instrument owes its name. The height of these screw threads is such that the diameter of the thickened cylinder is equal to one-eighth the of the cylinder axis. The channels thus formed are covered with wood again, so that eight spiral tubes are formed. All the wood has been impregnated with pitch; the whole device is surrounded by iron bands. (qtd. in Dijksterhuis 22)

At any rate, the device was turned by someone, most often a slave probably, much like one runs a treadmill (Ipsen 29). In addition to these inventions, Archimedes also attempted to measure the distance to the sun and made other astronomical observations (for one, that Aristarchus could be right and the earth may indeed revolve around the sun), and he even built a couple of planetariums which imitated the motions of the celestial bodies by means of a mechanism. A phonograph record, if any one but me still uses such a device, plays because of a groove called an Archimedean spiral. Archimedes also came up with a problem to stump his rival, Apollonius of Perga, a problem

concerning Helios's cattle, those same cattle in Sicily which caused Odysseus so much grief when his men killed some for food. Archimedes's problem is a seemingly innocent one, Ipsen says, the elements of which are stated in small numbers (27):

It is required to find the number of bulls and cows of each of four colours, or to find 8 unknown quantities. The first part of the problem connects the unknowns by seven simple equations; and the second part adds two more conditions to which the unknowns must be subject.

Let $\underline{W}, \underline{w}$ be the numbers of white bulls and cows respectively,

$\underline{X}, \underline{x}$	"	"	black	"	"	"
$\underline{Y}, \underline{y}$	"	"	yellow	"	"	"
$\underline{Z}, \underline{z}$	"	"	dappled	"	"	"

First part.

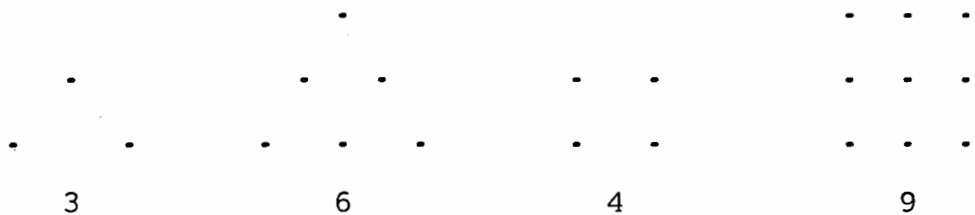
$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{(I)} \quad & \underline{W} = (1/2 + 1/3) \underline{X} + \underline{Y} \dots\dots\dots(\alpha), \\
 & \underline{X} = (1/4 + 1/5) \underline{Z} + \underline{Y} \dots\dots\dots(\beta), \\
 & \underline{Z} = (1/6 + 1/7) \underline{W} + \underline{Y} \dots\dots\dots(\gamma), \\
 \text{(II)} \quad & \underline{w} = (1/3 + 1/4)(\underline{X} + \underline{x}) \dots\dots\dots(\delta), \\
 & \underline{x} = (1/4 + 1/5)(\underline{Z} + \underline{z}) \dots\dots\dots(\epsilon), \\
 & \underline{z} = (1/5 + 1/6)(\underline{Y} + \underline{y}) \dots\dots\dots(\zeta), \\
 & \underline{y} = (1/6 + 1/7)(\underline{W} + \underline{w}) \dots\dots\dots(\eta),
 \end{aligned}$$

Second part

$$\begin{aligned}
 & \underline{W} + \underline{X} = \text{a square} \dots\dots\dots(\theta), \\
 & \underline{Y} + \underline{Z} = \text{a triangular number} \dots\dots\dots(\iota).
 \end{aligned}$$

(Archimedes 319)

If, as Ipsen says, the problem is solved by requiring that the black and white bulls added together ($\underline{W} + \underline{X}$ in the second part) do not have to form a perfect square (the shape of cattle being what it is), then the fewest number of Helios's cattle on Sicily, $\underline{W} + \underline{X}$ forming a rectangular shape, is 5,916,837,175,686 (28). However, just what is meant by a perfect square? Ipsen suggests that this means a perfect square shape. Heath says, that as posed in the problem, this would be a square number, such as p^2 (324). But Paul Hoffman suggests that a square number is that which can be represented by dots forming a square, triangular numbers being those that can be represented by dots forming a triangle:



But a triangular number is simply one which can be generated by adding consecutive integers starting with 1: $1 + 2 = 3$, $1 + 2 + 3 = 6$, and so on, and a square number is a squared integer: $2 \times 2 = 4$, and so on (Hoffman 30-31). On the other hand, Hoffman, Heath, and Ipsen all report the same answer. Therefore, if one sticks to the rules and the black and white bulls added together must form a perfect square (number or figure), then the entire number of

cattle = 7766 $\langle 206541 \rangle$. Which means, there are 206,541 places after 7766, and Heath tells us that to write down all the values for the eight unknown quantities would require a volume 660 pages long (326). In fact, a Cray 1 supercomputer was used at the Lawrence Livermore lab in 1981 to find the value of all the 206,541 digits following 7766, and the 47 pages printed out were reprinted (in small type) in the Journal of Recreational Mathematics (Hoffman 31-32). It is not known if Archimedes ever solved the problem himself; nor do I know if Archimedes took into account those kine killed by Odysseus's men.

Archimedes was the first to mathematically compute the value of pi, coming as close as assigning a value to pi at somewhere between 3.141 and 3.143. He did this by what is known as "squaring the circle," but instead of simple squares to find the circumference of a circle, Archimedes used a ninety-six sided polygon to get as accurate a measure of pi as possible (Ipsen 32-35). In 1882, however, the Dutch mathematician Ferdinand Lindemann proved that pi is a transcendental number and that squaring the circle is impossible by any process ("Pi"). The actual value of pi, or to be more exact, of pi to only fifty places, is:

3.141592658979323846264338327950288419716939937510.

In 1961, a computer was used to figure pi to more than 100,000 places and in 1967 another was used to calculate pi to more than 500,000 places. However, previous to this,

a 32-year-old Indian man died leaving behind a formula for pi with no explanation as to how he arrived at the formula. But that did not seem to much matter, for no one bothered to test the formula for the next 66 years. But when someone did, again on a computer, the result was pi to 17 million figures (Ipsen 36). "Poetry," Pound said, "is a sort of inspired mathematics . . ." (SR 5).

Archimedes was also the first to prove the basic law of the lever (Ipsen 19)), that is, for any two weights that balance on a lever, the weight times the distance to the pivot is always equal (20). From his investigation of balance Archimedes went on to study the centers of gravity of floating objects and how to determine whether these objects will float upright. Gravity pulls downward on any object with a single force through the center of gravity, the balance point for these forces of gravity, and buoyancy presses upward through the center of gravity of the fluid displaced by the floating body, at what is called the center of buoyancy (21). When a ship tips, both the center of gravity and the center of buoyancy must move in the direction the ship tips in order for the ship to remain upright, and in addition, the center of buoyancy must move further than the center of gravity (22). Ipsen suggests that Archimedes may have been able to test his findings on a ship he designed for Hiero, the Lady of Syracuse (22-23).

The Lady of Syracuse carried three masts and was propelled by 600 oarsmen. There were eight turrets which carried armed warriors and the ship had a large catapult which could be used to launch stones weighing 175 pounds and javelins 18 feet long. But the ship also was the largest cargo vessel of its time and above its hold there were two more levels: the top containing a gymnasium, bronze bathtubs, and a paneled library. There was, too, a shrine to Aphrodite aboard, and, finally, the mid-level, where the cabins and galley were, had a mosaic floor which told the story of the Trojan War (23).

Chapter VII

According to Livy, during the Second Punic War, Hiero's grandson, who was inexperienced and rather arrogant at that, was easily fooled by a number of intrigues so that Syracuse's allegiance switched to Carthage (History 3: 186-193; 24.4-9). Thus the sixty quinqueremes of Marcellus sailed into the Ionian Sea.

But the battle for Syracuse was not to be an easy one, mostly because of Archimedes: "Unrivalled as he was as an observer of the heavens and the stars, he was still more wonderful as the inventor and creator of military works and engines . . ." (History 3:219; 24.34). Archimedes had placed catapults on the walls which showered Marcellus's ships with stones and spears. These catapults were of an

unusual design for this time, as the range could be adjusted at will. Marcellus thought he could then get close enough to the wall to avoid the catapults, but Archimedes had loopholes in the wall, 20 inches wide, so that missiles could be fired while those firing these missiles were protected. And, furthermore, Archimedes had designed a crane which grabbed several of Marcellus's harps by the prow and tipped them on end, thus causing Marcellus to say that Archimedes was using Marcellus's ships to "ladle out the sea" (Ipsen 46). There is, too, a legend which states that Archimedes also used several focusing mirrors to set fire to the enemies' ships. Galileo thought the legend true. Descartes did not. The theory was tested by one Georges Buffon, the "near-dictatorial" director of the Jardin du Roi in Paris. Buffon set up 168 6 x 8 inch mirrors in the Botanical gardens and aimed them at a piece of tarred fir 50 meters away. The wood burst into flames. A Greek later approached the problem in a slightly different fashion. Using 50-60 men armed with polished shields the size of ancient Greek shields, he successfully set a mock ship on fire in two minutes (48-49).

Marcellus decided to starve the Syracusans out. But he did not have to do so, for he and his men were able at last to scale the walls during the feast of Artemis, when most of the Syracusans apparently were drunk (Ipsen 50). The city was sacked but Marcellus gave orders that no free

citizen was to be killed (Ipsen 51). A Roman soldier, however, apparently found Archimedes drawing geometrical figures in the sand and not knowing who he was, killed him. Marcellus saw that Archimedes was given a decent funeral and burial (Livy, History 3:277-278; 25.31). He kept Archimedes's two planetariums as booty (Dijksterhuis 23).

On May 23, 1943, the Allies began the bombardment, by sea and air, of Syracuse and the rest of Sicily. The land invasion began during the night of July 9-10. 3200 ships landed Allied troops on the beaches and parachute troops of the US 82nd Airborne were dropped at several sites. General Montgomery commanded the British and Canadian troops who took Syracuse. General George Patton commanded the Seventh Army on the west side of the island. On July 16, President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill addressed the Italian people in a joint radio message, urging them to surrender so as to avoid mass devastation. The Fascist government "scornfully" rejected the suggestion in a July 18 broadcast over Rome Radio. Sicily fell in 38 days. Mussolini lost nearly all of his support in Italy. The Fascist Grand Council gave him a vote of no-confidence and King Victor Emmanuel III ordered Mussolini to resign on July 25. Ezra Pound was indicted for treason the next day (Carpenter 620). Mussolini was arrested and the Fascist Party was dissolved on July 28 ("Italy;" "World War II"):

The Jap observers were much amused because
 The Turkish freemasons hadn't bothered to
 Take the..... regimental badges off their artillery.

And old Hamish: Menelik

Had a hunch that machinery...and so on...

But he never could get it to work,

never could get any power.

The Germans wd. send him up boilers, but they'd
 Have to cut 'em into pieces to load 'em on camels,
 And they never got 'em together again.

And so old Hamish went out there,

And looked at the place, 3 rivers

And a hundred and forty ravines,

And he sent out two tractors, one to pull on the other

And Menelik sent down an army, a 5000 black army

With hawsers, and they all sweated and swatted.

And the first thing Dave lit on when they got there

Was a buzz-saw,

And he put it through an ebony log: whhssh, t ttt,

Two days' work in three minutes.

War, one war after another,

Men start 'em who couldn't put up a good hen-roost.

Also sabotage...

(C18 83)

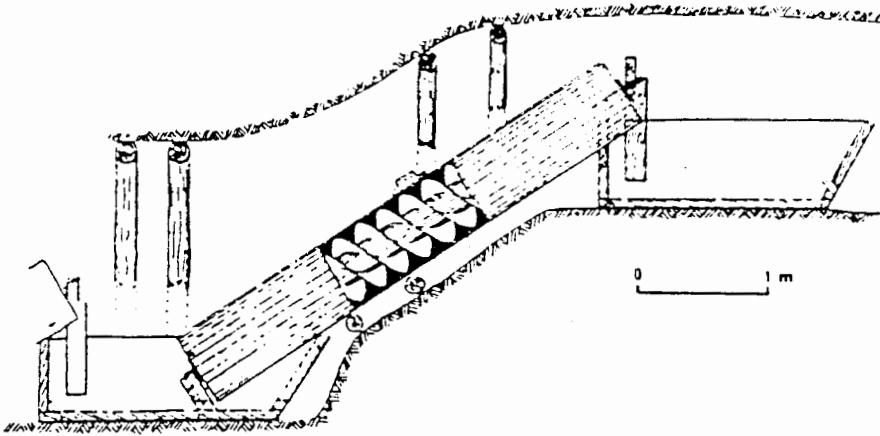


Fig. 10. A drawing of an Archimedean screw based on one such device found in an ancient Roman mine; rpt. on title-page of Ipsen's Archimedes.

Chapter VIII

And Aeneas begat Ascanius who begat Silvius who loved the niece of Lavinia and married her and made her pregnant. And the soothsayers said Lavinia's niece would give birth to a boy who would kill both his mother and father and be exiled in many lands and then rise to the highest honor (Geoffry of Monmouth 54-55).

The girl gave birth to a son and died in childbirth and the child was named Brutus and at the age of fifteen killed his father in a hunting accident, the boy having thought he was aiming at a stag. And his relations expelled the child from Italy and Brutus made his way to Greece where he found

Trojans descended from Helenus (Priam's son) who was kidnapped by Achilles at the fall of Troy. These Trojans were still held in captivity, but with the help of Brutus they are freed, and as part of the agreement reached with the Greeks, Brutus marries the daughter of King Pandrasus, Ignoge, and is given 324 ships loaded with grain. The Trojans once more set sail, landing, eventually, at an uninhabited isle called Leogetia (55-64).

Brutus sends 300 men to scout the isle and the men find a deserted city with a temple of Diana (Artemis) there. Brutus's men return to the ship and suggest to Brutus that he go to the temple and offer a sacrifice to learn what land Diana would give them for a safe dwelling (64-65):

By the common consent of all, Brutus took with him the Augur Gero and twelve of the older men and set out for the temple, carrying everything necessary for a sacrifice. When they reached the place, they wrapped fillets round their brows and, according to the age-old rite, they set up three sacrificial hearths to the three gods: to Jupiter, that is, to Mercury and to Diana. To each in turn they poured a libation. Brutus stood before the altar of the goddess, holding in his right hand a vessel full of sacrificial wine mixed with the blood of a white hind, and with his face upturned towards the statue of the godhead he broke the silence with these words: 'O powerful goddess, terror of the forest glades, yet hope of the wild woodlands, you who have the power to go in orbit through the airy heavens and the halls of hell, pronounce a judgement which concerns the earth. Tell me which lands you wish us to inhabit. Tell me of a safe dwelling-place where I am to worship you down the ages, and where, to the chanting of maidens, I shall dedicate temples to you.' This he said nine times; four times he proceeded round the altar, pouring the wine. . . . (65)

Brutus then lies on the skin of a stag he has killed and falls asleep. In a vision Diana tells Brutus to go "past the realms of Gaul" where an island once inhabited by giants lays and there he is to found a new Troy (65). The island is Albion, which Brutus calls Britain "from his own name" (72) and there, on the banks of the River Thames, he builds Troia Nova (73). On several of the stones of Stonehenge there can be seen the carvings of double-headed axes and daggers of a type used by the Achaiwoi in Mycenae ("Stonehenge").

The Britons (or Celts) used a two-ox plow and also introduced the use of the silo (Ashley 7). These silos were underground and were used to store roasted grain. The Celts's fields were usually no larger than 400 feet square due to the fact that their plows were unable to penetrate the heavy soil of the valleys and the upland fields had to be plowed and cross-plowed many times with plows that barely scratched the surface (Birley 6). This is why the outlines of these fields are still visible today. From the air, the small, Celtic field systems can be seen, in some cases from the first millenium BC, and superimposed on these boundaries are those of the Iron Age, the Roman, and the Saxon (Birley 6; Wood, Domesday 33; 66). In Britain land has been cultivated since Neolithic times and there are, Wood says, signs everywhere "on the ground: Bronze Age barrows and ring ditches, Iron Age forts, dykes, ways and field systems, and

the Roman, Saxon, medieval and modern overlay" (33). Those who left these signs resemble those men Thoreau speaks of in the Week whom you would see on a journey up the Concord, the men who worked the land:

You shall see rude and sturdy, experienced and wise men, keeping their castles, or teaming up their summer's wood, or chopping alone in the woods, men fuller of talk and rare adventure in the sun and wind and rain, than a chestnut is of meat; who were out not only in '75 and 1812, but have been out every day of their lives; greater men than Homer, or Chaucer, or Shakespeare, only they never got time to say so; they never took to the way of writing. Look at their fields, and imagine what they might write, if ever they should put pen to paper. Or what have they not written on the face of the earth already, clearing, and burning, and scratching, and harrowing, and ploughing, and subsoiling, in and in, and out and out, and over and over, again and again, erasing what they had already written for want of parchment. (9)

But the record

the palimpsest--

a little light

in great darkness--

cuniculi--

(C116 795)

Celtic is, too, an Indo-European language but is distinguished by the absence of the Indo-European p sound. It is most closely related to the Italic and Germanic members of the Indo-European family. The name of the Celts comes from the Greek form of the Celtic word for "heroes" or "lofty ones": Keltoi. The Goidels (or Gaels) tribe of Celts occupied "Albion" in the second millenium BC. They were

followed by the Brythons in the fifth or fourth century BC ("Celts"). The earliest art of the Celtic peoples was produced at Lake Neuchâtel in Switzerland, near where Louis Agassiz was born and where he would establish a museum and college of natural history ("Celtic Art;" Lurie 52 and 68). The Celts built stone monuments and several types of bronze artworks decorated with elliptical curves, spirals, engraved lines, and dots.

In Britain the Celts lived in stone farmhouses, spun yarn, and cooked with bronze utensils. These Britons fought amongst themselves using two-wheeled chariots based on a design of the Etruscans. Their priests were the Druids, who preached immortality and the transmigration of souls, and worship took place in sacred groves and temples (Ashley 7). They called themselves Tuatha de Danann, "people of the goddess Dana" (G. Roth and P. M. Duval 347). They were not destined to long rule Britain. Belgic tribes, (a mixture of Celt and Teuton) arrived in 75 BC and forced the original Britons further into the interior. These Belgics were mighty warriors and also brought with them the potter's wheel, gold coins, and the eight-ox plow, the caruca, which had a coulter and ground-wrest. They occupied what is now Kent, Middlesex, and Hertfordshire (Birley 6; Ashley 8).

Gaius Julius Caesar beached his galleys on the coast of modern Kent in 55 BC. He brought with him 6,000 men in two legions. Five hundred of his cavalry were to have made the

trip, but were driven back to France, from where Caesar launched his mission, by bad storms. The people of Britain had seen the spy ship Caesar had first sent to their coast and thus Caesar lost any element of surprise. He made, Ashley says, "a rather ignominious withdrawal in mid-September" (10). Caesar returned the next year with five legions and half his cavalry but again was only able to take a few hostages and the promise of submission by the Belgic kings back to Rome with him (9-11). Britain would not actually fall to the Romans until Claudius, nearly 100 years later, managed to conquer the island. Eventually the Romanization of Britain came about, chiefly in the form of the city, but also in the form of roads, temples, public squares and baths, and private mansions. And, too, the toga (17-18). There is also in Britain a certain breed of white cattle, with dark switches and hooves, which ran wild until the thirteenth century when they were rounded up and placed in parks. They are called Wild White Park Cattle, and up until the early nineteenth century the bulls were hunted for sport (Friend 40): Something with a little more "solidity" than, say, partridge, I suppose.

Chapter IX

The Romans abandoned Britain in the early fifth century. The Britons staged a Celtic cultural renaissance on the departure of the Romans, but having grown accustomed

to Roman protection, they were unable to put up any sort of a united effort against the Picts and Scots who soon invaded. The Britons are saved when Constantin the Fair arrives from Brittany and defeats the invaders (Layamon, Brut 117). Constantin is made king of Britain and has three sons: Constance, who becomes a monk; Aurelius, the middle child, whose surname was Ambrosius; and Uther, the last child. But Constantin is killed by a traitorous knight and the people choose Aurelie to be king (118-119). However, a "crafty man and most wary" earl, named Vortiger, calls on Constance the monk and tells him he will make him king if he, Vortiger, is allowed to be steward over all of Britain and Constance follows no counsel except Vortiger's (119). Constance agrees and he becomes king. But Vortiger aligns himself with the Picts who behead Constance, and Vortiger then pretends that he himself was betrayed and has the Britons slaughter the Picts (the Peohtes) (125). Vortiger becomes king and "five-and-twenty years he was king here. He was mad, he was wild, he was cruel, he was bold; of all things he had his will . . ." (126).

Vortiger is told that Aurelie and Uther, who are now grown, are on their way to avenge the death of Constance. It is at this time that Hengist and Horsa, two Angles from Alemaine who are also brothers, arrive and present themselves to Vortiger. Vortiger hires them to help him fight Aurelie and Uther and the Anglo-Saxons enter British

history and they and their descendants rule until 1066 and the famed invasion by the Normans, those whom Thomas Jefferson felt introduced the feudal system to Englaland, the land of the Angles, which in turn caused all the difficulties between Great Britain and her colonies in the New World (Schachner 48; McCrum 61). When Jefferson was appointed to a committee entrusted with designing a seal of the United States he proposed that on one side would be the Chosen People, "the children of Israel in the wilderness, led by a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night; and on the other, Hengist and Horsa . . ." (Schachner 140).

The British themselves felt that they returned to their own origins in 1485, when the Tewdr dynasty came to power, that is, when Owen Tudor fathered Edmund who married Margaret, heiress of the Beauforts, and their son, Henry VII (1485-1509) gained the throne, followed by Henry VIII (1509-47), Edward VI (1547-53), Mary (1553-58), and Elizabeth I (1558-1603) ("Tudor"). In 1475 Caxton's Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye was published. During Elizabeth's reign Hall's version of the Iliad was published in ten volumes and Chapman's version was published in 1598. Elizabeth was greeted at Gray's Inn as "'that sweet remain of Priam's state: that hope of springing Troy'" (Wood, In Search 34), and in a painting of 1569 she is shown receiving the golden apple from Paris, i.e., Aléxandros:

Light & the flowing crystal

never gin in cut glass had such clarity

That Drake saw the splendour and wreckage

in that clarity

Gods moving in crystal

ichor, amor

Secretary of Nature, J. Heydon.

Here Apollonius, Heydon

hither Ocellus

"to this khan"

The golden sun boat

by oar, not by sail

Love moving the stars ["beside the altar"]⁴²

by the altar slope

"Tamuz! Tamuz!"

They set lights now in the sea

and the sea's claw gathers them outward.

The peasant wives hide cocoons now

under their aprons

for Tamuz

That the sun's silk

hsien

顯

tensile

be clear

'["Helen"]⁴³ That Drake saw the armada
 & sea caves
 Ra-Set over crystal

 moving

in the Queen's eye the reflection
 & sea-wrack--
 green deep of the sea-cave
 ne quaesaris.

He asked not
 nor wavered, seeing, nor had fear of the wood-queen, Artemis
 that is Diana
 nor killed save by the hunting rite,
 sanctus.

Thus sang it:

Leafdi Diana, leove Diana
 Heye Diana, help me to neode
 Witte me thurh crafte
 whuder ich maei lidhan
 to wonsom londe.

Rome th'ilke tyme was noight.
 So that he spread a deer-hide near the altar . . .

(C91 610-613)

Elizabeth I reigned during the time of Sir Walter Raleigh, who named the territory of Virginia after Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen." She reigned during the time of Sir Francis Drake, who was the first English commander to see the Pacific Ocean, the first English commander to sail around the world, stopping in California to refit his ship, the Golden Hind, and to claim an inlet for Queen Elizabeth which he named New Albion. Elizabeth reigned during the time of Spenser, of Marlowe, of Shakespere, of Francis Bacon, the time of the English Renaissance, when Elizabeth herself worked on translations of Horace, Plutarch, and Boethius (Terrell 2: 701). During her reign the Anglican Church was reestablished by the Second Act of Supremacy, uniting the nation under Protestantism with the help of Matthew Parker, Elizabeth's archbishop of Canterbury. Drake defeated the Armada in 1588 and England became the world's leading maritime power. Elizabeth introduced a new system of coinage to replace the devalued silver in existence (on her tomb is the inscription "Moneta ad suum valorem reducta," meaning, "she brought money back to its true value" [Terrell 2: 709]):

"JESUS!!"

quothe the Queen, 1584 anno Domini, "sterling, pund sterling how much? 13,000. It is not to be looked for." From ploughing of fields is justice . . . (C100 715)

Foreign trade expanded. The Royal Exchange of London opened. On December 31, 1600, Elizabeth granted a charter for "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," which later became the East India Company. The middle class expanded and the House of Commons rose (Ashley 305). And, Elizabeth made Sir Edward Coke, whose chief rival was Francis Bacon, attorney general in 1594.

Chapter X

Sir Edward Coke was born in 1552 and became a member of the bar in 1578 and a member of Parliament in 1589 ("Coke"). He was to serve in every parliament, Stephen D. White tells us, either as a member of the Commons or an advisor to the Lords until 1628 (3). By the late 1580s, Coke became tied to Queen Elizabeth's leading councilor and head of the Cecil faction: William Cecil, or Lord Burghley. Therefore, Coke became solicitor general and an assistant to the Privy Council in 1592. In 1593 he was made Speaker of the House of Commons by Elizabeth, despite his lack of experience, and the next year he became attorney general (White 5). During the remainder of Elizabeth's reign and in the early years of King James I, Coke was a champion of authority and prosecuted "traitors, recusants, and dissenters," including Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex. Devereux had championed Francis Bacon for the attorney general's position against

Coke, who was favored by Lord Burghley's son, Sir Robert Cecil. Devereux had replaced Sir Walter Raleigh as the Queen's favorite but was put into prison for ten months for attempting to arrange a truce with the head of the Irish Nationalist movement who was allied with Spain, instead of fighting it out. He apparently went mad in prison, or shortly thereafter, and plotted a coup d'état against Cecil and in 1601 dashed through the streets of London, with 200 men, shouting "For the Queen! For the Queen! The crown of England is sold to a Spaniard! A plot is laid for my life!" (Ashley 75). Sir Walter Raleigh presided over Devereux's execution, but Raleigh was in turn prosecuted by Coke in 1603 on a charge of treason and spent thirteen years in the Tower of London under sentence of death. There he wrote poetry and the first volume of his History of the World, a work Henry David Thoreau admired ("Raleigh"; Paul 137).

Thoreau especially agreed with Raleigh's view of the relationship between war and law. In his Journal (January 8, 1842) Thoreau stated that Raleigh's sentences were always "well done and nobly said" and also stated that this was "very true" about the following: "that 'the necessity of war, which among human actions is most lawless, hath some kind of affinity and near resemblance with the necessity of law;' for both equally rest on force as their basis, and war is only the resource of law, either on a smaller or larger scale,--its authority asserted" (1: 333-334). Thoreau

thought war to be only "an effort to make the laws of God and nature take sides with one party," an attempt to make an "arbitrary code" which is not right "prevail by might" (334). He thought true asserters of moral law "do not go to war" and he believed it "inconsistent to decry war and maintain law" (334). Thoreau also believed that if he availed himself of the law "it might help my sin; it cannot help my virtue":

Let us see if we cannot stay here, where God has put us, on his own conditions. Does not his law reach to the earth? While the law holds fast the thief and murderer for my protection (I should say its own), it lets itself go loose. Expediencies differ. They may clash. English law may go to war with American law, that is English interest with American interest, but what is expedient for the whole world will be absolute right, and synonymous with the law of God. So the law is only partial right. It is selfish, and consults for the interest of the few.

Somehow strangely, the vice of men gets well represented and protected, but their virtue has none to plead its cause, nor any charter of immunities and rights. The Magna Charta is not chartered rights, but chartered wrongs.
(1: 334-335)

The absolute law Thoreau discusses is that which nature has perfected and that which he observed as he sailed up the Concord, a river he associated with all famous rivers, including the Simois, that river Chaucer speaks of in Troilus and Criseyde:

The murmurs of many a famous river on the other side of the globe reach even to us here, as to more distant dwellers on its banks; many a poet's stream floating the helms and shields of heroes on its bosom. The Xanthus or Scamander is not a

mere dry channel and bed of a mountain torrent,
but fed by the everflowing springs of fame;--

"And thou Simois, that as an arrowe, clere

Through Troy rennest, aie downward to the sea".--

(Week 12)

The river Xanthus belonged to Zeus. The river Scamander was the father of King Teucer, that king which befriended Dardanus, the son of Zeus, after a flood drove Dardanus from Samothrace. Dardanus married Teucer's daughter and built Troy (Grimal, "Greece" 115-116). The Concord, then, says Sherman Paul, "was the river universal and time timeless" (198). Along the Concord's banks, said Thoreau, "dwelt the subject of the Hebrew scriptures, and the Esprit des Lois. . . . All that is told of mankind, of the inhabitants of the Upper Nile, and the Sunderbunds, and Timbuctoo, and the Orinoko, was experience here" (Week 100). Thoreau said in his Journal that he not only was a traveler on the river, a traveler in time, but a traveler in thought as well:

I who sail now in a boat, have I not sailed
in a thought? Vide Chaucer?

The hardest material obeys the same law with the most fluid. Trees are but rivers of sap and fibre flowing from the atmosphere and emptying into the earth by their trunks, as their roots flow upward to the surface. And in the heavens there are rivers of stars and milky ways. There are rivers of rock on the surface and rivers of ore in the bowels of the earth. And thoughts flow and circulate, and seasons lapse as tributaries of the current year. (1: 442-443)

Sir Walter Raleigh was released from the Tower in 1616 by King James I to lead an expedition up the Orinoco River Valley in Guiana, a river Raleigh first explored in 1595, to search for gold. King James was pursuing a pro-Spanish policy and desired his son, Prince Charles, to marry the Spanish infanta for her dowry (Ashley 317), but Guiana was in Spanish territory and when Raleigh sacked San Tomas and attacked Spanish ships carrying gold from Mexico, the Spanish ambassador in London, Count Gondemar, protested and the 1603 sentence of death was invoked and Raleigh was beheaded:

Gondemar "devil in dung-cart"!

Flaccus' translator wore the crown

The jew and the buggar dragged it down:

"Devil in dung-cart" Gondemar

And Raleigh's head on King James' platter."

(C107 762)

King James I made Coke the chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas but Coke angered James because of decisions he made regarding ecclesiastical jurisdiction and for supporting the Common Law and the Magna Carta against royal prerogative (Stephen D. White 6; "Coke"). On the advice of Francis Bacon, Coke's rival, James removed Coke from the Common Pleas and made him chief justice of the Court of King's bench, where it was felt Coke could not do much

damage (Stephen D. White 6; "Coke"). But Coke fought for the Common Law against the expansion of the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, the court charged with doing justice in situations where common law had seemingly failed to do so (Bacigalupo 445; "Coke"; "Court"), and Bacon brought charges against him and Coke was imprisoned in the Tower in 1616. Coke believed there was a time when justice prevailed in England, a "legal Golden Age," and that time was during the reign of Henry II when his Justicar, or King's deputy who acted for him in his absence, was Ranulf de Glanvill, who was thought to have written the first treatise on English law (Makin, Cantos 285; Keeton 88). Glanvill's treatise concerned the law of the King's court, which was applicable no matter where the dispute arose, and thus Glanvill's treatise shows how judicial writs played a part in the unification of English law (Keeton 208). But Glanvill's treatise also played a similar role and Coke relied on Glanvill's treatise, the treatise of Henry Bracton (who wrote 80 years after Glanvill), and the Magna Carta when he wrote his own Institutes of the Laws of England, in two parts, which became "the backbone of English common law" (Terrell 2: 693, 698):

"It appeareth in Glanvill"

saving his wainage (his cart)

hominum de vicineto

sacramentum proborum

laicum tenementum

"it appeareth in Glanvill"

"de par le monde"

j'ai connu

the books of a scholler his countenance

H.2 E. I

to their glory

en temps le roy Henri deux

and that slobbering bugger Jim First

bitched our heritage. . . . (C107 757)

* * *

8:00 p.m. CST, February 27, 1991. President Bush announces that "Kuwait is liberated. Iraq's army is defeated. Our military objectives are met" and at midnight EST "all United States and coalition forces will suspend offensive combat operations."

there are no righteous wars in "The Spring and Autumn"
tumn"

that is, perfectly right on one side or the other
total right on either side of the battle line

and the news is a long time moving

a long time in arriving

thru the impenetrable

crystalline, indestructible

ignorance of locality

The news was quicker in Troy's time

a match on Cnidos, a glow worm on Mitylene . . . (C82 525)

"Interminable war," with no evidence of treaties or agreements, is how Ashley describes the state of Anglo-Saxon England up until the time of Augustine (25). "Angeln" was a part of modern-day Schleswig-Holstein, the area which comprises what was the center of Saxon expansion. The Anglo-Saxons descended, they said, from the god Woden and were mainly farmers and pirates. They sailed in shallow, narrow boats eighty feet long with no decks or masts and with which they could row deep into Britain on the rivers. Their clothes were of wool and the warriors were armed with spears, longbows, and wooden shields (22). We chant the names of their gods each time we recite the days of the week: Sun, Moon, Trig, Woden, Thor, Frig, and Saturnus (Ashley 27; Layamon, Brut 129). The Anglo-Saxons left Saxony in search of new land and because Saxony was becoming overcrowded, as Hengest told Vortiger:

I hight Hengest; Hors is my brother; we are of
 Alemaine, a land noblest of all, of the same end
 that Angles is named. In our land are strange
 tidings; after fifteen years the folk is
 assembled, all our nation-folk, and cast their
 lots; upon whom that it falleth, he shall depart
 from the land. The five shall remain, the sixth
 shall forth proceed out of the country to a
 foreign land; be he man ever so loved, he shall
 forth depart. For there is folk very much, more
 than they desire; the women go there with child as
 the wild deer, every year they bear child there!
 That is fallen on us, that we should depart. . . .
 Thus we fared there, and therefore are we now
 here, to seek under heaven land and good lord.
 (Layamon 127)

Chapter XI

The Anglo-Saxon invasion was not a single event, but was, rather, a series of small invasions beginning in the middle of the fifth century. This migration of the Anglo-Saxons was part of a massive movement of peoples which wrecked, George Clark says, "the western Roman empire" (20). The Roman towns the Empire left behind in Britain were already crumbling when the Anglo-Saxons arrived. The Celts had returned to their original hill-forts. There is little continuity between the old Roman towns and the modern cities in their place, other than the names: London, Gloucester, and Cirencester for example (Clark 19). London itself, by the time of the Anglo-Saxons, was "a derelict port inhabited by squatters" (Ashley 25). The Anglo-Saxons were country people and cared not for town life. They settled not at the sites of Roman towns, nor at the sites of Romano-British villages, but in the valleys, or along the banks of rivers, and left the high ground to the Britons.

Jutes from Jutland. Saxons, Angles, and Frisians from Germania. These were the "Anglo-Saxons." They did not call themselves "Anglo-Saxons," however, until they learned to write, and even though they had never been under Roman rule, they knew a few Latin words before they arrived in Britain, words that became our words for "wine, butter, cheese, silk, copper, a pound, an inch, a mile, and a mint,

in the sense of a place where money is made" (Clark 16, 21). A new word which they learned after arriving was castra, a word they may have heard in the few remaining towns and which became the Old English word for "fortified town" and which still survives: Chester, Caister, Caistor, Winchester, Doncaster, Leicester, and Exeter (16).

The Anglo-Saxons continually pushed the Britons into the western mountainous area now known as Wales (Clark 22). After the Anglo-Saxons isolated the Britons in this region and occupied nearly the entire island, they turned to fighting amongst themselves (Ashley 25). England was divided into many kingdoms. In the north there was Nothumbria, Lindes Farona, Elmedsaetna and Pescsaetna. In the midlands there was Myrcenes Landes and Middil Engle, and in the south was West Sexena, Suth Sexena, and Cantwarena (Wood, Domesday 87). At times a strong king, a "Bretwalda," would arise and temporarily unite different warring factions, but these "commanded at most a shadowy form of allegiance" (Ashely 25).

The Venerable Bede, Wood says, apparently believed that from the earliest times of the Anglo-Saxon kings, "some sort of overlordship was imposed at times by the most powerful kings" (Domesday 89-90). These kings needed to "exact dues in the form of military service, food, raw materials, gifts and treasure" (89). One form of doing so was through the use of a document such as the Tribal Hidage, a document

which was used to impose the kings' will on their subjects, keep their thegns and troops loyal, and finance their building projects (90). The document "has a very archaic feel," Wood says, and may have originated in the middle of the seventh century under the rule of Wulfhere in Mercia (88). The Tribal Hidage is a tribute list and the tribute due was based on the number of "hundreds" possessed by various tribes. The hundred was a unit of measure composed of one hundred "hides." A hide originally was the amount of land which supported one peasant family, but this varied from one geographic area to another due to soil quality and other considerations. This meant that the hide's value for tax purposes could be raised or lowered. At any rate, the Tribal Hidage is a listing of early tribes and their holdings in the Midlands drawn up before the country was ever divided into shires (in the quote that follows, the brackets are Wood's):

The land of the Mercians is 30,000 hides [that is] what is called the original Mercia. [Of] Wocen saetna is 7000 hides. Westerna the same. Pecsætna 1200 hides. Elmed saetna 600 hides. Lindes farona 7000 hides including haeth feld [i.e. Hatfield] land. South gyrwa 600 hides. North gyrwa 600 hides. East wixna 300 hides. West wixna 600 hides. Spalda 600 hides. Wigesta 900 hides. Herefinna 1200 hides. Sweord ora 300 hides. Gifla 300 hides. Hicca 300 hides. Whit gara 600 hides. Nox gaga 5000 hides. . . . (qtd. in Wood, Domesday 86)

In early Saxon times the land was divided into small holdings and was farmed by the independent peasant class.

This changed when the Vikings began their invasions in the late 700s. The kings found themselves needing to "gear society to war" (Wood, Domesday 102). This may have precipitated a total reorganisation of society. It is likely, according to archeological evidence, that field boundaries changed, widely-scattered settlements were organised into nuclear villages, large numbers of people were congregated in boroughs, and land was given as a reward for those thegns who performed in an exemplary manner in battle. "In the last resort," Wood says, "everything depended on the king's ability to ensure food production; if the harvests were disrupted, so was the military effort" (102).

A hide may have consisted of approximately 120 acres which was cultivated on the open-field system, the system which replaced that of the independent peasant. In this system, the land was divided into strips and each household owned a strip in each division. The work of each area was done in common, but each household kept the production of its strip. This land was, then, owned independently, free and clear of any rents, as opposed to a type of feudalism, although as population increased, these holdings became increasingly smaller so that by the eleventh century each holding may have been only thirty acres or less. These holdings were known as folc-land (Keeton 18).

A thegn was a man who owned at least five hides. He would acquire these lands directly from the King, or from an owner of larger holdings. Servile labor worked these lands, or freemen might hold parts of the land in exchange for some sort of service. The average size of these holdings was between fifteen and twenty acres and the largest estates, usually acquired by grants, were called boc-lands: "the land of the boc, or writing" (Keeton 18). This led to a complex system of land ownership--a system of charters and grants, disputes and settlements, and Manorial courts (19).

The Saxon governmental powers were concentrated in local areas. Keeton tells us that there were three units for the settlement of local affairs. To summarize, these three units were:

1) The tun, or township, which consisted of those households who lived on and worked the land. Matters were settled in township meetings in which all households participated.

2) The hundred. Keeton says the origin of this term is unknown, but he believes it may have meant 100 households (or ten townships); or, it may have referred to the group whose responsibility it was to supply 100 thegns to the fyrd, i.e., the military. It is possible, however, that the hundred did indeed consist of 100 households, and therefore would be that unit Wood speaks of in regards to 100 tides.

3) This third unit, the shire-moot, was the main governing body during later Saxon times. This consisted of the King's representative, the ealdorman, and the bishop and shire-reeve. By the eleventh century the assembly of the shire-moot was attended by "the best" men of the hundred and justice was dispensed according to custom. Compensation for losses was provided in the form of wergild, a sum paid to the injured party that was given as a substitute for the blood-feud. Compensation varied according to the injury and rank of the injured. The wrongdoer was responsible for paying part of these damages and the clan was bound for any remaining amount. In later times this "clan-responsibility" was replaced by that of neighboring households who formed a "tithing" (13-16).

The Romans governed Britain for four hundred years, but no trace of Roman law survived in Anglo-Saxon Englaland. The Anglo-Saxon legal system was seemingly immune to outside influence. This was due to its "local character" and the variety of local custom (Keeton 17). When the Romans left, the Church of Roman Britain collapsed and so Canon Law played no significant role in forming Anglo-Saxon custom. This was partially due to the fact that Canon Law was based on the writings of the Church Fathers and on papal decrees

which could not be easily assimilated into the oral tradition of the Anglo-Saxons (17).

Chapter XII

Gregory, the future Pope Gregory I, The Great, was walking through the slave market in Rome one day when he saw a group of particularly handsome, blonde men called Angles. Gregory was the son of the wealthy patrician Gordianus and Saint Silvia. Emperor Justin II made Gregory Prefect of Rome when Gregory was approximately thirty years old. When his father died, Gregory inherited much wealth which he used to establish several monasteries, including one (St. Andrew's) in Rome under the Rule of St. Benedict. He resigned as Prefect and gave away his money, jewels, robes, and furniture and retired to a cell in St. Andrew's as an ordinary monk, but was called out of the cloister a few years later by Pope Pelagius II as ambassador to Constantinople. There he finished a commentary on the Book of Job, the Magna Moralia (Attwater 57). He was called back to Rome to become abbot of St. Andrew's and it was at this time, the Venerable Bede said, that Gregory's eyes fell on the Anglo-Saxons and he uttered "the second most famous pun in history": that is, Non Angli, sed Angeli (the first is, apparently, that in the Gospel of Matthew, 16.18) (Attwater 57). When he learned that these "angels" came from a pagan

country, Gregory felt that he had a mission to convert pagan England to Christianity. He supposedly left for the journey but was compelled by those in Rome to return and upon the death of Pelagius, Gregory, against his wishes, was chosen as the Pope's successor (58).

Gregory the Great became known as the "founder of the middle ages" (57). He was a fighter of heresies, such as Arianism, donatism and Manichaeism. He was also an ally of the Jews, protecting them from persecution. He reorganized the papacy. He instituted several changes in the liturgy including the addition of the Pater Nostra before the division of the Host. Gregorian chant is believed to be his contribution to the system of church music ("Gregory").⁴² He wrote the treatise Regula pastoralis, a book detailing the duties of a bishop (Attwater 58).

Gregory still desired to convert pagan England. He instructed an official in Gaul to purchase Anglo-Saxon slaves that they might be brought to Rome and trained as missionaries to their homeland. At St. Andrew's Gregory had shared a cell with a monk named Augustine and in 597 Gregory sent Augustine with 40 other monks to the shores of Britain. They landed near Kent about the time of Easter, not by accident near Kent, but by Gregory's design, for at Canterbury they found King Ethelbert's queen, Bertha, who was already a Christian, and Ethelbert allowed Augustine

to use the abandoned British church of St. Martin at Canterbury and soon Ethelbert himself was converted.

Gregory knew that Christianity could not be forced on the Saxons and so he instructed Augustine to proceed slowly and allowed him to incorporate certain pagan rituals, if needed, into English Christian services. This is why Easter is celebrated today at the time of the old Anglo-Saxon festival, Eastre, which was celebrated on the day of the vernal equinox in honor of Eostre, the goddess of the dawn and fertility. The Anglo-Saxons dedicated Eastre monath (a time period corresponding to April) to Eostre. Easter is now celebrated on a Sunday between March 22 and April 25. The date varies and thus Easter is called "a moveable feast" ("Easter," Funk). Some of the Anglo-Saxon rituals survive as secular rites of Easter: the Easter rabbit, representing fertility, and the Easter eggs, painted in gay colors to represent the sun's light in spring. The liturgical color for Easter is white, which symbolizes light, purity, and joy. It was earlier believed that the sun danced on Easter Day ("Easter, Benét's). The Greeks and Romans held similar festivals in celebration of spring--the Greeks in honor of Demeter and Persephone, the Romans in honor of Ceres and Prosperine:

AND was her daughter like that;

Black as Demeter's gown,

eyes, hair?

Dis' bride, Queen over Phlegethon,
 girls faint as mist about her?

The strength of men is in grain.
 NINE decrees, 8th essay, the Kuan

管子

Kuan

Tzu

So slow is the rose to open.
 A match flares in the eyes' hearth,
 then darkness
 "Venice shawls from Demeter's gown"
 This Tzu could guide you in some things,
 but not hither,
 How to govern is from the time of Kuan Chung
 but the cup of white gold at Patera
 Helen's breasts gave that.

Ὁ ΔΕΟΣ

run's thru his zodiac,
 misnaming no Caledon,
 not in memory,
 in eternity
 and "as a wind's breath
 that changing direction changeth its name",
 Apeliota
 for the gold light of wheat surging upward
 ungathered

Persephone in the cotton-field

granite next sea wave

is for clarity

deep waters reflecting all fire

nueve lumbre,

Earth, Air, Sea

in the flame's barge

over Amazon, Orinoco, great rivers. (C106 753)

Sixty years after Augustine arrived nearly the entire island had been converted to Christianity, or at least the kings were baptized and these kings put restrictions on pagan worship. The monks, however, brought more than their religion with them. They brought craftsmen and books. They brought science and philosophy. They brought literacy and writing (Clark 23).

Ethelbert, the king Augustine converted, was the first of the Anglo-Saxon kings to put his laws into writing. In fact, F. L. Attenborough says, the Laws of Ethelbert are especially valuable to us because it is the "earliest document written in the English Language":

Some poems indeed, such as Beowulf, may have a longer history behind them, but it is highly improbable that they were committed to writing till a much later period. No other Teutonic language possesses any original records of equal antiquity, apart from short inscriptions. . . .
(3)

These laws are known as the Kentish Laws and appear in a manuscript which was written five centuries after Ethelbert

and which is called the Textus Roffensis. Because the MS is of a late date, some modernization of the language has occurred, but not consistently and many archaic English words, not found in any other work or only found in poetry, still occur (3):

AETHELBERHT

Þis syndon þa domas, ƿe AEðelbirht cyning
asette on Augustinus daege.

- 1¹ Godes feoh 7 ciricean XII gylde. Biscopes
feoh XI gylde. Preostes feoh IX gylde.
Diacones feoh VI gylde. Cleroces feoh III
gylde. Ciricfriþ II gylde. Maethl friþ II
gylde.
2. Gif cyning his leode to him gehateþ, 7 heom mon
þaer yfel gedo, II bóte 7 cyninge L scillinga.
3. Gif cyning aet mannes ham drincaeþ, 7 ðaer man
lyswaes hwaet gedo, twibote gebete.
4. Gif frigman cyninge stele, IX gylde
forgylde. . . .

¹ The numbers of the chapters are not found
in the MS. ([the note is Attenborough's] 4)

The Kentish Kings who followed Ethelbert--Lothaire, Edric, and Wihtraed--also published compilations of laws. Northumbria and Mercia had their own laws as did Wessex (Keeton 21). The Saxons produced many documents. Some of these were known as diplomas, or "kingly instruments." Some were charters, or cartae, documents which begin with an invocation of the Triune God, contain no salutation of mortals, and declare that the king grants land, if it is a land charter, or declare that the king grants some other sort of service to a certain party, and end with the king's

signature and those of the witnesses. A royal charter, too, is confirmed by the sign of Christ's Holy Cross (Hazeltine xv):

† In the name of our Lord, the Saviour Christ, I Aethelbald, King of Mercia, have been asked by the venerable Bishop Milred to grant remission of all the dues pertaining to two ships to him and his holy community--to make this concession to those who serve the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles, in the monastery which is situated in the province of Hwicce in the place called Worcester. . . .

✠ I, King Aethelbald, have written this, confirming my own gift.

Bishop Milred has affixed here the symbol of the holy cross.

Bishop Ingwald has written this agreement.

Bishop Wilfrith has written this.

Alda, the king's companion, has written this.

(Robertson 3)

A writ, on the other hand, begins with a salutation and states in the past tense that the King has granted land to a certain party. Other documents include notitiae, or evidential writings, and among these were "declarations," or geswutelunga (Hazeltine xv). In 757 King Offa came to power in Mercia. Among his accomplishments was the building of Offa's Dyke, an earthen wall stretching from North Wales to the Bristol Channel and marking the eastern boundaries of two Welsh kingdoms, Gwynedd and Powys. Far more important was the fact that Offa negotiated the first commercial treaty in English history with Charlemagne. Offa desired to

be called Rex Anglorum and was the only western ruler Charlemagne would correspond to as an equal. In the treaty it was agreed that Gaulish traders in England would have the protection of the authorities and that cloths or cloaks exported from Mercia would be "of the accustomed length" (Clark 25).

The ruler of England who was most like Charlemagne in effectiveness was not Offa, but was, rather, Alfred the Great, who ruled all of England except for that area nineteenth-century historians later called the Danelaw (Clark 28). The Danes had begun occupying portions of England in 866 and in 867 they set up a puppet king in Northumbria. Later they brought East Anglia under their control and thus possessed much of the northeast of England as well (Ashley 35). The royal lines of Northumbria and East Anglia were ended and Merica was also brought to submission (Wood, Domesday 92).

In 871 the Vikings attacked Wessex and the West Saxons were only barely able to survive, but seven years later, even without the support he needed, Alfred managed to defeat the Vikings with an "astonishing victory" at Edington in May of 878, giving Alfred the "political clout" he needed to extend royal power (Wood, Domesday 93). Church lands were taken if necessary, as were lands of certain nobles who may not have given Alfred the support the king felt he was due. Between 878-892 Alfred constructed a series of

fortifications, or burhs (Wood 94). He organized the way these burhs were were manned and supplied. He grouped his forces into two parts, one which was in the field and one which worked the land. He built newly designed ships --longer, bigger, and faster--that could compete with those of the Danes; and Alfred, Ashley says, "may fairly be described as the founder of the English navy" (38; Clark 28; Wood 94). With all these reforms Alfred was able to stave off the attacks on Wessex, attacks which continued up until Alfred's death. But the reforms exacted a toll on landowners and peasants alike, with massive forced movements of populations (the total reorganisation of society spoken of earlier) and heavy taxation, both of which improved the military preparedness of Wessex but led, also, to a stratified and manor-oriented economy and the centralization of royal power, a centralization that would in turn set the stage for the unification of all England under Athelstan, Alfred's grandson (Wood 94).

This was not the only legacy left by Alfred. He recruited educated men to his court and founded a court school modeled on that of Charlemagne's and thus began a revival of learning. To this school he brought the Welsh monk Asser and the Irish theologian Johanne Scotus Erigena. Erigena previously directed the court school of Charles the Bald in France but came to England at the behest of Alfred and taught at the Abbey of Malmesbury. It was at

Malmesbury where he was, according to William of Malmesbury, stabbed to death by his own students with their pens, "a pueris quos docebat, graphiis perfossus" (qtd. in Bett 13). Alfred oversaw the translation from Latin into Anglo-Saxon (or partially did the work of translation himself) of Gregory the Great's Pastoral Care, St. Augustine's Soliloquies, and Bede's Church History. And he collated the law codes of Ethelbert of Kent, Ine of Wessex, and Offa of Mercia, and added but a few laws of his own formation:

For I have not dared to presume to set down in writing many of my own, for I cannot tell what [innovations of mine] will meet with the approval of our successors. But those which were the most just of the laws I found. . . . (editor's brackets, Attenborough 63)

Alfred prefaced his collation of law codes with the Ten Commandments and produced the first code published in over a century ("Alfred;" Ashley 38-39). After Alfred's death, his son, Edward, and daughter, Eethelfelda ("the lady of the Mercians"), pushed the Danes further north and Athelstan, Edwards's son, crushed the Danes, as well as Norseman from Ireland, in 937. Edgar the Peaceful then ruled all of England in 957 (Clark 28-29):

Ethelbald: tax exemptions

Charles to Offa, a belt, one hungarian sword.

Quendrida bumped off brother Kenelm,

Egbert left local laws.

"Looping the light over my shoulder,"

(Charles of the Suevi)

"Drew me over fiery mountains"

As is left in Hariulf's Chronicle. Thus dreamed it.

For a thousand years savages against maniacs
and vice versa.

Alfred sorted out hundreds; tithings,

They probably murdered Erigena,

Athelstan gon yilden rere, after 925

Aunt Ethelfled had been literate,

Canute for alleviation of Alp tolls

Gerbert at the astrolabe

better than Ptolemy,

A tenth tithe and circet of corn. (C105 751)

Wood tells us that the West Saxon kings, from Alfred to Edgar, were able to greatly expand "the power and the landed worth of the monarchy" and built up several powerful families, with a thegnly class below them, in the old kingdoms. These kings were also able to exact heavy tolls on their subjects. By the time of Athelstan each landowner was required to provide two mounted men for each plow stored at war time, a tax which in peace time was most probably commuted into money or kind, but which shows that the king had the means and records to assess the number of hides and plow teams in the kingdom. Athelstan's law code

also reflected the regaining of the Danelaw in that Athelstan shired these lands on the West Saxon model, replacing the Danish courts, the wapentakes, with the shire system and hundred courts. No man in England was then able to be without a lord, even the Danes who could still administer their own laws with their own lawmen. And, Wood says: "It was a symbolic moment, for in theory it embodied two central ideas: everybody could be brought to justice, and everybody could be taxed. Domesday was in sight" (Domesday 111-112).

And Domesday did come. William of Normandy landed at Pevensey Bay on September 28, 1066. His army was unopposed, as Harold (who had been crowned only in January), having just defeated the Norwegians at Stamford Bridge, had not yet moved his army from the north. On October 14 William's troops began their advance towards the English army which was then setting up defensive positions seven miles from Hastings. The English army numbered six to seven thousand men. William's was probably smaller, but the English fought on foot with spears, battle-axes, and hand missiles, while William had archers, cross-bowmen, heavily armed infantry, heavy cavalry, and armored Breton, Norman, and French knights. The "hacking and hewing" went on all day. Harold and two of his brothers were killed. By nightfall the war was over (Clark 39).

William inherited in England the entire Anglo-Saxon royal administration: "the most efficient system of government in western Europe" (Wood 160). The shire and hundred system was so well organized that every man was "reachable by justice and the tax man" (161). Every hundred's court met every four weeks, every shire court met twice a year. The king's orders could be sent to the various regions with little difficulty. William, who was cousin of the last English king before Harold, Edward the Confessor, wanted to justify his claim to the throne and therefore he stressed the continuity of the Old English administrative system, using Anglo-Saxon scribes in his chancery, English sheriffs in the shires, English Earls, and at Canterbury, an English bishop. A demand for a tax, then, could be based on the hidage records of the old Anglo-Saxon system, sent to the shire courts by royal writ with a royal seal, backed up by the armed forces, divided among the existing hundred courts, and further divided among those in the hundred, and like Archimedes's cattle problem, a demand for a tax stated in small numbers, such as two shillings on each hide (small to the eye, not to those taxed), could grow into a collection of, say, 72,000 pounds silver (161).

The efficiency of the old English system of administration also allowed the country to rapidly be converted to a completely feudal system. Lands that belonged to those English who fought against William at Hastings, or

to those who died there, were easily transferred to Norman control. Those who fought with William, i.e., the Bretons and the French, had also to be rewarded, often with the land of those who went into exile in Scotland or Scandinavia, or lands taken from others who remained (162). The entire country, Clark says, was parceled out into knight's fees and the right to hold local courts of law became a feudal right. The villagers were divided into groups of tens, "frankpledge" groups, which were inspected by the sheriffs each year (40). And along the border of Wales, the feudal lordships were granted extra powers to hold the Welsh in check. Before being defeated by William, Harold had experienced trouble from the Welsh, especially from Llewellyn ap Griffith, King of Gwynedd, and although William had forced recognition of his sovereignty from the Welsh, border raids were still common. Thus the "lords of the marchers" were given these extra feudal powers. These lords caused the early Norman kings much trouble, but did the job required of them ("Wales").

Domesday Book, then, was a compilation requested by William in the year 1085 in order to determine how much he could exact from the English in order to support his vast army, an army he partially supported by spreading it across England so that each vassal was required to provision a set number of troops according to the amount of land he owned. To this military objective Domesday Book was dedicated and

the Anglo-Saxon chronicle shows how the administrative system as developed by Edward and Athelstan was used to learn the minutiae of ownership in England (Wood 18; 161):

After this, the king had much thought and very deep discussion with his council about this country--how it was settled, and with what kind of people. Then he sent his men over all England, into every shire, and had them find out how many hundred hides there were in the shire, or what land or cattle the king himself had in the country, or what dues he ought to have each year from the shire. . . . So very strictly did he have it investigated that there was no single hide nor a yard of land, nor indeed (shame it is to relate but it seemed no shame to him to do) one ox nor one cow nor one pig was left out, and not put down in his record: and after all these writings were brought to him. (qtd. in Wood, Domesday 18)

The Normans attempted to convince the English that the English culture and manners were out-of-date and that Domesday was a Norman achievement, not a product of the Saxon system. The attempt was made by replacing the vernacular of the Old English records with that of Norman French and relegating the use of the English language to the lower classes (Wood 160). Therefore the words we use for oxen, sheep, calves, swine, and deer, are of Old English origin, but the names of the the foods made of these same animals are of French origin: beef, mutton, veal, pork, bacon, and venison. French is also the origin of the words for master, servant, butler, buttery, bottle, dinner, supper, and banquet. Further stratification in society can be seen in other words of French descent: butcher, barber, carpenter,

draper, grocer, mason, and tailor. Even in family relationships the Normans, by the imposition of their language, emphasized who was outside of the family's inner circle (especially the royal family's inner circle): uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, and so on. Norman French became, too, the language of the Common Law and remained so well into the eighteenth century (Clark 41):

Custumier...	de Norman d'
de la foresta	I4
are yellow-green after sunset	H
in politique capacity a king dies not	3
ancient eit franchies,	
ne injuste vexes	
progressus ostendunt	

Magna Charta, chap XII

periplum, assise in periplum

and Kung also was minister



pen

the root is that charter.

(C107 756-757)

Sir Edward Coke, Charles M. Gray says, believed there was such an entity as the "ancient common law--a describable system which did indeed operate in Anglo-Saxon times, even in pre-Roman Britain" (xxiii). The common law of the Anglo-Saxons was not identical to the English law of Coke's

time, and Coke realized change had occurred. But he saw this change as "degenerative on the one hand and restorative on the other" (xxiii). Unwise legislation and "equitable interference" was the cause of degenerative change. Change iteself, however, could restore the law. Coke never called for an effort to reform the law with its acquired corruptions, for he thought the legislature and courts would do so: a type of self-correction existed in these bodies to "restore the normal order" (xxv). If the judiciary did not do so, then Parliament was there to right those wrongs. Coke believed there had been a Parliament since before the Conquest, and though he was "antilegislative" and thought judicial means were sufficient for developing the law, the common law being "the product of limitless time" and therefore self-correcting by dint of its own copiousness, Parliament was still useful by its power to affirm the ancient statutes, restoring and preserving ancient truths, as it had in the case of the Magna Carta (xxv-xxvi):

Atque in re publica maxime conservanda sunt iura belli...

is called butlerage

paid only by merchant strangers (cap.xxx)

wooll woolfels & leather

hearth silver abolished

naught new imposed until Mary

of allome, Scacario Rot. 319

in the pope's dominion

iii s. iiii d

on currants was against law

in commun ley ...

ad measure,

Laws of Edgar: ex omni satrapia

xxxv

a circuit of perambulation

sil ne fuit dizein

quod trithinga teneatur integra

quod trithinga teneatur integra

decemvirale collegium

exceptis viris religiosis et ...

vide Bracton

sub colore donationis

his testibus ...

were called chartae.

That is our PIVOT

(C758-759)

Chapter XIII

Thomas Jefferson wrote to Governor John Tyler of Virginia on May 26, 1810 concerning his (Jefferson's) views on education. He had "two great measures at heart, without which no republic can maintain itself in strength":

1. That of general education, to enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or endanger his freedom.

2. To divide every county into hundreds, of such size that all the children of each will be within reach of a central school in it.
(Works 12:143)

At Monticello Jefferson was mentor to several young men studying law. A degenerative change had apparently taken place in the study of law in America so that the young men desired to become lawyers by the easier and softer path of reading Blackstone's Commentaries instead of primary texts such as Coke's Institutes. Blackstone, Jefferson thought, was to these students "what the Alcoran is to the Mahometans, that everything which is necessary is in him, and what is not in him is not necessary." Blackstone's work was nothing more than "an elegant digest": "Now men are born scholars, lawyers, doctors," he told Tyler, "in our day this was confined to poets" (12: 143).

Coke could not be abridged, Jefferson thought, although this was before the time of a certain American poet who thought Coke "the clearest mind ever in England" (C107 758) and condensed Coke's Institutes in the following manner:

the brokers of Rome promote caitifes

learning decayeth

Rot, parl 50 E. 3

damnable customs introduc of new in Roma.

That grosbois is oak, ash, elm,

beece, horsbeche & hornbeam

but of acorns tithe shall be paid

For every lamb a penny

time out of mind
 one lira per sheep nel Tirolo
 sale must be in place overt
 not in backe-room
 & between sun-up and sun-down

dies solaris (C108 769)

Jefferson read Coke Upon Littleton when he was a student of law and much later told Thomas Cooper, "I was in the habit of abridging and commonplacing what I read meriting it, and of sometimes mixing my own reflections on the subject" (Works 1: 454). In his Commonplace Book then:

748. Consuetudo, Custom is one of the main triangles of the laws of England, those laws being divided into Common law, Statute Law, and Custom. Of every custom there be two essential parts : Time and usage. Time out of mind ; and continual and peaceable usage without lawful interruption. Co. L. 110. V. If there be any sufficient proof of [two words erased] to the contrary, albeit it exceed the memory or proper knolege [sic] of any man living, yet is it within the memory of man : for memory or knolege is twofold: first knolege by proof, as by record or sufficient matter of writing. Secondly by his own proper knolege. A record or sufficient matter in writing are good memorials, for Litera scripta manet, and therefore it is said, when we will by any record or writing commit the memory of any thing to posterity, it is said tradere memoria. . . . Co. L. 115 a. (201)

Thus dreamed it:

So that Dante's view is quite natural:

this light

as a river

in Kung; in Ocellus, Coke, Agassiz

βελ, the flowing

this persistent awareness

(C107 762)

On page 135 of Jefferson's Commonplace Book one finds article 569: "HISTORY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM IN GREAT BRITAIN" taken from John Dairymple's An Essay towards a General History of Feudal Property in Great Britain. With a History of the Introduction of the Feudal System in Great Britain. London, 1757. To abridge Jefferson's quotation of Dairymple: Dairymple states that the northern nations who invaded Britain were in search of lands, not "glory or dominion." The Saxons had their princes and chieftans, and slaves to work the land who also paid "in return a certain quantity of cloath, and corn and cattle."

Portions of the conquered land would be reserved for the prince and the chieftans would receive the rest. Some of those who were conquered were allowed to keep their land and some land was kept by some of the invaders, in neither case with a grant from the prince, "and when writing came in, without writing." This is the land which came to be known as Allodial, or Boc-land and the other land, that divided between the chieftans, was called the Feudal, or "Thane-land." William, however, abolished this distinction and made all land held by military tenures, and attached

vast areas to the title of Earl, "making these honors seignoral and hereditary, but the whole fiefs of the nation . . . became hereditary" and accordingly created "escheats, wards, marriages, etc. of which we find no vestiges in the Saxon law . . ." (135-136).

This feudalism also changed the nature of Parliament, according to other quotations Jefferson includes in his Commonplace Book. The kings of the Anglo-Saxons had as their advisory bodies what was known as the witenagemot. The word means "meeting of the wise men." This body was composed of ealdormen, local chieftains, bishops, civil and ecclesiastical officials, and sometimes friends and relatives of the king. The witenagemot elected the king and could depose him if it so willed. It debated all new laws, made treaties, could authorize extraordinary taxation, the granting of land, and the raising of military forces. Each king had his own witenagemot until 829 when Egbert's represented all of England. A chronicle reports that William the Conqueror had "very deep speech with his Witan," but all the members of William's witan were his own tenants in chief ("Witenagemot;" "Parliament;" Clark 40). Jefferson quotes the following from an anonymous essay on the English constitution:

. . . the parliament made a law for a landed qualification of the members of the house of commons, enacting that every member for a county, should be possessed of an estate in land of £ 600

a year, and for a borough, of £ 300 a year. Thus has been our constitution and mode of government been converted into a down right rank aristocracy, [sic] of the rich in land. Our antient parliaments were composed of "the wise men of England" but since the enacting these laws they have been changed into the "rich men of England" which has made a vast difference in the spirit of the laws that proceed from there. . . . (298)

The word "parliament" derives from the Old French term for "speech-making" or "debate": "parlement" ("Parliament"). The troubles Parliament had with Charles I had ended with the death of Charles and the circumscribing of royal power so that Parliament was the true holder of power in Britain. Charles needed money to wage war against both Spain and France, hostilities due to the ineptitude of Buckingham. Unable to secure moneys from Parliament he attempted to do so by "unparliamentary means," that is, by the imposition of forced loans and arresting those who would not pay. Judges ruled that these prisoners were incarcerated by the king's special mandate and therefore were not entitled to request that further cause be shown. Parliament met to discuss these and other grievances. The House of Commons was led by Sir Edward Coke in presenting a Petition of Right, a strict legal interpretation of the Crown's prerogatives in regards to four points: forced loans, imprisonment without cause, the billeting of soldiers in private homes, and martial law (Clark 143-144).

In relation to imprisonment without cause, Coke argued from experience how "fearful" it was to be imprisoned

without cause in the Tower, his books taken from him, and his study searched. And, "All men's mouths are open against the party . . . and our friends afraid as well to come to us" so that cause could be found "after the commitment" (emphasis added) (White 257). No free man in England, Coke said, could be imprisoned at the pleasure of others except for a villein or bondsman. To be a free man and to be committed "at the will and pleasure of the King or his commandment" would be to put a free man in a worse case than a villein or bondman:

A free man imprisoned without cause, is so far from being a bondman, that he is not so much as a man, but is indeed a dead man, and so no man: imprisonment is accounted in law a civil death. (qtd. in White 239)

ὍΥ ΤΙΣ

(C74 426; Od. 9.366)

Coke looked back to the time of Elizabeth's reign, calling it a time "blessed and renowned for justice" when the "common law hath so admeasured the King's prerogative, as he cannot prejudice any man in his inheritance," the greatest inheritance being "the liberty of his person."

in commun ley...

ad measure . . . (C107 757)

Coke urged the Commons to not leave the Magna Carta and the statutes supporting it "fruitless," and said he would "never yield to alter Magna Carta" and the Commons should

not "yield to any accommodation of it" (qtd. in White 241; 255). Charles attempted to subvert the Petition by sending promises to the Commons that he would uphold the Magna Carta and statutes supporting it, but Coke stated that these promises were not "verbum regium" and thus were not of record and would in future generations set a precedent whereby the king could say his word should suffice in any matter (261). Finally on June 7, 1628 Charles was forced to put his answer on record (275):

From the Charter to the Petition 1628
in June and toward twilight

DROIT FAIT (C107 764)

This was followed in Charles's reign by the Great Rebellion, Cromwell's victory and subsequent expulsion of the 96 Presbyterian members of the "Long Parliament," and the remaining Rump Parliament's condemnation of Charles as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer and public enemy" ("Long Parliament;" "United States;" Clark 155):

OBIT, in Stratford 1616, Jacques Père obit,

In 33 years Noll [Cromwell] cut down Charlie
OBIT Coke 1634 & in '49

Noll cut down Charlie

Puer Apulius ... ver l'estate

Voltaire could not do it;

the french could not do it.

they had not Magna Charta (C107 757-758)

The first "authoritative" act passed by Parliament in relation to the American colonies was the Navigation Act of 1651. This required that all colonial imports and exports be carried on British-flagged vessels. Further enactments were passed, all designed to regulate colonial commerce and benefit the mercantile system. The mercantile system was based in part on the belief that the wealth of any country is dependent on the possession of gold and silver. This made government interference in the economy an important part of the system. Cromwell, for example, reorganized the East India Trading company so that it was the sole joint-stock company authorized to trade in the East Indies ("East India Company"). In 1694 William Paterson established the Bank of England as a private joint-stock venture with - 1,200,000. In return for loaning the entire amount to the government, the government gave the bank the right to issue notes and it received a monopoly on all corporate trading ("United States;" "Mercantilism;" "Bank of England"):

17 years on this case, and we not the first lot!

Said Paterson:

Hath benefit of interest on all
the moneys which it, the bank, creates out of nothing.

Semi-private inducement

Said Mr. Rothschild, hell knows which Roth-schild

1861, '64 or there sometime, "Very few people
 "will understand this. Those who do will be occupied
 "getting profits. The general public will probably not
 "see it's against their interest."

Seventeen years on the case; here
 Gents, is/are the confession.

"Can we take this into court?

"Will any jury convict on this evidence?

1694 anno domini, on through the ages of usury
 On, right on, into hair-cloth, right on into rotten building
 Right on into London Houses, ground rents, foetid brick work,
 Will any jury convict 'um? The Foundation of Regius Professors
 Was made to spread lies and teach Whiggery, will any

JURY convict 'um?

The Macmillan Commission about two hundred and forty years

LATE

with great difficulty got back to Paterson's
 The bank makes it ex nihil

.
 This case is not the last case or the whole case, we ask a
 REVISION, we ask for enlightenment in a case
 moving concurrent, but this case is the first case:
 Bank creates it ex nihil. Creates it to meet a need,
 Hic est hyper-usura. Mr. Jefferson met it:
 No man hath natural right to exercise profession
 of lender, save him who hath it to lend.

.

19 years on this case/first case. I have set down part of
 The Evidence. Part/commune sepulchrum
 Aurum est commune sepulchrum. Usura, commune sepulchrum.
 helandros kai heleptolis kai helarxe.
 Hic Geryon est. Hic hyperusura. (C46 233-235)

The Navigation Act and other enactments prohibiting
 the colonies from trading with non-British nations created a
 smuggling and an illicit trade industry in America. During
 the French and Indian War, however, the British government
 turned a blind eye toward these smuggling activities. The
 war ostensibly began because of competition for the Ohio
 River valley, but escalated into a war for control of the
 entire continent of North America, and although Britain,
 with the help of the colonists, won the war, the national
 debt was now doubled and so Parliament, in 1764, passed
 several measures to enforce the Navigation Act.

In 1772 an especially "vigilant" British patrol vessel,
 the Gaspee, patrolled the waters off the shores of Rhode
 Island in an attempt to curtail smuggling activities.
 Apparently "enraged" at this interference in their
 "'legitimate' smuggling activities," the Rhode Islanders
 attacked the ship and burnt it. British officials
 threatened to send those responsible to England for trial,
 where there were no sympathetic juries (Schachner 92-93).

The possibility that a British court of inquiry could have the power to send American colonists to England for trial alarmed Thomas Jefferson and others who were members of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and after the regular session in the spring of 1773 these men met in the Apollo room of the Raleigh tavern:

Not thinking our old & leading members up to the point of forwardness & zeal which the times required. . . .

(Works 1: 9)

..met by agreement, about the close of the session-- Patrick Henry, Frank Lee and your father, Henry Lee and myself...to consult..measures circumstances of times seemed to call for... produce some channel of correspondence...this was in '73

(C31 156)

...all sensible that the most urgent of all measures was that of coming to an understanding with all the other colonies to consider the British claims... and for this purpose that a commee of correspondce [sic] in each colony would be the best instrument...

(Works 1: 10)

This Committee of Correspondence, according to the resolutions drawn up that day, was to "keep up and maintain a Correspondence and Communication" with the other colonies and obtain "Authentic intelligence of all such Acts and Resolutions of the British Parliament" (qtd. in Schachner 93-94).

In addition to the enactments regarding the Navigation Act, Parliament had also passed the Stamp Act in 1765. The Townshend Acts, levying high duties on tea, paper, lead, and

glass, were passed in 1767, but after the Boston Massacre and several boycotts of British goods by the colonists, Parliament repealed the Townshend Acts except for the tax on tea ("United States"). The East India Company was at this time bankrupt and in order to save the company the tax was left on the tea, but all other restrictions were removed so as to make British tea cheaper than the Dutch tea being smuggled. This plan was to no avail, for cargoes of British tea were either turned back from American ports or the tea was left to rot in storage. In December of 1773 the British military enabled three ships loaded with British tea to enter Boston harbor. On Dec. 16, 1773, members of the Boston Committee of Correspondence dumped 342 chests of tea worth { 18,000 into the harbor ("United States;" "Boston Tea Party;" "Committees of Correspondence"). Following the passage of the Boston port bill which closed the port, The Committees of Correspondence became the Continental Congress (Jefferson, Works 1: 13; Schachner 94).

Shipping arrangements had not much changed after the Revolutionary War. Britain still held a monopoly on commerce transacted over the sea. In July of 1783 Parliament excluded American ships from the British West Indies and later revived previous restrictions on American commerce with Spanish and French colonies in the Carribean (McCoy 109). On May 7, 1784 Congress appointed Jefferson to join John Adams in Paris as Minister Plenipotentiary for

"negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign nations"
 (Jefferson, Works 1: 93). The United States had treaties
 with France, United Netherlands, and Sweden, but authorized
 Jefferson to negotiate treaties with "England, Hamburg,
 Saxony, Prussia, Denmark, Russia, Austria, Venice, Rome" and
 eleven others (1.93). On the fifth of July, 1784, Jefferson
 sailed for Europe on the merchant ship the Ceres (1: 93):

Zeus lies in Ceres' bosom

Taishan is attended of loves

under Cythera, before sunrise

.

"You the one, I the few"

said John Adams

speaking of fears in the abstract

to his volatile friend Mr Jefferson.

(To break the pentameter, that was the first heave)

.

Your eyen two wol sley me sodenly

I may the beauté of hem nat susteyne

And for 180 years almost nothing.

Ed ascoltando al leggier mormorio

there came new subtlety of eyes into my tent,
 whether of spirit or hypostasis,

but what the blindfold hides

or at carneval

nor any pair showed anger
 Saw but the eyes and stance between the eyes,
 colour, distasis,
 careless or unaware it had not the
 whole tent's room
 nor was the place for the full ELS⁴³,
 interpass, penetrate
 casting but shade beyond the other lights
 sky's clear
 night's sea
 green of the mountain pool
 shown from the unmasked eyes in half-mask's space.

(C81 517-520)

The government of France was facing bankruptcy in 1789. Jacques Necker, as Director General of Finance, made it a policy during the American Revolution to loan money, troops, and a navy to the would-be republic. Extravagant spending by the court and a "soak the poor" tax policy not only depleted the coffers of France but contributed to the general unrest preceding France's own revolution. Necker published an account of the royal finances detailing the cost of privilege and favoritism. He was, therefore, dismissed in 1781, but gained the support of the commoners. Because of the financial crisis, Louis XVI was compelled by the demands of the people to authorize national elections in 1788, and also to reinstate Necker. He and Necker agreed

that the third estate, the commoners, would have as many seats in the States-General as the first and second estates (the clergy and nobles). The States-General met May 5, 1789 but a dispute arose involving the third estate's desire to have simple majority rule and on June 17 this estate separated from the States-General, calling itself the National Assembly and voting itself the sole holder of power to tax. Louis rewarded this action by locking the doors to the meeting hall and the Assembly then met on a tennis court at Versailles, where it swore the "Tennis Court Oath," vowing to not dissolve until a new constitution was written. Several of the nobles and members of the clergy then joined with the Assembly. The king was then forced to order the remainder of the first and second estates to join the Assembly, but he also stationed troops in Paris and at Versailles and he again dismissed Necker. On July 14 came the storming of the Bastille ("American Revolution;" "France;" "French Revolution;" Schachner 349).

Adams viewed the events in France with skepticism: "Their constitution, experiment, I KNOW / that France can not be long governed by it.' / To Price, 19 April 1790 (C70 412). Jefferson took a more optimistic view. The French Revolution, Adams later told Jefferson, was the first time he and Jefferson "differed in Opinion on any material Question" (Cappon 2: 354-355):

You was well persuaded in your own mind that the Nation would succeed in establishing a free Republican Government: I was as well persuaded, in mine, that a project of such a Government, over five and twenty millions people, when four and twenty millions and five hundred thousands of them could neither write nor read: was as unnatural irrational and impracticable; as it would be over the Elephants Lions Tigers Panthers Wolves and Bears in the Royal Menagerie, at Versailles. Napoleon has lately invented a Word, which perfectly expresses my Opinion at that time and ever since. He calls the Project Ideology. . . .
(2: 355; (C33 160)

Jefferson thought that if the revolution in France could succeed--the republic of the United States stood a better chance of continuing (Allison 142). He said he would rather see "half the earth desolated" than to see the revolt fail (Works 7: 203). Adams, however, feared the rule of the uneducated mob and the learned's ignorance of government and history. He remembered, he told Jefferson:

"When Lafayette harangued you and me and John Quincy

Adams

"through the whole evening in your hotel in the Cul de Sac...."
 "....silent as you were. I was, in plain truth as astonished
 "at the grossness of his ignorance of government and history,
 "as I had been for years before at that of Turgot,
 "La Rochefoucauld, of Condorcet and of Franklin."

To Mr Jefferson, Mr John Adams. (C31 155)

The disagreement with Jefferson was not the only issue facing Adams early in 1790. There were "maneuverings and intrigues" involved with the choice of a site for the

permanent seat of government. Alexander Hamilton was recommending that the federal government, in debt itself, take over the states' debts as well. Adams viewed this as a positive move: a national debt which needed to be paid was what he thought was needed to create a truly national government (Page Smith 2: 787). When word leaked out about Hamilton's assumption plan, however, the value of the public securities held rose rapidly. William Maclay, a senator from Pennsylvania, thought those who supported Hamilton's scheme belonged to "the party who are actuated by interest" (qtd. in Page Smith 2: 787):

Mr. Madison proposed that the original holders

shd/ get face value,

but not speculators who had bought in the paper for nothing
ov the 64 members ov the House ov reppyzentativs

29 were security holders.

lappin cream that is, and takin it
off of the veterans.

an' Mr Madison's move wuz DEE-feated.

Maclay and Jim Jackson stood out against dirtiness'

smelled this stink before Madison

smelt it or before he told Tom about it. (C69 408)

As vice-president Adams was president of the Senate, but this required him only to preside and to break tie votes if necessary. He could not take part in debate, but tried to do so and was felt to be usurping the senators'

prerogatives. He attempted to lecture the senators on the proper etiquette of a debating body, but was then derided by the senators for this and earned the nickname "His Rotundity" (Shepherd 159):

TO be punctual, to be confined to my seat

(over the Senate)

to see nothing done (by the senate)

to hear nothing said, to say and DO nothing

borrow for trading very unmercantile

by thought, word, never encourage a war...

horror they are in lest peace shd/ continue
will accumulate perpetual DEBT

leading to yet more revolutions

(C62 348)

The national debt issue raised partisanship to a terrible high, so that when Benjamin Franklin died on April 17, the Doctor's death became a partisan issue because of a division which grew between those who supported the wearing of crepe in honor of Franklin and those who did not.

Adams, in answer to this partisanship, composed a satiric dialogue occurring in the Elysian Fields among the shades of Charlemagne, Frederick the Great, Rousseau, and James Otis. Rousseau asks Otis if he has seen Franklin since he crossed the river Styx. Otis replies that he is not interested in seeing Franklin, for his own thoughts were

far above those of the Doctor. The four men compliment each other on their respective virtues as statesmen and politicians, Otis praised by Frederick and Charlemagne, and Rousseau praised by Otis, although Otis points out to Rousseau that Rousseau's greatest mistake was that of not taking into account the human passions (P. Smith 2: 792-793). Franklin never participates in this conversation, his area of expertise, Otis tells Rousseau, being "The fivrolity and foppery of science" and the ability to tell "very pretty moral tales from the head" (qtd. 2: 793):

"Man, a rational creature!" said Franklin.

"Come, let us suppose a rational man.

"Strip him of all his appetites, especially his hunger and thirs

"He is in his chamber, engaged in making experiments,

"Or pursuing some problem.

"At this moment a sevrvant knocks. 'Sir

"'dinner is on the table.'

"'Ham and chickens?' 'Ham!'

"'And must I break the chain of my thoughts to

"'go down and gnaw a morsel of damned hog's arse?

"'Put aside your ham; I will dine tomorrow;"

Take away appetite and this generation would not

Live a month, and no future generation would exist;

and thus the exalted dignity of human nature etc.

Mr Adams to Mr Jefferson, 15 Nov. 1813 (C31 155-156)

Congress adjourned in August of 1790 and Adams, with "time on his hands" P. Smith says (2: 797), began writing his Discourses on Davila; A Series of Papers on Political History by an American Citizen, a work published by a Federalist editor, John Fenno, in unsigned installments in the Pennsylvania Gazette (Smith 2: 797) and to which Adams appended the following quote from Lord Bolinbroke in 1805 and his own preface in 1812:

"Two factions, drunk with enthusiasm, and headed by men of the most desperate ambition desolated France." Remarks on the History of England.

This dull heavy volume, still excites the wonder of its author,--first, that he could find, amidst the constant scenes of business and dissipation in which he was enveloped, time to write it; secondly, that he had the courage to oppose and publish his own opinions to the universal opinion of America, and, indeed, of all mankind. Not one man in America then believed him. He knew not one and has not heard of one since who then believed him. The work, however, powerfully operated to destroy his popularity. It was urged as full proof, that he was an advocate for monarchy, and laboring to introduce a hereditary president in America. J. A. 1812
(Works, 6: 226-227)

Adams presented his Discourses by quoting large portions of Davila's work "interlarded" with his own observations (Smith 2: 797). Davila was an Italian historian who Lord Bolinbroke thought "equal in many respects" to Livy (Adams, Works 6: 227n1). His work, the Dell' Istoria delle Guerre civili di Francia was a history of and observation on the French civil wars of the sixteenth century. Adams chose

this work as the basis of his own for he thought the French Revolution was destined to fail, just as the civil wars had, if it did not end in a balanced government. Smith says Adams also wanted to show Americans that they, too, had to maintain a balance between the three branches of government: only in Neuchâtel

["to rule and to be ruled"]⁴⁴

as in antient Rhodes, probably in three branches

jura ordo...aequitas leges...

stadtholder, avoyer, alcalde, capitaneo?? if Mons

has made a discovery...

orders of officers, not of men in America

no distinct separation of legislative, executive and judicial

heretofore save in England (C67 394)

Adams also wished to show that men were not equal on one hand and perfectible on the other, and he wished to show why he favored "titles, forms, and formalities" (P. Smith 2: 797), that inclination which had in part been responsible for his earning the name "His Rotundity" (Peterson, Adams 54).

Adams thought Davila's history showed that the whole history of the civil wars was "no more than a relation of rivalries succeeding each other in a rapid series" (Works 6: 269). He said that reflection on this would allow one to form a "right judgement" on the current state of France, and would also suggest to Americans that they should inquire as to whether there weren't such rivalries already in

America, between "cities and universities," "north and south," between states, and "between the government of states and the national government" (6: 269). He said it was up to the "state physicians" to discover the cause of "that 'fever, whereof our power is sick'" (6: 269-270). But he wondered if equal laws could ever result from a government which did not have "some signs or other of distinction" and did not think it possible to abolish such distinctions:

We are told that our friends, the National Assembly of France, have abolished all distinctions. But be not deceived, my dear countrymen. Impossibilities cannot be performed. Have they levelled all fortunes and equally divided all property? Have they made all men and women equally wise, elegant, and beautiful? Have they annihilated the names of Bourbon and Montmorenci, Rochefoucauld and Noailles, Lafayette and La Moignon . . . and Bailly? Have they committed to the flames all the records, annals, and histories of the nation? . . . Have they blotted out of all memories, the names, places of abode, and illustrious actions of all their ancestors? . . . Have the French officers who served in America melted their eagles and torn their ribbons? (6: 270)

Adams stated that the world was becoming "more enlightened," knowledge being spread throughout the world. Man was made wiser by "newspapers, magazines, and circulating libraries" (6: 274). Titles and rank were going out of fashion. But he thought that if all "decorum, discipline, and subordination" were removed and "Pyrrhonism, anarchy, and insecurity of property" introduced, nations would "soon wish their books in ashes," for knowledge only

increased the desire for riches and honors and as long as the desire for riches and honors was there "emulations and rivalries" would remain and multiply (6: 275):

Has the progress of science, arts, and letters yet discovered that there are no passions in human nature? no ambition, avarice, or desire of fame? Are these passions cooled, diminished, or extinguished? . . . Had Cicero less vanity, or Ceasar less ambition for their erudition? . . . Are those of the Britons more moderate at this hour than in the reigns of the Tudors? . . . Go to the Royal Society of London. Is there less emulation for the chair of Sir Isaac Newton that there was, and commonly will be, for all elective presidencies? . . . Go to Paris. How do you find the men of letters? united, friendly, harmonious, meek, humble, modest, charitable? (6: 275-276)

Knowledge, Adams said, could be used for "injustice and tyranny" as well as for "law and liberty." Evil men could increase in knowledge as fast as good men. The increase of knowledge made "checks of emulation and the balances of rivalry" a necessity. It becomes, then, "more indispensable that every man should know his place, and be made to keep it" (6: 276):

The philosophers say: one, the few, the many.

Regis optimatium populique

as Lycurgus in Spartha, reges, seniores et populus

both greeks and italians

archons, suffestes or consuls

Athenians, Spartans, Thebans, Achaians

using the people as its mere dupe, as an undertaker

a purchaser in trust for some tyrant

dexterous in pulling down, not in maintaining. Turgot
takes a definition of the commonwealth

for a definition of liberty.

Where ambition is every man's trade is no ploughing
How shall the plow be kept in hands of owners not hirelings?
to the end that no branch by swelling...

to say that some parts of Plato and Sir Thos More

are as wild as the ravings of Bedlam

(found Milton a dithering idiot, tho' said this with
more circumspection)

Lowered interest without annulling the debt...

in this transaction....There is nothing like it in the original
Mr. Pope has conformed it to the notions

of Englishmen and Americans

in Tacitus and in Homer, 3 orders, in Greece as in Germany
and mankind dare not yet think upon

CONSTITUTIONS

'No man in America then believed me'

J. A. on his Davila, recollecting.

.....

'forward young man' wrote the critic

on an unsigned J. A. (J. A. being then 53 and vice
president)

Pharamond on the banks of the Sala

here again the french jargon

not one clear idea what they mean by

'all authority'

MISERIA servitus, ubi jus vagum

primitive man was gregarious, passions, appetites and

predilictions

to be observed, commended esteemed. (C68 395-396)

Mr. Adams, Thomas Jefferson said, "had originally been a republican" but the "glare of royalty and nobility" while Adams was in England "made him believe their fascination a necessary ingredient in government" and Shay's rebellion had seemed to prove to Adams that "absence of want and oppression" was not a "guarantee of order" (Jefferson, Works 1: 180). Furthermore, Jefferson said, when Adams returned to the United States, the "monarchical federalists" convinced him that the general population was "favorable to monarchy" (1: 180).

Thomas Paine's Rights of Man appeared in America on May 3, 1791, published by 19-year-old Samuel Harrison Smith, with a portion of the following letter to Smith's father, Jonathan Bayard Smith, attached as a preface:

Apr. 26. 1791

Th: Jefferson presents his compliments to Mr. Jonathan B. Smith and in consequence of the inclosed note and of Mr. Beckley's desire he sends him Mr. Paine's pamphlet. He is extremely pleased to find it will be printed here, and that something is at length to be publicly said against the political heresies which have sprung up among us. He has no doubt our citizens will rally a second time round the standard of Common sense. . . . (Jefferson, Papers 20: 290)

Only the above sentences beginning with "He" were actually printed, both of these being put into the first person. Jefferson had been given the copy of the pamphlet by James Madison. Madison told Jefferson to return the pamphlet that day to John Beckley, who apparently had arranged for its publication. Jefferson did not get the pamphlet read by the time Beckley asked for it and Beckley allowed Jefferson to send it to Smith's father when he was finished with it. Jefferson did not know Smith or his father, nor did he know that his letter would be printed and that John Adams would recognize himself as one of the heretics whom Jefferson referred to when he spoke of "political heresies" (Julian P. Boyd 271; 277-278).

Shortly after this there appeared a series of essays running for two months in the Columbian Centinel signed by someone calling themselves Publicola (Boyd 280). Publicola wondered "what this very respectable gentleman means by political heresies":

Does he consider this pamphlet of Mr. Payne's as the canonical book of political scripture? As containing the true doctrine of popular infallibility, from which it would be heretical to depart in one single point. . . . [sic] I have always understood, Sir, that the citizens of these States were possessed of a full and entire freedom of opinion upon all subjects civil as well as religious; that they have not yet established any infallible criterion of orthodoxy. (qtd. in Boyd, 280)

Jefferson said that he "had in view certainly the doctrines of Davila" when he spoke of heresies, but he

"certainly never meant to step into a public newspaper with that in my mouth" (Papers 20: 293). The differences between Jefferson and Adams were now in the public eye and Jefferson knew Adams would "take to himself the charge of political heresy" and he thought it was indeed Adams who "took up the cudgels under the name of Publicola" (20: 291-296). Publicola, however, turned out to be Adams's son, John Quincy, although Jefferson did not know this when he wrote to Adams in July of 1791 and attempted to smooth things over.

Jefferson told Adams he had taken up his pen "a dozen times" and put it down an equal number of times "suspended between opposing considerations" (Cappon 1: 245). He explained how he came in possession of Paine's pamphlet and how he came to write the note. He said he thought so little of the note he had not made a copy but was "thunderstruck" when he saw it at the "head of the pamphlet" (246). Then he told Adams how Publicola, by attacking not only the pamphlet but Jefferson as well, had caused many more letters to be written attacking Publicola and Adams as the writer, and "Thus were our names thrown on the public stage as public antagonists" (246):

That you and I differ in our ideas of the best form of government is well known to us both: but we have differed as friends should do, respecting the purity of each other's motives, and confining our difference of opinion to private conversation. (246)

Adams was polite in his return letter, but seemed astonished that Jefferson would suggest that they knew each other's views on government. He said it "was high time that you and I should come to an explanation with each other" and said that their friendship of fifteen years "without the smallest interruption" and "slightest Suspicion" still was "very dear" to his heart, but:

You observe "That You and I differ in our Ideas of the best form of Government is well known to us both." But, my dear Sir, you will give me leave to say, that I do not know this. I know not what your Idea is of the best form of Government. You and I have never had a serious conversation together that I can recollect concerning the nature of Government. The very transient hints that have ever passed between Us have been jocular and superficial, without ever coming to any explanation. If You suppose that I have or ever had a design or desire, of attempting to introduce a Government of King, Lords and Commons, or in other Words an hereditary Executive, or an hereditary Senate, either into the Government of the United States or that of any Individual State, in this Country, you are wholly mistaken. . . . If you have ever put such a Construction on any Thing of mine, I beg you to mention it to me, and I will undertake to convince you, that it has no such meaning. (Cappon 1: 248-249)

Julian P. Boyd says that from this time on the friends were to diverge further, the political rift growing "wider and deeper," so that their friendship was not renewed until twenty years later when Benjamin Rush brought them together (Boyd 285-286). And after 20 years, their discussion seemed to begin where it left off. Adams remembered that thirty years earlier in London he had carelessly said to Jefferson that he wished to write something on Aristocracy

and Jefferson had encouraged him to do so. "I soon began," he told Jefferson, "and have been writing Upon that Subject ever since. I have been so unfortunate as never to be able to make myself understood" (Cappon 2: 352). The "gross Ideology" of Turgot, Franklin and others had first suggested the idea to him, but he was "restrained" for many years by "fearful considerations":

Who or what was I? A Man of no name or consideration in Europe. . . . I should make Enemies of all the French Patriots, the Dutch Patriots, the English Republicans, Dissenters, Reformers, call them what you will; and . . . I knew, I should give offence to many, if not all of my best Friends in America. . . . What Printer or Bookseller would undertake to print such hazardous Writings? . . .

Now, I will forfeit my Life, if you can find one Sentence in my Defence of the Constitutions, or the Discourses on Davila, which by a fair construction, can favour the introduction of hereditary Monarchy or Aristocracy into America.

They were all written to support and strengthen the Constitutions of the United States.

[A man of no name or consideration. . . .

'Our constitution' 'every man his own monarch'

(C63 353)]

The Woodcutter on Ida, though he was puzzled to find a Tree to chop, at first, I presume knew how to leave off, when he was weary; But I never know when to cease. . . .

JOHN ADAMS

(2: 355-356)

A man of no name. . . .

Snot, Bott, Cott left over from
 Washington's cabinet
 and as for Hamilton
 we may take it (my authority, ego scriptor cantilena) that he was the Prime snot in ALL American history
 (11th Jan. 1938, from Rapallo)
 But for the clearest head in the congress
 1774 and thereafter
 pater patriae
 the man who at certain points
 made us
 at certain points
 saved us
 by fairness, honesty and straight moving

ARRIBA ADAMS

(C62 350)

Chapter XIV

Pound considered the correspondence between Adams and Jefferson a "Shrine and a Monument" to the fact that "CIVILISATION WAS in America" during the time of "reconciliation" between the two in 1812 and beyond (SPr 147). From 1760-1826, Pound said, "two civilised men lived and to a considerable extent reigned in America" (147). Their prose was not "surpassed" except, perhaps, by Henry James's. Pound thought Franklin's writing would be found

"slithery and perhaps cheap in comparison" and the Adams-Jefferson writings should "be in curricula": "Certain books should not be in curricula. Other books belong in curricula" (148).

A nation must have a "national mind" he said. Leo Frobenius defined this not by the "fiddling term 'culture'" or rigid term "'Kultur'" but by the Greek term "'Paideuma'" meaning "the mental formation, the inherited habits of thought" (148). Pound could remember no school history of the U.S. which included the "Encyclopaedists" and wondered if any college undergraduates ever even heard the term. The national culture of the U.S., then, "can be perhaps better defined from the Jefferson letters" even though Jefferson "has been abused as an incredible optimist" (148-149).

The Encyclopaedists and Thomas Jefferson did not spring as an "isolated phenomenon" out of chaos: "Polumetis, many-minded, distracting, discussable, but minus origins" (150). They came out of an entire tradition in history which could be read "almost as palimpsest." A tradition of "men following one on another, not neglecting original examination of fact, but not thinking each one in turn that the moon and sea were discovered first by him" (150-151), a tradition of having "a sense of gradations," Dante's "'in una parte piu e meno altrove,'" a system of "graduations, an hierarchy of values among which was, perhaps above all other, 'order,'" whereby words "are an effective means of

communication, an efficient modus operandi ONLY if they do retain meanings" (150).

Adams and Jefferson had this "sense of gradations" of "relative good and evil," things "neither perfect or utterly wrong, but arranged in a cosmos, an order, stratified, having relations with another" (150). They did not write in a vacuum. Their letters "abound in consciousness of Europe" and the two men were not affected by the later "appalling suburbanism that set in after the civil war" (157). They "both were and FELT responsible. Their equals felt with them" (152). They were "CONTEMPORARY with the best minds of Europe" and in fact they "entered into the making of that mind" (156). Civilization existed because Jefferson and Adams stemmed from the Encyclopaedists. In their letters can be found "a varied culture, and an omniverous (or apparently so) curiosity" and their ideas did not come about without "efficient cause," i.e, they were part of a "total culture," and in this sense, they were "totalitarian" (149; 154-158):

And the lesson is, if, heaven help us, I am supposed to be teaching anyone anything in this article—the lesson is against raw ideology, which Napoleon, Adams, Jefferson were all up against, and whereto, as Adams remarked. . . .

The lesson is or might be against peripheric acid as distinct from Confucian building of ideogram and search into motivation, or 'principle'.

If you want certain results, you must as scientist examine a great many phenomena. If you won't admit what you are driving at, even to

yourself, you remain in penumbra. Adams did not keep himself in penumbra, he believed in a responsible class. He wanted safeguards and precautions and thereby attained unpopularity.

'You and I ought not to die before we have explained ourselves to each other.' (Adams to Jefferson, 15 July 1813.) Did Rousseau or Montaigne ever write anything to equal that sentence, given the context (1760-1813). (158)

American civilization existed between 1760-1830, Pound said. It "thinned" when a "scission" came about "between life of the mind and life of the nation, say 1830-1860." After the civil war was a "period of despair," as seen in the difference between the mental life of Henry Adams and Henry James, and that of Grant, McKinley, Harding and Hoover (147). Pound wondered, then, if we should "go on losing our own revolution . . . by whoring after exotics, Muscovite or European?" (Spr 147). There was a national culture in America from 1770-1861, Pound said, "Jefferson could not imagine an American going voluntarily to inhabit Europe," for instead, "Europe looked to America." The culture of the Revolutionary period was "critical and not monolingual" because a national culture only exists so long as it "chooses between other cultures" (161). This Thomas Jefferson and John Adams did, as Adams did in defending the colonial charter of Massachusetts:

WHEREOF memory of man runneth not to the
contrary
 Dome Book, Ina, Offa and Aethelbert, folcright
 for a thousand years

and I must add that it appears to me extraordinary that a gentlemen educated under the great Gamaliel, Mr Read, shd/ adduce the single dictum of a counsel at bar uttered arguendo, as an ornament to his discourse, not pertinent to his argument, as if this settled something

'by the great sages of law formerly and more latterly'; having behind it no colour or pretence of other authority.

Aula regum, in Norman times split into 4 courts, the summas justiciarius was laid by, lest he get into the throne as had Capet. Regalia principis (Saxon) whence most of the prerogatives of the Crown are derived in those ages

judiciary a mere deputy of the King in whose presence his (the judge's) authority ceased cum delegans revocarit (Bracton)

Baastun Gazette '73

正

clear
as to definitions

CHING

(C67 387)

Jefferson, Pound said, "informed" and shaped the American Revolution, in the sense of "shaping it from the inside and educating it" (J/M 14). When Jefferson was in France shortly before the French Revolution, "While fat Louis was chewing apples at Versailles, Lafayette and Co. kept running" to him to "find out how they ought to behave"

and how to begin a revolution of their own (14). Pound considered Jefferson to have governed 24 years: eight years as president and sixteen years "wherein he governed more or less through deputies, Madison and Monroe" (15). He governed "with a limited suffrage," and by conversation with intelligent friends, by persiflage, and guided the electorate by what he wrote and said "more or less privately" (15):

He canalized American thought by means of his verbal manifestations, and in these manifestations he appeared at times to exaggerate.

The exaggeration had an aim and a scope, temporary and immediate. No man in history had ever done more and done it with less violence or with less needless expenditure of energy. (15)

He was an artist who took advantage of the "opportunism" of the artist "who has a definite aim, and creates out of the materials present. The greater the artist the more permanent his creation" and this is a matter of the will and the "DIRECTION OF THE WILL" and, Pound said, if the reader would "blow the fog off his brain" he would see that "this phrase brings us ultimately both to Confucius and Dante" (15-16).

尚志

Tsin Sin (Spr 84)

In a letter written to St. John de Crèvecoeur from Paris on Jan. 15, 1787, Jefferson quotes the following passage from The Iliad, a passage he quotes in the original Greek, and one:

(comparing a young hero killed by Ajax to a poplar felled by a workman)-----

[and in the dust he reeled and fell.

A poplar

growing in bottom lands, in a great meadow,
smooth-trunked, high up to its sheath of boughs,
will fall before the chariot-builder's ax
of shining iron--timber that he marked
for warping into chariot tire rims--
and, seasoning, it lies beside the river.

(Il. 4.489-496)]

The above is Fitzgerald's translation, but I prefer Jefferson's prose version:

literally thus 'he fell on the ground, like a poplar, which has grown, smooth, in the wet part of a great meadow; with its branches shooting from it's summit. But the Chariot-maker with his sharp axe, has felled it, that he may bend a wheel for a beautiful chariot. It lies drying on the banks of the river.' (Papers 11: 44)

Jefferson quoted the passage because, he told Crèvecoeur, the Americans were being robbed of the credit for another of their inventions. Jefferson read in the Journal that the English had revived a custom of the Greeks, "that is making the circumference of a wheel of a single

piece" (44). But Jefferson says that New Jersey farmers were the first to practice this and they "practised it commonly" (44). Apparently Dr. Franklin had helped the man who was claiming credit for the invention, showing him how to use old wood to accomplish the task, as no saplings were available in London, and the man "obtained a patent for it which has made his fortune" (44). The writer of the paper supposed the English workman took the idea from Homer, but, Jefferson says: "it is more likely that the Jersey farmer got the idea from thence, because ours are the only farmers who can read Homer." And, the Jersey practice was precisely that which Homer gives:

Observe the circumstances which coincide with the Jersey practice. 1. It is a tree growing in a moist place, full of juices, and easily bent. 2. It is cut while green. 3. It is bent into the circumference of a wheel. 4. It is left to dry in that form. (45)

Under fine arts in Jefferson's catalogue of books are:

- 29. Architecture
Gardening
 - 30. Painting
Sculpture
Music
 - 31. Poetry, Epic
 - 32. " Romance
 - 33. " Pastoral
 - 34. " Didactic
 - 35. " Tragedy
 - 36. " Comedy
 - 37. " Dialogue and
Epistolary
 - 38. Rhetoric
 - 39. Criticism, Theory
 - 40. " Bibliography
 - 41. " Philology
- (Jefferson, Complete 1093)

Under "Poetry, Epic," the first poet listed is Homer and in a dozen different editions, with translations in Latin, English, Italian, and French (Wilson 165). While in Paris as Minister Plenipotentiary to France Jefferson ordered the following from John Stockdale on July 26, 1786:

Homeri Ilias. Greek. 2. vols. folio. The edition Foulis, Glasgow.
 Homeri Odyssea, Greek. 2. vols. folio. The edition of Foulis, Glasgow.
 Schrevelii lexicon. A new edition in large octavo, containing besides the Greek and latin part, a part in Latin and Greek, and another with the Greek roots.
 Mc.Intosh and Capper;s voiages. The smallest edition.
 Andrews' history of the war. Another copy complete.
 Soule's histoire des troubles de l'Amerique. I have the two first volumes. . . .
 Bell';s Shakespeare. The nos. since 25. I have 25. numbers. On fine paper.
 Monthly and critical reviews since those I have received.
 Jeffery's historical chart.
 Priestly's biographical chart, with 2. of the pamphlets, the one I received with mine wanting several leaves.
 Evans's map of the middle colonies.

Send the above books unbound, all of them.

(Papers 10: 166)

On August 13, Jefferson received a return letter from Stockdale informing him that all the books were on the way except for "one Copy of McIntosh['s] [sic] Travells, which is entirely out of print" and no Soules History of the War as there were only "2 Volumes" left, nor was "it at all likely that there will ever be any more" (Papers 10: 201). He also said he would like to publish Jefferson, as his work

"is highly spoke of except those parts that relate to our Country" (201). The bill was as follows:

Homers Ilias & Odyssia Greek			
2 vols. folio bd.	2	4	
Schreveliii Lexicon		7	6
2 Capper's Travels bound		12	
1 McIntosh's Travels bd.		18	
Price's Observations on do.		2	6
Andrew's History of the War 4 vols. bds.	1	10	
Bell's Shakespeare No. 25 to 32		12	
Cooke's Littleton Pt. 4		7	6
American War No. 25 to 28		4	
Jeffery's Historical Chart		10	6
Priestley's Biogl. Chart		10	6
Description of do.	-	--	-
Evans's Map of the Middle Colonies		2	
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(Papers 10: 201)

Jefferson thought Patrick Henry had a "peculiar" eloquence, "impressive and sublime, beyond what can be imagined," and although "delighted and moved" by Henry's speech, he would ask "'what the d---l has he said?'" and would be unable to answer his own question (Complete 904). But the first time he heard Henry speak he thought Henry's talents as a popular orator were "great indeed" and Henry "appeared . . . to me to speak as Homer wrote" (Works 1: 8). The sound was more important to Jefferson than the grammar, if that was the trouble with Henry's speech. Jefferson was "in opposition to Purists, who would destroy all strength and beauty of style" by forcing a compliance with rules: "Fill up all the ellipses and syllepses of Tacitus, Sallust, Livy, &c., and the elegance and force of their sententious

brevity are extinguished" (Complete 884). Pound said that Jefferson's "moderate precept of style" was that "any man has the right to a new word when it can make his meaning more clear than an old one" (Spr 153). Jefferson said he was a "zealous" friend to "Neology" as opposed to those "Purists" fearful lest Americans adulterate the English language: "Certainly so great growing a population," he said, "spread over such an extent of country . . . must enlarge their language":

The new circumstances under which we are placed, call for new words, new phrases, and for the transfer of old words to new objects. . . . But whether will these adulterate, or enrich the English language? . . . Did the Athenians consider the Doric, Ionian, the Aeolic, and other dialects, as disfiguring or as beautifying their language? Did they fastidiously disavow Herodotus, Pindar, Theocritus, Sappho, Alcaeus, or Grecian writers? On the contrary, they were sensible that the variety of dialects, still infinitely varied by poetical license, constituted the riches of their language, and made the Grecian Homer the first of poets, as he must ever remain, until a language equally ductile and copious shall again be spoken.⁴⁵ (Complete 885)

In his "Thoughts on English Prosody," Jefferson again places Homer as "the first of poets" when discussing his distaste for rhyme, the fondness for which, he says, "leaves us with that for the rattles and baubles of childhood." As we grow older, however, "these things fall off one by one [and] . . . we are left at last with only Homer and Virgil, perhaps with Homer alone. He like [']Hope travels on nor quits us when we die[']" (Complete 852-853).

One language that may have been, in Jefferson's view, as "ductile and copious" as the Greek was Anglo-Saxon. The importance of Anglo-Saxon to the understanding of modern English was underestimated, Jefferson thought. He believed it was a "full-formed" language and its construction, its noun and verb declension, and its syntax was "peculiar to the Northern languages" (856). It was the language of all England from the sixth century until the time of Henry III, for the Roman language never was incorporated into the native Briton, and when the Britons were driven into Wales, any trace of possible Roman innovation went with them. The Anglo-Saxon was "copious" enough for the then "existing condition of arts and manners" and this copiousness was "favoured by the latitude it allowed of combining primitive words" to produce any change "of idea desired." In this way Anglo-Saxon was "equal to the Greek," the proof of this seen in the books left to us "in the various branches of history, geography, religion, law, and poetry" (856-857).

In the earliest days of the use of Anglo-Saxon, reading and writing were rare, Jefferson said. Even the "highest dignitaries of the church" could not write their names and thus "subscribed their marks." He said King Alfred was not taught to read until he was at least 36 years old and that Alfred spoke of the state of learning in "his Preface to the Pastoral of Gregory":

Swa clean hi was oth-fallen on Angelkin that swithe few were on behinan Humber, the hior thenung cuthon understandan on Englisc, oth furthon an errand y-write of Latin on Englisc areckon. And I ween that not many beyondan Humber nay aren; swa few hior weron that I furthon ane on lepne nay may y-thinkan. . . . (qtd. 858)

The state of learning being "so profoundly illiterate," Jefferson said, few read and fewer wrote, so that the writer had for his guide "his own ideas only of the power of the letters" and thus "birds was spelt brides; grass, gaers; run, yrnan; cart, craett. . . . A son was suna, sune, sunu; maera, maere, maero, maeru; finer, limites; ge, ye, y, i, are various spellings of the same prefix. The final e mute in English is a remain of this, as in give, love, curse" (858).

In the "Aim and Curriculum" of the University of Virginia, Jefferson placed Anglo-Saxon within the group of modern languages expected to be taught at the university he created: French, Spanish, Italian, and German. The ancient languages were Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The Anglo-Saxon, Jefferson said, "is in fact that which we speak" and is in the "earliest form in which we have knowledge of it." And, too, it had value over Latin and Greek because "it gives the radix of the mass of our language" while Greek and Latin "explain its innovations only." Also, the study of Anglo-Saxon could "give a full understanding of our ancient common law." Such a language, Jefferson said, "claims distinguished attention in American education" (1100-1103).

The ancient and the modern. On the 29th of November, 1785, Jefferson, in Paris, received a letter from Patrick Henry, who was then governor of Virginia, informing him that the state assembly had voted to commission a statue of General Washington. "There should be no question" as to who the sculptor should be, Jefferson said in his return letter, "the reputation of Mons. Houdon of this city being unrivalled in Europe" (Works 4: 392). "Mons. Houdon" was Jean-Antoine Houdon and he was "resorted to for the statues of most of the sovereigns in Europe" and he offered to abandon his work in Europe, "to leave the statues of kings unfinished," and proceed to the United States to measure Washington: "His stay with the General will be about a month. This will be employed in forming his bust of plaister. With this he will return to Paris, & will then be between two & three years in executing the whole in Marble" (4: 392-394). Jefferson apparently was an admirer of sculpture, not only for its beauty, but for the craft itself and the symbolisms it could offer the republic (Berman 95-96). In 1771 he composed a list, "Statues, Paintings &," of works of art he wished to procure for Monticello and the sculpture was listed as follows:

Venus of Medici [Aphrodite Rising from the Sea], Florence; Hercules of Farnese, Rome; Apollo of Belvedere, Rome; Antinous, Florence; Dancing Faunus; Messenger pulling out a thorn; Roman slave whetting his knife; The Gladiator at Montalto; Myrmillo expiring; The Gladiator reposing himself

after the engagement (companion to the former); Hercules and Antaeus; The two wrestlers; the Rape of the Sabines (3 figures). (William Adams, Monticello 197-198; Berman 96)

Jefferson never did, or was unable to, acquire copies of any of these works, but he did secure a marble copy of the Sleeping Ariadne in the Vatican Museum (William Adams, "The Fine Arts" (202-203). Abigail Adams wished Jefferson to purchase some sort of statuary for her while she and Mr. Adams were residing in London. Jefferson told her:

With respect to the figures I could only find three of those you named, matched in size. These were Minerva, Diana, and Apollo. I was obliged to add a fourth, unguided by your choice. They offered me a fine Venus; but I thought it out of taste to have two at table at the same time. Paris and Helen were presented. I conceived it would be cruel to remove them from their peculiar shrine. . . . At length a fine Mars was offered, calm, bold. . . . This will do, thinks I for the table of the American Minister in London. . . . Wisdom is our guide, and the Song and Chase our supreme delight yet we offer adoration to that tutelar god also who rocked the cradle of our birth. . . . Envy and malice will never be quiet. I hear it already whispered to you that in admitting Minerva to your table I have departed from the principle which made me reject Venus: in plain English that I have paid a just respect to the daughter but failed to the mother. . . . Wisdom, I know, is social. She seeks her fellows. But Beauty is jealous, and illy [sic] bears the presence of a rival. . . . (Papers 8: 548)

While at Nîmes to see the Maison Carrée, a Roman temple built in the time of Augustus which Jefferson had admired in the drawings of Andrea Palladio and desired to use as a model for the Virginia capitol building, he wrote to Madame de Tessé that this was the second time he had been in love

on a journey in France: "The first with a Diana at the Cahteau de Laye Epinaye in the Beaujolois, a delicious morsel of sculpture," a perfectly acceptable love, that "with a fine woman," but he was now in love "with a house!" (11: 226).

Houdon arrived back in Paris with the mold of Washington's face in January of 1785. Jefferson wrote to Washington wondering what "particular dress" Washington desired for the statue, and in the same letter, he again inquired into the cutting of a canal uniting the "heads of the Cayahoga and Beaver creek" (Papers 9: 150-151). Washington replied in August that he felt he did not have "sufficient knowledge in the art of sculpture" to dictate the dress of his statue, but that modern dress, as opposed to the classic, was becoming acceptable in painting (Jefferson, Papers 10: 186). Jefferson wrote back on Aug. 14, 1787: "I was happy to find by the letter of Aug. 1, 1786, which you did me the honour to write me, that the modern dress for. . . . I think a modern in an antique dress as just an object of ridicule as an Hercules or Marius with a periwig and. . . . (Papers 12: 36):

TEMPUS loquendi,

Tempus tacendi.

Said Mr Jefferson: It wd have give us
time.

"a modern dress for your statue....."

"I remember having written . . .

"on water communication between ours and . . .

"particularly the information....of the . . .

"Big Beaver and Cayohoga . . . canal

".....navigation of Lake Erie and the Ohio . . .

"occasion . . .

"and if you have you wd. oblige . . .

"by a communication of it. I consider this canal

"if practicable. . . .

T. J. to General Washington, 1787

.

.....for our model, the maison Quarrée of Nismes.....

(C31 153-154)

and Jefferson, in cipher, wishing Patrick Henry to die

"What we have to do I think is devotedly to 252.746.

for his death in the meantime to 203. 925. 243. 719 the

. . . 872. of the 312. 730. 737. I am glad the 1005. 83

953. 735. 3880. . . . The 777.400 had almost. . . .

I look anxiously to . . . navigation of the Potomac and

Ohio; the actual junction of the Big Beaver. . . .

(T.J. to Mr Madison, Paris, December 8, 1784. Works 4: 383).

And two lines from The Iliad (in the Greek) on his
wife's tombstone:

If in the house of Hades men forget their dead

Yet will I even there remember my dear companion.

(I1. 22.390-391)

"What is it? What is it?"

A mask, a disguise? His eyes are his least impressive feature. Gothic, as they call it, moonlight drifts through these etched trees. . . . They say, "that is the right word." This moment must wait 50 years for the right word. Perhaps he had said it; perhaps in the frost of our mingled breath, the word was written. . . . Immensely sophisticated, immensely superior, immensely rough-and-ready, a product not like any of the brothers and brothers' friends--and boys we danced with (and he danced badly). One would dance with him for what he might say. . . . First kisses? . . . what did one expect?

"What is it? What is it?"

They would never answer directly. They would say, "He is so eccentric." "What is it?" "He is impossible; he told Professor Schelling that Bernard Shaw was more important than Shakespeare." "What is it?" "He makes himself conspicuous; he wore lurid, bright socks that the older students ruled out for freshmen. The sophomores threw him in the lily pond. . . . What is it. . . .

"What did your father mean by 'I don't say there was anything wrong this time?' Did he know about it? How did he know about it? You don't say how he knew about it." "Good Lord--it's implied--there was talk--." "Who talked? What did they say?" "How could I know." Didn't you ask?" "No--no--no--no--." "

"What exactly did he say to people?" "O--I don't know. . . ." (3; 14 & 16)

He said, with the aid of a microphone and over Rome

Radio:

On Arbour Day, Pearl Arbour Day, 12 o'clock noon I retired from the capital of the old Roman Empire to Rapallo to seek wisdom from the ancients.

I wanted to figure things out. . . . There was to face this, the SITUATION. That is to say the United States had been for months ILLEGALLY at war, through what I considered to be the criminal acts of a President whose mental condition was NOT, as far as I could see, all that could or should be desired. . . . (Doob 23)

I mentioned earlier our usual distaste for silence. Even now, as I write this, I have the radio on--"background noise." In between songs the promotional spots shout out: "For all the latest hits . . . tune in, turn it up loud." Thomas Merton has said:

What is it that makes every man struggle with himself? It is the deep, persistent voice of his own discontent with himself. Fallen man cannot abide with himself. Now the apparent peace which the world gives is bought with the price of continual distraction. Distraction merely drowns out the inner voice, it does not answer any questions, or solve any problems, it merely postpones their solution. And behind the smokescreen of amusements and projects, the inner dissatisfaction marshals all its forces for a more terrible assault when the distraction shall have been taken away. . . .

The question itself is basic: how shall we face the contradiction between the ideal and the real in our society, the ideal and the concrete in ourselves? (Journey 101-105)

Distraction. Say you wanted to "contemplate the flowing," or write poetry, or learn how to face the contradiction between "the ideal and the concrete" in society or yourself. Ezra Loomis Pound said he was able to write the Chinese and Adams cantos, Cantos "52/71 because I was the last survivin' monolith who did not have a bloody radio in 'ome" (Let 442). But on March 30, 1940, "Blasted friends left a goddam radio" (442). He thought it a "God damn destructive and dispersive" invention, but one that had "to be faced" (442). Those who wrote for drama or theatre were going to have to "measure it" not only against the cinema, but also against "personae poked into every bleedin'

'ome and smearing the mind of the peapull." He thought those who could survive it might be strengthened in relation to their "inner life," but the "mass of apes and worms will be still further rejuiced [sic] to passivity." And he asked: "Hell a state of passivity? Or limbo?" (442-443).

The contemplation of the flowing, Pound said, involved the "'positive and negative,' 'North and South,' 'sun and moon'" ("Psy & T" 93); the best "illustrations" coming from physics:

Ist, the common electric machine, the glass disc and rotary brushes; 2nd, the wireless telegraph receiver. In the first we generate a current, or if you like, split up a static condition of things and produce a tension. This is focussed [sic] on two brass knobs or "poles." These are first in contact, and after the current is generated we can gradually widen the distance between them, and a spark will leap across it, the wider the stronger, until with the ordinary sized laboratory appliance it will leap over or around a large obstacle or pierce a heavy book cover. In the telegraph we have a charged surface--produced in a cognate manner--attracting to it, or registering movements in the invisible aether. (93)

Heraclitus contemplated the flowing. Moreover, he believed in the unity of opposites: the unity of the positive and negative, the North and South, the sun and moon. In this respect his philosophy resembled that of the Buddhists studied by Leo Tolstoy (Tolstoy, it might be remembered, once named a novel War and Peace). Heraclitus lived in Ephesus, the Ionian city in Syria, where the temple of Artemis stood (Merton, "Herakleitos" 258). He lived at the time of Aeschylus, Pindar, and the fighters of Marathon.

He was, Merton says, "a tight-lipped and cynical pessimist who viewed with sardonic contempt the political fervor of his contemporaries" (258). He believed all was in a state of flux: to be was to "become" ("Heraclitus"). He believed the logos to be a "dynamic principle of harmony in conflict" represented by fire (Merton, "Herakleitos" 258). The soul was a mixture, then, of fire and water. Heraclitus's philosophy was not popular in his day:

The Ionian world was the world of Homer and of the Olympian gods. It was a world that believed in static and changeless order, and in the laws of mechanical necessity--basically materialistic. Against this Olympian formalism, against the ritualism and the rigidity of the conventional exterior cult, the static condition of a society that feared all that was not "ordinary," Herakleitos rose up with the protest of the Dionysian mystic. . . .

As a result, most people found him terribly disturbing. . . . In the end they had their revenge: the revenge that popular mediocrity takes upon singular excellence. They created a legend about Herakleitos--a legend which they could understand, for it consigned him forever to a familiar category and left them in comfort. They dismissed him as a crank, a misanthrope, an eccentric kind of beat who thought he was too good for them and who, as a result, condemned himself to a miserable isolation. . . . (Merton, "Herakleitos" 258-266)

Thus they called him the "dark philosopher" and the "weeping philosopher" ("Heraclitus"). Stories circulated that rather than involve himself in politics Heraclitus retired to the temple of Artemis and played "knuckle bones" with the children. Merton says, however, Heraclitus believed that only those who were aware of the logos, who

it is not possible to speak of anything which does not exist. Change is only an illusion and permanency is the only reality ("Greek Philosophy;" Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 2).

[He said, with the aid of a microphone and over Rome Radio:

"Europe callin', Pound speakin'. Ezry Pound speakin'. . . . The rot of the British Empire is from inside, and if the whole of that syphilitic organization, headed by Montagu Skinner Norman, makes war on Canada, or Alberta, I see no reason for Canada not making war on the Jews in London. Whether they are born Jews, or have taken to Jewry by predilection.

What I am ready to fight AGAINST is havin' ex-European Jews making another peace worse than Versailles . . . making dead mathematically sure of another war. . . . And to that end Roosevelt, Morgenthau, Lehman are working, day and night. . . . (Doob 21)]

Also in opposition to Heraclitus the "weeping philosopher," but perhaps not considerably more than in cognomen, we have Democritus the "laughing philosopher" ("Heraclitus"). Apparently he had a cheerful disposition and thus the appellation ("Democritus," Benet). On philosophical grounds, however, he was more in opposition to Parmenides. Democritus, Boorse says, saw that if change is impossible, than no science of nature is possible, and therefore he argued that being is not one, but is, rather, many beings, beings which are "permanent an indivisible" (2). These beings were atomos, meaning "not divisible" ("Atom;" Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 2). Change consists, then, in the rearrangement of these "eternal and unchanging"

atoms, and so change does occur, as Heraclitus said, but the change we see is only an illusion, as Parmenides believed. Atoms, Democritus said, are infinite in number and constantly in motion. They differ only in size, shape, and weight which accounts for the differences in objects visible to us (Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 2).

[He said, with the aid of a microphone and over Rome Radio:

I am readin' you now another Canto for diverse reasons. It contains things or at least hints at things that you will have to know sooner or later. . . .

And as I stated last time, I am feedin' you the footnotes first in case there is any possible word that might not be easily comprehended. . . .

Antoninus Pius, a Roman emperor; lex Rhodi the law of Rhodes, well I say that in the Canto. The latin phrase: Aurum est commune sepulchrum, gold th common sepulchre. Parallels: Troy the common grave, I think it is a part of a line by propertius. But it don't matter who it is quoted from. And the Greek: helandros, kai heleptolis kai helarxe [usury, destroyer of]⁴⁸ men and cities and governments. HELARXE more or less twisted from a line of Aeschylus; about Helen of Troy destroyer of men, and cities. Geryon, Geryone; allegorical beast in Dante's hell, symbol of fraud and all dirtiness. Hic Geryon est, is a Latin tag meaning, with the other phrase, Hic hyperusura: this is extra strong usury. Super usury. All right, now I am going on with Canto 46.

XLVI

And if you will say that this tale teaches...

a lesson, or that the Reverend Eliot

has found a more natural language...you who think

you will

get through hell in a hurry...

(Doob 34-35)]

Democritus proposed that if a being was not atomos, or indivisible, it could still exist in the form of a void (Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 2). René Descartes would have none of this. He argued that to exist, emptiness, a void, would have to have extension, but this was impossible. Space, then, which surrounds us all, has extension and therefore "can have no void and, consequently, must be a continuum of matter" (Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 6).

Though he rejected Democritus's atoms, he was forced to develop his own particle theory of nature, a theory "enveloped" within his vortex theory of the cosmos. Descartes began by proposing a group of vortices included in which is a particular vortex, the central vortex, which represents the solar system. Within each vortex is a number of small parts rotating on their own axis and around the center of the vortex. This motion rounded these parts into spheres. What was removed as these spheres formed is the "first matter," which makes up the sun and stars. This is in turn enveloped by the spheres which were formed, the "second matter" which makes up the heavens. The "third matter," the rough "filings," passed through the spheres and became channeled into mass which formed a crust around a central nucleus and formed a "degraded star." Such a star could be captured by another vortex and thus explains how and why the planets are present (6-7):

GAUDIER-BRZESKA VORTEX. . . .

The PALEOLITHIC VORTEX resulted in the decoration of the Dordogne caverns. Early stone-age man disputed the earth with animals. . . .

Out of the mind primordially preoccupied with animals Font-de-Gaume gained its procession of horses carved in the rock. The driving power was life in the absolute--the plastic expression the fruitful sphere.

The sphere is thrown through space, it is the soul and object of the vortex. . . .

The intensity of existence had revealed to man a truth of form . . . His OPULENT MATURITY WAS CONVEX. . . .

The acute fight subsided at the birth of the three primary civilizations. . . .

The HAMITE VORTEX of Egypt, the land of plenty. . . . His gods were self made, he built them in his image, and RETAINED AS MUCH OF THE SPHERE AS COULD ROUND THE SHARPNESS OF THE PARALLELOGRAM. . . .

The SEMITIC VORTEX was the lust of war. . . . Their gods sent them the vertical direction, the earth, the SPHERE.

They elevated the sphere in a splendid squatness and created the HORIZONTAL. . . .

Gothic sculpture was but a faint echo of the HAMITO-SEMITIC energies through Roman traditions . . . and it wilfully divagated again into the Greek derivation from the land of Amen-Ra. . . .

VORTEX OF A VORTEX!

VORTEX IS THE POINT ONE AND INDIVISIBLE!

VORTEX IS ENERGY! . . .

The Shang and Chow dynasties produced the convex bronze vases. . . .

The force relapsed and they accumulated wealth, forsook their work, and after losing their form-understanding through the Han and T'ang dynasties, they founded the Ming and found artistic ruin and sterility.

THE SPHERE LOST SIGNIFICANCE AND THEY ADMIRERD THEMSELVES. . . .

And WE the moderns . . . have crystallized the sphere into the cube, we have made a combination of all the possible shaped masses--concentrating them to express our abstract thoughts of conscious superiority.

Will and consciousness are our

VORTEX. (GB 21-23)

Descartes was acquainted with the Dutch poet Constantin Huygens (the author of Korenbloemen in 27 vols.). Descartes visited the Huygens's home, and in 1645 Constantin Huygens's two oldest sons, Christian and Constantin were both attending Leiden University where Descartes's Principia caused much friction between Descartes's followers and those of Aristotle ("Huygens, Constantin;" Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 17-18).

Christian Huygens went on to develop an improved method of lens grinding and polishing. With what is now known as the Huygenian eyepiece, the achromatic negative eyepiece consisting of two plano-convex lenses, he reduced chromatic and spherical aberration and built a high resolution telescope. With the improved telescope he discovered Titan, Saturn's sixth satellite in 1655, and a year later he announced the discovery of Saturn's rings. In the same year he used a pendulum to regulate a clock and thereby built the first accurate timepiece. By studying pendulums, he formulated theorems on centrifugal force which were later used by Newton to develop his law of gravitation (Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 17-19; "Eypiece;" "Huygens, Christian").

Huygens is best known, however, for his wave theory of light which stood in opposition to Newton's corpuscular theory ("Huygens, Christian"). He reported his findings in 1678 to the French Academy of Sciences. Huygens wondered why light was not propagated except in straight lines and

decided that "it is inconceivable to doubt that light consists in the motion of some sort of matter" (Huygens, "Treatise" 72). This matter would be equivalent of Decartes's matter in extension: the ether. Huygens said that the sun and stars "are composed of particles which float in a subtle medium which agitates them with great rapidity" and in turn these particles "strike against the particles of the ether" ("Treatise" 72; Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 22). This sets the particles in a source of light to vibrating and this in turn creates concentric spherical waves moving independently of each other. Each point on these wave fronts creates partial waves which would explain reflection, refraction, and diffraction (Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 23). Huygens did not publish his theory until 1690 and explains in the second paragraph of his Traité de lumière that it had always been his desire to translate his treatise into Latin "in order to obtain greater attention to the thing," but he did not find the time as other subjects of "novelty" turned him aside from this work, and this was why he waited so long to "bring this work to the light" (Huygens 70; Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 22).

Queen of Heaven bring her repose

κάδμου θυγάτηρ⁴⁹

bringing light per diafana

λευχός Λευκόθροε⁵⁰

white foam, a sea-gull

And damn it there were men even in my time

Nicoletti, Ramperti, Desmond Fitzgerald

(the one alive in 1919)

That the crystal wave mount to flood surge

近

chin⁴

乎

hu¹

仁

jên²

["energy is near to
benevolence" Con 155]⁵¹

The light there almost solid. (C95 644)

[He said, with the aid of a microphone and over Rome

Radio:

Let some bloody-minded betrayer of the British people get up in their grimy assembly and tell the world of their kind acts in the Orient. From the sacking of the Imperial Palace in Peking to the Jewsoons', Sassoons' century of infamy and of opium with Robert Cecil their advocate. . . . We should leave this trash to its own people, human -- --. If this people hasn't the manhood and sense to spew out their Churchills, Baldwins, Buchans, and lesser vermin, that is their own affair and they will presumably pay the price for their own flaccidity and mistaken tolerance. . . . But that any sub-Jew in the White House should send American lads to die for their Jewsoons and Sassoons and the private interest of the skum of the English earth, and the still lower dregs of the Parsee and Levantine importations is an outrage: and that ends it. To send boys from Omaha to Singapore to die for British monopoly and brutality is not the act of an American patriot. (Doob 43)]

It was known in the early 1800's that an electric current would deflect a magnetic needle. Michael Faraday, previously a journeyman book binder, wrote in his lab book early in 1831 the following heading: "Experiments on the Production of Electricity from Magnetism" (Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 84). It was assumed for centuries that electricity and magnetism were separate forces. Faraday, however, had been able to produce an electric current using a magnetic field--the first electric generator (Leeds 114). His experiment can be duplicated by placing a bar magnet within a coil of wire: the magnetic field of the bar will produce a current in the wire. If an electric current is run through a coil of wire, a magnetic field will be created around the wire (Kaku & Trainer 22-23). Faraday wished to describe what happened when electric and magnetic forces acted upon each other by making a model of what he called "a line of force" (Gribbin 255); but because he lacked the math skills to make a mathematical model of this field, he made a visual model, representing the lines of force as types of rubber bands, or "tubes of force" (Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 84).

These "tubes" represented the forces that made up the electromagnetic field. Each tube stretched from one charged particle to another, the like charges repelling each other, the "tubes" of force acting like "squeezed elastic," Gribbin says, in keeping the charges apart, and since opposite charges attract each other, the tubes then act "Like

stretched rubber bands" pulling the opposite charges together (255). Though Faraday's model was the first which demonstrated a "field theory," his lines of force were still viewed by most as being transmitted through a medium (256): "registering movements in the invisible aether" ("Psy & T" 93).

[He said, with the aid of a microphone and over Rome Radio:

I don't want, the last thing I want, is that any harm should come to Uncle Sam's Army and Navy. The Navy is, some of it, gone where I can't much help it. The Army can get on all right if it stays where it ought to be, namely on the North American continent. . . .

And the Americans, the U.S'ers, have started a fine government in 1776. Couldn't keep it a century and have now plum forgotten it ever existed. . . .

After 20 years [of]⁵² judaic propaganda, Lenin, Trotsky stuff crowding American history out of the schools, wild inferiority hate against Europe, here old Delano comes out with a mixed bag, in which two thirds of the program is fascist. With, of course, the essential parts missing. . . . Jews paid by Schiff in New York got hold of Russia and turned the whole land into a sweat shop. Watch your step, brother, it CAN happen to you. . . . Wars are not won by sweat shops alone. They are not won by profiteers ONLY. I mean the profiteers win PROFITS, but they do NOT win wars. They start war. . . .

Are you headed for a CHEAP, ten cent kike, Blumstein, Blumenstein, Zukor, tawdry imitation of nazism, or say for the moment, of fascism? VOID of all vital content. And if you mean to imitate it, are you going to emulate, or to vie? Are you going to try to have as GOOD a brand of the corporate State as is now provided in Europe? If not why not? . . . There must, damn it, there must be traces of the American RACE left somewhere on the American continent. The race that set up the United States government. . . . (Doob 44-47)]

It was up to James Clerk Maxwell to supply the equations which would give a mathematical description of Faraday's "tubes of force." Maxwell thought that the electric and magnetic fields, rather than being separate forces, might in fact vibrate together in synchronization to produce a wave which would travel through space: an vibrating electric field would produce a vibrating magnetic field which would produce a further vibrating electric field, so that this "chain" of fields would travel as an ocean wave (Kaku & Trainer 23-24). Maxwell discovered that a magnetic field or electric field could not produce this wave by itself, but only through the "interplay" of the two fields was the wave generated (24). From the equations he derived for the way the electric field and the magnetic field symmetrically create the electromagnetic field, Maxwell formulated a single wave equation to describe the way an electromagnetic field is propagated (Boorse, Motz, & Trainer 89). From this equation he derived the speed of an electromagnetic wave traveling through space and discovered that this number was the same as the speed of light--186,282 miles per second (89; Kaku & Trainer 24).

In other words, he discovered that light itself "is an electromagnetic disturbance in the form of waves propagated through the electromagnetic field according to electromagnetic laws" (qtd. in Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 89), a discovery, Kaku and Trainer say, "ranking in importance

alongside Newton's discovery of the universal law of gravitation" (25). In 1889 Heinrich Hertz confirmed Maxwell's theory by using an induction coil to generate an electromagnetic wave which could be detected over large distances. The electromagnetic spectrum was later realized to include the frequency bands of radio waves, infrared or heat waves, radiation, visible light, ultraviolet rays, X rays, and gamma rays. All of these following the laws of wave motion as formulated by Maxwell ("Hertz;" "Electromagnetic Waves").

[He said, with the aid of microphone and over Rome
Radio:

I see you have lost the habit of witan, the witenagemot and the town meeting. If you don't grow or find a leader, you may have to wait for some kindhearted Bavarian, or Hungarian to come free you from the Jews of New York.

Do I exaggerate?

DO YOU think there is any basic essential difference between a committee of kikes in LONDON betraying the United States of America and a gang of kikes in New York selling up England, and putting mortgages all over your Island? Do you think that freedom and the roast beef of old England, or roast beef of old Argentine, consists in taking orders from a gang of Jews in New York? (Doob 56)

In 1848 one Mahlon Loomis arrived in Cleveland, Ohio to study dentistry. Loomis, who was a sixteenth cousin to the as yet unborn American poet Ezra Pound, practiced the dental art for several years. He became interested in electricity and conducted experiments in the use of electricity to promote plant growth. He attempted to find a system which

could replace batteries through the use of wire-rigged kites to draw electricity from charged layers of the upper air.

His most notable achievement, though, occurring in 1868 approximately at the same time Maxwell was formulating his equations, was a demonstration of wireless communication. Loomis positioned two kites eighteen miles apart. Electricity from the charged upper air traveled along a wire from the first kite attached to a galvanometer and caused a deflection of the galvanometer needle. A wire attached to the second airborne kite was then grounded so that the voltage of the upper air was reduced and the galvanometer needle attached to the first kite was again deflected. This was, remember, twenty-one years before Hertz showed the truth of Maxwell's equations. In 1872 Loomis patented his system of wireless telegraphy, but he never received any financial backing and was unable to put his system into operation (Stock, Life 2; Derry, "Loomis").

[He said, with the aid of a microphone and over Rome Radio:

As to your Empire. . . . You let in the Jew and the Jew rotted your empire, and you yourselves out-Jewed the Jew. . . . And the big Jew has rotted EVERY nation he has wormed into. A millstone. . . . You seem to remember NOTHING. It were better you were infected with typhus. . . . Will you ever LOOK at the story of empire? You are NOT even in the mercantile system, you are in a fake mercantile system, not even mercantile. It was for a time called mercantile or the mercantilist system and defined as considering the happiness of a nation to consist in the amount of MONEY it owned. . . .



Fig. 10. Drawing by Sandro Botticelli showing Dante and Virgil in Bolgia 9 viewing the Sowers of Discord, including Bertran de Born who is seen holding his own severed head; rpt. in Botticelli 68.

That defines the USURY system, the ONLY system Anglo Saxons have known or used in our time. . . .

Is there a RACE left in England? Has it ANY will to survive? . . . Nothing can save you, save a purge. Nothing can save you, save an affirmation that your are English.

Whore Belisha is NOT. Isaccs is not. No Sassoon is an Englishman, racially. No Rothschild is English, no Strakosch is English, no Roosevelt is English, no Baruch, Morgenthau, Cohen, Lehman, Warburg, Kuhn, Khan, Baruch, Schiff, Sieff, or Solomon was ever yet born Anglo-Saxon.

And it is for this filth that you fight. . . .
(Doob 59-62)]

Guglielmo Marconi was 20 years old and had read a review of Hertz's confirmation of electromagnetic waves in 1894. Marconi's father owned a large estate near Bologna and Marconi first set up a Hertz-Righi spark transmitter and Branly-Lodge coherer receiver in the attic of his father's home. He soon moved the apparatus out of doors and attached horizontal wires terminating in suspended metal plates to both the receiver and transmitter. In 1895 he reoriented these wires vertically and set the metal plates in moist earth. This created an antenna-ground structure and Marconi could operate a Morse code printer more than a mile away and over a small hill (Chipman, "Marconi").

Marconi could not get any financial backing for a commercial application of his work and a grain-milling Irish relative invited him to England and Marconi arrived there in February of 1896. He received a patent for his invention in July and in 1898 he formed the Wireless Telegraph and Signal Company. In 1899 he sent the first wireless transmission

across the English Channel and provided wireless service to the America's Cup race. In November of that year he received signals while still 66 miles out at sea (Chipman, "Marconi;" Chipman, "Radio").

Marconi convinced his board of directors in 1900 that transatlantic communication was of primary financial importance and built his first superpower station at Poldhu in Cornwall and then another at Cape Cod. Both of the antennas at these stations collapsed in storms and Marconi built one of simpler design at Poldhu and then sailed to Newfoundland on Nov. 26, 1901 with two assistants, some receivers, antenna wire, and kites and balloons. Marconi used 400 feet of wire held aloft by a kite as a receiving antenna and on Dec. 12, 1901 he heard the first radio message to be sent 2000 miles across the Atlantic Ocean, the Morse-code letter S: . . . (Chipman, "Radio").

Marconi later purchased a yacht in 1921, the Elettra, a vessel the British government seized from an Austrian in World War I, to use as a base and home (Chipman, "Marconi"), and on Aug. 2, 1934, Ezra Pound, from Rapallo, Italy, wrote to Arnold Gingrich: "Marconi's yacht is visible from breakfast table" (qtd. in Carpenter 439).

[He said, with the aid of a microphone and over Rome
Radio:

The difference between money and metal, puzzled mankind for millennia. It goes back into

prehistory. The idea of interest existed before the invention of metal coin.

And there is MUCH more justification for collecting interest on a loan of seed, on a loan of she-goats and buck-goats, than on a loan of non-breeding, no-breedable metal. It only remained for the philosopher or the expert in ethics to figure out HOW much interest. For a thousand years from St. Ambrose to St. Antonino some of the best and most candid minds in Europe worked on that problem.

And Europe in the interim built her cathedrals during an age when usury was classed with the vices. COIN being used as counters, and the work of makin' those counters, etc., havin' the money ready and handy required a lot of technique. A lot of technique was developed. Then somebody found out they could do without metal counters. Just like Loomis found out you could send an electric signal without using wire. Found out electricity would travel thru air. Nothin' practical came of it, till Sig. Marconi got it into a system. (Doob 176-177)]

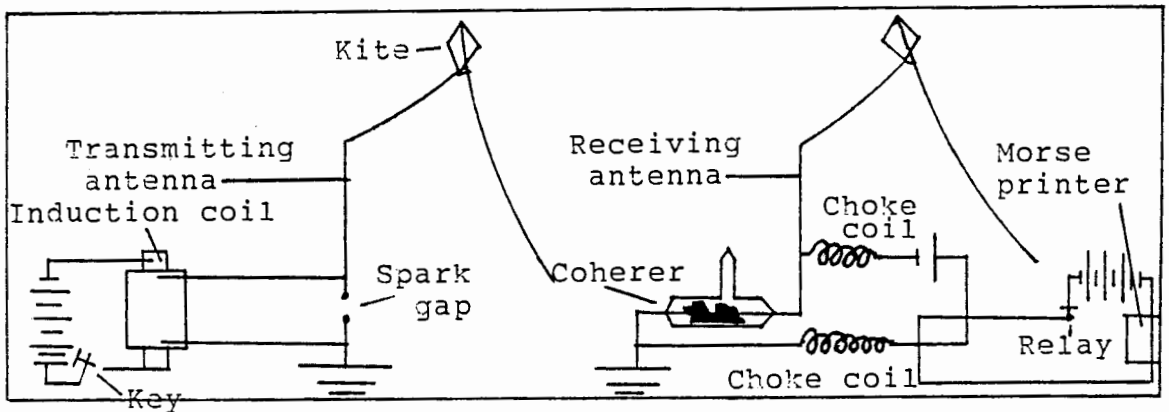


Fig. 11. One of Marconi's spark transmitters and a wireless telegraphy receiver. From a drawing in "Radio," The Encyclopedia Americana.

[Credit HAD existed, just like lightnin' existed. Men had known about credit long before Ben Franklin sent up his kite. Difference being that Ben was a scientist. When he hitched his latch key on the kite-string, he was in search of knowledge. Paterson was lookin' for profits when he sent up HIS kite: Bank hath profit of the interest on all the money that it creates out of nothing. (Doob 177)]

The blacksmith in the small town near the farm on which I grew up was Oscar Smith. Smith--"il miglior fabbro"--his name matched his trade. Oscar was the old-style blacksmith. His shop was heated by a coal stove and winter or summer there was a fire in the hearth which Oscar used for his work. There were bellows there, too. And anvils, hammers, tongs. In summer Oscar swung open the big double doors on the south end of the shop and the shop expanded to however much of the outdoors he wished to use. Oscar could straighten, weld, or make new nearly any thing of metal, and he sharpened most everyone's mower sickles in the spring. In two low sheds next to the shop one could find iron bars, steel rods, steel plate, mower sections all arranged in neat, orderly fashion--if I remember correctly.

For Smith did not live for too many years after I was old enough to know him very well, so all my recollections of him are impressions I received as a boy. He was big, or was he? Round. I remember round, but he always wore a large denim coat, so that might be the reason I remember that. He also was always chewing on a half-smoked cigar. Sometimes the cigar was lighted. He was a grouch. Everyone

liked him, I think. Oscar. "Old Oscar" my father called him, "Old Oscar said this. And Old Oscar did that." Then my father laughed. "Old Oscar" would put a piece of steel in the fire, and the metal, depending on what exactly Oscar wanted to do with it, would first turn red, then a sort of orange-yellow, and then blue-white. I would get to watch that part, but when Oscar was welding, my father always made me turn away so the brilliant white light wouldn't harm my eyes. I often peeked--just a little bit. My father knew what he was talking about.

One thing that Oscar probably did not worry about were the laws of thermodynamics. Or maybe he did in his own way, for thermodynamics is that part of physics concerned with the relation of heat to work (in thermodynamics "work" and "heat" are both defined as energy transferred without a transfer of mass across the boundary of the system). The first law of thermodynamics is: Energy can be changed from one form to another form, but it can neither be created nor destroyed (Angrist, "Thermodynamics"). When Oscar burned coal in his pot-belly stove to heat his shop, the energy in the coal was turned into heat, but this heat was not new energy; it was the same energy turned into a new form. The work done by the process was the heating of Oscar's shop. The second law of thermodynamics originally dealt only with how much work it was possible to obtain from heat, but in 1850 a German mathematical physicist named Rudolf Clausius,

who first formulated the law that heat can not flow from a colder to a hotter body, reworded the law to include entropy, a term he invented ("Clausius;" Cline 42).

Clausius's version of the law read this way: "When a natural change occurs, entropy increases or, at best, remains the same" (qtd. in Cline 43). Entropy, then, is a ratio which expresses the relationship of "free" energy in a system (energy available for work) to "bound" energy (energy no longer available) in a system undergoing change (Zencey 7).

When Oscar Smith heated, say, the shoe off a corn planter in the hearth, the heat from the coal naturally flowed into the cold shoe and turned it red. But even while the shoe was being straightened the heat flowed from it into the surrounding air: the heat which the shoe had gained from the coal, and also the heat from the energy Oscar expended through the hammer, and the heat from the hammer hitting the shoe. This energy then became "bound" or unavailable in the "invisible aether." Although, if you travel to Denver or L.A., on certain days this bound energy can be seen as a brown haze.

Clausius actually paraphrased the first and second laws to read thus: "The energy of the universe is constant. The entropy of the universe tends toward a maximum" (Daub, "Entropy"). Max Planck, when he read Clausius's version of formulation of the the second law, thought it superior to

the original law. For years, in a series of papers, he tried to convince other physicists of the importance of entropy to no avail. Not even Clausius would answer his letters or agree to see him. Then an Austrian physicist named Ludwig Boltzmann, at a time when the existence of such things as molecules had yet to be verified, used statistical mathematics to work out the probable motions of molecules under various conditions. His results then were expressed as probabilities and he found that entropy always increased, but only on the average. In fact, it might even be possible for entropy to decrease, though very improbable. Physicists later accepted this viewpoint (Cline47-49).

Planck thought this could not be, for he thought just as energy was conserved always, so, too, entropy always increased or stayed the same. It could never decrease. As Cline says, "It was not a matter of probabilities [for Planck], of varying shades of gray, but of pitch black versus pure white" (49). He eventually accepted Boltzmann's version of the law, a law that was not an absolute, and he accepted also the fact that Boltzmann received the credit for alerting the world community of physicists to the importance of entropy.

The term entropy gained a new meaning in 1941 when Claude Shannon, a Bell Lab engineer, was attempting to formulate general laws of information transmission. Shannon was interested in finding a way to encode information so

that it would be more resistant to erosion by white noise, and therefore was looking for a way to measure the information content of messages and the most efficient way to encode them. Shannon thought it should be possible to associate a probability of transmission with each element of a source. For example, one could calculate the probability of getting an "off" or "on" signal from a flashlight. And Shannon wondered if there was a measure of the probability of surprise or uncertainty. When he was finished formulating his equations, they matched perfectly with those associated with the second law of thermodynamics. Shannon's law of Information Theory says that the more uncertainty there is about the contents of a message about to be received, the more information the message will contain. If, for instance, the message we received from the flashlight was: Off--Off--Off--Off--Off--On. The "On" then would contain more information than the "Off" signals (Wright 87; Reza, "Information Theory").

In Information Theory, then, entropy is a measure of the average information of all the symbols available for transmission, and it can also be a measure of surprise, whereas Boltzmann's version of the second law of thermodynamics states: "Natural processes move in one direction, toward an increase of disorder" (qtd. in Cline 48; Reza, "Information Theory").

[He said, with the aid of a microphone and over Rome

Radio:

About ten years after I left Paris, M. Céline discovered why he left France; being a Frenchman he doesn't put it that way. But he has, quite amply, noted the biological fixity of the French. . . .

Céline noted that his compatriots are biologically fixed, or static and tend to disappear en masse. Well, Kokka, the ex-Russian General Staff officer, agreed with me on that point years ago. Biological fixes. In 1938 he was writing and printing: the DEMOCRATS want WAR. The democracies will finally get it.

I am no prophet of doom. The democracies WANTED the war. That is, the satraps were hell bent on startin' it, and their slaves GOT it. Right on the old cervix, right on the cervical column, when the hen got it. . . . Why laugh, you got Litvinov in Washington, and Maisky is over in London. Why think you have anything on the Frenchmen? Certain of your writers have told you. Told you the melting pot theory is EXPLODED. Mr. Zangwill invented the term; he was gauche, he was pathetic. But the word had a career. . . .

What's wrong with halfbreeds? Do you know one of 'em who don't suffer sometimes from cleverness, that don't quite come solid, sometimes from a peculiar sort of stoppage INSIDE the head, leadin' to a kind of sense of frustration?

For 60 years mankind has been experimentin' on guinea pigs. All sorts of experiments. Seems fairly clear that you fix a breed by LIMITING the amount of alien infiltration. . . .

Céline has got down to the other. The next move, the next world movement is a move toward the production of thoroughbreds. Think it over. That idea is a risin'. Means no hardship to anyone. It is eugenic. No argument has ever been sprouted against it. You like it in dogs and horses. . . . Times like these are times when a writer should git down to bedrock and talk without fuzz on his tongue. Céline does that all right enough. Time to read Céline for the simple truths that stand there in his writing, expressed with perfect lucidity--and simplicity. . . .

A great writer is one whose straight simple phrases stick in the memory. . . . (Doob 130-132)]

Max Planck was interested in entropy because he was trying to solve another problem, i.e., a problem later called "the ultraviolet catastrophe" (Cline 51). This involved the light and heat sent out by an ideal "illumination standard" called a black body. Planck wished to understand the radiation process in all cases, not just that of this ideal case. The radiation emitted by a black body could be seen in the piece of steel Oscar Smith heated in his forge: the red light, the orange-yellow, the blue-white light. Physicists could measure the energies in the spectrum of the black body, a spectrum which showed how energy was distributed among different wavelengths. The electron was only then being discovered and physicists thought the black body was made up of some type of electrically charged particle which speeded up its motion when heat was applied and therefore produced the radiation. But energies had to be assigned to these particles to account for the distribution of energy in the spectrum of the black body. There could be no restrictions on this energy if energy were continuous; and, therefore, there could be no restrictions on the oscillating motion of the particles and so radiation energy at the high-frequency end of the spectrum would be infinitely large: "the ultraviolet catastrophe," because a glowing body can not radiate an infinite amount of energy (Cline 52-53).

Late in 1900 Planck arrived at two formulas. One accounted for the energy distribution of the short-wave portion of the spectrum, the other for the long-wave. He combined the best of these to arrive at one new one, but he did not know if this accounted for distribution of energy across the spectrum at every temperature. He attempted to work backwards to prove his formula by the use of the second law of thermodynamics, but this was a failure. He then decided he had no choice but to redefine the problem in terms of Boltzmann's statistical probabilities of molecular motions. In doing so he demonstrated Boltzmann was correct in that the second law was not absolute, but moreover, Boltzmann's method required that the energy in the problem be temporarily divided into portions, and Planck thereby stumbled upon the quantum theory of radiation.

For if Boltzmann had been working the problem, at some point he likely would have rejoined the energy into a continuous line which would be infinitely divisible. Planck's portions were not and therefore the ultraviolet catastrophe was avoided, and if the portions were made unequal the radiation was more evenly distributed across the spectrum and not mainly toward the short-wave. "Quantum" is a Latin word meaning how much. To find the energy of quantum E the wave frequency f is multiplied by a constant h : $E = hf$, where the h is the size of the energy changes in erg-seconds and stands for:

the substitution of the Talmud for Tacitus in our most refined university circles? . . .

I don't believe in race prejudice, but I do believe in the study of history. So far as is known the dark Africans have done no harm to civilization for over two thousand years. . . . Undoubtedly the simpler the race, the easier it is to bamboozle it. Look at the Mujiks, perfect happy huntin' ground for the Hebrews. . . .

I can't believe the sons or descendents of the Massachusetts colony, the Connecticut colony . . . really want to PAY two dollars for every dollar spent by the government. . . . I am sorry this question of industrial silver has come up so soon after the arrival of Sassoon in America. I wonder if you have mortgaged any of your silver mines to him. . . .

Of course industrial use is the future of silver. As for gold it is . . . said to be a soft metal. I s'pose they'll find some kind of alloy . . . and plenty of people still wearing it inside their faces. But porcelain is more in fashion for high class dentist's work in most countries.

EZRA Pound speaking. Why did you get into this war? (Doob 206-209)]

"God is sophisticated, but He is not malicious," said Albert Einstein. It is possible to comprehend the universe, he thought, even though this task might be difficult (Cline 74). Einstein tells us in Autobiographical Notes (what he calls his "obituary") that as he writes he is not the same person as "the one of fifty, of thirty, or of twenty" and therefore "every reminiscence" is "colored . . . by a deceptive point of view." Still, he says, "much can be gathered out of one's own experience that is not open to another consciousness" (3).

As a young man he became aware of "the futility of the hopes and strivings that chase most men restlessly through life." At first, through the influence of "the traditional

education-machine," he sought "liberation" in religion (his parents were irreligious), but after reading "popular science books" he saw that much in the Bible was not true (3), and "Out yonder there was this huge world" existing independently of humans and standing before us "like a great, eternal riddle, at least partially accessible to our inspection and thinking" (5). The religious life of his youth was an attempt to free himself from "an existence dominated by wishes, hopes, and primitive feelings." But the contemplation of the "huge world" then "beckoned as a liberation," and Einstein saw many who had found "inner freedom" in this pursuit, as he himself did without regret: "The road to this paradise was not as comfortable and alluring as the road to the religious paradise; but it has shown itself reliable, and I have never regretted having chosen it" (5).

At the age of 16, and not particularly happy in school, he was already thinking about a paradox which troubled him. He thought if he were "to pursue a beam of light with the velocity c (the velocity of light in a vacuum)" he would view the beam of light "as an electromagnetic field at rest though spatially oscillating" (Auto 49). But there is "no such thing," Einstein says, either in "experience nor according to Maxwell's equations" (51). Einstein says that from the beginning it was "intuitively clear" that from the viewpoint of the

observer chasing the beam of light, all would have to happen according to the same laws of physics which applied to an observer at rest "relative to the earth," for the observer traveling at velocity c could not in any way know or determine that "he is in a state of fast uniform motion" (49-50).

In 1905 there appeared, then, three papers by a 26-year-old patent clerk named Albert Einstein in Volume 17 of the German journal Annalen der Physik (Gribbin 71). Einstein says that about the time he wrote these papers, a "revolution" was occurring in physics. The faith in Newton's mechanics as the foundation of all physics was slowly being abandoned. The electrodynamics of Faraday and Maxwell had shown that there were electromagnetic fields in empty space "detached from all ponderable matter" (Einstein, Auto 25). He thought "the most fascinating subject" at the time he was a student was Maxwell's theory in which the field replaced the Newtonian concept of "action at a distance." A duality was raised by this development, for it was still thought matter, not space, was necessary to carry the field. In this manner velocity was attributed to the "ether" (33). Therefore "the material point in Newton's sense and the field as continuum are used as elementary concepts side by side" (35)

As Gerald Holton says, most of Einstein's interest as expressed in his early papers lay in "fluctuation

phenomena," or energy fluctuations (54; Einstein, Auto 45). Einstein tells us that Planck had shown that radiation could be absorbed or emitted by an individual radiator (the black body) "only in 'quanta' of magnitude $h\nu$," that energy of a mechanical structure or energy of radiation can only be transferred in quanta in complete contradiction to "the laws of mechanics and electrodynamics" (43). This left no firm foundation, he said, "upon which one could have built" so that he began a search for a general conclusion regarding the structure of radiation and "even more generally concerning the electromagnetic foundation of physics" (45).

Planck applied the quantum theory of radiation only to the processes of absorption and emission, but he otherwise felt radiation to be continuous (Boorse, Motz, and Weaver 143). In 1899 Philip Lenard demonstrated the "photoelectric effect" by using a beam of monochromatic light (light of one frequency) to knock electrons out of metal in a vacuum. What bothered physicists about the results of this experiment was that the energy of each electron ejected was exactly the same whether a low intensity light or one of high intensity was used (as long as the light was of the same frequency). The brighter light would cause more electrons to be emitted, but each would still have the same energy as those of the dim light (Gribbin 223-224). If the energy in light was continuous, the brighter the light, the more energy there would be in

each electron, but this was not the case and Einstein knew why.

Einstein, as we have seen, wished to be rid of the particle/field duality he saw in Planck's work, and he says he saw immediately what consequences Planck's work had for the photoelectric effect. Therefore, Einstein begins the first paper of his to appear in Volume 17 of Annalen der Physik, "Concerning a Heuristic Point of View about the Creation and Transformation of Light," by again stating that there were two views upon which physics was based, this particle/field duality: "There is a profound formal difference between the theoretical representations of gases and other ponderable bodies which physicists have constructed and Maxwell's theory of electromagnetic processes in so-called empty space" ("Concerning..." 544). Physicists could consider the energy of a ponderable body as broken up into an arbitrary number of small parts, but according to Maxwell's theory the energy of a ray of light was distributed continuously. Einstein immediately presents his solution to this problem:

It appears to me, in fact, that the observations on "black-body radiation," photoluminescence, the generating of cathode rays with ultraviolet radiation, and other groups of phenomena related to the generation and transformation of light can be understood better on the assumption that the energy in light is distributed discontinuously in space. (545)

Einstein approached the problem by applying statistical mechanics "and the molecular-kinetic theory of thermodynamics based upon it" (Auto 45) to radiation in a container essentially in the same way one could to a system of particles (gas in a container). In this manner he first shows that Maxwell's theory was incorrect in the way it assumes that radiation in a container was distributed continuously. Einstein then concerns himself with the entropy of radiation, using Boltzmann's principle that the entropy of a system is a function of its state, and finds that "monochromatic radiation . . . behaves like a discontinuous medium consisting of energy-quanta" and wonders if it was not reasonable to ask "if the laws of emission and transformation of light are so constituted as though the light were composed of these same energy-quanta" ("Concerning..." 545-553).

Having shown the existence of these "energy-quanta," or photons, as they are now called, Einstein then explains the photoelectric effect by stating that a single quantum of light transfers all of its energy to an electron and thus the "energy-quanta" of light each has energy $h\nu$ (Planck's constant times frequency ν) and each electron ejected has energy $h\nu$ minus that lost in the form of "work" done in leaving the body (555-556).⁵⁴ For this paper and especially for the explanation of the photoelectric effect, Einstein won the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1921.

The second paper of Einstein's in that issue of Annalen der Physik again allowed Einstein to use his statistical mechanics. He wished "to find facts that would guarantee as much as possible the existence of atoms of definite finite size" (Auto 45). The existence of atoms and molecules was not yet widely accepted in the physics world because there were no experiments yet done which would give observational evidence of such particles (45; Boorse and Motz 1: 585). Einstein found that "according to atomistic theory" there would have to be an experiment in which the movement of microscopic particles would be capable of being observed (Auto 45). He did not then know of the botanist Robert Brown's observations of the erratic motions of pollen suspended in water known as Brownian motion (Auto 45). The movement is caused by the inherent motion of the molecules of the fluid. These molecules strike the particles at random. This movement is an obvious proof of the kinetic theory of matter ("Brownian Movement"). Therefore if Einstein could apply the statistical mathematics used in analyzing molecular movement in a gaseous system to the movement of particles in a liquid, he could then: 1) prove the existence of such molecules (and atoms); 2) explain the Brownian movement; and, 3) show a way to determine the size of these molecules (or atoms). He did so.

The third paper, though it did not win him the Nobel prize, is the paper which made him most famous and changed

physicists' conception of the universe forever. It concerns the paradox he thought of at the age of sixteen and out of which came the theory known as the Special Theory of Relativity. Einstein was looking for a universal formal principle upon which physics could be based, a general principle such as the one he saw in thermodynamics in the theorem: "it is impossible to construct a perpetuum mobile [a perpetual motion machine] (of the first and second kind)" (Auto 49). There were several tenets in classical mechanics which Einstein viewed suspiciously as resembling a type of perpetual motion machine. For example: If light was a wave traveling in an "undulatory motion in an elastic body (ether)," this ether, Einstein says, had to permeate everything and resemble a solid body because of the transverse nature of the electromagnetic waves, and yet had to be "incompressible, so that longitudinal waves did not exist." Moreover, it had to lead a rather "ghostly existence" for it offered no resistance to the movement of "ponderable" bodies such as the earth (Auto 23).

Three more concepts, taken for granted in classical mechanics (but not by Einstein), were those of absolute motion, absolute space, and absolute time. In math, Einstein tells us, we deal with concepts which relate to each other without regard to the relation of these concepts to experience. In physics, on the other hand, the mathematical concepts involved only become physically

meaningful when their relation to the objects of experience is clearly determined. Einstein says this is especially true with the concepts of motion, space, and time (Later Years 41). In nature, there are no "arbitrary" concepts, Einstein tells us. He does so out of a conviction based only on faith: "a faith in the simplicity, i.e., intelligibility, of nature" (Auto 59). His theory of relativity, then, is a theory "based on a consistent physical interpretation" of the concepts of motion, space, and time (Later Years 41).

The theory of relativity gets its name from the fundamental notion that in our experience motion "always appears as the relative motion of one object with respect to another," Einstein says. Motion is not ever "observable with respect to space" or, as it is called: "absolute motion." Physical phenomena gives no basis for the concept of absolute motion. Or rather, Einstein says, to say it in a shorter but less precise form: "There is no absolute motion." This is a negative statement, but gives us "a strong restriction for the (conceivable) laws of nature," a restriction similar to that restriction in the domain of thermodynamics which is: "There exists no perpetuum mobile" (41).

The concept of absolute motion and the concept of the "luminiferous ether" were intimately related, for that ether which led a "ghostly existence" was seen as being stationary

and therefore was seen as "an absolute frame of reference" which the motion of bodies such as the earth could be measured against. The absolute motion of the earth, or any body, was its motion "with respect to this motionless, etherial sea" (Gardner 14-15; Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 99).

In 1887 Albert Michelson and Edward Morley set up an interferometer in Morley's basement to use in an experiment designed to measure this absolute motion of the earth. Since it was known that light waves travel at a fixed speed relative to the stationary ether, their speed relative to the earth would depend on the earth's absolute motion. Michelson's interferometer was designed to split a beam of light so that two portions of this beam would travel at right angles to each other. Through the use of a system of mirrors, each beam would make eight round trips across a slab of stone (upon which the interferometer was placed) and then return to the starting point where the beams would be recombined. It was thought that if there was an "ether wind" the beam traveling parallel to the earth's motion would require a longer time to travel back and forth across the slab than the other beam traveling perpendicular to this direction. Any difference in speed between the two beams would show in the interference pattern of the waves when the two beams were recombined (Gardner 22-24; "Interferometer").

The stone slab the interferometer was mounted on was five feet long on each side and a foot thick. In turn this

slab was mounted on a wooden disk floating in a tank of liquid mercury so as to eliminate vibrations and to enable the interferometer to be rotated 360 degrees. Michelson and Morely, because of this rotation, could then find the maximum difference in travel times of the two portions of the light beam and thereby learn not only the velocity of the earth, but also the direction of its motion. No such difference was observed. In fact, the velocity of the earth appeared to be zero (Gardner 21-25; Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 100-102; "Relativity").

The Michelson-Morley experiment apparently did not play a very important part in Einstein's formation of the special theory of relativity. The theory would have been developed even without the results of the experiment being known (Gardner 34). Even Michelson at first thought the experiment a failure, because he was unable to measure the absolute motion of the earth or detect the ether (33). But in reality, the experiment simply demonstrated Einstein's basic belief that artificial constructs were not necessary to understand nature. Absolute motion and the ether wind could not be measured or detected because there were no such things. There is nothing in the universe which can be considered to be at absolute rest and therefore there is nothing that can be considered an absolute frame of reference. Any object can be used as a reference frame since all motion is relative.

In this same category was the notion of absolute space. This notion came about because space came to be seen as a "rigid body (or skeleton)" to which all other bodies could be related by position. This position was found through analytic geometry using the Cartesian (Descartes) co-ordinate system of rigid rods: x, y, z (42). The physical interpretation of these spatial co-ordinates "presupposed a rigid body of reference" (Auto 51). This "rigid body" had also to be in a definite state of motion, i.e., it was considered an inertial system. The inertial system's co-ordinates stand for measurements (or possible measurements) made with rigid, or stationary, rods. Einstein says that this interpretation of the spatial co-ordinates poses a problem in relation to the validity of Euclidean geometry, for it does not take into account the fact that a measuring rod is shorter when in relative motion at high velocity than at rest (Auto 51).

Inertial systems are those that are "in rectilinear and uniform motion with respect to each other" (Later Years 43). The special theory of relativity deals only with these inertial systems, not those systems that are accelerated or not moving in a straight line (these are covered by the general theory). If you are moving uniformly there is no way to tell if you are moving unless you saw something relative to you. Einstein thought the laws of nature should hold true even if these laws were introduced to a new

inertial system. Otherwise, one inertial system would be privileged over another. But "all of the mechanical and electromagnetic-optical facts" of experience stand in opposition to this privileged system (79).

Physics deals with events in space and time, Einstein reminds us, and therefore to each event is added a time value, t , measured with a clock C at rest at one point of the co-ordinate system. Therefore when an event occurred, the time was that as measured "simultaneously" on the clock C , a "lack of exactness which seems harmless" (42), only because of the vast speed of light.

In the paradox Einstein thought of at the age of sixteen (two observers viewing the speed of light differently), "the germ of special relativity was already contained," but the answer could not be seen "as long as the axiom of the absolute character of time, or of simultaneity, was rooted in the unconscious" (Auto 51). Because of the extremely high speed of light, however, time seems the same everywhere and thus "absolute simultaneity" seems to exist (53). That is, it appears to be true that we can specify when a distant event occurs in relation to the time of another event as though time is the same in every co-ordinate system (Einstein, Relativity 26).

Einstein said, therefore, his paradox could be summed up in the view of classical physics that the following are incompatible, despite the fact they are based on experience:

(1) the constancy of the light velocity

(2) the independence of the laws (thus especially also the law of the constancy of the light velocity) from the choice of inertial system (principle of special relativity) (Auto 53)

The Michelson-Morley experiment, though not designed to, demonstrated the truth of these assumptions, but only Einstein could resolve the incompatibility of the two. The "insight fundamental" to develop the special theory of relativity, Einstein says, is that the two assumptions are compatible if a new type of relation called the Lorentz transformation was used to convert co-ordinates and times of events into a new inertial system (Auto 53). Because he saw that no inertial system can be privileged over another, Einstein raised the law of the constancy of the velocity of light for every inertial system to "the degree of a principle" (Later Years 79). He says it follows from this that spatial co-ordinates, such as X_1 , X_2 , X_3 , and the time X_4 , may be "transformed" into another co-ordinate system by this Lorentz-transformation, an equation Einstein developed independently (one also developed by Hendrik Lorentz, but with a different meaning). This transformation is "characterized by the invariance of the following expression: $ds^2 = dx_1^2 + dx_2^2 + dx_3^2 - dx_4^2$ "

With this procedure time loses its absolute character and the concept of simultaneity was destroyed and the only adequate description of reality became the four dimensional

one in which time and space are unified as the space-time continuum (79). The universal principle Einstein was looking for, one equivalent in importance to the restriction that there be no perpetual motion machine, is summed up as follows: "The laws of physics are invariant with respect to Lorentz transformations (for the transition from one inertial system to any other arbitrarily chosen inertial system)" (Auto 53). Special relativity, Einstein says, thus did the following:

[It] led to a clear understanding of the physical concepts of space and time . . . and to a recognition of the behavior of moving rods [measuring devices] and clocks. It has in principle removed the concept of absolute simultaneity. . . . It has shown that the law of motion must be modified in dealing with motions that are not negligibly small as compared with the velocity of light. It has led to a formal clarification of Maxwell's equations. . . . It has unified the laws of conservation of momentum and of energy into one single law and has demonstrated the equivalence of mass and energy [$E=mc^2$]. [It] . . . has shown generally the role which the universal constant c (velocity of light) plays in the laws of nature and has demonstrated that there exists a close connection between the form in which time on the one hand and the spatial coordinates on the other hand enter into the laws of nature [the space-time continuum]. (Later Years 45)

Nothing can travel as fast as the speed of light. This is what the equation $E=mc^2$ says. The energy an object moving at a high velocity requires will increase its mass due to the equivalence of energy and mass stated in the equation. The greater mass will require more energy to increase the object's velocity. Close to the speed of

light, the mass of the object will be infinitely great and the energy required to sustain the object's velocity will be infinitely great also. Therefore no matter how fast you run, you can not equal the speed of light. In fact, on a human scale, no matter how fast you are running, or traveling on a globe, or riding in a ship, or how fast the source of the light is traveling either to or from you, you will measure the light as traveling at 186,282 miles per second. Your clock and your ruler would tell you this, even if I saw you go by and thought your ruler to be severely shrunken and your clock moving incredibly slow; for there is no absolute motion, no absolute space, no absolute time. According to the theory of relativity, then (relativity, not relativism), light is, as Hugh Kenner says, "our one absolute" ("Light..." 5).

[He said, with the aid of a microphone and over Rome Radio:

CHURCH PERIL

I am speaking as promised to the students of Fordham, and professors, and other Catholic universities. When I was a young man in America, one heard a good deal of talk about the union of the churches. . . . And one heard less of a more bizarre proposition, namely, that of Anglo-Israel. . . . But that is not the end of the story. A few weeks ago in London there was a powwow between the Archbishop of Canterbury and a Catholic Archbishop, or Cardinal, and a high Rabbi. And if I were Catholic . . . I should want, quite seriously, to see that conventicle in historic perspective. That perspective is very

clearly outlined, or indicated in a book called *La Sibille*, by Zielinski. . . .

Many other writers have written on the gift of the earlier Mediterranean philosophers to the developments of the Church dogma. Zielinski calls this the MATERIAL influence of Hellenism on Christianity. . . . He speaks of the psychologic preparation for Christianity that was there in the Greek and Roman religions, both the religion of Delphi, that is of the cult of Apollo and in that of Ceres Demeter. . . .

Zielinski offers a fairly complete list of prototypes, of the essentially Catholic beliefs, I say essentially Catholic because they are quite patently NON-Jewish, and ANTI-Jewish. . . . I think you should consider these things. The Jews do not honor the Virgin, they do not honor the mother of God in any form. Neither do the Protestants. . . .

And Zielinski's term for Protestantism is "REJEWdiazed religion" . . . He points out, I think uncontradictably, that . . . the people who most pertinaciously opposed the new religion of Christianity were the Jews. . . . A Protestant sect is by definition cut off from universality. But today we are faced by a new INTERNATIONAL empire, a new tyranny, that hates and bleeds the whole world. . . . It is called international finance, and the Jew and the Archbishop in London are at work for that tyranny, trying to draft a universal religion in defense of the infamy of the usurers. . . . (Doob 410-412)]

The theory of relativity, both the special and general theory, made Einstein famous throughout the world. About this he said: "For the most part I do the thing which my own nature drives me to do. It is embarrassing to earn so much respect and love for it" (Later Years 5). Einstein was born in 1879 in Ulm, Germany but renounced his citizenship at the age of fifteen. In 1902 he became a naturalized citizen of Switzerland shortly before beginning his job as a patent clerk. After his papers on the photoelectric effect,

Brownian motion, and the special theory of relativity, were published, Einstein was offered a professorship at several universities. He taught at the University of Zurich, the German University of Prague, the Technische Hochschule in Zurich, the University of Leiden, and in 1913 he was made director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin. In 1914 he was elected a member of the Prussian Academy of Science and given a yearly stipend so that he might pursue his research. He delayed again becoming a German citizen, however, until after the establishment of the Weimar Republic in February of 1919 ("Einstein").

In 1915 he had published his work on the general theory of relativity. The general theory predicted that light would be bent near any massive body. Due to a gravitaional field, space-time is warped near material objects. The old Newtonian idea of "gravity" reaching out at a distance was replaced by the idea of a space-time curvature. A planet traveling in a straight line does not orbit the sun because of gravity "holding" it there, but rather because the shortest distance between two points in warped space is a curved line (Cline 226-227; "Relativity"). That light should bend near a massive object was proven by a British physicist named Arthur Eddington. On May 29, 1919, during a total eclipse, Eddington took photographs of the stars lying far beyond the sun. These photos were then compared with

photos of the night sky taken several months earlier. Indeed the light was bent and Eddington, an English scientist, had proven the theory of a German scientist while Germany and England were technically still at war (Gribbin 80-87). The newspapers reported extensively on the English/German angle and on Einstein's achievement. In Germany he was known with pride as a "German scientist;" in England he was known as a "Swiss Jew" (Cline 229).

The Germans, needing a hero after their defeat in World War I, found one in Albert Einstein. This opinion did not last. His theory was being attacked for on the one hand being Communistic, and on the other, by the Communists, as antimaterialistic. A large anti-Einstein movement formed in the 1920s, one member being Philipp Lenard, who did the experiments upon which Einstein based his theory of the photoelectric effect, and who later joined the Nazi party (Cline 231). At that time, as Einstein says, the Germans had just lost a war which was "hatched by their ruling class" (Later Years 246). It was not this ruling class which was being blamed for this, but the Jews, "first for starting the war and then for losing it" (246). Pacifists and Jews, because of their treasonous acts, were responsible for Germany's defeat; Einstein was both a pacifist and a Jew (Cline 231). Scientific sounding arguments were used against his theories, in order, Cline says, "to undermine the new German republic" (232). Einstein felt the necessity

to speak his mind despite (or perhaps because) of this. He was in favor of a Jewish homeland, although he resisted the idea of a "Jewish state with borders, an army, and a measure of temporal power," for he was afraid of the consequences of a "narrow nationalism" (Later Years 263). This Zionist movement for a Jewish homeland was then even opposed by many German Jews who thought eventually there would be a complete assimilation of the Jews into society (Cline 232).

Einstein most likely saw that this was not to be: "Common convictions and aims, similar interests, will in every society produce groups that, in a certain sense, act as units," he said, and he thought there would always be friction between these groups, the same sort of friction which develops among individuals who are rivals. This type of friction was seen by him as a "normal manifestation in the life of a people," and as applied toward the Jews it was a sort of "latent anti-Semitism." But this was fundamentally different from that type of anti-Semitism involving violence and oppression, an anti-Semitism which is "the cheapest means employed by selfish minorities for deceiving the people" (Later Years 264). In Germany this "selfish minority" proved successful in creating an atmosphere of hatred toward the Jews:

The hatred engendered against the Jews not only protected the privileged classes, but enabled a small, unscrupulous and insolent group to place the German people in a state of complete bondage.

The crimes with which the Jews have been charged in the course of history--crimes which were to justify the atrocities perpetrated against them--have changed in rapid succession. They were supposed to have poisoned wells. They were said to have murdered children for ritual purposes. They were falsely charged with a systematic attempt at the economic domination and exploitation of all mankind. . . . They were reputed to foment wars and revolutions for their own selfish purposes. They were presented at once as dangerous innovators and as enemies of true progress. They were charged with falsifying the culture of nations by penetrating the national life under the guise of becoming assimilated. In the same breath they were accused of being so stubbornly inflexible that it was impossible for them to fit into any society. (247)

The "arrows of hate" shot at Einstein never hit him, he said, "because somehow they belonged to another world," a world he said he had no connection with "whatsoever" (5). Indeed, at the first mass anti-Einstein rally held by the pressure group made up of scientists, philosophers, future or present members of the Nazi party, there was Einstein in the audience, applauding (Cline 234). Adolph Hitler came to power in 1933, elected by the German people "after he had in his book and in his speeches made his shameful intentions clear" (Later Years 265). Einstein was then lecturing in Belgium. The Nazi regime expelled him from the Prussian Academy. They revoked his citizenship. They confiscated his property. They put a price on his head. Einstein spent several months in seclusion in England, and then traveled to the United States where he later became a citizen ("Einstein").

[He said, with the aid of a microphone and over Rome

Radio:

Sassoons baboons, Rothschilds, etc. migrating to the United States and stinking up the whole country, in the wake of Zukor and the other fine flowers of Semite culture.

Sense of ENGLISH law, that was built up out of the Roman, puked into the discard. . . .

WHAT is the British Intelligence Service? Secret Service? Fighting the British people? How did Willie Wiseman git there? Why don't the OPPOSITION papers, papers that say they opposed Frankie Finklestein Roosevelt, why don't they LOOK into these matters?

What is the KAHA[L]?⁵⁵ Why don't you examine the Talmud? Talmud, said to have corrupted the Jews. Some Jews disparage it. What is really said in the Talmud about creatin' disorder? . . .

Don't start a pogrom. That is, not an old style killing of small Jews. That system is no good whatsoever. Of course if some man had a stroke of genius and could start pogrom UP AT THE top, there might be something to say for it.

But on the whole legal measures are preferable. The sixty Kikes who started this war might be sent to St. Helena as a measure of world prophylaxis. And some hyper-kike, or non-Jewish kikes along with 'em. I shall be content if I contribute my buffalo nickel to arouse a little sane CURIOSITY. . . . (Doob 114-115)]

The radio: "God damn destructive and dispersive" invention. Like any thing technological it can be used for good or evil. Something as innocent sounding as $E=mc^2$, for example, leads to the atom bomb. Alfred Bernhard Nobel, the inventor of the formula for dynamite, knew this.

The electron was discovered, as I said once, in 1897. J. J. Thomson used a cathode ray tube (the predecessor of the picture tube of your television) and shot cathode rays at a phosphor-coated screen. Thomson thought these rays

were negatively charged "corpuscles" and when he shot these toward the screen they created flashes of light. He soon realized these electrons were coming from the atoms themselves. (Hawking 64; Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 114).

Ernest Rutherford showed that atoms do have an internal structure, when he discovered the nucleus in 1911: a positively charged core containing nearly all the atom's mass, yet ten thousand times smaller than the atom itself. The electrons, it was thought, orbited the nucleus much as the planets orbited the sun. A young Danish physicist named Neils Bohr (born Oct. 7, 1885, 23 days before Ezra Pound) was troubled by this model however. He thought these moving electrons would produce electromagnetic radiation, or light. Therefore all atoms should be continually emitting light, but they do not. Furthermore, the energy lost when emitting this radiation would soon cause the electron to spiral toward the nucleus. This left the possibility of only the nucleus existing, itself an impossibility (Cline 7, 29). In finding a solution to this riddle, he became the "symbol of modern physics" (Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 182).

Niels Bohr was studying spectroscopic data. When a gas is heated it glows with light. This light is separated into its various wavelengths by a spectroscope. The wavelengths appear as lines of color, or the "line spectrum" (Cline 93). The hydrogen spectrum contains three lines: red, green and violet. Johann Jakob Balmer had ascertained that the red

and green lines corresponded to each other just as do the whole numbers 27 and 20. The green and violet as 28 to 25 (99).

In examining this evidence, Bohr saw that this correspondence could be expressed by Planck's constant. This gave Bohr a formula with which he could demonstrate that the spectrum occurred because the electrons orbited the atom in orbits of discrete energy levels corresponding to whole numbers. The electron could jump from one orbit to another, but could not exist in any in between state, for to jump to a higher orbit, when the atom was "excited," the electron would need to absorb one photon with energy $h\nu$. To return to its natural state, the ground state, the electron would have to emit one photon with energy $h\nu$. Since there are no "half-photons" it could not occupy a position half way between orbits (Cline 98-99; Gribbin 224). Bohr's model of the atom contained several shortcomings: How did the electron seem to know which orbit to jump to (Cline 119)? And there was still the fact that the electron, due to the law of conservation of energy, when it lost energy should spiral into the nucleus in 0.00000000001 second. And, the spectral lines only matched in the case of the hydrogen atom (Peters 68). The model did give physicists something to build on. It looked something like this:

IN A STATION OF THE METRO

The apparation of these faces in the crowd;

Petals on a wet, black bough. (Per 109)

["the precise instant when a thing outward
and subjective transforms itself into a
thing inward and subjective" (GB 89)]⁵⁶

Things become a little strange after this. This strangeness is demonstrated clearly in what is known as the two-slit experiment. This experiment was first done with light in the early 1830s by Thomas Young. Light, of a particular frequency, was aimed at a partition with two very small slits in it. On the other side of the partition was a screen. Most of the light hit the partition, but some went through the two slits. The distance to the screen from each slit was different enough that waves, by the time they hit the screen, were out of phase and therefore created an interference pattern: some of the troughs of one wave would line up exactly with crests of the other wave and cancel each other out, some of the crests would line up exactly and reinforce each other and an interference pattern of light and dark fringes would be formed (Gribbin 218; Hawking 58).

This same experiment may be done with electrons using an electron gun (like the one in your television) and a screen (also like the one in your television) which flashes when an electron hits it. Each electron produces a tiny flash on the screen, just as though each one was a tiny particle. More electrons pass through the slits and more

and more tiny flashes occur. These little flashes, however, start to make a picture: the same evenly spaced dark and light areas occur as in the experiment with light, which just so happens to be an interference pattern, as though the electrons acted as waves until the moment before they hit the screen and produced the tiny flashes (Cline 154-155; Gribbin 229-230).

The experiment can be tried a different way by shooting one electron through the screen at a time. Over and over, a single electron is fired through the partition and toward the screen. Each electron makes a little flash. The sum of these flashes though is another interference pattern, as though each electron "interfered" with itself, or all the electrons interfered with each other by memory, or each electron passed through both slits (Gribbin 230).

So another version of the experiment is tried, i.e., a detector is placed at each slit. Again the slits are bombarded with electrons, one after the other, and the detectors record when each electron passes through one slit or the other. Except, no interference pattern shows up at all in this case. The only pattern that shows is that which would form if only one slit was open: a bright patch in line with the slits, as though the electrons knew they were being watched and decided to act as particles (Gribbin 230; Cline 155).

No such experiment had yet been done when in 1924 Louis Victor de Broglie finished his Ph.D. thesis in physics. His studies in physics had been interrupted by his service in the French navy during World War I for which de Broglie was awarded the Cross of the Legion of Honor for advances he made in telegraphy. He was 32 when he finished his thesis in which he suggested that matter, like light, could behave in a dual manner--sometimes as a wave, sometimes as a particle. By rearranging $E = mc^2$ (Einstein) and $E = h\nu$ (Planck), de Broglie showed that the wavelength of an electron could be found by the following:

$$\text{wavelength} = \frac{\text{Planck's constant}}{\text{momentum (mass X velocity)}}$$

De Broglie's examination committee thought he was simply playing mathematical games, but his thesis supervisor sent the work to Einstein who shortly thereafter wrote a paper calling attention to de Broglie's work and giving further supporting arguments. Clinton J. Davisson and Lester H. Gremer verified by experiment de Broglie's predictions one year later. De Broglie received the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1929 (Cline 181-183; Gribbin 225-227).

Austrian physicist Erwin Schrodinger thought de Broglie's wave character of matter should be possible to describe by a wave equation as in the case of light. At the University of Vienna Schrodinger worked with Boltzmann's successor, Fritz Hasenohrl, who encouraged Schrodinger to

to study the vibrations of "continuous media," media without a granular structure. These vibrations are called eigenvalue problems. Boorse and Motz say a good analogy would be the vibrations of a violin string, which can be described with a differential equation containing a constant. Only the vibrations associated with a constant that is an integer are possible and the integers are therefore the eigenvalues of the problem. Thus the string is continuous, but its vibrations are governed by integers (2: 1060-1064). This gave Schrodinger the "kernel" of an idea, say Boorse and Motz:

For if waves are associated with particles and waves are described by wave equations, the solutions of which, in turn, involve integers, then it should be possible to introduce quantum numbers quite naturally into the description of the motion of an electron inside an atom by using a wave equation to describe this motion. (2: 1060)

Schrodinger's electrons, then, are waves which have their ends touching: a wave in a type of loop, vibrating at a certain frequency and at a certain distance from the nucleus, a wave "packet" that is a vibrating charged cloud (Snow 70; Boorse & Motz 2: 1078). This was expressed by a differential equation giving the solution in the Greek letter Ψ (psi), a wave disturbance defined by the three dimensions of space--x, y, and z, (Cline 195). The permissible paths of these electrons were those whose circumferences were expressed as whole numbers of electron wavelengths and these paths were exactly those Bohr had

had derived from his assumption of quantum leaps. Moreover, Schrodinger's wave equation predicted the correct line spectra for more than just Bohr's hydrogen atom (Snow 70-71).

At the same time Schrodinger was developing his (wave) function, Werner Heisenberg operated on the premise that there was no evidence for orbits of the electrons as Bohr had proposed. Heisenberg had no faith in physical models of the atom and he thought only quantities which had been actually measured should be plugged into the equations used to analyze physical systems (Cline 173; Boorse & Motz 2: 1095).

Fourier analysis shows that the electron vibrates around the nucleus with a series of frequencies. According to classical physics, then, the electron should radiate light with all of these frequencies. Spectral analysis shows, however, that the fundamental orbital frequency and the series of overtones is not equal to the frequency of the radiation released (as opposed to being equal in a radio antenna for example). Instead, the frequency of the radiation released is equal to the differences of two numbers, as though there are two orbits related to each spectral line. This was why Bohr had introduced into his model of the atom "quantum leaps." The energy lost during a downward jump determined the frequency of the radiation emitted (Cline 173; Boorse & Motz 2: 1098). He also

introduced into his theory the "correspondence principle," i.e., in a very large orbit, where the difference between the orbital frequency and the radiation frequency is small, the electron behaves according to classical laws. This is because the electron is so far from the nucleus that its behavior is similar to those electrons observed in a cloud chamber free of a nucleus; and so, classical physics and quantum theory could be merged in this "borderline" case. (Cline 174).

Heisenberg began by looking at motion laws of large bodies and the way the path of a body is plotted: (mass X velocity). From here he hoped to proceed from the hypothetical case of an electron in a very large orbit toward the inside of the atom by application of the correspondence principle (Cline 174-175). Heisenberg, working with H.A. Kramars, first replaced the frequencies of an electron's orbit derived by classical dynamics with quantum theoretical frequencies related to Planck's constant. This made each frequency refer to two electronic states of the electron, i and k , and not to a discrete orbit. These are the frequencies observed in the spectral lines. The correspondence principle thus told Heisenberg that spectral lines were associated with two orbits, or suborbits, and not with the frequencies of the electrons but with the energies of the electrons. Most importantly, Boorse and Motz say, the quantities describing position and

momentum always have two integers (the quantum numbers) and therefore must be written as $q_{1,2}$, $q_{4,5}$, $q_{1,3}$, i.e., q_{ik} , or orbits i and k . Therefore the momentum and position must appear in a square array, or matrix, and it is not possible to represent the electron as moving in an orbit. Heisenberg did away with this concept and replaced it with his matrices which show the electron existing simultaneously in all of Bohr's possible orbits. All of this was derived only from what was observable: the spectral lines (Boorse and Motz 2: 1099-1102).

Heisenberg's superior at Gottingen, Max Born, recognized Heisenberg's math as being matrix algebra and he, Heisenberg, and a student named Pascual Jordan collaborated in developing matrix mechanics, a quantum mechanics which resembled the classical mechanics as applied to the motions of large-scale bodies, but dealt with the world of the atom. One rule of matrix algebra is that it is not commutative. If a matrix containing position q of an electron is multiplied by one containing the momentum p , the result (pq) is not equal to qp , a mathematical result of the matrices, but one also meaning that if an attempt is made to measure the position of an electron, by using a photon, the electron is knocked out of the atom. In attempting to measure the momentum, the electron loses its particle-like properties. To measure one is to destroy the chance at measuring the other and the product of these two uncertainties is never

less than Planck's constant (2: 1102; "Uncertainty Principle"). Heisenberg was 24 when he formulated matrix mechanics in 1925. The Uncertainty Principle which bears his name came two years later.

At virtually the same time, a 23-year-old Britain named Paul Dirac calculated the difference between $p \times q$ and $q \times p$ using Planck's constant. He found that any equation in classical mechanics could be transformed into a comparable equation in quantum mechanics. He applied Einstein's special theory of relativity to the electron and found that electrons had the property of "spin," that each spins on its "axis." This 23-year-old also found that each particle in nature has an "antiparticle" with the same spin and mass, but with opposite charge, and upon meeting, the two particles would annihilate each other in an explosion of energy equal to that predicted by $E = mc^2$ (Cline 189-190; Fisher 72).

Neils Bohr thought that behind all of the experiments done, behind the instruments, behind the technique, lies a question. The definitions used in physics will then reflect the questions asked. To find out how an event occurs, position, velocity, and frequency need to be measured. Classical physics operated on the assumption, or "illusion," Heisenberg says, that it was possible to separate what was studied from ourselves. Under this illusion, it is possible to believe that definitions are a replica of the real,

physical world. In the atomic realm, however, what is described does not exist apart from the effects of the observing (Heisenberg 1120; Cline 208-209). Bohr thus came up with what he called complementarity, which tells us that there "are always two complementary and mutually exclusive ways of looking at physical phenomenon," depending on how the instruments used to measure it are arranged (Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 328). The "different translations" of quantum mechanics (the wave function which gives the probability of finding certain properties, matrix mechanics which does the same) are different ways of approaching the problem to ask the right question (Cline 167).

The wave model of the electron tells us that there can only be certain wave shapes: a figure eight, or a crosslike shape, and so on. When an electron changes its energy state it changes its frequency and thereby its shape. It is because of Neils Bohr that we know the electron shell is filled by a pattern of interlacing electron waves. Certain atoms are missing certain patterns and therefore combine with others missing other patterns to form molecules. There are a limited number of specific arrangements, such as in DNA which determines genetic inheritance. The shapes of the electron waves, all of them symmetrical, can be seen in forms on our own scale (Cline 167). Models can still be used, says Bohr, one based either on the wave or particle model, as long as we do not conceive of them as photographs

of the systems themselves, but as "alternative" understandings (211). A present-day model of the atom might look like this:

And from far

il tremolar della marina

chh chh

the pebbles turn with the wave

chh ch'u

"fui chiamat'

e qui refulgo"

Le Paradis n'est pas artificiel

but is jagged,

For a flash,

for an hour.

Then agony,

then an hour,

then agony,

Hilary stumbles, but the Divine Mind is abundant

unceasing

improvisatore

Omniformis

unstill. . . .

(C92 620)

The radios in the days when Ezra Pound was broadcasting from Rome operated with the help of triode electron tubes, more commonly known as vacuum tubes (Adams, Jr. and Cantlay 68). In a metal, the atoms are arranged in a lattice. The

outer electrons are loosely bound to the nucleus. An electric field can cause these outer electrons to roam freely around the lattice. This is why metal, as opposed to rubber or plastic with tightly bound outer electrons, is a good conductor (Kaku and Trainer 46). The first vacuum tube was a diode tube built by an American, John H. Fleming. The diode tube contains a cathode (which emits electrons) and an anode, or plate. When the anode is positively charged it collects the electrons emitted when the cathode is heated. If there is no charge on the plate, no current flows through the tube. These diodes were rather ineffective as detectors of radio waves in early radios. So, in 1907 Lee De Forest improved upon the design by placing a third electrode in the tube in the form of a metal grid. The grid is positively charged so that the negatively charged electrons surge across the vacuum to the anode. When the grid is negatively charged the circuit remains broken. In this way triodes can be used as switches, and because current only flows in one direction, the triode acts as a rectifier, converting a.c. to d.c., and when hooked to an antenna detects radio waves. Triodes have also proved effective as amplifiers (Adams, Jr. & Cantlay 68; "Vacuum Tubes").

Enrico Fermi received his doctorate in physics in 1922 from the Scuola Normale Superiore at Pisa. He then studied with Max Born at Gottingen and spent a year with Paul

Ehrenfest at Leyden. His first papers concerned relativistic electrodynamics and the problem of equivalence of gravitational and inertial mass. He later published papers on optics, spectroscopy, and molecular structure. In 1926 the first chair in theoretical physics was created at the University of Rome and Fermi was its first occupant. He there organized what was called the Roman School of Physics. Fermi developed a quantum-mechanical statistics for analyzing a gas with particles that obey the Pauli exclusion principle (i.e., no two electrons are arranged inside an atom so that they have the same set of four quantum numbers; or, no two electrons have the same state of motion). Therefore, in a paper entitled "On Quantizing an Ideal Monatomic Gas," Fermi showed no two molecules could be in the same state of motion. Paul Dirac separately reached the same proof so that Fermi's statistics became known as the Fermi-Dirac statistics. Fermi saw that the method he developed could be used to study the behavior of solids, and Arnold Sommerfeld did just that, studying the properties of metals by using Fermi's statistics to treat the electrons in a metal as a degenerate gas. Sommerfeld and Hans Bethe then developed this method further, making it possible to be used in analyzing numerous solid-state systems (Boorse & Motz 2: 1311-1313).

Semiconductors are not ordinarily conductive, the atoms in silicon or germanium being tightly bound together

by four valence electrons each in a diamond-cubic lattice. The semiconductors can be made to conduct electricity if atoms of an impurity, or dopant, are added to the lattice. If phosphorous is introduced, an extra electron results when each atom of phosphorous joins with an atom of silicon. This extra electron is free to move throughout the lattice. With the extra electrons, then, the semiconductor is given a negative charge and is called an n-type conductor. If Boron is added to the semiconductor, "holes" form where an electron would fit if available. Thus the semiconductor is a positive, or p-type conductor. William Shockley, at AT & T's Bell labs, debuted his junction transistor in 1951. It consisted of three layers of germanium inside a metal case one-half inch tall and was an npn type. It contained one layer of p-type sandwiched between two n-types. The n-types were the emitter and collector, the p-type was the base. This small transistor could be used as a rectifier just as the old triodes were (Adams Jr. & Cantlay 70-71).

In 1958 Jack St. Clair Kilby built the first integrated circuit (IC), a wafer of germanium two fifths of an inch long with components soldered on and the entire IC held together with a layer of wax. Robert Noyce came out with a better model in the next year. Noyce incorporated a method developed by Jean Hoerni to use thin coats of silicon to insulate the transistor's junctions. His components were separated by using narrow conducting channels isolated from

each other by silicon and where connections were needed, p-n junctions were used (Adams Jr. & Cantlay 74-76; Somerville 24). In the spring of 1991, Manhattan's Museum of Modern Art displayed poster-sized working drawings of actual chip designs. One Texas Instrument design shows a chip (perhaps in reality a quarter-inch square) with 1.2 million transistors (Davis 77).

[He said, with the aid of a microphone and over Rome Radio:

If there is anyone capable of serious thought anywhere in range of this broadcast, let him at least try to think what I mean by the following statements.

Let him start trying to STUDY the two revolutions, the Fascist and Nazi revolutions. God knows if Hitler is telling his people that THEY should study the Italian fascist revolution.

YOU need a thousand more times to study it, and to study the resurrection of Hitler's REICH. How can anyone worth the name of a man in England or in America face these two great movements in the half baked, or not even HALF baked ignorance into which his newspapers have led him or dumped him?

Something has OCCURRED in old Europe. . . . You do not know what has HAPPENED. And the first thing to DO about it is to pull OUT of this war--a war that you never ought to have flopped into. Every hour that you go on with it is an hour lost to you and your children.

And every sane act you commit is committed in HOMAGE to Mussolini and Hitler. Every reform, every lurch toward the just price, toward the control of the market is an act of HOMAGE to Mussolini in EVERY CONSTRUCTIVE act of your governments. . . .

As to the pity, etc. of it. You insisted on having your war. You would not budge out of your constipations, you would not listen to your own savants, by which, by the word savants, I mean the Englishmen who KNEW something. . . . (Doob 150)]

Enrico Fermi went on to investigate nuclear theory. He and his school began bombarding atoms with neutrons. It was thought that some of these neutrons would "stick" to the nuclei of the atoms and create isotopes. Fermi also believed that if the neutrons were slowed first they would have a better chance of binding with the nuclei and so he sent the neutrons through paraffin. When this was done in experiments involving uranium, Fermi mistakenly believed he had created the two "transuranic" elements 93 and 94. Otto Hahn, at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin, repeated Fermi's experiment. He found only barium. His assistant was a Jewish woman named Lise Meitner who up until 1938 had kept her job only because she was Austrian. When Hitler marched into Austria she suddenly became a German citizen but managed to escape to Sweden. There, she and her nephew Otto Frisch, also in exile, determined that Fermi and Hahn had actually split the atom. This accounted for the barium (with 56 protons) and krypton (with 36). In 1938 Fermi won the Nobel Prize for Physics in part for his discovery of the nuclear reaction caused by slow neutrons (Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 346-347; Snow 91-94).

Mussolini was by then allied with Hitler. Fermi's wife was Jewish. She and Fermi traveled to Stockholm to pick up Fermi's Nobel, and then took refuge in the United States. There, on Dec. 2, 1942 on a squash court under the stadium at the University of Chicago, Fermi produced the first

self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction and was known from then on as "the architect of the atom bomb" (Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 348; Snow 79; "Fermi").

It is estimated that between 1933 and 1938 Hitler exiled some two thousand "non-Aryan" scientists (and after killed how many more?). Neils Bohr, whose mother was Jewish, set up a type of "underground railroad" station at "The Institute for Theoretical Physics" known as "Bohr's institute." He himself later escaped by boat to Sweden and then flew to England (Cline 253). Erwin Schrodinger, who was not Jewish, left Germany on principle when Hitler took power. He taught at Oxford for a time and then took a position at Graz, Austria. When Hitler annexed Austria Schrodinger escaped through Italy and traveled to Princeton (Boorse, Motz, & Weaver 285). A month after Hitler took power Max Born was dismissed from the University of Gottigen. Bohr invited Werner Heisenberg to make the journey to Copenhagen, but Heisenberg believed in duty and instead became the head of the German effort to build an atomic bomb, but the Germans never succeeded in obtaining a chain reaction. This possibility was the impetus for Einstein urging Roosevelt to begin such a project (Cline 253).

Max Planck was another who turned down Bohr's invitation, apparently because "as a representative of German science" he felt he would have to hide his face "in

shame" (qtd. in Cline 251). He was then head of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute when Hitler came into power and was thus required to meet annually with the Fuhrer. He once argued with Hitler, to no avail, over the fate of an eminent Jewish chemist being forced out of the country. Planck was also the most prominent member of the Prussian Academy of Science and Einstein, before being expelled, first offered Planck his resignation so his friend would not have to suffer the pain of expelling him. The quantum theory, which all began with Planck, was labeled "Jewish physics" and banned from the universities (Cline 248-253).

Planck remained an open critic of the Nazi regime. His older son, Erwin, was one of those executed after the failed attempt to assassinate Hitler with a time bomb (Cline 252; "Planck").

All of the physicists I have spoken of used mathematics (often extremely complex mathematics) to work out their theories. The theoretical physicist Gert Eilenberger says "one of the most amazing and wonderful discoveries that mankind has made" is that physical reality obeys the rules of mathematics. Eilenberger points out, though, that mathematics "is brought forth from the human intellect, as Athena was brought forth from the head of Zeus" (177):

Mathematical knowledge is conclusive, i.e. its truthcontent is communicable, but it is knowledge a priori. When a physicist uses this knowledge to make predictions based on a few measurements and

an appropriate theory, about natural phenomena at some time and place completely different from where he or she made the original measurements, and these predictions prove true, it borders on the miraculous. The physicist merely confirms with satisfaction that the theory must be right. But why should the world of objects subjugate itself at all to a theory, a mathematical structure. (177)

Eilenberger disagrees with Kant's answer to this question--that our own perception structures reality in this manner--"that is, only that which is reflected as reality in our minds obeys mathematical rules" and we know nothing at all about what is outside ourselves. She prefers instead an evolutionary theory of cognition, a theory which had its basis in the thought of Ludwig Boltzmann and Konrad Lorenz. The theory is that Nature, through evolution, impressed mathematics into our consciousness as "a real, existing structure, inherent to herself," but this evolution of the ability we have for abstraction and the use of logical symbols developed along this line because of actual structures in the real world. The ability to do math is, then, part of the "genetically fixed experience of our species, a priori for the individual and a posteriori for the species as a whole" (177-178).

However, the interpretation of quantum mechanics, Eilenberg says, may be an indication that there might be a limit to the miraculous breadth of the mathematical description of nature, even though our mathematical abilities reach beyond the everyday world. But this reach

also indicates that reality is mathematically structured to a larger extent than simply on the level of the everyday. Eilenberg says that the evolutionary theory of cognition itself makes "compulsory" the idea that our mathematical abilities are limited, that there are limits to the mathematical description of nature (178-179).

This can be known: Space-time is bent. Light acts as a wave and a particle. There are such things as matter waves. But how do you analyze what appears to be hate? I say "appears" because the excerpts from Pound's broadcasts that I have quoted appear to derive from that emotion. I can not say that this was actually the case. The broadcasts occurred fifty years ago, and those excerpts I have quoted are, admittedly, taken out of context, but it is hard to imagine any "context" in which these passages would "belong." The anti-Semitism in these passages appears to be that type which Einstein spoke of, not a "latent anti-Semitism," but the type which leads to violence and oppression. Whether or not this was Pound's intention, the message sounds like that which the Nazi's preached, seeing as they did, Einstein says, "the Jews as a nonassimilable element that cannot be driven into uncritical acceptance of dogma" (Later Years 251). Or as Pound might view it: the Jews "cannot be driven" to ending their usurious ways. Far better if they were not allowed to enter the country at all. Further, one might conclude from "listening" to Pound in

these broadcasts what one might conclude listening "solely," as Einstein says, to the enemies of the Jews: that the Jews "represent a world power" (250). As Lewis Hyde shows:

Pound's Jew has remarkable powers. He secretly controls huge nations, he controls ideas and intellectual life, he controls the money and he controls "99% of all means of communication [inside the U.S.A. (Doob 104)]." Surely we are in the presence of a god! (250).

Einstein tells us there is a certain "meaning" to the conclusion that the Jews are such a power; in that, individual accomplishments of Jews are "considerable and telling" even though the Jews as a group are powerless: "Hence the hatred of the Jews by those who have reason to shun popular enlightenment" (250).

Pound, I suspect, would not ordinarily be associated with those who would wish to "shun popular enlightenment" having once praised Cavalcanti for "not jamming down a dogma unsupported by nature." Cavalcanti's truth was not against "natural dimostramento" ("natural demonstration") and his "non razionale ma che si sente" ("Not by the reason, but is felt") was for the proof by reason and experiment: "against the tyranny of the syllogism, blinding and obscurantist" (LE 159).⁵⁷ There are two types of ideas, Pound says:

At this point we must make a clean cut between two kinds of "ideas". Ideas which exist and/or are discussed in a species of vacuum, which are as it were toys of the intellect, and ideas which are intended to "go into action", or to guide action and serve as rules (and/or measures) of conduct.

Note that the bloke who said: all flows, was using one kind, and the chap who said: nothing in excess offered a different sort.

In our time Al Einstein scandalized the professing philosophists by saying, with truth, that his theories of relativity had no philosophic bearing.

(Pause here for reflection.)

(GK 34)

The poet Ezra Pound once thought that the archaical Chinese ideogram could be used to express ideas of the second type, for "an idea in action" is inherent in the ideographs themselves, or so he learned from Ernest Fenollosa's The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry, which Pound translated in 1917, "a whole basis for aesthetics" (Let 106), Fenollosa's "big essay on verbs":

He [Fenollosa] inveighs against 'IS,' wants transitive. 'Become' is as weak as 'is.' Let the grime do something to the leaves. 'All nouns come from verbs.' To primitive man, a thing only IS what it does. That is Fenollosa, but I think the theory is a very good one to go by. (Let 131-132)

Fenollosa says there is "no such verb as a pure copula, no such original conception: our very word exist means 'to stand forth,' to show oneself by a definite act" (CWC 15). Pound adopted the ideogrammic method, or rather, transformed Fenollosa's insights into what he called "the ideogrammic method." Therefore, as Lazlo Géfin says, in Canto XLV we can see that "Usura is all that it does" (41): Usura "rusteth" the chisel, "gnaweth" the thread in the loom, "slayeth" the child, "brings" palsey to bed (C45 230). The ideogrammic method, "presenting first one facet and then another," the juxtaposition of particulars to reveal the

subject "from a new angle" was a way to fulfill Pound's aim of "revelation" (GK 51). In this way Pound felt his poetry could lay claim to truth, as Kerényi says ancient religion did: "not to truth in the dogmatic sense, but to being genuine and in that sense true" (Religion of 15).

Ronald Bush has pointed out, and rightly so, that in Pound's "collected and uncollected prose, no programmatic use of the term 'ideogram' or 'ideograph' appears until 1927" (10), two years after A Draft of XVI Cantos was published, and so we must return for a moment to Pound's series of essays "I Gather the Limbs of Osiris."

We saw earlier that Pound considered a certain type of fact to be an "interpreting detail" (see above 18). These facts were what Pound called "luminous" details and give us "intelligence of a period" (SPr 22), and, too, "they govern knowledge as the switchboard governs an electric circuit" (23). The artist, according to Pound, "seeks out the luminous detail and presents it. He does not comment" (23). For Pound the poet, I think, any comment would give his work that weakness he saw in Browning's translation of the Agamemnon:

His weakness in this work is where it essentially lay in all of his expression, it rests in the term "ideas".--"Thought" as Browning understood it--"ideas" as the term is current, are poor two-dimensional stuff, a scant, scratch covering. "Damn ideas, anyhow." An idea is only an imperfect induction from fact.

The solid, the "last atom of force verging off into the first atom of matter" is the force, the emotion, the objective sight of the poet. In the Agamemnon it is the whole rush of the action, the whole wildness of Cassandra's continual shrieking, the flash of the beacon fires burning unstinted wood. . . . Even Rossetti has it better than Browning: "Troy's down, tall Troy's on fire", anything literally anything that can be shouted, that can be shouted uncontrolledly and hysterically. . . . (MN 147-148)

In speaking of Remy de Gourmont, Pound wrote: "He had passed the point where people take abstract statement of dogma for 'enlightenment.' An 'idea' has little value apart from the modality of the mind which receives it" (LE 341). If we recall "In a Station of the Metro," Pound, in discussing this poem and other "one image" poems, or poems that were forms of "super-position," said such a poem "is one idea set on top of the other" (GB 89), and to repeat a few things, Pound defined the image as "that which presents an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time" (LE 4), and he was emphatic that it be understood that the image is not used as decoration: "The point of Imagisme is that it does not use images as ornaments. The image is itself the speech. The image is the word beyond formulated language" (GB 88); and, "The image is not an idea. It is a radiant node or cluster; it is what I can, and must perforce, call a VORTEX, from which, and through which, and into which, ideas are constantly rushing" (GB 92). Christine Froula says:

the Image stands a mute test of whether, and how, and how far, language possesses the paradisaical power to imply a necessary correspondence between words and the world, form and idea. Pound's abstract poetics . . . is an "interpretation of nature" . . . which celebrates not the particulars of the correspondence but the implication of enduring patterns. (Paradise 21)

Pound once said it is "not the idea but the degree of its definition [that] determines its aptitude for reaching to music" (LE 71). Thus Pound wanted the "super-position" poem, the Imagist poem, or The Cantos (whether one wishes to call the entire poem ideogrammic or not)⁵⁸ to convey meaning, not by "dogma," or attempting to cause the reader to believe Pound's rhetoric, but by attempting to put to music, to put in verse, "an interpretation of nature"-- "the precise instant when a thing outward and objective transforms itself, or darts into a thing inward and subjective" (GB 89):

I believe that every emotion and every phase of emotion has some toneless phrase, some rhythm-phrase to express it.

(This belief leads to vers libre and to experiments in quantitative verse.)

To hold a like belief in a sort of permanent metaphor is, as I understand it, "symbolism" in its profounder sense. It is not necessarily a belief in a permanent world, but it is a belief in that direction. (84)

This reference to a "permanent metaphor" returns us to Fenollosa who writes: "Metaphor, the revealer of nature, is the very substance of poetry. The known interprets the obscure, the universe is alive with myth" (CWC 23).

Fenollosa goes on to say that metaphor is not only the "very substance" of poetry, but is, too, "the substance of nature" (23). The work the poet must concern himself with is, then, "feeling back along the ancient lines of advance," for poetry "only does consciously what the primitive races did unconsciously" (23). For primitive man in a world "alive with myth," metaphor came from following "objective lines of relation in nature herself" and did not "spring from arbitrary subjective processes" (22). The "primitive metaphors" follow "objective lines of relations in nature," the relations being "more real and more important than the things they relate;" and, ancient man's language came from observing nature where "the forces which produce the branch-angles of an oak lay potent in the acorn" (22). These forces are a form of communication just as "a nerve, a wire, a roadway . . . are only varying channels which communication forces for itself" (22).

Speech and metaphor came from natures' clues, not from "damn ideas." Abstract terms, according to Fenollosa, can be traced back to "reveal their ancient roots still embedded in direct action" (22). As the acorn can not grow to be anything other than an oak, ancient man's "characterised Existence," to use Kerényi's term, manifested itself in action (again, "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise"), but without the "homologies, sympathies, and identities" in nature, says Fenollosa, "There would have been no bridge

whereby to cross from the minor truth of the seen to the major truth of the unseen" (22-23).

Pound appended a note to Fenollosa's statement that the "chief work" of the poets "lies in feeling back along the ancient lines of advance." Fenollosa, I believe, was suggesting that poets could once again learn from nature how to "cross from the minor truth of the seen to the major truth of the unseen," but Pound apparently thought differently:

I would submit in all humility that this applies in the rendering of ancient texts. The poet, in dealing with his own time, must also see to it that language does not petrify on his hands. He must prepare for new advances along the lines of true metaphor, that is interpretive metaphor, or image, as diametrically opposed to untrue, or ornamental, metaphor. (CWC 23n)

Pound believed the "health of words" is in the care of the "damned and despised litterati" and it is possible to see that Pound thought that "interpretive metaphor" was a way of renewing the language, the language of poets "infected" by ornamental metaphor. When T. E. Hulme was attempting to be a philosopher in the "British Desert," Pound says, Pound spoke to him concerning the difference between Cavalcanti's "precise interpretive metaphor, and the Petrarchan fustian ornament":

Hulme took some time over it in silence, and then finally said: 'That is very interesting'; and after a pause: 'That is more interesting than anything I ever read in a book.' (Le 162).

"Wash after wash," let's say, of "Petrarchan fustian ornament" poured over the word required that the word be cleaned. It was not just a question of rhetoric, as Pound said, but it was also a question of "the loose use of words" which he said came about during the Renaissance, whereas "the medieval mind had little but words to deal with, and it was more careful in its definitions and verbiage" (LE 21-22). To express with words the modern experience, Pound again felt "along the ancient lines of advance." He told Donald Hall in 1962:

the first thing was this: you had six centuries that hadn't been packaged. It was a question of dealing with material that wasn't in the Divina Commedia. . . . The problem was to build up a circle of reference--taking the modern mind to be the mediaeval mind with wash after wash of classical culture poured over it since the renaissance. That was the psyche, if you like. One had to deal with one's own subject. (Hall 24)

Thus Pound's use of permanent metaphor and "absolute rhythm," whether in Imagism or the later "ideogrammic method" produces, as Herbert Schneidau has said, "the universal in the particular, for it is a particular experience universalized without being generalized" (Image 105). This particular experience was, of course, Pound's: Pound in the act of reading history, in the act of translating, in the act of perceiving meaning out of the modern experience, in the act of perceiving the paradisaical in a world "from which the old gods had departed." Pound reached back to the archaic to find a way to present this

experience, for the "god is inside the stone," he said, "But the antecedents are in verbal manifestation' (LE 152-153). The Cantos say, then, at least in part: Here the gods create, they cannot do otherwise; here we participate in the process, we cannot do otherwise. But: "With the falsification of the word everything else is betrayed" (Spr 307). Consider this, then, "Written in Italian and first published in Rome, 1942," as the note tells us (Spr 306n1):

A Visiting Card

LIBERTY A DUTY

FASCIO

A thousand candles together blaze with intense brightness. No one candle's light damages another's. So is the liberty of the individual in the ideal and fascist state.

THE STATE

In August, 1942, the following elucidatory statement was heard on the Berlin radio: the power of the state, whether it be Nazi, Fascist, or Democratic, is always the same, that is-absolute; the different forms of administration are merely a matter of the different activities which one agrees not to allow.

The revolution, or the revolutions of the nineteenth century, defined the idea of liberty as the right to do anything that does not injure others. But with the decadence of the democratic-or republican-state this definition has been betrayed in the interests of usurers and speculators.

In the beginning was the word, and the word has been betrayed. (306)

And the reader. "This moment must wait 50 years for the right word. Perhaps he had said it; perhaps in the

frost of our mingled breath the word was written" (H.D. 3): Bastard. That is the right word. The poor, stupid bastard (Hemingway might have said that sometime, but I don't know). All his talk of the gods and paradise turned to shit. How can the statements of someone who appears so ignorant, prejudiced, and oblivious to what is going on all around him be taken seriously? The Cantos reflects Pound's interests and judgments of what he regarded as being important. Why should I, or any other reader for that matter, even care what is in them? Should I believe that Pound knew anything about such things? Does it matter that he thought "the god is inside the stone?" Right now I would have to say no. Everything he ever said means nothing at this point. A friend of mind said the other night: "Pound must be a fascinating man." "No," I said, "There is nothing fascinating about Pound." The things he was interested in are interesting. But there is nothing fascinating about Pound's anti-Semitism, or his hate, or his fascist sympathies, or even his poetry. That was my view then. It is my view now. And then there is his use of Cavalcanti's Donna Mi Preqa, as though Pound knew anything about love:

Yet shall ye see of him That he is most often
 With folk who deserve him
 And his strange quality sets sighs to move
 Willing man look into that forméd trace in his mind
 And with such uneasiness as rouseth the flame.

Unskilled can not form his image,
 He himself moveth not, drawing all to his stillness,
 Neither turneth about to seek his delight
 Nor yet to seek out proving
 Be it so great or so small. . . . (C36 178)

"Fuck you, Pound," I want to say.

This has, however, happened before, and my view may not be the same one month from now, or in six months, and it is, after all, spring. It would not be a good thing to remain this cynical through the summer.

Hugh Kenner tells us that "during nearly 50 hours spent in Ezra Pound's presence over a total span of 10 years I never heard him make an anti-Semitic remark, and not because the subject never came up" ("Poet and Pirate" 65). This does, as I said, come from Mr. Kenner and thus I don't doubt the veracity of this statement, or of the one which follows it: "It is perfectly evident that other acquaintances were less fortunate, that some on some days heard little but rant" (65). One such unfortunate was Charles Olson. Olson visited Pound at St. Elizabeths, upon a suggestion by James Laughlin, and he was one of Pound's first visitors there (Seelye xv). He saw Pound nearly every week at the beginning of what would be two and one-half years of visits to St. Elizabeths, but after the first few months the "frequency thereafter diminished," says Seelye (xv-xvi).

Olson says he found that "wherever Pound remained on the level of intellect and the creative he was dead right," but when the conversation turned political he was "wrong with the stink of death on all to do with politics and society. Here a fascist as evil as all of them." Pound with "the brain and the ear and the flesh to know better. Cut off, he is, cut off from life. That a poet should choose hate!" (Olson 44). The "fool of love" had turned into "a fool of hate" (44), and therefore on one visit, Pound told him his definition of a lunatic (some of the doctors there were Jewish): "I guess the definition of a lunatic is a man surrounded by them [Jews]." Then:

He was quiet for a minute, working his forehead, when he started out, talking down and away toward the window to his right and my left: "There was a Jew, in London, Obermeyer, a doctor of comparative.....of the endocrines, and I used to ask him what is the effect of circumcision. That's the question that gets them sore," and he begins to be impish as hell, "that sends them right up the pole. . . ." And then, with a pitiful seriousness . . . "It must do something, after all these years and years, where the most sensitive nerves in the body are, rubbing them off, over and over again." ((It was fantastic, again the fascist bastard, the same god damned kind of medical nonsense Hitler and the gang used with the same seriousness, the same sick conviction.)) It was so cockeyed for the moment it was funny actually, absurd, and I was carried along by this swearing, swift, slashing creature. (55).

Olson says that despite Pound's insistence that culture in America was "Europe 30 years ago," Pound's politics were "30 years old and dead as a duck" (44). His societal

sense was older than that, with an "18th century lag in it, the moan for the lost republican purity, the wish to return America to its condition of a small nation of farmers and city-state patricians, all Boston brahmin, and Philadelphia brick" (52-53). There is nothing particularly wrong with this, says Olson, but political action motivated by it turns out "reactionary and fascist" in the positions it leads to:

a pitiful, sick and dangerous defense of all that was, which forever and anywhere and in all things, fears anything forward. Pound can talk all he likes about the cultural lag in America . . . but he's got a 200 year political lag in himself. It comes down to this: a rejection of the single most important fact of the last 100 years, the most important human fact between Newton and the Atomic Bomb--the sudden multiple increase of the earth's population, the coming into existence of the MASSES. Pound and his kind want to ignore them. They try to lock them out. But they swarm at the windows. . . . And in their little place Pound and his kind suffocate, their fear turns to hate. And their hate breeds death. . . . (53)

Well there's more. Something on every page, really, that I could quote. Reading Olson, I feel as though I was/am him. That sounds ridiculous I suppose. OK. Say I empathize. He was trying to be fair, trying to help someone whose politics were abhorrent to him. But did he reach a conclusion? That's what I want. I want a conclusion, but I'm not sure of the question. Olson visited Pound for two and one-half years, the exact length of time I have been studying/writing about Pound. I'm tired of him frankly. I do not even remember the question, or if I ever knew it.

Frankly, I'm just tired. Here is a conclusion of sorts-- not by me, I'm sorry to say, but by Olson instead:

You feel him imagining himself as the last rock of culture and civilization being swept over by a wave of barbarism and Jews (communism and commercialism), the saviour of more than the Constitution, the saviour of all that has been culture, the snob of the West. For he is the AESTHETE. . . . All his pride in his memory, his sense of the internationale of writers, painters, musicians, and the aristocrats, his study of form as technique . . . it is all a huge AESTHETICISM, ending in hate for Jews, Reds, change, the content and matter often of disaster, a loss of future, and in that a fatality as death-full as those for whom the atom bomb is Armageddon, not Apocalypse. Diablo, FORCE in Stowitz' wisps, the Mephisto of Fascism, the Fool of the Corporate State, Jongleur of Stamp Scrip. (83)

Olson said that in Pound he was "confronted by the tragic Double of our day." Yes. Pound the "fool of love" and the "fool of hate." But are they one in the same? And who is the fool? Pound or the reader? All that time seemingly wasted. All that time. . . . I should, I suppose, heed something else Olson says: "Hate blinds. . . . It makes a lie of perception" (56). So I will go back to Kenner, to see what else he says, if he's yet reached a conclusion. He knows Pound better than anyone, I would think. He says:

I can only conclude that there were in his psyche simultaneous levels of integration, that I was wholly fortunate in my sampling, and that the Pound I knew was closer to the poet of the Cantos than the Pound of some other accounts. There were long spells when he was not obsessed, moreover knew that his obsessions existed. If indeed he was mad, he wrote to me once, ought not intention be directed to what drove him that way? ("Poet and Pirate" 65)

This sounds much like what Olson is referring to when he speaks of the "tragic Double of our day." But there's a catch to Olson's observation, and that is what follows directly afterward, for Pound is more than the "tragic Double;" he is, Olson says, "the demonstration of our duality" (53): yours, mine, and ours. Suppose, then, you were trying to analyze what appears to be hate according to the lessons propounded by a certain well-known Jewish teacher:

He spoke the following parable to some people who prided themselves on being upright and despised everyone else, 'Two men went up to the Temple to pray, one a Pharisee, the other a tax collector. The Pharisee stood there and said this prayer to himself, "I thank you, God, that I am not grasping, unjust, adulterous like everyone else, and particularly that I am not like this tax collector here. I fast twice a week; I pray tithes on all I get." The tax collector stood some distance away, not daring ever to raise his eyes to heaven; but he beat his breast and said, "God, be merciful to me, a sinner." This man, I tell you, went home again justified; the other did not. For everyone who raises himself up will be humbled, but anyone who humbles himself will be raised up.' (Luke 18.9-14)

It has been tried. Most recently (in book form) and most courageously, by Wendy Stallard Flory in The American Ezra Pound (New Haven: Yale UP, 1989). Flory begins her work with a chapter on Pound's American roots, particularly in regards to the entrepreneurial spirit of his grandfather, Thaddeus Coleman Pound. She then presents a detailed discussion of Pound's economic views. Both of these chapters are well worth reading but what particularly caught

my attention, or what particularly relates to my own experience, comes in the third chapter. When I first began reading (or trying to read) The Cantos, in an effort to understand them I quite naturally read Pound's essays and letters along with them, and this was done, most probably on Pound's admonition, before I turned to other critical works. Especially in his letters, in my experience, there could be found a man of humor and intelligence, although his essays gave evidence, too, of such a man. I do not know if other readers have the same experience (though I suspect they might), but I became quite fond of Pound, quite enamoured, in fact, and quite in agreement with his views on literature, religion, and economics. I might even say I grew angry that people could not see the validity of his ideas and my first paper on Pound reflected this anger. And, I found nothing "wrong" with Pound thinking, as Flory tells us, that his "role as prophet of economic reform is clearly, in his view, a continuation of his role as reformer of poetry" (83).

In her third chapter, then, Flory says that the reader who knows Pound's letters most likely knows only those in the Paige collection, a collection "predominantly on literary subjects alone" which gives a "misleading impression" whereby a reader might come to believe, as I did, that "even in the late 1930s Pound was substantially lucid, reasonable, and in control of his emotions":

When they turn from these letters, in which what he says seems so clearly under his conscious control, to the radio speeches, it would seem to be a reasonable assumption that the broadcasts also are a straightforward expression of his conscious and considered opinion. If this were so, we ought to judge Pound far more harshly than we would if we realized that the broadcasts were, on the contrary, the product of a mind whose perception of its surrounding reality was seriously distorted and which was moved much more by unconscious compulsions than by considered, conscious purpose. (85)

I believe this is so in my "case." Or, rather, I believe Flory's reasoning explains, at least in part, why there is such a sense of betrayal involved. Though why I first reacted to Pound the way I did I do not know. No other author that I can recall made me feel angry at the entire world for not accepting him in toto, nor have I ever accepted any other author in toto or wanted to. This brings me back to the following, the viewpoint of Ian F. Bell, a viewpoint I rejected long ago:

As all the commentaries assume, it is we who do the work, we who affirm the items of the curriculum and we who create the final consolation that is the function of the modernist art-object against actual contingency by repeating its repetitions. The satisfaction that we inevitably feel at the end of such an exercise thus becomes worrying not only because we have been manoeuvred into it by the compositional strictures of the Cantos, but also because we have been particularly active in participating in its ideology, actively involved, literally, in writing history in a form that will protect us from its vagaries. This is worrying because instead of simply reading a domesticated history . . . we are ourselves completing the sentences of the 'palimpsest', and the satisfaction we thereby derive is that much more immediate to us. (246)

I still reject this view because although Pound was definitely didactic and wished to persuade (often with a sledgehammer), I do not believe there was any "conscious" (or Fascist) attempt at manipulation of his readers, even though you could, I suppose, argue that all writers are attempting to do just that: whether consciously or unconsciously. I would much rather have you believe me than, say, anyone else, although I would never tell you that. Still, I do not believe Bell's theory is a good explanation for my enamourment. As Froula says: "The bad faith implicit in the act of reading, the easy abdication of critical authority, is exactly what modernist form challenges in exposing the difficulty of linguistic acts of understanding, meaning, and communication" (Paradise 165).⁵⁹ Why was it, however, so easy for Pound to abdicate his own critical authority regarding Fascist and anti-Semitic propaganda?

Flory says that tracing the decline of Pound's mental state is complicated because of his "swings from energetic optimism to frustration and angry paranoia and then back again" (85). But how, or how harshly, is Pound to be judged for his anti-Semitism? Flory states that there is a difference between adopting anti-Semitism by choosing it "deliberately and consciously," or holding such a position because of having avoided making a "conscious choice on an unrelated issue" (85-86).

The unrelated issue, what Flory in fact bases her entire analysis on, was Pound's rationalization of Mussolini's actions after 1935, a rationalization Pound made due to his wholesale acceptance of Mussolini before 1935, a rationalization of Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia, "Italian intervention in the Spanish Civil War, the racial laws, the invasion of Albania, the Pact of Steel, Mussolini's declaration of war against England and France, the attack on Greece, and finally the declaration of war against America" (103). It was bad enough that Mussolini turned to war, requiring a "drastic enough" evasion of reality, Flory says, but once Mussolini allied himself with Hitler, Pound had to rationalize "Hitler's warmongering," too: "This required a denial of reality so extreme as to be clearly psychotic" so that the underlying thesis of the Rome Radio broadcasts was that neither Hitler or Mussolini were responsible for the war, but both Churchill and Roosevelt were--as fronts for "the international conspiracy of usurers and munitions makers (114). All of Pound's "outrageous assertions" then followed logically, "even though the premises were false" (115).

Flory, in her fourth chapter then, confronts the issue of anti-Semitism head on. She begins by saying that Pound's anti-Semitism must be viewed as "an issue of moral choice considered in the context of the psychological predispositions of the average person" since much of postwar

philosophy has tended to "problematize the whole issue of moral choice so radically as to effectively remove it from philosophical discussion altogether" (132). Freudian psychology has, too, directed inquiry away from the act of moral choice by looking back toward childhood influences (132). Examinations of Pound's anti-Semitism often go wrong, Flory says, by assuming that the "real antisemite" is different from "normal people," that there is something in the anti-Semite's past, in their childhood, which surfaces at a later date. In Pound's case it is often assumed that the "latent grudge" which surfaced during the 1930s was caused by childhood "envy of the greater affluence of the families of his Wyncote friends" or "frustration at [his] . . . claustrophobic upbringing" (133). Flory says there is no evidence of such a grudge at any time before the 1930s, and rather, his anger was the "direct, immediate, and documentable consequence of unconscious decisions made at this later date" (133).

Flory, however, wants to make certain that we do not "assume an equation between the expression of hysterical or virulent antisemitic sentiments and murderous intent" (133). She compares Pound to Eichmann, who she describes as "calm and unemotional and [who] was directly involved in activities" leading to the killing of Jews. Pound, on the other hand, "was frenetic, angry, irrational, and obsessive" and did not do anything leading to action of any kind

against the Jews (133). His disorientation, "generated by Pound's attempt to evade the responsibility of moral choice," in fact worked to cause his arguments to self-destruct. When he did speak "consciously," Flory states, "he was entirely frank and honest" with an "absence of deviousness." Flory believes this guaranteed that no harm except to Pound came of these broadcasts (139-140). Again Flory brings up the point of a "war" going on within Pound's soul between the desire to rationalize his decision "to evade the truth about Mussolini" and a desire to acknowledge that this rationalization is a lie:

The "line of argument" in the speeches is the continuous movement back and forth of advances toward a position which is untenable and retreats from it. These retreats are not orderly but headlong and usually involve such complete changes of subject as to seem random. At the two extremes we have the retreat to nostalgia and the retreat to vituperation. (140)

Unfortunately, here is where Flory's argument falls apart, for in first claiming that the extremes in Pound's speech were due to his unconscious decision to support evil in the form of the "warmongering" Mussolini, and then claiming that it was just this "unconscious" decision and the attendant extremes caused by it which make what Pound says mean nothing, mean no harm, she gives Pound a way out from the moral choice of spouting anti-Semitic statements. And so, the only moral choice she acknowledges Pound making is the unconscious choice of rationalizing his support for

Mussolini, a choice which Flory wants us to believe is the cause of all the irrational moral choices he later makes. The anti-Semitism is seen as "a symptom of the cause" (209). As Wilhelm says, "Because Flory clearly "cares" about the subject of her study, she comes dangerously close to supplying her own rationalizations for Pound's" ("The American Ezra Pound" 259). In analyzing this, for example:

Don't start a pogrom. That is, not an old style killing of small Jews. That system is no good whatsoever. Of course if some man had a stroke of genius and could start a pogrom UP AT THE top, there might be something to say for it.

But on the whole legal measures are preferable. the sixty Kikes who started the war might be sent to St. Helena as a measure of world prophylaxis. And some hyper-kike[s] or non-Jewish kikes along with 'em. I shall be content if I contribute my buffalo nickel to arouse a little sane CURIOSITY, a little healthy inquiry as to what causes the whicness.

Goethe was gittin' at something when he wrote his play "Faust." I can't do ALL the researchin' but thaaar . . . is a field for proficuous research. . . .

. . . I am an authority on Arnaut Daniel . . . any post graduate student can become an authority. . . . If he don't lose all capacity to incorporate what he knows, if he don't see that it . . . may have connections--may IMPLY something or other.

Just as the LOSS, the absolute loss of craftsmanship [both of nineteenth-century London and collonial America] . . . IMPLIED something or other. . . . When do such things synchronize with other phenomena such as usury tolerance? There is WORK for all sorts and kinds of humans as long as [each artist and craftsman] . . . carries his mind deep enough into it, he will find that he is not alone, not isolated solitary, has something to do; some revelation, VITAL relation with the rest of humanity.

Enough for this evening. (Flory 141; Doob 115-116)

To begin, Flory says: "This is not demagoguery, but rather its opposite." She claims the passage is not a "rabble-rouser's call to action" because Pound's "conscious" aim is to make his listeners see that the war's causes are economic. It is "specifically and deliberately not a call to action at all." His "unconscious compulsion," however, is to "rehearse his rationalizations in the forlorn hope of silencing his misgivings about them" so that in the "pursuit of reassurance" Pound can only "register his confusion" (141-142). Flory makes no comment on Pound's statement that if "some man had a stroke of genius and could start a pogrom UP AT THE top there might be something to say for it." She instead points to the questions he asks and his rapid changes in subject and so it appears she attaches no meaning to the statement. And, she asks the reader to examine the endings of Pound's speeches to see that he asks us to "think, investigate, even to study evidence past and present" to see that if he was for any type of action, it was of this type (142). He remains, Flory says, what Gertrude Stein once called him, the "village explainer." And: "He is the single inhabitant of a 'homemade world' of theoretical speculation and explanation having direct contact with reality at almost no point" (143).

I said Flory made a courageous attempt and the book is an important one. The problem I have with it, however, is her repeated assertion that Pound's psychosis and his

self-delusion were caused by one decision, that decision being to still view Mussolini as a man of "goodwill" even after the Duce invaded Abyssinia and allied himself with Hitler:

Once he had made the unconscious decision to exclude all the evidence that would, if confronted, force him to reject his faith in Mussolini as a man of goodwill, his strength of will and his unusual creativity and powers of imagination became weapons to be used against himself. His creative imagination, which had shaped and given substance to his visionary idealism, now gave a spurious vitality to his delusions, the strength of will which had kept him working at his program of cultural and social reform now became an obsessive insistence on the validity of his self-delusion. And yet he was able to an unusual degree to confine his psychotic thinking to the one topic around which it had grown up in the first place. On any subject other than his theory that World War II was "made to create debt . . . [by] the persons behind Hitler and Mussolini who were only fronts" he was entirely lucid and reasonable. Yet on this one subject his thinking was genuinely psychotic. His fantasy of a "bankers conspiracy" which had ultimate power over the governments of the world had become for him a reality. . . . (161-162)

It seems to me that Flory's explanation for Pound's delusions is too simplistic: If Pound would only have admitted Mussolini was not the well-meaning leader of the people Pound thought he was, Flory seems to be saying, his psychosis would simply have disappeared. It is not that I do not believe Pound suffered from delusions (e.g., the United States and England were responsible for W. W. II), but Flory's explanation for these delusions is unsatisfying to me. Despite her efforts to bring the discussion into the

realm of moral choice, Flory constantly explains away the anti-Semitism each time she repeats her assertion that it was a mere symptom of Pound's repressed rationalization of his support for Mussolini. James Laughlin discusses the anti-Semitism this way:

Pound's extreme anti-Semitism in the 1940s put a severe strain on my affection for him. But I came to understand his obsession with more charity when Dr. Overholser, the head psychiatrist at St. Elizabeths Hospital, told me, "You mustn't judge Pound morally, you must judge him medically." He explained that Ezra was paranoid and that anti-Semitism is a recognized element in paranoia. Pound could not control himself. (15)

Charles Olson wasn't certain of this viewpoint, nor am

I. Olson relates this conversation he had with Laughlin:

Saw JL, and he was all excited about the examination the day before, stating the discussion got to the point where they were asking: What the hell is reality anyhow.

As I was leaving him I asked how much the unfit plea had been planned. And JL allowed he had from the beginning thot [sic] the thing was to get P out of trial, the easiest way. He appeared to have been surprised they found him "insane." I demurred. But he came back with this remark: "But this morning he came up with a remark like this, over the Jewish question: "It's too bad, and just when I had plans to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem for them." I said, sure, he's crazy like a fascist, but shall we put this on rational or moral grounds. (77)

Hmmmmmmmm. I don't know. Inside the entryway of the Physics Building at Iowa State University hangs a plaque which states that it was in the basement of this building that the first electronic digital computer was constructed by a 37-year-old professor of physics, John Atanasoff, and

his twenty-two year old graduate assistant, Cliff Berry (at least the plaque was there six years ago when I was taking astronomy classes there). In September of 1939 Atanasoff received a \$650.00 grant to pay for materials, shop work, and Berry's salary (Mollenhoff 39-49). By December the two had a small prototype built which could add and subtract and operated, Atanasoff said, with the following features:

While the clock system was mechanical, all computing was electronic.

For the first time, vacuum tubes were used in computing.

The advantageous base-2 number system was first used.

Logic Systems were first employed in computing.

All computation was done in a serial manner.

Capacitors (or condensers) were used as memory elements.

A rotating-drum memory contained the capacitors. What I [Atanasoff] called jogging (others call it regeneration or refreshing) was first used in computation. (qtd. in Mollenhoff 48)

The wordprocessor I am using, although much advanced as a computer over Atanasoff's first machine, operates in a similar manner, particularly in its application of the binary number system. Similar two-symbol codes have been used by African bush tribes, Samuel Finley Breese Morse, Australian aborigines, and hunter-gatherers the world over. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz thought that with the binary system all rational thinking could be reduced to mathematics whereby ambiguities in language would no longer exist and all errors would merely be the result of mistakes in calculation. Later, Leibniz came across the I Ching and

found a philosophy (yin/yang) to give him inspiration to perfect the binary system (Adams Jr. & Cantlay 29-30).

Almost 200 years later George Boole wrote his paper: "An Investigation of the Laws of Thought." He developed a type of algebra with symbols and rules applicable to numbers, letters, objects, or statements. Statements could be proven true or false by manipulating them in equations the same as numbers. There are three basic operations in Boolean algebra: AND, OR, and NOT. These are often called logic gates and are all that is needed to add, subtract, divide, or multiply. These gates are themselves binary and process only two entities: true or false. An American named Charles Sanders Peirce saw that Boole's two-state logic could be used to describe electrical circuits since currents are either on or off and a switch works like a logic gate. Another who saw the same relation was Claude Shannon, who as we saw earlier developed what is now called Information Theory.

Mark Twain was the first author ever to submit a typewritten manuscript, Life On the Mississippi, to a publisher. Enamoured of mechanical aids to printing he invested in a typesetting machine and thereby went bankrupt. Sears, of Sears and Roebuck, thought typewritten letters too impersonal and even after the typewriter was widely used elsewhere he insisted all correspondence continue to be handwritten so as not to offend any of the clientele,

especially those who were farmers. And I read somewhere, in something of Kenner's most likely, that Ezra Pound found a use for the slash (/) key in poetry. I can not now find that passage, if it does in deed exist, but say I press that key on my keyboard: /. Underneath the keyboard is a grid of wires, each key above an intersection on the grid. The microprocessor scans this grid thousands of times/second to find a closed circuit, i.e., the one which would be closed if I was pressing the / key. The computer determines the ASCII (American Standard Code for Information Interchange) processing code for /, which is the binary numeral 0101111.

The logic gates (pairs or series of transistors) in the computer accept input in the form of high or low voltages. The voltage represents the binary terms: one/zero, yes/no, true/false. A binary digit is either 1 or 0, a switch is either open or closed, or a proposition is either logically true or false. When a low voltage input (0) enters a p-type transistor, current flows between the two portions of the p-type silicon turning the switch on. This low voltage has no affect on an n-type transistor and this switch remains off. The high voltage input (1) will, however, have no affect on a p-type but will turn on a switch in an n-type transistor. Thus by arranging these n-type and p-type transistors, any type of logic gate can be constructed. An AND gate can accept any number of inputs, but all of its inputs must be logically "TRUE" (or binary 1s) for it to

deliver a 1, or logical "TRUE," or all the inputs must be 0s to deliver a 0. An OR gate can also accept any number of inputs, but can deliver only one output, delivering a binary 1 or logical "TRUE" if any of its inputs is "TRUE," or a 0 if any of its inputs is 0. A NOT gate can only accept one input which it reverses, e.g., 1 to 0. At any rate, when I type /, the computer is said to be reading. Displaying that character on the screen is said to be writing. As I type, then, the computer is both reading and writing, as it is when I call up the main menu and press the number 3 which tells the computer I wish to print the text, or when I push 4 to store the text to datadisk. As it prints or stores the text, the computer is in write mode only. 1/0. On/off. Yes/no. True/false (Daniels & Preston 47-51; Somerville 42-43; Bohl 73, 209). Although the computer works in this fashion, two types of mind were necessary to develop it:

For the modern scientist energy has no borders, it is a shapeless 'mass' of force; even his capacity to differentiate it to a degree never dreamed by the ancients has not led him to think of its shape or even its loci. The rose that his magnet makes in the iron filings, does not lead him to think of the force in botanic terms, or wish to visualize that force as floral and extant (ex stare).

A medieval 'natural philosopher' would find this modern world full of enchantments, not only the light in the electric bulb, but the thought of the current hidden in air and in wire would give him a mind full of forms, 'Fuor di color' or having the hyper-colours. The medieval philosopher would probably have been unable to

rediscovered), while searching for proof that Kenner said Pound found a use for the / key, that Kenner also noticed this pattern of Pound's thought: "He thought, like George Boole, in dichotomies" (Era 264). And earlier Kenner had said this, in a discussion of Ernest Fenollosa:

He warred on the copula: "There is in reality no such verb . . . , no such original conception; our very word exist means 'to stand forth,' to show oneself by a definite act." In the Chinese "is" he found "a splendid flash of concrete poetry": "to snatch from the moon with the hand. . . ." And the sentences that turn on "is" and "is not," and became in Boole's hands the algebra of classes, he referred to "the tyranny of mediaeval logic," "mediaeval" being a trusty polemic gesture though the focus of the infection was locatable not in Abelard's century but in Locke's. For behind Boole stood the De Arte Cobinatoria of Leibniz (1666), which expressed comprehensive indebtedness to Chinese analogies; just as behind the language of today's computers, which do nothing but shift symbols very rapidly into and out of categories, lay Leibniz' invention of binary arithmetic, encouraged by yet another sinological misunderstanding. Leibniz thought he was fleshing out a Mandarin discovery enshrined in the Book of Changes. (Era 225)

Copyright 1971. Ah well. A few hundred pages back I quoted Cocteau as saying that form "should be understood as meaning mental form" ("Secrets" 379). George Santayana noticed a certain "form" developing in Pound's thought in 1940, as evidenced by a letter Pound wrote in reply to Santayana:

Dear G.S.: It is good of you to write at such length. Responsus est:

1. Premature to mention my 'philosophy,' call

2. Chinese saying 'a man's character apparent in every one of his brush strokes.' Early characters were pictures, squared for aesthetic reasons. But I think in a well-brushed ideogram the sun is seen to be rising. . . .

At any rate, Fenollosa has delivered us from the godawful translations of Chinese poetry that preceded him. And there is a place where that rising sun ideogram in one of the poems in his anthology once and forever is a sort of 'l'alba tan tost ve.' However, this is getting too complicated.

Next A.M.: Your remark about my remark on 'values remain' being dogmatic. Liddell gives 'dogma, what seems true to one, an opinion..' But 'dogmatikes, belonging to opinions or maxims; maintaining them.' I have always had the impression of an 'ought' hanging about the word. I could say 'values recur' (or I don't mind 'remain'), but let it stand as an observation gathered from particular cases.

The ole W. of Bab. certainly and for long time has used her dogmas in the sense of something the sheep had to accept. Not as any 'seems' but certainly as 'maxim ex ct.', etc. (Let 427)

At the risk of sounding trendy, I might relate to you the following story. A few years ago I returned to my father's small dairy and went into a type of partnership with him. I'd read some books, so I thought I knew some things. Based on what I had read I "knew" that "industrial agriculture" was the scourge of the earth, destroying the land, the farms, and the people there (which may or may not be true in reality). I was determined to farm organically, to diversify: get some sheep, some hogs, some chickens, to farm in the "old manner," possibly even obtain a team of draft horses. My father thought all of this sounded reasonable. The first thing I did was get a German Shepherd pup for a cow dog. I named her Lady Brett Ashley as in The

Sun Also Rises (I would sell registered pups, too, I thought). I started milking three times per day (same cows/more milk). I was also certain that all of this was God's will. I had been called there to save the farm, "a little speck of a farm, eighty acres, surrounded by huge row crop grain fields," a writer friend of mine described it (Martone 56), the family farm. My neighbors, with their large machinery and equally large amounts of applied chemicals were destroying the earth. They were great sinners I thought. I felt the earth groan underneath their transgressions. I mean this literally.

By the third year of my return I had the farm divided into 25 strips of three acres each (buildings took the remaining five acres). The crop rotation consisted of corn, oats, hay, corn, barley, hay, corn, wheat, hay, corn, oats, pasture. . . . This rotation was done to allow the alfalfa to contribute part of the nitrogen for the next year's corn crop, to reduce the need for weed and insect control, and, too, I learned later, for aesthetic reasons. In the summer there would be a strip of green corn, a strip of yellow oats, a strip of alfalfa (a different green than the corn), a strip of corn, a strip of barley (a darker brown-yellow than the oats), and so on.

The twenty acres of pasture was also divided into one-acre strips for rotation grazing. That year there was a drought. But the corn, grown on sod which holds moisture

better than the previous year's corn ground (though I did not know this), still yielded 120 bushels/acre. The pasture, rotated every 48 hours, lasted well into October. Tired of not seeing the sunrise due to midnight milkings I was then milking only twice a day, at 4:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. I arose at 3:00 every morning and walked out to the pasture to get the cows, Brett (the Shepherd) always anxious to go along and most often disappearing into the nearest oat field bordering the lane. The cows were lying down, usually, smelling of grass and dew and moonlight. Sometimes the moon was bright enough so that I didn't need a flashlight to find them and I would walk from cow to cow, giving each a tap on their back (Brett was still off exploring somewhere) and they would rise and although I could not really see them, I could hear them defecating and then begin tearing a few more bites of grass before they headed up the lane in a long line with Brett directly behind the cattle and just ahead of me, and Fay, a three-year-old with an all-white head, behind all of us, as she preferred to follow.

I was usually done milking just as the sun was rising and Brett and I would lead the cows to a new pasture while it was still barely light out. It was all very mystical. I was never tired that summer. I and the farm and the animals and the sun rising in the morning were one entity.

But here is the trendy part of the story. I am a recovering alcoholic. In my farming days I was a practicing alcoholic. I am also manic-depressive. This went untreated for twenty-five years, except for my own feeble attempts at ridding myself of depression with a depressant called alcohol, which managed only to mask the manic portion of my disease. That perfect summer I may have been on a manic high. I do not think so, but I do not know. As for alcoholism, the general opinion is that it is a physical disease. My own opinion is that it is a thinking disease first. My own dis ease made me a perfectionist and one who wants to be in control. In my farming days it was all very simple: I was right and my neighbors were wrong. It was all very black and white. It was, too, up to me to save the farm. No one else could do so. It was up to me to save my parents from themselves, even though no one asked me to, even though I had no business assuming that they needed saving.

Also, on one particularly beautiful summer day, my girlfriend, her daughter, and I, found ourselves traveling on the Damascus road, so to speak, on our way to New Mellery Abbey near Dubuque, Iowa. My girlfriend and her daughter simply wanted to visit there. I, on the other hand, was going there to ask these monks how they squared it with themselves, being Christian and all, and still farming their land the way they did: with large machinery and the use of

chemicals and having no livestock. I never did ask them. Instead I became a Catholic and unfortunately, when drunk, a brilliant theologian. My real motivation in all this, especially regarding the farm, was not an attempt to answer the mystical calling from God I had imagined, but was, rather, my own perfectionism and wanting to control. My whole life I had that dream, of making the farm into what I envisioned it as becoming: the perfect little farm, a provisional paradise.

It is an odd feeling to "wake up" one morning and find that everything "good" you thought you were doing was for all the wrong reasons. It is somewhat akin to a quantum leap, I would say. "Who am I, anyway?" you ask yourself. "When or how did such an innocent dream become so malign? Or when did I?" I never did get those draft horses, sheep, hogs, or chickens. One night I caught the neighbor's mutt breeding Lady Brett Ashley. He got a whack on the top of the head with a barn broom. It took two or three before the desired result of coitus interruptus was achieved. Brett got spayed. She never did become a very good cattle dog, even though I tried to make her be perfect. Thank God that she was not, for she was a damn good friend. She's still there (she wouldn't like it town). The farm is still there. My parents are still there. I don't know if my father is planting the "right" amount of corn, barley, or oats for rotation, or if he's rotating the pastures this summer, or

if Mrs. Dalloway (yes--out of Betty, a Milu Betty Chief daughter, out of Lana, the first registered Holstein I ever owned) is receiving the exact amount of protein for the amount of milk she is giving. I haven't asked. It's none of my business, really. Brett, the cows, and my parents all seem to get along OK without my "help."

Either in the case of the alcoholism or the manic-depression, there have been long periods in my life when I have not known what reality is. I used to view, as I said, everything in black/white. Right/wrong. Yes/no. After I quit drinking the alcohol no longer masked the manic episodes. My mental illness grew worse. This turned out to be a blessing in disguise, for I then received the proper treatment. But say you have been completely out of touch with reality for years at a time and finally realize it. Naturally, the world looks completely different (maybe not better, but different). I see no black and white anymore. Everything looks gray. It takes a good deal of time to become accustomed to the gray. I am not yet, perhaps, very comfortable with it. I could not even decide, for example, how I felt about the recent war. I did not seem to agree with either "side." Right? Wrong? I still do not know. It is still a gray area. So maybe that is my answer to Merton's question: "how shall we face the contradiction between the real in our society, the ideal and the concrete in ourselves?" (Journey 105). I mean, that the answer is:

I don't know the answer. Pound did, or thought he did. I suppose one of those should be preferred. I do know I seem to distrust, now, anyone who is that sure they are right.

So, "sure he's crazy like a fascist, but shall we put this on rational or moral grounds" (Olson 77). I do not know that, either. One of the reasons it is called "mental illness" is because you do not know you are sick. It would help if you did. When my mental illness has been its worst, I have in turn acted my worst. I have said/done things I have not meant or did not know I was doing. Or sometimes I knew I was doing these things, but could not stop. I have, in particular, hurt my girlfriend and her daughter by various actions and words I have spoken. In treatment for alcoholism or addiction, it is common to hear it said that if you've done the crime you do the time. You pay, or try to amend, what you've done while still using, even though you were not thinking straight then, either. It is part of the "program," something that needs to be done. However, I was once talking to a priest about the things I had done to hurt my girlfriend while I was ill. I wanted to know how guilty I was. He could not give a percentage. So how guilty was Pound? I can not give a percentage.

On Wednesday, March 22, 1933, the first concentration camp was opened at Dachau to hold "all Communist, and where necessary 'Reichsbanner' and Social Democrat functionaries who endanger state security" (Distel and Jakusch 45):

To
Amt C III Reichsfuhrere SS and
Chief of the German Police
att. of Engineer Waller
Berlin Lichterfelde West
Unter den Eichen 126-135
Re: Crematorium Incinerators

As a result of our conversation regarding the supply of a standard incinerator plant we would like to suggest our coal burning "Reform" -incinerators which have proved very successful so far.-

Plan No. 8998 shows the layout for two incinerators, whereas plan No. J 9122 shows a layout for the four incinerators already installed in Dachau.

Our estimate for the purchase of two incinerators is as follows: 1) 2 "Reform" -incinerators of the latest model with an arched coffin chamber and horizontal ash grate, including all fittings, outer door, furnace door and cleaning door, ventiles, furnace accessories, and fire-gate...

In the case of a second incinerator being installed the price would be reduced to RM 4.050.-. (174)

A total of 206,206 prisoners were registered at Dachau. Dachau was not a deathcamp, but 31,591 of these prisoners died. This does not include persons who were sent there by the Gestapo for execution, Soviet prisoners of war who were executed there, or those that died in transports to Dachau or on death marches from there (213).

As American troops passed through German towns in the spring of 1945, they could see the various slogans painted on the walls of buildings: "We believe in the Fuehrer," "One Faith, One Victory," "Onward, Slaves of Moscow," "Americans Die, Tommies Live," and "Remember November 9, 1918" (Marcus

Smith 22). On April 12, 1945 the news of Roosevelt's death was announced over Radio Luxembourg in several languages. GIs and Displaced Persons (who were given hope by Roosevelt, "when no hope seemed possible") flew Flags at half-staff. Any German radio stations still functioning continued to "vilify Roosevelt, and now Truman" (Marcus Smith 36).

On April 29 (four days before the arrest of Ezra Pound) a company of American soldiers marched through the town of Dachau, finding no resistance (Selzer 163-164). The town had a population of 15,000. There were flowerbeds, trees, small shops, old-fashioned houses. A castle. The best maintained grounds, however, were those of the villas where the SS officers lived (Marcus Smith 79). The GIs walked past these grounds and on through a stand of pines. On the other side of the pines a railroad track ran along side a road. There on the track a train of possibly 50 cars: cattle cars, freight cars, flat cars, and coaches stood. The men saw what they thought were piles of rags, gray rags to match the gray paint of the cars. But in the cars were bodies piled on bodies. When it was realized what the "rags" were the men vomited, cried, babbled. None of the passengers could have weighed more than sixty or seventy pounds. The trip was designed to kill them, which it did, except for a few who apparently crawled out of the cars, or were dragged out and shot, or killed by a blow to the head from a rifle butt, or mauled by dogs (Selzer 163-170).

The colonel, in order to get his men in control of themselves, ordered the men to make a count and to check every body in case anyone might be alive. There were 2,310 people on the train, with 21 children and 83 women, all dead. Later it is learned that the train arrived April 27 and the passengers, who were to all have died by then, were to have been cremated in the camp's crematorium, but there was no coal available. One American private remarked, then, that it might be necessary to occupy the country for fifty years (Selzer 167-172; Marcus Smith 79-80).

The prison area at Dachau was surrounded by a fifteen-foot-wide moat, a ten-foot-high electrified barbed wire fence, beyond which was a strip of grass twenty-seven feet wide. Any prisoner who stepped on this grass was shot immediately. There were large concrete guard towers overlooking the moat. The guardhouse, the Jorhaus, had the German imperial eagle above it, a swastika in its talons. The wrought-iron gates had the words Arbeit Macht Frei built into them: "Work Makes One Free" (Marcus Smith 81). As the Americans advanced they were greeted by machine-gun fire from the guard towers. The prisoners heard this gunfire and rushed, wailing, out of their barracks. One of the SS guards turned from shooting at the Americans and instead directed his machine-gun fire at the rushing throng of prisoners. Amazingly, not one prisoner was killed. The Americans then aimed their own machine guns at the guard.



MWjic
Dachau
1945

Fig. 12. Illustration by an unknown prisoner at Dachau.
Rpt. in Marcus Smith 83.

The guard was killed. Angry GIs stormed across the moat. The SS men were shot as they came out of the towers, although they may have been trying to surrender. A roar came from the crowd of prisoners as each guard was killed (Marcus Smith 81; Selzer 175-176).

More SS men began to emerge from other buildings and to surrender. The American colonel had them line up against a concrete wall in the camp. He posted a squad and a machine gun there to guard them. German prisoners arrived at the wall in groups of ten to fifteen. With one group of five men arrived a German in an immaculate black uniform, peaked cap, and boots shined to perfection. He was, he told the lieutenant in charge of guarding the SS prisoners, the commander of the camp guards. He said this in perfect British-accented English. The lieutenant ordered him to be lined up with the others (Selzer 187).

This German officer, "Skodzensky," Selzer calls him,⁶⁰ had an arrogant manner he seemed to impart to the other Germans lined up against the wall. The GIs in the squad guarding the men became increasingly angry due to all they saw that day and the perceived arrogance of the SS men. They began to chant: "Kill em! Kill 'em! Kill em!" The GI manning the machine gun began screaming the words; and sobbing, too, he opened fire. The American colonel who had led his men there to free those prisoners the SS men held, ran toward the soldier firing the machine gun and stopped

the shooting by kicking his own man in the head. But by then, all 122 of the SS along that wall lay dead. The lieutenant and the machine gunner were later charged in this "cold-blooded" killing, but the charges were dropped (Selzer 188-189; 239).

When I first heard of this action by American troops, I rather surprised myself, for the only feeling I had was that of pride. It seems to me that the anger of these men, in such an inhuman environment, was a most human reaction-- a human reaction as opposed to the inhumanity of the SS in their attempt to strip any and all trace of humanity from the prisoners in their charge. I once thought this anger of the GIs at what they found could be contrasted with Pound's anger as it appears in the following passage:

The embezzler sets up his papers, dailies and weeklies. That curse of God Willkie was puffed up by the Weeklies. The plague does not stop with the dailies. It sets up publishing houses, it grinds down all private liberty--economic--I mean. . . . Every cranny is infested. Every college campus has a bookstore. LOOK to these bookstores. . . . Communicate, Communicate, and COMMUNICATE.

A plot was outlined years ago to blot out classical scholarship, to blot out the historic sense. It went about on soft paws, making no noise, it was DEADLY.

It worked while the nations slept. A contempt for the Latin authors. The idea Greek was useless. The concentration on innocuous authors. Erotic poems and NOT the state of life as shown in the Athenian law courts.

The aesthetic angle, that the whole of my generation grew up in, all LOOKING harmless, so HARMLESS. . . .

After Cato's death there was no Republic, says some old Roman historian. Perhaps after Lincon's death there was no United States Republic. . . . Civil War dragged on. WITH INTENTION. . . . Waaaal, that is old scandal. Can't fight Antietam now. Can't go back before Gettysburg, the very names are forgotten now. . . . Or rather the WHOLE of the history was aimed at FORGETTING. It was top dressing . . . to KEEP the nation's mind OFF the causes--off the REAL causes. Debts of the Southern states, to the bankers of New York City.

My ole great uncle had a wooden leg,
 went stumpin' 'round after Gettysburg.
 Ole uncle dot and carry one, and every gun
 was a golden egg, for the
 Bankers in New York.

For the bankers in New York, OHoooooo. . . .

NOW the facts are NOT wholly hidden. There are fifty authors whom you could read. . . . You could read the works of the men who fought for the making of the Republic, John Adams, Jefferson, Van Buren, hidden or kept in shadow by punk propaganda. . . . Will you wake up to the fact that the gradual elimination of the classics had purpose, a damn dirty purpose? Get boiled down to a few harmless authors, say to Tibullus and Virgil, taste for the unreal in poetry, and the student's eye got off reality. . . .

What are you fighting for? . . . Are you fighting for the National Heritage? For the heritage of wisdom, the heritage of Washington, and of Monroe, of John Adams and Lincoln?

I'll say you are not.

You are fighting AGAINST what all these men stood for. And it will take more brains that I got, to get you out of it prettily.

Ezra Pound speakin' from Europe for the American heritage. (Doob 74-77)

The comparison I was going to make, or, rather, the question I had was whose anger was more justified? The soldiers' because of the horrors they found? Or Pound's rantings that Dante was not being read? The question, I

know, seems rather unfair. But I can not forget that stupid-ass fascist salute (along with the shit-eating grin) Pound gave in 1958 when he was disembarking the ship which carried him back to Italy,⁶¹ especially since by then he surely knew of the death camps, what really went on, who really started that war. Then again, somehow Pound might have thought he was fighting against the same sort of thing those soldiers found on that train. Maybe. Here is another theory:

Above all, remember that you cannot be anyone's judge. No man on earth can judge a criminal until he understands that he himself is just as guilty as the man standing before him and that he may be more responsible than anyone else for the crime. Only when he has understood this can he become a judge. Absurd though it may sound, this is the truth. For it is possible that, if I myself had been upright, this man would not be standing before me accused of a crime. If you can accept the responsibility for the crime committed by the man standing before you, whom you are judging in your heart, then take the crime upon yourself and pay for it with your suffering and let the accused walk away without reproach. And even if the law itself makes you his judge, you must still endeavor to act in that spirit, for when he leaves he will condemn himself more severely than you could have. Even if he walks away unmoved by your embrace, laughing at you, do not let it deter you; it only means that his time has not yet come--and it will come in due course. And if it does not come, it is no matter either, for if not he, then someone else will understand and answer for him, condemn himself and suffer in his place. And justice will be done. Believe that, never doubt it, for therein lies the hope and the faith of the saints.

The above quote is taken from "The Thoughts and Teachings of the Elder Zosima" in Dostoevsky's The Brothers

Karamazov (388). But, then, Pound "never read the Rooshians" (Hemingway, Moveable Feast 134).

And came Allen Ginsberg, the Buddhist/Jew (and more Christian about people than I, perhaps), chanting mantras and playing Beatles records and giving Pound his blessing:

"Ah well [Ginsberg said], what I'm trying to tell you--what I came here for all this time--was to give you my blessing then, because despite your disillusion--unless you want to be a messiah--then you'd have to be a Buddhist to be the perfect Messiah" (he smiled)--"But I'm a Buddhist jew--perceptions have been strengthened by the series of practical exact language models . . . so that despite your intentions, the practical effect had been to clarify my perceptions--and anyway, now, do you accept my blessing?"

He hesitated, opening his mouth, like an old turtle.

"I do," he said--"but my worst mistake was the stupid suburban prejudice of antisemitism, all along, that spoiled everything--" This is almost exact.

"Well no, because anyone with any sense can see it as a humour, in that sense part of the drama--you manifest the process of thoughts--make a model of the consciousness and antisemitism is your fuck-up like not liking the Buddhists but it's part of the model as it proceeds--and the great accomplishment was to make a working model of yr. mind . . . a mind, like all our minds, and that's never been done before--so you made a working model all along, with all the dramatic imperfections, fuck-ups. . . .

He looked at me in my eye kind smiling, I looked at him and then (must've been at this point) asked if he'd accept my blessing--more conversation. . . . We rose . . . started walking, still talking up street to his alley . . . and at door we all stood. . . . So took him by shoulders looked in his eye and asked "and I also came here for your blessing, and now may I have it sir?"

"Yes," he nodded, "for whatever it's worth--" (Ginsberg 14-16)

And unsatisfying as it may be, here is one more theory:

- Poole, Reginald Lane**, English historian.....1857-1939
- Poole, William Frederick**, American librarian.....1821-1894
- Poore** (poor), **Benjamin Perley**, American journalist.1820-1887
- Pope** (pop), **Alexander**, English poet and critic.....1688-1744
- Pope, John**, Union general in the Civil War.....1822-1892
- Poppaea Sabina** (pop-pe a sa-bi na), a wife of Nero.. ? - 65?
- Porphyry** (por fy-ry), Greek philosopher and writer..233- 304
- Porpora** (por po-ra), **Niccolo**, Italian composer.....1686-1766
- Porson** (por son), **Richard**, English classicist and
critic..... 1759-1808
- Porta, della** (del la por ta), **Giambattista**, It.
physicist.....1541?-1615
- Porter** (por ter), **Cole**, American composer and
lyricist.....1893-1964
- Porter, David**, American naval officer and diplomat.1780-1843
- P., David Dixon** (son of D.P.), American admiral..1813-1891
- P., Fitz-John** (nephew of D.P.), American general.1822-1901
- Porter, Gene Stratton**, American novelist.....1868-1924
- Porter, Horace**, American general and diplomat.....1837-1921
- Porter, Jane**, Scottish novelist.....1776-1850
- Porter, Katherine Anne**, American writer.....1890-1980
- Porter, Noah**, American philosopher and educator....1811-1892
- Porter, William Sydey**, see Henry O.
- Post** (post), **Emily** (**Price**), American writer on
etiquette.....1873-1960
- Potemkin** (po-tem kin), **Grigori Aleksandrovich**,
Prince, Russian field marshal; favorite of
Catherine II.....1739-1791
- Potter** (pot ter), **Paulus**, Dutch painter of animals.1625-1654
- Poulenc** (po-lanc), **Francis**, French composer.....1899-1963
- Pound** (pound), **Ezra** (**Loomis**), Am. poet and critic..1885-1972
- Pound, Louise**, American linguist and folklorist....1872-1958
- P., Roscoe**, Am. educator and writer on law
(brother of L.).....1870-1964
- Poussin** (po-san), **Nicolas**, French painter.....1594-1665
- Powell** (Pou el), **Cecil Frank**, English physicist....1903-1969
- Powell, John Wesley**, Am. geologist and ethnologist.1834-1902
- Powell, Lewis Franklin**, associate justice of the
U.S. Supreme Court (1972-).....1907-
- Power** (pou er), (**Frederick**) **Tyrone**, Am. actor, b. in
England.....1869-1931
- Powers** (pou ers), **Hiram**, American sculptor.....1805-1873
- Powhatan** (pou-ha-tan), (father of Pocahontas)
Indian chief in Virginia.....1550?-1618
- Powys** (po ys), **John Cowper**, English novelist, poet, and
critic (brother of L.P. and T.F.P.).....1872-1963
- P., Llewelyn**, English novelist and essayist.....1884-1939
- P., Theodore Francis**, English novelist.....1875-1953

Mental or physical illness and dependency went hand in hand in colonial America, and therefore, mental illness in colonial days was of concern mainly due to its relation to economic and social concerns. Since families were the most important social structure they were sometimes given monetary aid to care for the mentally ill person in their home, or to board them out. Treatment as such did not exist, but those indigent persons who were "delirious, distracted, or non compos mentis" might be confined to almshouses, the problems of the mentally ill most often being viewed as a welfare problem (Grob 11-16). Colonists also inherited the worst of the European methods of "treatment": the mentally ill being shackled, thrown in jail, beaten, starved, and placed into forced labor. Such restraining devices as muffs, anklets, wristlets, chains, straight jackets, and the "Utica crib" (a small crib-like bed patients could be confined in for years at a time) were in common use by the early 19th century ("Mental Health;" Marshall 142).

In Hitler's Germany, mental illness was viewed as a welfare problem, also, i.e., detrimental to the welfare of the state. A poll taken in 1920 showed that 73% of German parents and guardians were in favor of euthanasia for their mentally deficient children, "death assistance" being widely promoted at the time. The Nazis eliminated almost 300,000 physically and mentally handicapped Germans before going on

to solve the problem of the Jews, political dissidents, homosexuals, and Gypsies. An order was issued in 1933 to sterilize those "with hereditary diseases" (Thomas Ralph 4).

"By 1941," Ralph says:

euthanasia by starvation, lethal injection, and poisoning had become "normal hospital routine." Victims now included dwarfs, the blind, schizophrenics and depressives, victims of Huntington's chorea, inmates of juvenile homes and orphan asylums, trouble makers and chronic bedwetters, and even World War I amputees. There are films documenting the financial savings to the Third Reich when the "burdensome" were eliminated.
(4)

Upon the insistence of Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, among others, the first state-supported hospital in the United States devoted exclusively to the care of the mentally ill, "The Public Hospital for Persons of Insane and Disordered Minds," known later as the Eastern State Hospital, was incorporated in 1768 and later built in Williamsburg, Virginia. The House of Burgesses passed legislation in 1769 "to make provisions for the support, and maintenance of idiots, lunatics and other persons of unsound mind" ("Mental Health;" Hurd et al., 1: 90-91). £1200 was allocated for the purchase of land and £25 per anum was allotted for each patient, although if patients could they were expected to pay for their own support. Land was purchased and later the building (with help from another allocation due to cost overruns) was erected in 1773 and in September the first patient was admitted (Grob 26). In 1850

this also became the first mental hospital to care for blacks (Hurd et al., 1: 91).

In 1632 the palatine Lord Baltimore took from Virginia what is now known as the state of Maryland, that area named after Lord Baltimore's wife, Henrietta Maria. In 1662 Lord Blatimore granted nearly 1800 acres of this land to George Thomson who then sent several settlers to the area. Each head of a family was allowed fifty acres and received fifty more for each person he brought with him at his expense. More settlers followed, most of them being Scotch and Irish and the region became known as New Scotland Hundred, the "Hundred" portion of the name coming from the old English term. Thomson's land lay on both sides of the Anacostia and near the spot where the Anacostia meets with the Potomac. One optimistic settler, Francis Pope, in what is now the heart of Washington named his plot of land "Rome" and thus became known as the "Pope of Rome." A creek which flowed near by he named the "Tiber." Other settlers called their lands "Argyl," "Allinson's Forest," "Cowell," "Lorne," and "Rock of Dumbarton." Settlers on Thomson's tract on the south side of the Anacostia named their land after St. Elizabeth (Froncek 15; 23; 173; Nicolay 15-17; Moore 21-22).

St. Elizabeth was born in 1207 and was the daughter of King Andrew of Hungary. When she was fourteen she married Louis IV, Landgrave of Thuringia, a portion of old Saxony. Louis IV died in 1227 and Elizabeth's brother-in-law, who

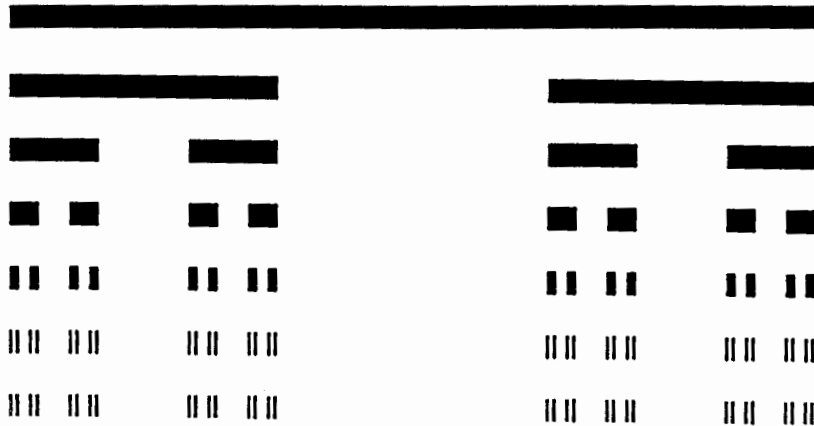


Fig. 13. Ezra Pound at the time of his arrest. From James Gleick's Chaos: Making a New Science:

THE CANTOR DUST. Begin with a line; remove the middle third; then remove the middle third of the remaining segments; and so on. The Cantor set is the dust of points that remains. They are infinitely many, but their total length is 0.

The paradoxical qualities of such constructions disturbed nineteenth century mathematicians, but [Benoit] Mandelbrot saw the Cantor set as a model for the occurrence of errors in an electronic transmission line. Engineers saw periods of error-free transmission, mixed with periods when errors would come in bursts. Looked at more closely, the bursts, too, contained error-free periods within them. And so on--it was an example of fractal time. At every time scale, from hours to seconds, Mandelbrot discovered that the relationship of errors to clean transmission remained constant. Such dusts, he contended, are indispensable in modeling intermittency. (93)

claimed she was giving too much money to the poor, expelled her. The regency later was restored to her, but she declined this power and instead accepted the inheritance of the landgraviate for her son Hermann. Elizabeth then joined the third order of St. Francis, living an ascetic life and caring for the sick. She was canonized in 1235 ("Elizabeth, Saint").

St. Elizabeths Hospital came about, as mentioned before, due to the efforts of Dorothea L. Dix. Dix, born in 1802, was the daughter of Joseph Dix, a Puritanical writer and distributor of "fanatical" religious tracts who may have himself been somewhat mentally unstable and had no regular income. Dorothea left home, then, at the age of twelve and moved in with her grandparents. In 1821 she opened a school for girls in Boston which she ran for six years. The school gained an excellent reputation and prominent families of Boston sent their children there. Dorothea became a victim of her own success, for after the death of her grandfather, she became manager of her grandmother's household, as well as her grandmother's nurse, taught school at both the day school and a boarding school, and opened a charity school. Her health then failed her and she moved in with William Ellery Channing's family as a governess (Hurd et al. 1: 102).

In 1831, her health restored, she reopened the "Dix Mansion Boarding School" which soon became a model for other

schools. Dorothea Dix's health again failed in 1836 and a doctor recommended she travel to the south of France to rest and restore her nervous system. She was too weak to travel once she arrived in England and instead stayed near Liverpool with friends of Channing for the 14 months she was in Europe. Upon her return she became interested in prison reform by way of a J. T. G. Nichols, a theological student who had volunteered to teach Sunday school in the House of Correction in Cambridge. Rather daunted by the fact that he was assigned a class of twenty female prisoners, Mr. Nichols sought advice from Ms. Dix who volunteered to teach the class herself (1: 105).

In the prison she found overcrowding, uncleanliness, the innocent housed with the guilty, the insane housed with the sane. She found several insane persons housed in rooms with no heat. She could not get satisfaction from the official in charge as to providing heat for these insane persons, whereupon she went next door to a courtroom and convinced the judge holding court there to order the prison official to do so. This, then, was the beginning of Dix's career as a champion of the mentally ill. Due to her effort, more than thirty state hospitals would be built, and numerous reforms took place in the care of the mentally ill in the United States and Europe (1: 102, 105).

In 1848 Dorothea Dix was lobbying congress to pass a bill for the care of the indigent insane. She asked for a

grant of 5,000,000 acres of the public domain which could be sold and the proceeds established as a "perpetual fund" (Hurd et al. 1: 116). Dix said that less than 3700 patients were then housed in hospitals and more than 18,000 were "unsuitably placed in private dwellings, in jails, in poorhouses, and often most wretched habitations" and thousands were "bound with galling chains, bowed beneath fetters and heavy iron balls attached to drag-chains, lacerated with ropes, scourged with rods and terrified beneath storms of execration and cruel blows; now subject to jibes and scorn and torturing tricks; now abandoned to the most outrageous violations" (qtd. in Hurd et al. 1: 116).

Dix's "Memorial" was referred to committee and 5000 copies were printed. The bill, however, was deferred until the session of 1850, when Dix said that 12,225,000 acres of the public domain was needed: 10,000,000 for the benefit of the insane, and 2,225,000 for the blind and the deaf and the dumb. And, she requested \$100,000 for a hospital for the insane of the army, navy, and District of Columbia. In August of 1852 this bill passed and the land bill passed the House in March of 1853. Further delays occurred in the Senate, but it, too, passed the land bill a year later. For years Ms. Dix had labored for passage of this bill, but the president, Franklin Pierce, vetoed the bill, for he felt the federal government would then be expected to care for all the indigent in all the states (Hurd et al. 1: 116-120).

Though the land bill was defeated, the Government Hospital for the Insane would be built. Dix and Dr. Charles Nichols, the doctor who would become the first superintendent of the hospital, were asked to find and purchase a site. That which they found, "a park in itself," as Nichols called it, was a piece of ground owned by one Thomas Blagden and named St. Elizabeth's. Blagden did not wish to sell, as he and his family made their home there and loved the property. He said he might take \$40,000 for it, but Congress had only appropriated \$25,000. Dr. Nichols tried to persuade Blagden, but to no avail, and so Ms. Dix tried her powers of persuasion upon the reluctant owner (Marshall 191). She succeeded, as evidenced by this letter:

Washington, D.C., November 13, 1852

Dear Madam:

Since seeing you today, I have had no other opinion (and Mrs. B. also) than that I must not stand between you and the beloved farm, regarding you as I do, as the instrument in the hands of God to secure this very spot for the unfortunate whose best earthly friend you are, and believing sincerely that the Almighty's blessing will not rest on, nor abide with, those who may place obstacles in your way.

With Mrs. Blagden's and my own most friendly regards.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

Thomas Blagden.

(qtd. in Marshall 191)

Once construction of the hospital was under way ("in the collegiate Gothic style" following the Kirkbride plan-- "each wing receding from the center, in echelon" [Hurd et al. 2: 144]) Dix again went to Europe for a "rest." After the defeat of the land bill Dix's health again had suffered, but instead of resting while abroad, she made intensive investigations into the situation in Europe regarding the care of the insane, traveling to England, Scotland, the Channel Islands, France, Greece, Italy, Turkey, Hungary, Austria, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and alerting government officials of these countries to the abuses she discovered. In England she had succeeded in obtaining from the Home Secretary the promise that two commissions would be appointed to inquire into conditions at the lunatic hospitals and examine the state of the laws respecting lunatic asylums. The order of commission was signed by Queen Victoria on April 19, 1855, although the president of Ms. Dix's own country had done less (Hurd et al. 1: 121-128).

Dix returned to the United States in 1856. She established a residence in the Government Hospital for the Insane of the Army and Navy where she stayed when in the District of Columbia. From her room she had a view of the Capitol and she told Dr. Nichols that there was "not a better setting in all the world for a hospital" (qtd. in Marshall 190). When the Civil War began she asked if she

might serve in some capacity and was made Superintendent of Women Nurses by Secretary of War Cameron "to select and assign women nurses to general or permanent military hospitals" (Hurd et al. 1:130). Dix organized efforts to collect clothing, medical supplies, and food for the sick and wounded soldiers, continuing this effort throughout the war. She visited hospitals, interviewing the wounded. She traveled from battlefield to battlefield helping out in the camp hospitals. At the end of the war, Edwin Stanton, then Secretary of War, "ordered a stand of arms of the United States colors to be made for and presented to her, bearing the inscription: 'In token and acknowledgment of the inestimable services rendered by Dorothea L. Dix for the Care, Succor and Relief of the Sick and Wounded Soldiers of the United States'" (1: 131).

Walt Whitman was not unlike Dorothea Dix during the Civil War. He arrived in Washington D.C. in December of 1862. His family feared that his brother George might have been killed at Bull Run and Whitman first visited a hospital in D. C. for the purpose of finding him. At Campbell Hospital Whitman heard one boy moaning in pain and found a doctor for the boy who had not been attended to since his arrival. Whitman wrote a letter for the boy and gave him all the change he had so that the boy might buy some milk. Because of this encounter he began to visit the hospitals each day (Hyde 204).

Whitman wrote to friends and asked for money so that he might buy the soldiers things they needed. He came in the afternoons and stayed late, sometimes distributing stew, "crackers, oysters, butter, condensed milk, newspapers, dressing gowns, and more." The "more" included a "word or trifle" and blackberries, peaches, lemons, sugar, wine, preserves, underclothing, tobacco, and tea. Once he bought ten gallons of ice cream. He wrote letters home for the soldiers. He wrote to parents whose sons died. He read aloud to the soldiers, something from, say, the Odyssey. Sometimes he washed the maggots from the wounds of the men. One day he was walking near one of the hospitals and found "a heap of feet, legs, arms, and human fragments, cut, bloody, black and blue, swelling and sickening" (qtd. in Hyde 206).

During the war the Government Hospital for the Insane set aside several rooms for the use of a manufacturer of artificial limbs. Soldiers who had limbs amputated could be transferred there and after the stump healed could be fitted with artificial limbs. These men did not wish to be known as residents of a hospital for the insane, and so the name St. Elizabeths became used instead (Hurd 2: 146). The apostrophe was apparently dropped about this time, or sometime before the turn of the century (Giroux 40).

Ezra Pound arrived at St. Elizabeths on December 21, 1945. Flory begins her analysis of Pound's stay at St.

Elizabeths by saying that Pound believed the hospital staff had to decide whether he was to be cured or punished. The outcome, Flory says, was this:

He was not cured--the psychiatrists could not even arrive at an accurate diagnosis--and so, once he was a free man again and fully responsible for himself, he proceeded to undertake hs own punishment. (156-157)

Flory thinks the diagnosis of Pound's mental illness was so imprecise as to be "inadequate as a basis for treatment," although she believes Winfred Overholser, the superintendent at the time, had an "intuitive understanding of Pound's state of mind" (157). Overholser, Flory believes, did not wish to pigeon-hole Pound into a category when he could not accurately diagnose Pound's mental illness and instead chose to leave the matter open so that he could modify the diagnosis as insight into Pound's illness deepened. Overholser thought Pound had a personality disorder and suffered from paranoia and as late as 1957 he wrote to the assistant director of the Bureau of Prisons:

The exact diagnosis in his case has not been easy because he does not fit too accurately into any of the regular diagnostic categories. We have therefore classified him as "Psychotic Disorder, Undifferentiated." (qtd. in Flory 168)

Other psychiatrists on the staff come in for criticism by Flory: She says that Pound's severe fatigue which manifested itself whenever "crucial personal questions" were asked of him was seen by most of the psychiatrists who interviewed Pound to be faked (159). Most of the

psychiatrists, too, did not think Pound was psychotic, but thought he held destructive views related to Wagner's, Hitler's, Mussolini's and Machiavelli's (161). Another psychiatrist "finds 'no evidence of psychosis'" (165). Another failed to interpret a Rorschach test properly and failed to take into account that Pound was a poet. And, his diagnosis of Pound having an "anal-erotic" personality because of his "emphasis on order and symmetry" misses "the main point with a gravity which it is hard not to find amusing," Flory says, seeing as how Pound "was the founder of Imagism" (166-167).

This "poet" business rather grates on my nerves. Flory emphasizes the fact that many of the psychiatrists at St. Elizabeths made misdiagnoses because they didn't understand the poet's mind, his creativity, and the "unusual intensity and complexity--not to mention the idiosyncrasy--of his thought" (166). In Pound's case, she says:

his "thought disorder" itself was bound to be different in significant ways from that of a person of common or average mental activity. Not just his high level of intelligence--about which the psychiatrists were in agreement--but also the highly unusual intensity and sustained exercise of his intellect were very likely to produce a configuration of mental activity which was out of the ordinary. It is hardly to be expected that he would fit the textbook definition of psychotic behavior. (161)

I am afraid Flory is blaming the psychiatrists for not discovering Pound's suppression of the fact that Mussolini was not the benevolent ruler Pound thought he was--all

because they simply did not understand Pound's particular brand of genius manifested in his vocation as a poet.

She goes on:

. . . it is important to see the psychosis itself as the direct consequence of the unconscious decision which he took at the time of the invasion of Abyssinia to deny the fact of Mussolini's belligerence and to rationalize away all evidence of it. Once he had taken the fatal first step of suppressing what he knew to be the truth, the very qualities of intelligence and imagination which had made him a great poet now became the means of his undoing. They made it all too easy for him to find facts which, taken in isolation from their true context, seemed to support his delusion of conspiracy. What might in a less inventive mind have remained merely an eccentric or cranky theory became for him a complete vision of the orchestration of all important world affairs by a malign cabal. . . . (163)

I suppose it might be possible that a highly intelligent and creative person would be better at being insane than your average Joe. It sounds like something a literary critic would say, or might like to believe, and is related, I think, to something Kenner (again) once said in a discussion of literary biographies:

It is for the biographer to disclose the authentic mess of misfortune, self-deception and imposture that make up a word-man's life. With more grip on things he'd have been something other than a word-man. ("Literary Biographies" 53)

Or it is up to the literary critic to make excuses for the word-man, or say psychiatrists couldn't possibly understand him, leaving the poor poet to save himself through the study of Confucianism (see page 173). Wilhelm wonders "how anyone could cure a man who had no belief in

'kikiatrists,' and whose arrogance often flared up in his encounters with them" ("American Ezra Pound" 260). Even Flory points out that Pound labeled psychiatry a "Jewish science" (172). We have heard that term before.

Looking back I can see that I had manic-depressive episodes as long as I can remember. I did not know early on what the cause of my problems was, or even, I suppose, that my problems were some sort of mental illness. As years went on these episodes became increasingly severe in nature. I once went to a doctor because all the joints in my arms and legs seemed to be on fire (a sign of depression, as Pound's fatigue may have been). I was told I either was depressed or had rheumatoid arthritis. I wanted to believe the latter and so left the doctor's office convinced I would soon be crippled, a much better fate, I thought, than some mental problem. A few years later I was afraid to get on the bus because I was afraid I would not understand what people said to me, which was true: I could not. Several similar episodes (what I called the "fog") occurred and I sought psychiatric help. These were diagnosed as some sort of psychosis, possibly schizophrenic in nature, and I was placed on anti-psychotic drugs. Sometimes they seemed to help, sometimes they didn't. Later I was placed on trazadone, an anti-depressant, which sometimes seemed to help, sometimes didn't.

Pound might have been interested in this: The brand name for trazadone was Desyrel. The cost was, at first, around \$50.00 per hundred. I took 400 milligrams a day and a hundred lasted me 25 days. A few years later the price jumped in one month to \$70.00. I found out why when the generic came out two months later @ \$35.00/100. The next month the brand-name version cost \$32.00. The last purchase of this drug cost me \$19.62/100. I was later placed on Imiprimine and lithium carbonate. Lithium was discovered in 1817 by a Swedish chemist named Johan Arfvedson. He called it lithium because he found it in stone, which is lithos in Greek. Scientists in the 1940s found a number of uses for lithium, including in the fission-fusion reaction of thermonuclear explosions, and it became an essential element in the hydrogen bomb. In the 1940s lithium chloride was used as a salt substitute until those with bad hearts or kidneys began to die off with its use. In 1949 an Australian psychiatrist found that lithium carbonate could be used to control mania. It was not approved in the United States for this use until 1970, partly because (and Pound may have found this interesting, also) lithium was a natural element, something which could not be patented, and the pharmaceutical industry was stumped as to a way to make money on such a thing (Fieve 211-214).

In the United States in the 1950s and 1960s most cases of manic-depression were mis-diagnosed as schizophrenia

because the definition of schizophrenia was so broad that it meant "'being out of touch with reality,' or 'being psychotic'" (183). This has generally changed since about 1970 (185). Flory emphasizes the trouble the psychiatrists had in placing Pound in some sort of category or coming up with a diagnosis at all, but considering that it was 1945 when Pound first entered St. Elizabeths, he most probably got the best treatment possible for that period of time. I have never read anything to suggest that Pound's illness, if indeed he was mentally ill, was caused by a chemical imbalance, but if so, no amount of psychoanalysis would have cured Pound in any case, then or now. This is, I know, in the realm of pure conjecture.

Another possible explanation, even if Pound's psychosis was purely psychological, is based on my own experience. When I was younger, about eleven or twelve, I had a pair of winter gloves which were lined with rabbit fur. I remember constantly slipping these gloves on and off, not because of some nervous habit, but because the fur, being soft and rather "slippery," made it possible to do this with no effort at all. There have been times, usually when I have started to recover somewhat, when I have "felt" myself slip into and out of sanity and insanity as easily and rapidly as slipping my hand into and out of one of those gloves. A psychiatrist can only go by what you tell him or her and how he/she interprets this. Of course they are trained for

this, but if on your previous visit you had no contact with reality at all, but appeared completely rational when you have explained how much better things are going now that you are back to "normal," then on your next visit, when you might actually be rational, what you tell your psychiatrist might come as a complete surprise after what previously was discussed. I don't know if that is particularly clear, but I believe it plausible in Pound's case. I have often wondered, fruitlessly I know, how Pound would have been treated today, with new drugs and notions of psychiatry. I think it most likely that the psychiatrists at St. Elizabeths tried as best they could. They, too, were only human beings. With mental illness, as with most things, I think, the following statement does not apply: "and with one day's reading a man may have the key in his hands" (C74 427). And should one feel sorry for Pound (not that he asked me to)? I don't think so. He was probably where he should have been. That is, if he was going to get any help he had to be somewhere like that. The food probably wasn't great. Lots of scrambled eggs I suspect. You know: the usual. Here's H. D.:

There is no reason to accept, to condone, to forgive, to forget what Ezra has done. Sylvia [Beach]⁶² made it very clear last night. And here, I should renounce my hope of recalling Ezra, if I dare think of Sylvia's confinement in a detention camp, her near-starvation, the meager rations shared with her by her friend Adrienne Monnier, during a term of hiding. Dare I go on?

There is no reason to hope for his release. "He has books, everything; students come to me in Paris and tell me about him. Fascist. Those dreadful people he knows--that man--." "Yes," I said, "I know, news items have been sent me, but. . . ." "There is a group there. He has everything. . . ." "I know." "It was a great mistake, that official prize they gave him." I said, "But. . . ."

I said, "But." There is no argument, pro or con. You catch fire or you don't catch fire.
(34)

Jean-Michel Rabaté and Alan Durant both have discussed Pound and his work by taking as a starting point "Lacan's conception of the speaking subject split by desire" (Rabaté 10). Rabaté refuses to "psychoanalyse" his subject and prefers to take as subject "the poetic subject in general, as underwritten or signed by a name: Ezra Pound" (11). What Lacan's theory does, Durant says, is displace analysis of the symptoms of "great writers" with "an examination of their discursive organization" (8). Lacan's work has stressed that subjectivity is born in "a symbolic field from which we are constituted by being cut out." Forms of self-representation are a result of this occlusion. The unconscious is "forged" in acceding to a system of language which forms our subjectivity through the signification inherent in that system, not "as an exclusion from an already constituted consciousness following the process of repression" (9). Our occlusion from the symbolic field is signified by Lacan as a "lack" called the objet petit a. This refers to an "irretrievably lost object.

Even if partially encountered at the mother's breast, for example, it can never have been fully possessed" (12). All of this may very well be true. Unfortunately, Durant begins talking this way:

The account of the dissolution of the castration complex advanced above turned on the emergence of the desire to the father, which annuls the faith invested in him by the child as the terminal point of his own desires. Inasmuch as the existence of the father's desire had to be understood as a lack, a shortcoming even in possession of the phallus, the child can no longer see in the father the transcendence of the lack first detected in the fact of the mother's absent genital. (108-109)

What I would suggest, following Ron Thomas, is that what Pound "lacked" (and in the end he may have realized this) was charity (Latin caritas):

To confess wrong without losing rightness:

Charity I have had sometimes,

I cannot make it flow thru.

A little light, like a rushlight

to lead back to splendour.

(C116 797)

Thomas suggests we could call this love "agape," or an even better word, he says, might be patience, in the Hebraic sense of "pati: to suffer," as in the suffering of the Jews in history, as in the sense of a virtue, as opposed to the impatience of the Puritans, considered as a virtue, but leading to intolerance (Latin Masks 144-145). St. Bernard possibly describes charity best:

What, again, is so much to be loved, as the very love by which thou lovest and by which thou art loved? Nevertheless, the union with eternity makes it more lovable; for, since it cannot pass away, it banishes all apprehension. Love then, perseveringly and sustainingly, and thou hast the length; extend thy love even to enemies, and thou holdest the breadth. Be also fearful in all solicitude, and thou hast apprehended the depth and height. (qtd. in Edmund Gardner 134)

Form, Cocteau said, means mental form.

Across the Anacostia from St. Elizabeths stands the Capitol building. Not far from there is the Library of Congress in the Thomas Jefferson building. Both of them are on ground which once was owned by George Thompson and known as Duddington Pasture, next to other ground Thompson owned called New Troy (Nicolay 35; Froncek 23). The Library of Congress was established in 1800, principally as a library for the use by the Congress, but soon including service for all branches of the government and the general public. The library was first housed in the Capitol building on the west side of the north wing and was built primarily of wood with a shingle roof. This made it particularly susceptible to fire and the Library was destroyed by the British in the burning of the Capitol building (Johnston 43). The assistant librarian, J. T. Frost, and a Mr. Burch of the office of the Clerk of the House attempted to save as many of the books and papers as possible before the British attack, but they could not find any wagons, carriages, or

carts, as all forms of transportation were impressed into transporting the baggage of the United States Army (66).

When Thomas Jefferson heard of the fire he immediately offered his own book collection for the purpose of beginning a new national library--a collection more than twice the size of that which the Library of Congress originally possessed. He wrote to Samuel Harrison Smith, formerly the publisher of the National Intelligencer but now the commissioner of revenue, and asked him to send his offer to the chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library, and with the letter he included a catalogue (Malone 178). To Smith he wrote:

I presume it will be among the early objects of Congress to recommence their collection. This will be difficult while the war continues, and intercourse with Europe is attended with so much risk. You know my collection, its condition and extent. I have been fifty years making it, and have spared no pains, opportunity or expense, to make it what it is. While residing in Paris, I devoted every afternoon I was disengaged, for a summer or two in examining all the principal bookstores, turning over every book with my own hand, and putting by everything which related to America, and indeed whatever was rare and valuable in every science. Besides this, I had standing orders during the whole time I was in Europe, on its principal book-marts, particularly Amsterdam, Frankfort, Madrid, and London, for such works relating to America as could not be found in Paris. (qtd. in Johnston 70)

It was not until five months later, on February 5, 1815, that Jefferson learned Congress had approved the purchase of the 6,487 volumes of his book collection at a cost of \$23,950: ten dollars per folio, six dollars per

quarto, three dollars per octavo, and one dollar per duodecimo (Johnston 84; Malone 176). The books were kept in pine cases, each approximately nine feet high with three tiers of shelves with backs. These cases would serve as the shipping crates when the tiers were separated and the fronts covered with boards. Jefferson protected the books by placing paper between every two volumes, by wrapping certain books with paper, and by placing waste paper between the boards used to cover the cases (Malone 180-181). Jefferson calculated the following:

I have measured the surface of wall which these cases cover and find it to be 855.39 feet, which divided into the depth of $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches equals 676 cubic feet; of this 232 cubic feet would be the wood of the cases and 444 cubic feet the books. I find a cubical foot of books to weigh 40 pounds, and as this is the weight of dry pine also, we need not distinguish between the weight of the wood and the books, but say the whole 676 cubic feet at 40 pounds makes 27046 pounds, or eleven waggon loads of 2458 pounds each. (qtd. in Johnston 99)

Not one book was damaged during transit. Malone says Jefferson never claimed he had founded the Library of Congress, but the Library was indeed "virtually his creation" (171). On Christmas Eve of 1851 a fire in the Library destroyed two-thirds of Jefferson's original collection. The 2,465 remaining volumes are now stored in the climate-controlled Rare Book and Special Collections section of the Library (Wilson, "Jefferson's Library" 179). In 1949 the Library of Congress awarded the \$10,000

Bollingen Prize for Poetry to Ezra Pound for The Pisan Cantos. Because of the controversy that caused, the Joint Committee of the House and Senate on the Library of Congress prohibited the Library from ever trying such a thing again (Carpenter 792). In 1990, however, James H. Billington, the Librarian of Congress, persuaded Congress that the Library could once again be trusted, and the \$10,000 Bobitt National Prize for Poetry was awarded to James Merrill for The Inner Room. "Be grateful and be silent is probably my motto," Merrill said (Molotsky 60).

He blustered his way in, he blustered his way out. Violet Hunt's very old mother, bedridden, with the door open at the head of the stairs, said fretfully, "Tell him to go away, tell him to go home, he always makes too much noise, that young Mr. Browning. (49)

And a woman named Elizabeth visited:

VISITS TO ST. ELIZABETHS

1950

This is the house of Bedlam

This is the man
that lies in the house of Bedlam.

This is the time
of the tragic man
that lies in the house of Bedlam.

This is a wristwatch
telling the time
of the talkative man
that lies in the house of Bedlam.

This is a sailor
wearing the watch

that tells the time
of the honored man
that lies in the house of Bedlam.

This is the roadstead all of board
reached by the sailor
wearing the watch
that tells the time
of the old, brave man
that lies in the house of Bedlam.

These are the years and the walls of the ward,
the winds and clouds of the sea of board
sailed by the sailor
wearing the watch
that tells the time
of the cranky man
that lies in the house of Bedlam.

This is a Jew in a newspaper hat
that dances weeping down the ward
over the creaking sea of board
beyond the sailor
winding his watch
that tells the time
of the cruel man
that lies in the house of Bedlam.

This is a world of books gone flat.
This is a Jew in a newspaper hat
that dances weeping down the ward
over the creaking sea of board
of the batty sailor
that winds his watch
that tells the time
of the busy man
that lies in the house of Bedlam.

This is a boy that pats the floor
to see if the world is there, is flat,
for the widowed Jew in the newspaper hat
that dances weeping down the ward
waltzing the length of a weaving board
by the silent sailor
that hears his watch
that ticks the time
of the tedious man
that lies in the house of Bedlam.

These are the years and the walls and the door
 that shut on a boy that pats the floor
 to feel if the world is there and flat.
 This is a Jew in a newspaper hat
 that dances joyfully down the ward
 into the parting seas of board
 past the staring sailor
 that shakes his watch
 that tells the time
 of the poet, the man
 that lies in the house of Bedlam.

This is the soldier home from the war.
 These are the years and the walls and the door
 that shut on a boy that pats the floor
 to see if the world is round or flat.
 This is a Jew in a newspaper hat
 that dances carefully down the ward,
 walking the plank of a coffin board
 with the crazy sailor
 that shows his watch
 that tells the time
 of the wretched man
 that lies in the house of Bedlam.

(Elizabeth Bishop 155-157)

* * *

Thomas Jefferson had arrived in Paris on Aug. 6, 1784 to begin his duties as Minister Plenipotentiary to France. On February 27, 1786, Jefferson received an urgent message from John Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, to report to the British capital at once, for the Ambassador from Tripoli was there and it might be possible to conclude treaties with the Barbary States and avoid a war (Jefferson, Papers 9: 295, 325). The Portugese minister was also in London and Adams thought negotiations might be able to be completed with that nation concerning a treaty of commerce.

Jefferson decided to depart immediately, for not only was the above important, but Jefferson thought his presence in the court might force Great Britain to give an answer as to a treaty of commerce with that nation (9: 325).

The ambassador from Tripoli informed Jefferson and Adams that peace could be had--for "30,000 Guineas for his Employers and £3,000 for himself (cash only). But it wasn't just any peace, but "a perpetual peace," which would, the ambassador said (hinting there might be greater demands), be cheaper in the long run. The ambassador also said he had the power to speak for Tunis, and Tunis would accept the same sum (9: 358). Adams calculated that if peace with Tunis and Tripoli cost 30,000 guineas each, plus £3000 for each ambassador, by the time Algiers and Morocco were added in, the total payment would be £200,000, a sum Congress would not likely approve. They did not (Schachner 301). No treaty with the Barbary States was ever concluded, except with Tripoli and not until 1797 (Schachner 301; Kimball 132).

A treaty with Portugal was ready to be signed on April 25, but a treaty of commerce with Great Britain seemed highly improbable. No minister in Great Britain would see Adams and Jefferson, even after being told that Jefferson was there in London just for such a purpose. Six weeks elapsed "without one scrip of a pen, or one word from a minister except a vague proposition at an accidental

meeting (Jefferson, Papers 9: 402). No one in that country was yet ready to give up the mercantilist tradition, as Adams and Jefferson said in a report to John Jay:

We accordingly sent five or six Articles of the former Plan and proposed them as a Treaty of Commerce, which we suppose would be a good one, and except in one point as complete as we can expect. The point we mean is the Privilege of ships built in the United States. It is much to be wished that such Ships might enjoy in the British Dominions as ample Privileges as British built Ships, whether owned or navigated by Americans or not, and we should now add an Article to that Purpose, if there was the smallest symptom of an Inclination to treat at all. But there is not. There is no party, nor Individual here in favour of a Treaty, but upon the Principle that the United States will retaliate, if there is not one. All agree that if America will suffer England to pockett [sic] (that is their Expression) all her navigation, England would be unwise not to avail herself of the advantage. (Jefferson, Papers 406-407)

Rather frustrated in their ministerial endeavors, Adams and Jefferson decided to take a tour of English gardens, west of London along the Thames. Jefferson's early plans for the gardens at Monticello were derived from Thomas Whately's Observations on Modern Gardening, in which, Whately had described the same gardens Jefferson was now visiting (with Whately's book in his hand):

While his descriptions in point of style are models of perfect elegance and classical correctness, they are as remarkable for their exactness. I always walked over the gardens with his book in my hand, examined with attention the particular spots he described, found them so justly characterised by him as to be easily recognised, and saw with wonder, that his fine imagination had never been able to seduce him from the truth. (Papers 369)

The garden which most impressed Jefferson was Woburn Farm. Whately had described four forms of farms: the pastoral farm, the ancient farm, the simple farm, and the ornamented farm or, what the French call the ferme ornée. Woburn farm was considered by Whately as the most perfect representative of this last type of farm. It consisted of 150 acres with 35 in ornamental garden, 75 in pasture, and the remainder tilled. The ornamented sections were, however, spread across the entire farm, for they bordered a winding walk which formed a beltway around the pasture and on a smaller scale passed through the tillable acres. Or as Jefferson describes: "All are intermixed, the pleasure garden being merely a highly ornamented walk through and round the divisions of the farm and kitchen garden" (Papers 9: 370). When Jefferson was laying out the new gardens at Monticello in 1808, then, he included a serpentine walk with bordering oval flower beds. Jefferson wished to break up the scenery, to shift the scenes with a winding walk with changing views--from the house to the valleys to the mountains--so as to avoid a "satiety" of beautiful scenes (William Adams, Monticello 173-176).

In addition to these beds and walks, Jefferson had his vegetable gardens terraced into four levels stretching over a thousand feet. Directly below these was a stone wall to hold the terraces, a wall with a "monumental Roman quality

without precedent in American domestic landscapes." Below this wall Jefferson planted his orchards and vineyards (163, 177). William Adams says that by hiding walls and fences and by making the surrounding countryside part of the landscape plan, "a farmer like Jefferson with strong esthetic ideas about the environment . . . might in time bring all of the visible landscape and architecture into a balanced, integrated composition" (170). Jefferson had seen at Stowe in England a cattle-guard type fence: that is, a ditch with slats laid across it which cattle would not cross. This served as an "invisible" fence which, Adams says, "kept the livestock at the right esthetic distance" and Jefferson constructed one at Monticello (174).

Jefferson devised the following scheme of crop rotation:

Rotation of crops for a farm containing 7. fields of 40 acres each, furnished with 4. horses, 4. oxen, 4. men & women laborers, with occasional assistance.

1st year Wheat.
Immediately after harvest, turn in the stubble, & drill rape & turnips. . . .

2d. year Corn in rows 8. f. apart, & the plants 4. f. distant in the row. . . .
Potatoes in interval row, the hills 4. f. apart. . . .

3d. year sow winter vetches in the fall. . . .
plough in the vetches early in spring if not used for food. . . .
drill Peas, & Potatoes in different parts of the ground. . . .
qu. if the long dung had better be used for the potatoe furrows, or left to rot in the wheat field.

4th year Rye. . . . Clover on it in the spring.

5th year Clover, of the 1st year. 2. cuttings for hay or for soiling, according to its growth. . . .

- 6th year Clover of the 2d. year. 2 cuttings as before. in the fall turn in the clover roots & sprinkle Vetch. in winter spread dung over weak parts as mentioned before. cowpen other weak parts, first turning in the vetch or buckwheat, & upon [clean]ing the fold, turn in the dung &c. again.⁶⁴
- 7th year In Spring turn in the Vetch & sow buck-wheat. when in blossom, turn in the buck wheat. in September, sow wheat to begin the circle again. (Jefferson, Farm Book [316]-[317])

By the tenth of April, Adams and Jefferson were back in London, but Jefferson took one more side trip to see the garden at Kew, owned by the royal family, which Sir William Chambers, an authority on Oriental gardening, transformed in the "picturesque style." There was a pagoda there in the Chinese style, a Mosque, a Moorish-looking building called Alhambra, a Roman ruin, Greek temples, and most fascinating to Jefferson, an Archimedean screw which was used to raise water (Kimball 153; Jefferson, Papers 9: 373). Of this invention Jefferson said:

The screw of Archimedes is as ancient, at least, as the age of that mathematician, who died more than 2,000 years ago. Diodorus Siculus speaks of it, L. i., p. 21, and L. v., p. 217, of Stevens' edition of 1559, folio; and Vitruvius, xii. The cutting of its spiral worm into sections for conveying flour or grain, seems to have been an invention of Mr. Evans, and to be a fair subject of a patent right. But it cannot take away from others the use of Archimedes' screw with its perpetual spiral, for any purposes of which it is susceptible. ("The Invention of Elevators" 1014)

Back in 1785 Jefferson wrote to Hugh Williamson concerning "a simple invention in mechanics here [Paris]."

The "invention" was the applying of the screw as a means of propulsion through "the air, water or any other fluid." Attached to some sort of body, such as a boat, the screw also drew this body with it. The screw was about eight feet long and nine inches in diameter and the spiral had a radius of two feet. The device was thought "applicable to a vessel becalmed, [and] to submarine navigation so as to give motion in any direction . . ." (Papers 7: 642).

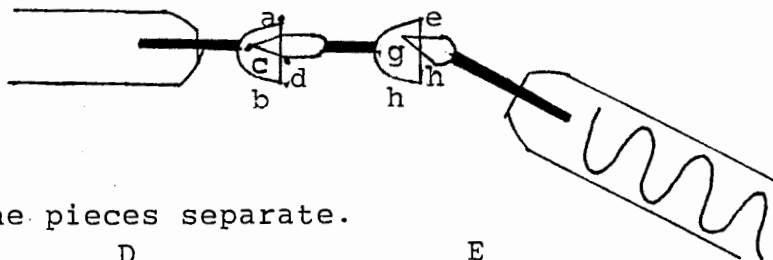
Jefferson saw a great flaw in the way the "inventor" of this device applied it. He remembered hearing of David Bushnell's experiments with a submarine during the American revolution (Papers 8: 299). Jefferson wrote to Washington and asked him for any information regarding the Connecticut Turtle. Washington told him that Bushnell got the idea in 1776 and Washington supplied him with money. The main problem with the Turtle was the lack of a periscope, such a device not having been yet developed for underwater use, if at all. Washington told Jefferson that there was no doubt that Bushnell's machine "could carry a man under water at any depth he chose" and could carry an "apparatus charged with Powder which he could fasten to a ships [sic] bottom." But there was an uncertainty in the latter because the Turtle had to rise above water frequently for observation, exposing "the Adventurer to a discovery, and almost to certain death" (Jefferson, Papers 557). The Turtle, as it turns out, was indeed powered by screw, in a more efficient

manner than the French inventor's version, the inventor who "did not know himself the principle of his own invention" (Papers 299), for, Jefferson said, the inventor placed his screw so that it "operates on the air," but the air was thin and "it's want of resistance occasions a loss of much of the force" (Papers 299). Therefore, Jefferson thought:

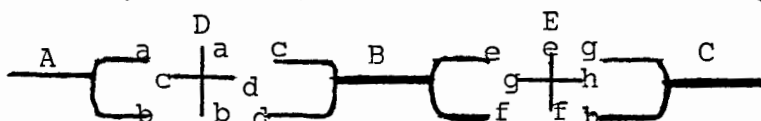
...screw more effectual if placed below surface of water.

Suspect that a countryman of ours, Mr Bushnell of Connecticut is entitled to the merit of prior discovery. (C31 153)

Any such screw-type propeller is known as an Archimedean propeller. The Archimedean screw Jefferson saw at Kew looked something like this:



The pieces separate.



A. is driven by it's shank into the horizontal axis of the wheel which turns the [whole machine.]⁶³

B. is an intermediate iron to connect the motion of A. and C.

C. is driven by it's shank, into the axis of the screw.

D. is a cross axis, the ends a. and b. going into corresponding holes a. and b. of the iron A. . . .

E. is another cross axis, the ends e. and f. going into the corresponding holes . . . of the iron B. and the ends of g. and h. going into the corresponding holes g. and h. of the iron C.

([the above drawing is an imitation of that which Jefferson drew] Papers 9: 373)

Agassiz's motto was "Go to nature; take the facts in your hands; look, and see for yourself." Georges Buffon, the Comte de Buffon, the director of Agassiz's Jardin des Plantes when it was still known as the Jardin du Roi, placed no such restriction upon himself. At least it would not appear so, for in his Histoire Naturelle, Générale et Particulière (44 volumes, 1749-1804), without having set foot in North America, he wrote: "La nature vivante est beaucoup moins agissante, beaucoup moins forte" (qtd. in Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia 595). This is translated by Jefferson as: "nature is less active, less energetic on one side of the globe than she is on the other," as though, Jefferson said, "both sides were not warmed by the same genial sun" (595).

Count de Buffon, Jefferson says, advanced the following opinion:

1. That the animals common both to the old and new world are smaller in the latter.
2. That those peculiar to the new are on a smaller scale.
3. That those which have been domesticated in both have degenerated in America; and
4. That on the whole it exhibits fewer species.

Buffon thought this was so because America was not as warm as Europe (Buffon said) and was wetter, man not having yet drained its various swamps and low areas. Says Jefferson: "In other words, that heat is friendly, and moisture adverse to the production and development of large quadrupeds." But Jefferson argues in his Notes that heat

and moisture are necessary to the production of vegetables from "earth, air, water, and fire," vegetables in turn being "the food of every animal" and where food is the animals are more numerous; and, in such a situation, they are "improved in their bulk" (595).

Jefferson thought Buffon's last point was erroneous, also. In accompanying tables Jefferson showed that more than 100 species were native to America and says that only 126 species come from Europe, Asia, and Africa combined: 26 common to both America and Europe, 100 not found in America: "The American species, then, are to those of the rest of the earth, as one hundred and twenty-six, or four to five" (Notes 604).

But the third proposition of Buffon's also upset Jefferson, who pointed out that because the United States was as yet thinly populated, farmers allowed their animals to roam free in nature and forage for their own sustenance instead of the farmers expending labor on "care and nourishment." This would account for any lack of stature in domesticated animals in the new world. He pointed out that in Connecticut and Rhode Island, where grass was plentiful, bulls had been slaughtered at "2,500, 2,200, and 2,100 lbs. nett," and he had seen a hog which still weighed "1,025 lbs. after the blood, bowels, and hair had been taken from him" (604).

Jefferson himself was always trying to improve the stock of domesticated animals, right down to the dogs used in herding sheep. After his 2nd term of the the presidency and upon retiring to Monticello, when he could devote all his time to his farm and its livestock, Jefferson imported "the genuine race of Shepherd dogs" from France and he "endeavored to secure their preservation by giving them always in pairs, to those who wished them" (Farm Book [140]). This is similar to a scheme he devised for improving the sheep of the country with Merino sheep imported from Spain (and the reason he desired the "genuine race" of Shepherds):

To Joseph Dougherty

Monticello May 24. 10.

I have duly recieved [sic] your two letters of the 5th. & 14th. and am thankful for your aid in the safe delivery of our Merinos. the President, on their arrival, had notified me of it and that he would recieve & forward mine to Orange with his own. from thence I can get them here in a day. as soon as I heard of their arrival, I made up my mind, instead of recieving thousands of Dollars a piece for their offspring, to lay myself out for furnishing my whole state gratis, by giving a full blooded ram to every county as fast as they can be raised. besides raising from the improved ewe, I shall put as many of my own as the ram is competent to, and as 4. crossings give the pure breed, when that comes in I shall make quick work of furnishing one to every county. by these means I hope to see my own state entirely covered with this valuable race at no expence to the farmers, and the moderate one to me of maintaining the flock while doing it. . . . (Farm Book [130]-[131])

Dougherty replied that the "method of furnishing your state gratis with full bread [sic] merinoes" would be a most

patriotic act (Farm Book [132]). Except . . . Several of the farmers who received these Merinos gratis from Jefferson, sold them at a huge profit. These were well-off farmers who, Jefferson said, should "give the benefit freely to the many of more restricted circumstances" (qtd. in Schachner 902). Moreover, these profiteers also received praise as being patriotic for showing such entrepreneurial spirit. Jefferson wrote to Madison:

I have been so disgusted with the scandalous extortions lately practiced in the sale of these animals and with the description of patriotism and praise to the sellers, as if the thousands of dollars apiece they have not been ashamed to receive were not reward enough, that I am disposed to consider as right, whatever is the reverse of what they have done. (qtd. in Schachner 902)

What they had "done" could be called usura, that is: "that which is made out of nothing" (C74 440), the remedy for which, Pound says, might be something like this:

Banks

Two kinds of banks have existed: The MONTE DEI PASCHI and the devils.

Banks built for beneficence, for reconstruction; and banks created to prey on the people.

Three centuries of Medici wisdom went into the Monte dei Paschi, the only bank that has stood from 1600 till our time.

Siena was flat on her back, without money after the Florentine conquest.

Cosimo, first duke of Tuscany, had all the Medici banking experience behind him. He guaranteed the capital of the Monte, taking as security the one living property of Siena, and a certain amount of somewhat unhandy collateral.

That is to say, Siena had grazing lands down toward Grosseto, and the grazing rights worth

10,000 ducats a year. On this basis taking it for his main security, Cosimo underwrote a capital of 200,000 ducats, to pay 5 percent to the shareholders, and to be lent at 5½ per cent; overhead kept down to a minimum; salaries at the minimum and all excess of profit over that to go to hospitals and works for the benefit of the people of Siena. That was in the seventeenth century, and that bank is open today. . . .

And the lesson is the very basis of solid banking. The CREDIT rests in ultimate on the ABUNDANCE OF NATURE, on the growing grass that can nourish the living sheep.

And the moral is in the INTENTION. It was not for the conquerors immediate short-sighted profit, but to restart the life and productivity of Siena, that this bank was contrived. (Spr 270 [see C42])

Jefferson wrote Notes on the State of Virginia in 1781. Toward the end of 1785, when he was Minister Plenipotentiary to France, Jefferson traveled to Buffon's residence in the country to meet the great naturalist (Schachner 287; Jefferson, Georges Buffon 890). Jefferson says he was introduced as "Mr. Jefferson, who, in some notes on Virginia, had combated some of his opinions." Buffon did not argue with Jefferson. Instead he gave him his latest work and said if Jefferson would read it he would be "perfectly satisfied that I am right." Jefferson handed Buffon the skin of a panther, which Buffon had confused with the cougar. Buffon admitted he was wrong on that one and said he would correct it in his next work. Buffon had also "confounded" the deer in America with the red deer of Europe, and America's moose with the European reindeer. "Whereupon" Jefferson wrote to General Sullivan, the

governor of New Hampshire, requesting the hide and bones of a moose (Jefferson, Buffon 891).

Sullivan, instead of inquiring if any hunters had such an object, organized a party of twenty men who camped out "many nights" in the White Hills while encountering many difficulties. They finally bagged a moose, "boiled his bones in the desert, stuffed his skin" and sent him to Jefferson (891). The moose arrived missing a great deal of its hair and instead of costing a "guinea or two," purchased from some hunter as Jefferson imagined it would be, Sullivan's bill came to forty-six pounds sterling (Schachner 285-286). Jefferson presented the disheveled moose to Buffon. Buffon again admitted he was wrong and promised to correct himself in his next volume, but "died directly afterwards" (Jefferson, Buffon 891).

On September 18, 1786 Jefferson, then 43 years old, was walking in the courtyard of his residence in Paris, possibly feeling the effects of being in love with the 26-year-old Maria Cosway, and he suddenly decided to leap over a large kettle in the yard. He didn't quite clear the object, tripped, and landed with his weight on his right wrist, thereby dislocating or fracturing it. The affair didn't work out. The wrist didn't heal; it stayed swollen and painful and he practiced writing left handed. Surgeons told him to go to Aix en Provence for the restorative mineral waters there and Jefferson departed Paris February

28, 1787 (Schachner 318-319; Papers 10: 602; Kimball 185). Jefferson decided to turn his trip to Aix into an extended tour of southern France, as he told Madison, he chose Provence, out of several other places he might go for treatment, because if the treatment did not work the "journey would not be useless altogether." He would still have the "opportunity" of studying the canal at Languedoc "and acquiring knowlege of that species of navigation which may be useful hereafter" to the states which were "engaged in works of that kind." He could also take tours of the ports involved in commerce with the United States and ascertain the "defects of the late regulations respecting our commerce" (Papers 10: 362, 11: 96). On March 27, he wrote to William Short:

--I am now in the land of corn, wine, oil, and sunshine. What more can a man ask of heaven? If I should happen to die in Paris I will beg of you to send me here, and have me exposed to the sun. I am sure it will bring me to life again. It is wonderful to me that every free being who possesses cent ecus de rente, does not remove to the Southward of the Loire. It is true that money will carry to Paris most of the good things of this canton. But it cannot carry thither it's sunshine, nor procure any equivalent for it.
(Papers 11: 247)

Jefferson told Short that he had once thought the Provençal language was a dialect of French, but after being in Provence he decided it was the other way round, the Latin being the original. Tuscan and Spanish were "degeneracies in the first degree." Piedmontese in the second.

Provençal in the third and Parisian French in the fourth. The Provençal was closer to the Tuscan than to French and it was his Italian, Jefferson said, which enabled to him to understand the Provençal:

This language, in different shades occupies all the country South of the Loire. Formerly it took precedence of the French under the name of la langue Romans. The ballads of it's [sic] Troubadours were the delight of the several courts of Europe, and it is from thence that the novels of the English are called Romances. Every letter is pronounced, the articulation is distinct, no nasal sounds disfigure it. . . . I think it a general misfortune that historical circumstances gave a final prevalence to the French. . . . (11: 254)

But Jefferson only stayed in Aix four days, "having taken 40. douches" in testing the waters, so to speak, just "long enough to prove the inefficacy" of them. He was soon in Marseilles where from he, after staying a week, decided to travel to Italy, as it would only take perhaps three weeks, where he would investigate the rice cleaning machine he had heard of which allowed European rice to be marketed with fewer broken hulls than the American. On April 13th Jefferson started to cross the Alps riding on a mule (Papers 11: 280, 286, 338).

In Marseilles he was told that as soon as he entered Piedmont he would be able to see the machine himself, but this was not the case and he had to travel 100 miles further to Lombardy to even find the true rice country. He found the machine at Vercelli and Milan and to be of the

same design as the American. Therefore he concluded it was the rice which was different, but he was told that exporting this rice in the husk was punishable by death. Jefferson then arranged for a muletier to smuggle a couple of sacks across the Alps for him and stuffed his own pockets with as much as they would hold (Papers 11: 339, 587).

On the return to Paris Jefferson finally saw that which he wanted to see all along: The Canal of Languedoc, or Canal du Midi, which united the Mediterranean with the Atlantic. Jefferson, in 1788, sent his notes on the canal to Washington, reminding Washington that the work on the canal proposed between the Cayahoga and Big Beaver "be done soon, lest that commerce should in the mean time get established in another channel (Papers 13: 124):

The Canal of Languedoc along which I now travel is 6. toises wide at bottom, and 10 toises at the surface of the water, which is 1. toise deep. The barks which navigate it are 70. and 80. feet long, and 17. or 18. f. wide. They are drawn by one horse, and worked by 2. hands, one of which is generally a woman. The locks are mostly kept by women, but the necessary operations are much too laborious for them. . . . The passage of the eight locks at Beziers, that is from the opening of the 1st to the last gate, took 1. Hour 33'. The bark in which I go is about 35f. long, drawn by one horse, and goes from 2. to 3. geographical miles an hour. . . . (11: 446-447)

To William Short he put it differently. He told him that traveling on the canal was the "pleasantest" method he had ever tried and especially since he had the "Indian's wish, cloudless skies and limpid waters." When passing

Petrarch's chateau every tree and bush was "filled with nightingales," and Jefferson said that this explained to him "another circumstance, why there never was a poet North of the Alps and why there never will be one. A poet is as much the creature of climate as an orange or palm tree" (Papers 11: 372). "Allow for climate, consider the restless sensitive temper of our jongleur . . . ," Pound once said ("Psy & T" 90).

Jefferson made one more trip, in the area of the Rhine, while still in Europe. On that journey he traveled through Holland and the Rhine valley. In Amsterdam he noted the joists of houses, the design of windows, the way a flagstaff was mounted, the design of dining-room tables, a machine for drawing "light empty boats" over a dam, a bridge on a canal which swiveled so as to leave clear the way for boats when it was not in use, and the design of the Dutch wheel-barrow (Papers 13: 8-9). He was especially struck by the transition from "opulence to extreme poverty" on crossing the border into Germany, especially as the soil and climate were the same, the difference being in the governments only. Near Frankfort there was much game, "the little tyrants round about having disarmed their people" (13: 18). He traveled through the wine country near Hocheim, noticing the oxen all along the Rhine were made to draw by the horns, and the amount of Rape grown for oil (13: 18-26).

On April 16th Jefferson crossed back into France. There he observed the peasants plowing with Oxen with collars and hames, but the mouldboard of the plow looked extremely awkward to him, leading "one to consider what should be its form":

The offices of the mouldboard are to receive the sod after the share has cut under it, to raise it gradually, and to reverse it. The fore-end of it, then, should be horizontal to enter under the sod, and the hind end perpendicular to throw it over; the intermediate surface changing gradually from the horizontal to the perpendicular. It should be as wide as the furrow, and of a length suited to the construction of the plough. The following would seem a good method of making it: take a block, whose length, breadth and thickness, are that of your intended mouldboard, suppose two and a half feet long and eight inches broad and thick. Draw the lines a d and. . . . (Papers 13: 27)

Poetry is . . . , Pound said.

Jefferson did nothing with his idea for a "mouldboard of least resistance" until August 1790 when he had by then made a model of it which he promised to send to his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph. Jefferson mentions the mouldboard again in a letter to John Taylor in 1794 and the mouldboard was tested at Monticello shortly after and found to work as Jefferson had hoped. The mouldboard first had a square toe which would not scour and Jefferson changed this to a pointed toe to remedy this (Betts [48]).

Jefferson's first mouldboards were made of wood but he had two dozen of them cast in iron in 1814 and he wrote to Charles Willson Peale on March 21, 1815:

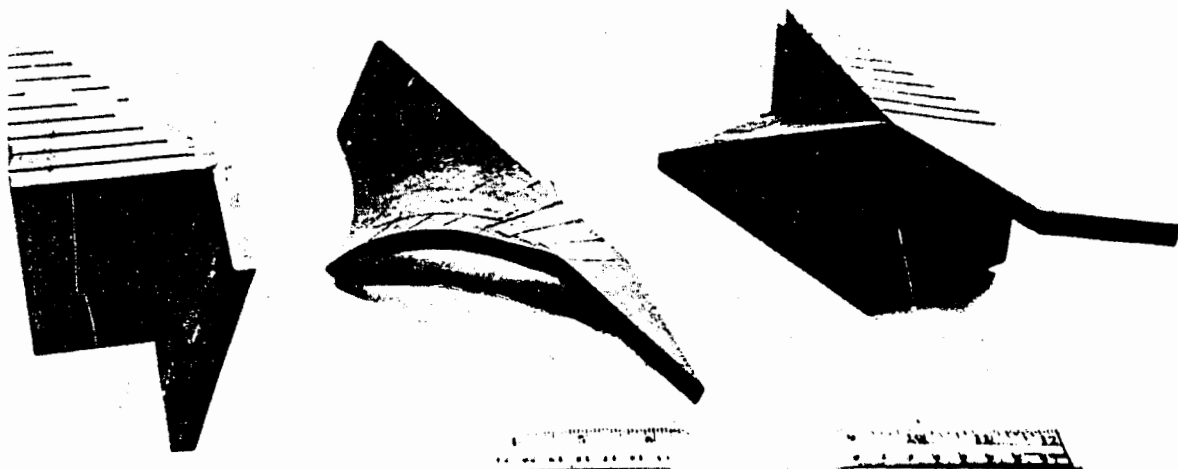


Fig. 14. Model showing the "mathematical derivation" of Jefferson's design for the mouldboard of least resistance. National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution; rpt. in Merrill D. Peterson, Thomas Jefferson 260.

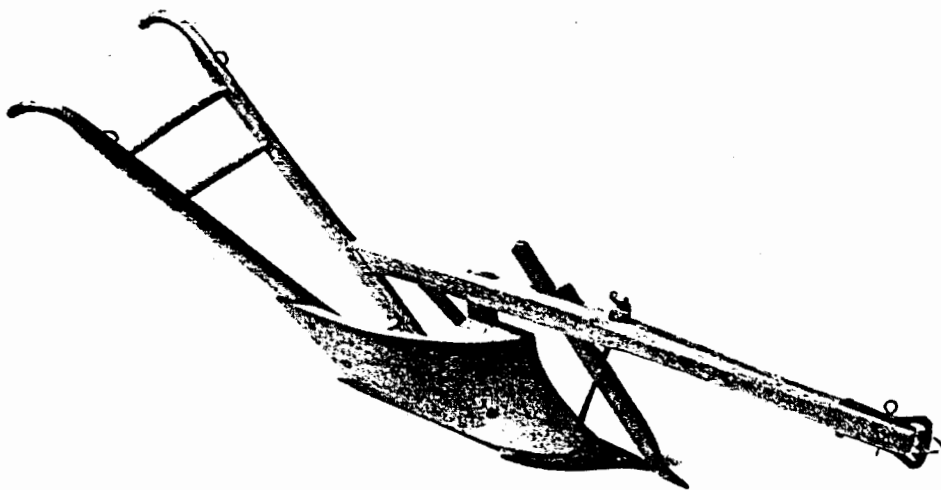


Fig. 15. Model of the mouldboard plow. National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution; rpt. in Merrill D. Peterson, Thomas Jefferson 260).

I have lately had my mouldboard cast in iron, very thin, for a furrow of 9. I. wide & 6. I. deep, and fitted to a plow, so light that two small horses or mules draw it with less labor than I have ever before seen necessary. it does beautiful work and is approved by every one. (qtd. in Betts [48]).

There is worship in plowing

and equity in the weeding hoe,

A field marshal can be literate.

Might we see it again in our day! (C99 711)

Jefferson received a gold medal from the Society of Agriculture in France for his design, a model of which he had sent there, and was elected a foreign associate of that organization (Jefferson, Farm Book [57]). Jefferson's son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph, also invented a plow which Jefferson used at Monticello. The plow was used on the steepest hillsides and was designed to always throw the furrow down hill. This was accomplished by the plow being a two-way design: at the end of the furrow the plowman simply pulled a pin changing the position of the share. Randolph also was credited by Jefferson for saving the land on the hills Jefferson farmed by introducing contour farming, plowing the hills horizontally in six foot strips leaving catch furrows between these (Farm Book [62]-[63]).

Thomas Jefferson noted in his Garden Book on August 3, 1767 that he "inoculated common cherry buds into stocks of large kind at Monticello." Monticello--"the little mountain." This is the first mention of Monticello

Jefferson makes (William Adams, Monticello 45). The exact time he selected the top of this mountain for his home is not known, but, the Marquis de Chastellux said, "nature so contrived it, that a sage and a man of taste should find on his own estate the spot where he might study and enjoy her" (qtd. in William Adams, Monticello 46). Although Palladio, a great influence on Jefferson (who owned five volumes of Palladio's works) mentioned that the country villa might be placed on a hill, a "monticello," he did not, Adams says, "suggest a mountaintop" (51). But that is what Jefferson chose and a month after his 25th birthday he made a contract to level the top of his mountain:

May 15, Agreed with Mr. Moore that he shall level 250 f. square on the top of the mountain at the N.E. end by Christmas, for which I am to give 180 bushels of wheat, and 24 bushels of corn, 12 of which are not to be paid until corn comes in. If there be any solid rock to dig we will leave to indifferent men to settle that part between us. (qtd. in Adams, Monticello 54)

Work on what eventually became the southwest pavilion began in the fall of 1769 when four men, a boy, and two girls dug the cellar. The first floor was constructed, made of bricks $7\frac{1}{2}$ x $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches made on the site. The building was 15' x 14' and although the second floor was most probably not completed, Jefferson moved in on the lower floor on November 26, 1770 (William Adams, Monticello 54-58; Walker 23):

To James Ogilvie

Monticello Feb. 20. 1771

I have lately removed to the mountain from whence this is dated, and with which you are not unacquainted. I have here but one room, which, like the cobbler's, serves me for parlour for kitchen and hall. I may add, for bed chamber and study too. . . . I have hopes however of getting more elbow room this summer. (Papers 1: 63)

The second floor must have been completed by the spring of 1772 when this pavilion became Jefferson's honeymoon cottage, in which the couple would live for approximately three and one half years (Walker 23). From this pavilion Jefferson could oversee and partake in the construction of the main house and terraces. His final plan for the first Monticello was finished sometime before August 1772 (William Adams, Monticello 65-68).

Jefferson wanted all the stonework for Monticello to be done locally, but no skilled masons were available and the work had to be done in England. Other necessities ordered from abroad were sheet lead, cartridge paper, papier-mâché ornaments, and a Scotch carpet. By 1782 the interior of this version of Monticello was finished but nothing more was done until fourteen years later when Jefferson returned from France (69, 78). At that point, though the house was not yet complete, Jefferson began to tear the house down in order to rebuild it to its present shape. He began in the summer of 1796 and that winter found his family living in the house, but literally without a roof over their heads,

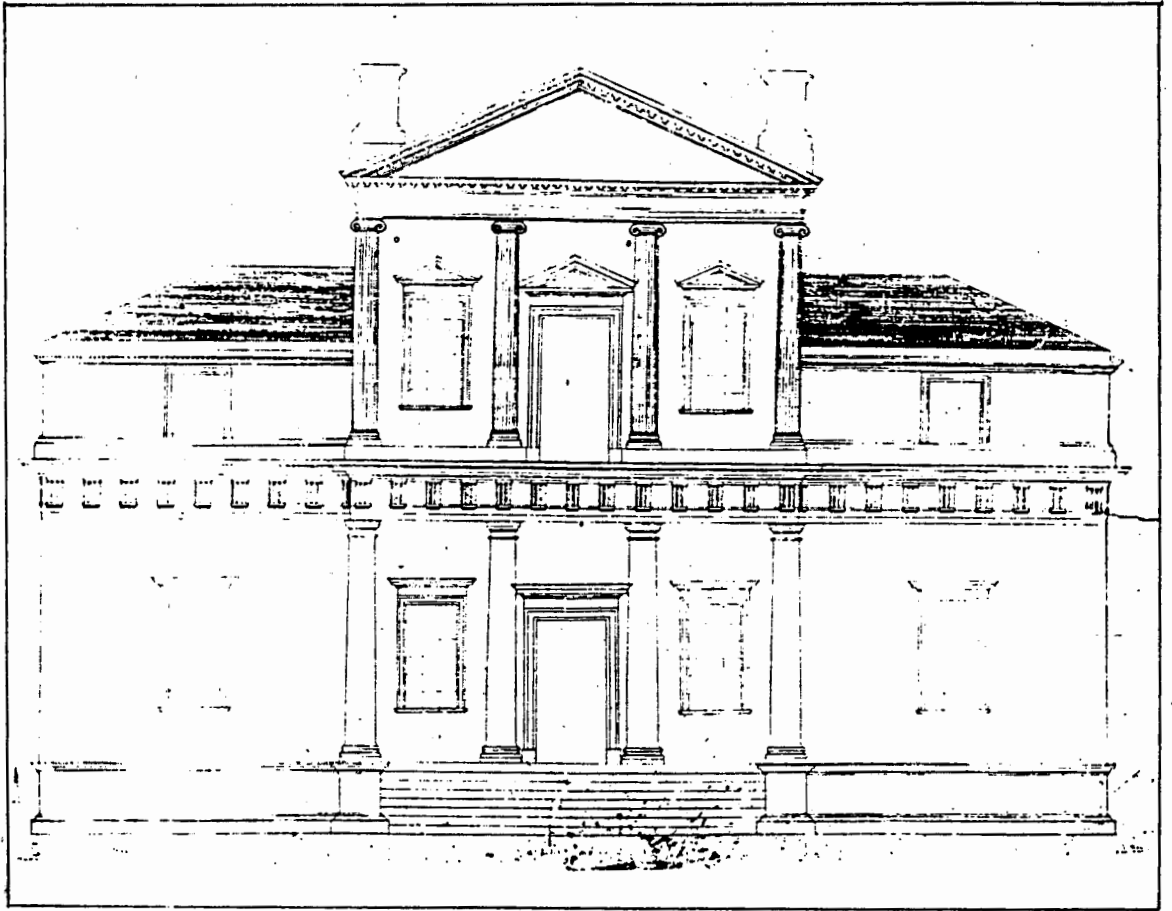


Fig. 16. Jefferson's last elevation study for the first Monticello, 1771. William Adams says it is doubtful the top portico was ever completed; rpt. in William Adams, Monticello 55.

so passionate was Jefferson about "putting up and tearing down" (33). This second remodeling took until 1809, if indeed it ever was finished, James A. Bear, Jr. wonders (437), the house becoming a sort of palimpsest as it were.

On the rest of the property Jefferson built a barn in each field, the hilly land making this more efficient than

a large, central barn. He built his slave quarters close together so that the older women could take care of the children. He built circular roads around his mountain, connected by oblique lanes. He made the Rivanna River a channel of transportation for his goods by building dams, locks, and canals. He constructed a grist mill, manufacturing mill, and a sawmill. He spent \$20,000 to build a canal for his manufacturing mill (Shalhope 388).

It was all part of a plan to transform Monticello into a re-creation of an antique mode of living based on his readings in the classics:

The architecture and garden treatises, cast in the humanistic tradition emerging from the Renaissance continuing through Palladio . . . celebrated above all the country villa and villa life that could be understood and adapted to the agrarian existence that Jefferson knew so well and loved. He was rooted in this tradition of the country and the farm, reinforced with the philosophy and imagery of a long line of writers and poets. (William Adams, Monticello 159)

Monticello's dome, the first erected over an American house, was inspired by Palladio's Four Books of Architecture. Jefferson removed the entire second floor and lowered the first floor's ceiling from seventeen to ten feet to accommodate the dome and stepped the lower portion of the dome based on a design of Gibbs. He based the interior of the dome on an illustration of Palladio's of the attic of the arcade attached to the Corinthian Temple of Nerva Trajan. It was from Palladio, too, that Jefferson got the

idea for the service wings of Monticello. These were two L-shaped wings below grade connected by a passageway running beneath the house. Such an arrangement was called by Pliny a "cryptoporticus" and was used in Roman villas. The wings contained kitchens, a smoke room, offices, laundry, stables, and servants' rooms. The roofs of these wings were formed by terraces which led to the original South Pavilion (the honeymoon cottage) and the one to the north. Along the terraces ran "Chinese" railings, a design he might have taken from Sir William Chambers's Designs of Chinese Buildings (64-77, 182-185).

Thomas Jefferson died at 9:50 a.m. on the Fourth of July, 1826. His friend John Adams died shortly after on the same day. Jefferson died \$100,000 in debt and the family was left no choice but to sell the plantation and the house itself, an earlier lottery held by admirers having raised only \$6,000. On the fifteenth of January, 1827, the slaves, the furnishings, stocks, grain, and the farm equipment was auctioned off. James Barclay later bought the house and 527 acres to use as a silk production center. Many of Jefferson's trees were cut and replaced by Mulberry trees for the silkworms. Barclay's expenses were apparently too high, however, for any repair or maintenance on the house, and when he gave up completely in 1833 the building was already deteriorating (Schachner 1010; William Adams, Monticello 243-246).

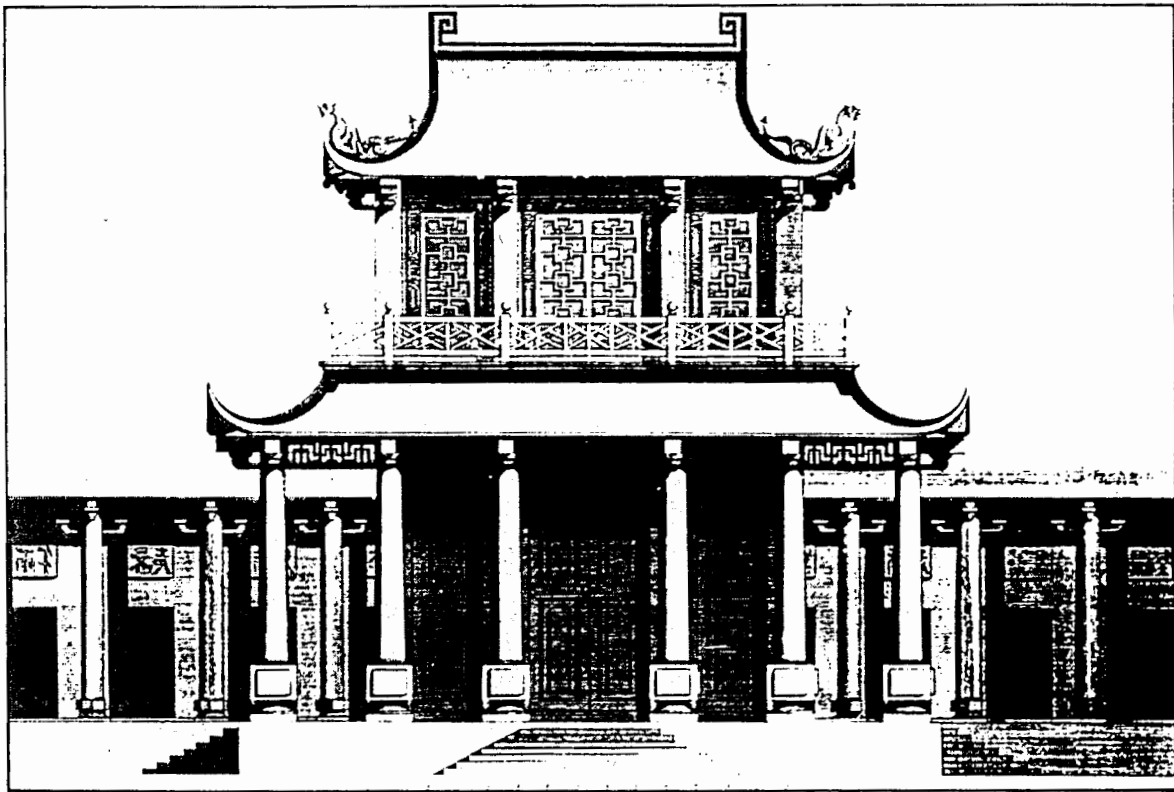


Fig. 17. Chinese railing. Illustration from Designs of Chinese Buildings by Sir William Chambers; rpt. in William Howard Adams, Monticello 185. Jefferson's railings closely resemble that above the portico in this illustration. Adams says, "Chambers called these Chinese designs 'toys in architecture,' but Jefferson with creative indifference combined the Chinese motif with the classical style" (185).

In 1834 it was announced in the Niles Register that a Uriah Phillips Levy had purchased Monticello. Levy said his main motive was his admiration of Jefferson, for as he said,

Jefferson was "one of the greatest men in history. He does much to mold our Republic in a form in which a man's religion does not make him ineligible for political or governmental life" (qtd. in Adams 251). Levy had a particular interest in Jefferson's views on religious liberty, since he was a captain in the navy who had faced court-martial six times during service in the navy, due to confrontations occurring which nearly always involved some anti-Semitism. Levy had earlier commissioned, in Paris, David d'Angers to make a full-size statue of Jefferson and he had given this to Congress in 1834, but this was refused. It ended up sitting on the White House lawn, the White House then occupied by Andrew Jackson. New York City did accept another cast of the work, giving Levy a key to the city. Levy purchased Monticello and 218 acres for \$2,700, but he spent most of his time in New York, only being a visitor himself on occasion at Monticello. He died when he was 62 years old (Adams 251-254; Bear, Jr. 447).

In his will Levy left Monticello to the United States government to be used as an agricultural school for orphans of naval warrant officers. If the government refused the gift then it was to go to the state of Virginia for the same purpose. If Virginia, too, refused it then it was to be given to the Hebrew congregations in New York, Philadelphia, and Richmond (William Adams, Monticello 254).

Legal entanglements during the Civil War and after were to prevent any such bequest. Finally, Jefferson Monroe Levy, a nephew of Uriah's who owned most of the family shares in Monticello, attempted to take possession in the early 1870s, but Uriah Levy had hired the rather irresponsible Joel Wheeler as caretaker of the property and Wheeler had lived there for forty years. During his tenure Monticello became a pig-sty: literally. Wheeler strategically placed pig pens among the former gardens now turned to weeds. He stored grain on the parlor floor. In some rooms evidence could be seen that pigs had actually resided in the house. The steps of the west portico deteriorated so as to make an earthen ramp for the convenience of cattle.

Jefferson Levy tried to fire Wheeler, but Wheeler said he would not leave until the house was sold at auction. Levy then sued the other heirs to the estate to force such a sale and after Levy et al. v. Levy et al. was settled, Jefferson Levy purchased Monticello, the house and 218 acres, and then rid himself and the nation of their worst tour guide. Levy completely refurbished the house and earned much criticism for his taste in rather gaudy Victorian furniture, but he saved "the little mountain" for the nation. The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association purchased the property in 1923 and complete restoration began (Adams, Monticello 256-252).

In 1808 the U. S. Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, wrote a report on internal improvements in the United States and recommended better communication between the Atlantic, the Great Lakes, and the St. Lawrence River by way of a system of canals. At that time a trip from Albany to Buffalo took twenty days and shipping costs averaged one hundred dollars per ton.

In 1809, then, New York State sent two legislators to Washington to see President Thomas Jefferson in hopes of obtaining federal funds for a little project the state had in mind. The project the New York Assembly wished to propose was an overland canal that would stretch from the Hudson River to Lake Erie. There was a \$5,000,000 surplus each year in the federal coffers of the United States. Gallatin recommended that \$2,000,000 a year be spent on internal improvements. Thomas Jefferson turned the proposal down, saying: "It is a splendid project and may be executed in a century hence. Why, sir, here is a canal of a few miles projected by General Washington, which, if completed, would render this a fine commercial city, which has languished for many years because the small sum of \$200,000 necessary to complete it cannot be obtained from the general government or from individuals. And you talk of making a canal three hundred and fifty miles long" (qtd. in Condon 26). He also may have said, "It is little short of madness to think of it at this time" (Swerdlow 44; Condon 3).

Joel Swerdlow suggests that Jefferson thought the idea of a canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie was not only impossible but silly. I seriously doubt this suggestion. With all of Jefferson's interest in canals (which we have seen) and his belief in their importance to commerce and the unity of the nation, it seems highly unlikely to me that Jefferson would ever think the idea silly. Condon says that it just may have been possible that the Virginian in Jefferson was the real reason for the refusal. This seems more likely, although I have yet to find a documented report of the meeting, or documentation of Jefferson's quotes. Someday . . .

At any rate, New York found other financing due to the efforts of De Witt Clinton, who eventually would be three-time mayor of New York City, four-term governor of New York State, one-term United States senator, lieutenant-governor, state senator, and presidential nominee. He was able to persuade New Yorkers to fund the canal themselves, and so on June 13, 1817, we find Jefferson writing to Baron F. H. Alexander Von Humboldt (who was not quite yet Louis Agassiz's mentor [Lurie 69]):

In our America we are turning to public improvements. Schools, roads, and canals, are everywhere either in operation or contemplation. The most gigantic undertaking yet proposed, is that of New York, for drawing the waters of Lake Erie into the Hudson. The distance is 353 miles, and the height to be surmounted 661 feet. The expense will be great, but its effect incalculably

powerful in favor of the Atlantic States. . . . We consider the employment of the contributions which our citizens can spare , after feeding, and clothing, and lodging themselves comfortably, as more useful, more moral, and even more splendid, than that preferred by Europe, of destroying human life, labor and happiness. (Works 12: 69)

The Erie Canal, as it later became known, was early on given its share of derogatory names: Clinton's Ditch, Clinton's Folly, the Governor's Gutter, or Governor's Gully, and That Damfool Dig (Condon 2), a "dig" New Yorkers paid seven million dollars for (Swerdlow 44). Canals were not new and maybe others who proposed them received their share of criticism. The Egyptians used canals over ten thousand years ago; the Babylonians put theirs into operation over sixteen centuries ago. An early version of the Suez Canal was in operation thirteen hundred years before Christ. The Chinese built a "Grand Canal" one thousand miles long four hundred years before the work on the Erie began. Marco Polo said that the Chinese had invented a way to raise and lower boats on this canal. The Domenico brothers of Viterbo, Italy, however, are the ones who usually get the credit for inventing the lock in 1481 (Condon 11-12).

They began building the Erie Canal, on July 4, 1817, where the land was most flat: at Rome. Some ninety-four miles of level ground between the Seneca River and the Mohawk River would be the easiest and fastest portion of the canal to dig so that from Rome digging proceeded simultaneously east and west (Condon 53-55). Plans

originally called for a "citizens army of farmers and field hands" to dig the canal. These citizens could earn 37 cents in a twelve hour day. Few applied. But even so, those that did were rookies all. Each portion of the canal was being built by different crews and different crew leaders: some efficient and some not. Every few miles an entirely new crew had to be recruited. What was desired was a consistent crew who would not depart as soon as the work progressed out of their neighborhood or the hay needed putting up. The situation in Ireland provided that crew, as the coming potatoe famine would provide the crew to build the railroad that ran past Walden. Canvass White, an engineer who invented the waterproof cement that holds the locks together, had traveled to England to view its canals. While there he met J.J. McShane, an Irishman who maintained several of the locks there, and he recruited McShane and his crew to work on the Erie project, and then White recruited Irish laborers from the ghettos to work under McShane. Hiring contractors waited for new Irish immigrants at the docks.

Work progressed rapidly with these new workers, until they reached the Montezuma swamp where during the summer men worked in water and muck chest deep and swatted at the hoardes of Anopheles mosquitoes which carried the malaria that killed them (Condon 53, 61-71; Swerdlow 49-50).

The canal was to be 40 feet wide at the top, 28 feet wide at the bottom, and four foot deep. Stakes were first set and then the real work began. A sixty foot wide path was to be cleared and the first major problem was the removal of tall trees. Chopping these down would have taken decades. Instead, the men devised a system using two inventions of Archimedes: the screw and the windlass. An endless screw was connected with a roller, cable, and crank and these thus applied combined the principle of the lever and the screw. The cable was attached to the top of the tree and when the crank was turned (which turned the screw, or vice versa?), the cable wrapped round the roller and the tree was pulled down. A gigantic windlass with 16 foot wheels, and pulled by horses, was used to pull the stumps from the ground. The underbrush was grubbed out in an easy fashion when an inventive person, possibly a citizen-farmer, attached cutting blades to a cast iron plow. Then there was Jeremiah Brainard, of Rome, who redesigned the wheelbarrow, making it lighter and easier to unload by constructing the bottom and sides of a single semicircular-shaped board (Condon 56-57).

In essence, the success of the canal when completed is summed up by Pound (out of Woodward): "On one turnpike four horses could draw three thousand pounds 24 miles in one day. On the Erie canal four horses could draw 200 thousand pounds 24 miles per day. Hence the prosperity of Manhattan" (Doob 233). The canal had to be entirely manmade, however,

the barges (towed by mules, not horses) could not handle the river currents. These barges pulled by mules traveled at four miles an hour, the same speed, Swerdlow says, as Huck Finn traveled on his raft. Motor driven barges came into use in the early 1900s. Much of the route of the canal was then shifted to the rivers running parallel to the old route. Parallel to the route now, too, is Highway 20, the old scenic route, which is deserted now, Swerdlow says, because the New York thruway, which also runs parallel, was faster. The original route of the canal began at Albany, passed through Rome, then Syracuse, then Albion, and beyond. After the route changed, Albany was no longer the starting point of the canal. Instead, the Erie now starts where the Mohawk River joins the Hudson: at Troy. There, a man named William Schrader runs a company called the New York State Education and Research Network, or NYSERNET, a nonprofit company which uses fiber-optics lines to construct computer highways. Schrader says that new ways are needed to carry information: things like the Erie Canal no longer suffice. Eventually, Schrader believes, NYSERNET's network will carry three billion bits of data per second: "Until now geography has artificially separated people. We are going to eliminate the separation. We're going to change the way society operates--permanently" Schrader says (Swerdlow 42, 44-48). But what has changed in 3200 years? i.e.,

The news was quicker in Troy's time
a match on Cnidos, a glow worm on Mityline. . . .

(C82 524)

Notes to Part 3

- ¹ See Makin, Cantos 216; Kenner, Era 433.
- ² Terrell's trans. Com 1: 205.
- ³ For two of the best commentaries on the Chinese dynastic cantos see Rabaté 76-105 and Furia 75-85.
- ⁴ Possibly 1929. See Makin, Cantos 151.
- ⁵ Leo Frobenius, The Voice of Africa, trans. Rudolph Blind (London: Huntchinson, 1913) 337, qtd. in Surette 128-129.
- ⁶ Cited in Benét's Readers Encyclopedia, 3rd ed., 14.
- ⁷ Pound, letter to Homer and Isabel Pound, [April 1910], qtd. in Stock, Life 84.
- ⁸ Pound, letter to Homer and Isabel Pound, [April, 1910], qtd. in Stock, Life 84.
- ⁹ "il miglior fabbro": the greater craftsman or artificer. See Purg. 26.117. See also Makin, Provence and Pound 348-349n24.

Pound makes the point that Dante praises Daniel "by the mouth of Guinicelli" (SR 14-15) and adds: "the subtlest compliment of all, is that paid at the end of the canto . . . where Arnaut Daniel speaks, not in Italian, but in his own tongue, an honour paid to no one else in the 'Commedia'" (16).

- ¹⁰ The Church of San Zeno.

¹¹ See Placid Hermann 1531-1596; Makin, Provence 236; SPr 62.

¹² See Fry 474; "Cassianus, Johannes," Funk and Wagnalls.

¹³ This quote was suggested by Kantorowicz. See King's 482-483.

¹⁴ T. S. Eliot trans. in his essay "Dante" 222. I have used Eliot's quote because for my purposes it reads better than Binyon's trans., the edition of the Divine Comedy I have used elsewhere.

¹⁵ I can not here do justice to Kantorowicz's essay. See "Man-Centered Kingship," King's 451-495.

¹⁶ See also Stock, Perspectives for an illustration of the June 6, 1913 issue of T. P.'s Weekly one page 1.

¹⁷ Pound, "Ezra Pound: An Autobiographical Outline (written for Louis Untermeyer)," Paris Review 28 (1962) 18-21. See also, Gallup 352.

¹⁸ Froula takes this phrase at Ronald E. Thomas's suggestion in "Catullus, Flaminus, and Pound in 'Blandula, Tenella, Vagula.'" See Thomas 409-411.

¹⁹ Pound, however, did not make this statement until 1923.

²⁰ Cf. Hugh Witemeyer 29-31 and Giovannini 8.

21 Noel Stock relates that in a letter to Elkin Mathews in 1916, Pound said: "I don't know that I regret it . . . for the poems [Redondillas and four others] weren't good enough, but even so the book would have been better if they had been left in . . ." (qtd. in Life 100).

22 The allusion is to "'Blandula, Tenulla, Vagulla,'" (see above 131). Carpenter claims the "She" of the poem is "indubitably" Dorothy (147). I don't know. I believe, however, Thomas' interpretation is more likely.

23 Kenner's phrase: "Ezra Pound" 232.

24 Again see Kenner, "Ezra Pound" 232.

25 See also Kenner, Era 114.

26 Kenner, Era 114.

27 H.D. wrote this in The Cantos of Ezra Pound: Some Testimonies, Farrar and Rinehart, 1933. This was a pamphlet included with the first American edition of Pound's A Draft of XXX Cantos which contained "testimonies" by Hemingway, Ford, Eliot, and others. See Gallup 46 and Carpenter 59 and 929.

28 The editor explains that this work was The Romance of Tristram and Iseult, retold by J. Bedier, tr. by H. Belloc, Portland, Me., Thomas Bird Mosher, 1907. 64n22.

29 H.D. End to Torment 18.

30 For the biographical information on Hilda Doolittle and Frances Gregg on pages 155-159 see Janice S. Robinson, H.D. 21-24; Barbara Guest, Herself Defined, 22-39; 228-230; Carpenter 150, 153, and 166.

31 In a letter to Felix E. Schelling in 1922, Pound wrote:

If the poets don't make certain horrors appear horrible who will? All values ultimately come from our judicial sentences. (This arrogance is not mine but Shelley's, and it is absolutely true. . . .) (Let 249)

32 According to Makin, trobar clus means "enclosed, perhaps hermetic composition" (Provence 160).

33 Editor's note states: "The Polish pianist and composer (1860-1941)" (End to Torment 62n2).

34 From line 49 in stanza seven of "Doutz Brais E Critz," Wilhelm's trans., Poetry of Arnaut 50 and 51.

35 Makin, Cantos 1.

36 See Brooke-Rose 1.

37 "'Maelid and bassarid among lynxes,' from the lynx-hymn' of Canto 79" (End to Torment 64n18).

38 Editor notes this passage is from "Cino," A Lume Spento, CEP 10 (End to Torment 64n19).

39 See Kenner, Era 173-191.

40 "Nymphs of the ash-trees . . . as Dryads are nymphs of the oak-trees" (Evelyn-White 93n2).

41 "'Member-loving': the title is perhaps only a perversion of . . . (laughter-loving)" (Evelyn-White 93n3).

42 Pound apparently did not like Gregory or Gregory's contribution to liturgical music:

Once only in Burgos, once in Cortona

was the song firm and well given

old buffers keeping the stiffness,

Gregory damned, always was damned, obscurantist.

(C52 258)

43 "'knowing' or 'seeing.' Part of a verb which in context and some of its forms may mean either 'know' or 'see.' Pound's source is debatable, because the word is pandemic. . . . Earlier thinkers had thought of air as a sort of 'mist.' But Pythagoras was the first to conceive of abstract space in which forms had to exist to be seen and known. This line of thought led to the conclusion that all things that are are numbers. 'The early Pythagoreans represented numbers and explained their properties by means of dots arranged in certain "figures or patterns"' [Burnet, 52]. The most famous figure is the tetraktys. It, as are all other figures or patterns, is an εἶδος. Εἶδος, as participle substantive, would give us 'shape, figure, or being apprehensible to the eyes and mind (seeing or knowing)'" (Terrell 2: 453).

44 I have replaced the Greek script with Terrell's trans. 1: 321.

45 Is this an answer to the question posed by the following from Hugh Kenner?:

He [Pound] listened to a lengthy exposition of the formulaic Homer of Milman Parry and Lord, a Homer improvising with interchangeable parts, a wealth of formulae to fill out the meter; and replied with a wicked twinkle, "But that still doesn't explain why Homer is so much better than everyone else." As it doesn't. (Era 559)

46 Terrell says this was most likely intended to mean: "and half-gliding in misty clouds" (2: 628).

47 Again, I have replaced the Greek with Terrell's trans. 2: 628.

48 Editor's brackets.

49 "Daughter of Cadmus" (Terrell 2: 587).

50 "white Leucothea" (Terrell 2: 587).

51 See also Terrell 2: 629.

52 Editor's brackets.

53 Same.

54 See Boorse, Motz, and Weaver 145, for a further explanation of Einstein's equations.

55 Editor's brackets.

56 Relevant to this, Kenner says:

It is pointless to ask whether Eliot, who made Planck-like transitions in The Waste Land, did so on any scientific analogy (probably not) or had heard at all of the relevant physics (perhaps). The life of the mind in any age coheres thanks to shared assumptions both explicit and tacit, between which lines of causality may not be profitably traced. ("The Making of the Modernist Canon" 35)

57 In translating the two quotes Pound uses from Cavalcanti I have used Canto 36.

58 I'd rather not. What I'd rather discuss is what might be the best explanation and best essay yet on The Cantos, Kenner's (again) "Self-Similarity, Fractals,

Cantos" in Historical Fictions 317-327. Two years or so ago, I purchased James Gleick's Chaos: The Making of a New Science. I read up to chapter four, found it fascinating, and then got involved with Pound and had to put it aside. Our local university library put Kenner's Historical Fictions on the shelf on April 27, 1990 and I checked it out on May 11. In his essay on fractals and Cantos, Kenner recommends the "fourth chapter of James Gleick's Chaos" (319n3). I reached over on the third shelf of my bookcase, picked up the book, and began reading where I left off. I may be making too much of that.

⁵⁹ See Froula's entire third chapter for an excellent discussion of Pound's "Authority." (To Write Paradise 139-170).

⁶⁰ Selzer's account of the liberation of Dachau is a reconstruction and to protect the privacy of certain individuals all names have been changed in the account except for two German officers at Niederdorf and a Rabbi Eichorn. It is not clear to me whether or no Skodzensky is the SS officer's name, but it would appear it is not.

⁶¹ See the photo in Carpenter between 690 and 691.

⁶² Editor's brackets.

⁶³ Editor's brackets.

⁶⁴ The editor inserted the brackets here but left them blank. "clean" is my insertion, as I am assuming that

since Jefferson is discussing hauling manure on the "weak parts," some of this manure coming from the cowpens, I am guessing that he would also be "cleaning" the sheepfold. This is just a hypothesis, however.



This wafer of wax is caught, as was the custom, between two surfaces of paper in a letter from the young Salustio Malatesta. The Pisanello medals are known, the seals are unknown or less known. I give the reproduction of this one to indicate the thoroughness of Rimini's civilization in 1460. If you consider the Malatesta and Sigismundo in particular, a failure, he was at all events a failure worth all the successes of his age. He had in Rimini, Pisanello, Pier della Francesca. Rimini still has "the best Bellini in Italy". If the Tempio is a jumble and junk shop, it nevertheless registers a concept. There is no other single man's effort equally registered. Sigismundo brought back Gemisto's coffin, and I leave the reader to decide whether without that incitement to curiosity even Herr Schulze wd. have dug up the illegible ms. in the Laurenziana or anyone noticed the latin pages bound in at the end of an almost unfindable edtn. of Xenophon. 1460. 140 years after Dante.

Fig. 18. Verso of title page of Pound's Guide to Kulchur.

And yet . . .

Now to save writing. Ecclesiastes 2:24;
Proverbs 30:19. This is the arrant vagabondism.
The soul, from god, returns to him. But anyone
who can trace that course or symbolize it by
anything not wandering.... (Let 39)

PART 4

FRAGMENTS, &c.

This could restore the world: "Given the material means," Ezra Pound said, "I would replace the statue of Venus on the cliffs of Terracina" (Spr 53). But with the word clinging so close to the thing, just writing it down might make it so:

Betuene Aprile and Merche
 with sap new in the bough
 With plum flowers above them
 with almond on the black bough
 With jasmine and olive leaf,
 To the beat of the measure
 From star up to the half-dark
 From half-dark to half-dark
 Unceasing the measure
 Flank by flank on the headland
 with the Goddess's eyes to seaward
 By Circeo, by Terracina, with the stone eyes
 white to the sea
 With one measure, unceasing:

"Fac deum!" "Est factus."

Ver novum!

ver novum!

Thus made the spring. . . . (C39 195)

It was spring, too, in 1945 (May 24 to be exact) when the jeep carrying Pound arrived at the Disciplinary Training Center north of Pisa. The DTC was a U. S. Army prison camp for the army's own miscreants. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire with an electric fence atop this. There were the usual guard towers and armed guards. Those destined to return to their units were given "retraining" drill fourteen hours a day and were housed in one-man tents. Other prisoners, the murderers and rapists, say, were housed in cages with steel-mesh sides and ends, slanted wooden roof, a concrete floor, the cage measuring six x six and one half feet. The men were allowed to pitch a tent at night within these confines. Those awaiting execution were also held in these cages. Behind those were the death cells: three rows of concrete boxes with no windows, only an observation flap, and used for solitary confinement. Those attempting to escape were usually shot before they got far, as were eight Special Company inmates (the mental cases) who were shot to death "just a few feet from their cages" (Kenner, Era 461, 460-461; Carpenter 655-656).

The cage they put Pound in was reinforced by airstrip steel. The camp received a cable on May 22 with orders to

"exercise utmost security measures to prevent escape or suicide" (qtd. in Carpenter 653). Hence the airstrip steel welded to the cage, and the floodlights shining all night, and Pound not being issued a tent so he could be watched 24 hours per day. His latrine was a can in the corner. It rained the first night. The next day they gave him some extra blankets to place on the cement floor. Later they gave him a cot. At night the floodlights shone. In the day it was the hot sun. Eventually they gave him a tent. In three weeks he was complaining of claustrophobia, mental confusion, anxiety, and extreme fatigue. He was moved to an officer's tent in the medical compound (Carpenter 659-664).

The loss of a dream, too, required a restoration, different than that of restoring the world, a restoration of the psyche, the soul, after the dream seemed to have ended: THE enormous tragedy of the dream in the peasant's bent shoulders

Manes! Manes was tanned and stuffed,
Thus Ben and la Clara a Milano

by the heels at Milano

That maggots shd/ eat the dead bullock
DIGONOS, Δίγονος, but the twice crucified

where in history will you find it?

yet say this to the Possum: a bang, not a whimper,
with a bang not a whimper,

To build the city of Dioce whose terraces are the colour of star

.....
 ΟΥ ΤΙΣ, ΟΥ ΤΙΣ? Odysseus

the name of my family.

.....

from the death cells in sight of Mt. Taishan @ Pisa (C74 427)

The method of restoring the virtù would be fairly close to Pound's conception of alchemy. Pound once said:

Dante believed in the 'melody which most in-centres the soul'; in the preface to my Guido I have tried to express the idea of an absolute rhythm, or the possibility of it. Perhaps every artist at one time or another believes in a sort of elixir or philosopher's stone produced by the sheer perfection of his art; by the alchemical sublimation of the medium; the elimination of accidentals and imperfections. (LE 442)

In discussing la virtù, Pound, in his introduction to his translation of Guido Cavalcanti's Sonnets and Ballate, says that la virtù is "the efficient property of a substance or person" (Anderson 13). In Cavalcanti's day, each person, or even each thing, Pound says, "was held to send forth magnetisms of certain effect." He called this a "spiritual chemistry" in which, "The equations of alchemy were apt to be written as women's names and the women so named endowed with the magical powers of the compounds" (13). This introduction was written in 1910, and in 1912 in "Psychology and Troubadours" he speaks of the troubadour's lady, "The Lady," containing "the catalogue" and serving as a "mantram" (97). Peter Makin has shown how Pound's "The Alchemist," "by its rhythms, its parallelism, its colours and its

appeal to the mystique of the names and of alchemy" becomes an incantation using "the names like chemical formulae"

(Provence 170):

Saïl of Claustra, Aelis, Azalais,
 As you move among the bright trees;
 As your voices, under the larches of Paradise
 Make a clear sound,
 Saïl of Claustra, Aelis, Azalais,
 Raimona, Tibors, Berangère,
 'Neath the dark gleam of the sky;
 Under night, the peacock-throated,
 Bring the saffron-coloured shell,
 Bring the red gold of the maple,
 Bring the light of the birch tree in autumn
 Mirals, Cembelins, Audiarda,

Remember this fire.

.

Midonz, gift of the God, gift of the light, gift
 of the amber of the sun,

Give light to the metal

(Per 75)

All of the women in the poem are, Makin says, "taken in under the title of midonz, the Provençal name" used by the troubadours for their "ladies" (Provence 170). Thus Pound follows the troubadours in not naming one beloved in The Cantos, but "makes his many goddesses into aspects of the

one Goddess" (170). The women's names were used, then, much in the manner Richard of St. Victor says a vision seen in contemplation can be remembered, Pound putting it this way:

Richard St. Victor has left us one very beautiful passage on the splendors of paradise. They are ineffable and innumerable and no man having beheld them can fittingly narrate them or even remember them exactly. Nevertheless by naming over all the most beautiful things we know we may draw back upon the mind some vestige of the heavenly splendor. ("Psy & T")

Thus, beginning at random in the Pisan Cantos (although that is a lie) we find a tale of a copy of the Rubàiyat lying in a secondhand bookstore (Terrell 2: 444), which:

lay there till Rossetti found it remaindered

at about two pence

(Cythera, in the moon's barge whither?

how hast thou the crescent for car?

.
Les hommes ont je ne sais quelle peur étrange,

said Monsieur Whoosis, de la beauté

La beauté, "Beauty is difficult, Yeats" said Aubrey Beards

when Yeats asked why he drew horrors

or at least not Burne-Jones

and Beardsley knew he was dying and had to

make his hit quickly

hence no more B-J in his product.

So very difficult, Yeats, beauty is difficult.

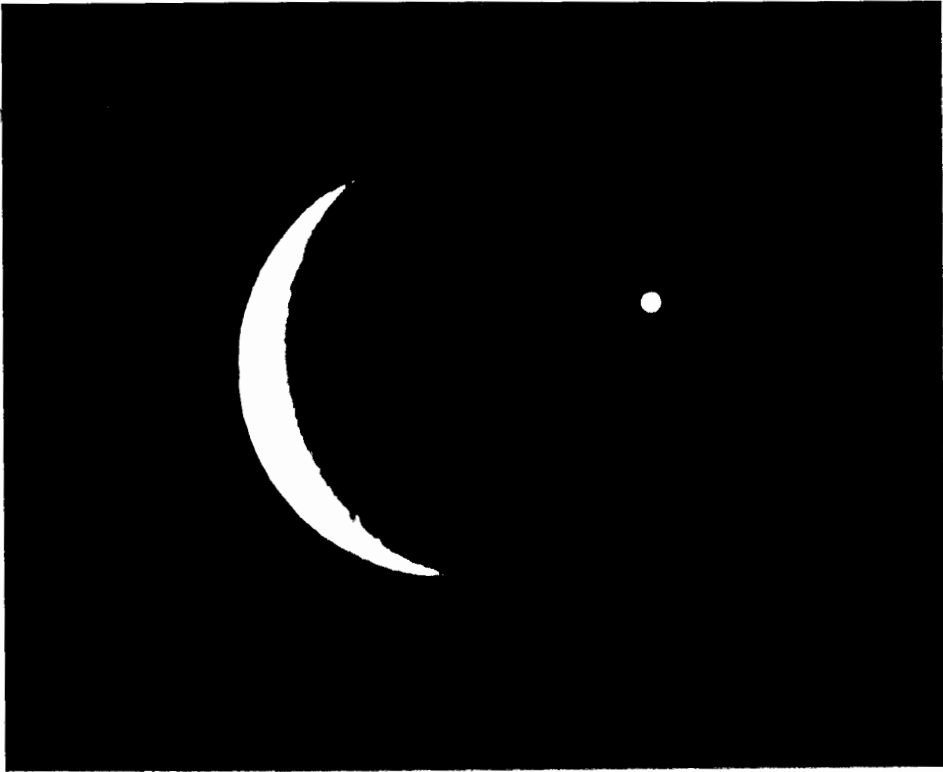


Fig. 19. "how hast thou crescent for car?" (C80 510).

Photo by Gary Bonnstetter.

"I am the torch" worte Arthur "she saith"
 in the moon barge ["rosy-fingered dawn"]¹

with the veil of faint cloud before her

["Fearful Cythera"]² as a leaf borne in the current
 pale eyes as if without fire

all that Sandro knew, and Jacopo

and that Velasquez never suspected . . .

(C80 511)

.
 That from the gates of death,

that from the gates of death: Whitman or Lovelace
 found on the jo-house seat at that
 in a cheap edition! [and thanks to Professor Speare]³
 hast'ou swum in a sea of air strip
 through an aeon of nothingness,
 when the raft broke and the waters went over me. . . .

(C74 510-513)

The focal point of alchemy was nature, says André Chastel, the alchemist substituting himself for nature through a process resembling Aristotle's mimesis; whereby, art becomes nature. For alchemy to be feasible it has to be supposed that there is life in what seems lifeless, and that magical correspondences "must traverse the various dominions in order to link object and subject" (Humanism 104). Pound said this in 1912:

Our kinship to the ox we have constantly thrust upon us; but beneath this is our kinship to the vital universe, to the tree and living rock, and, because this is less obvious--and possibly more interesting--we forget it.

We have about us the universe of fluid force, and below us the germinal universe of wood alive, of stone alive. . . . Man is--the sensitive physical part of him--a mechanism . . . rather like an electric appliance, switches, wires, etc. . . . As to his consciousness, the consciousness of some seems to rest, or to have its center more properly, in what the Greek psychologist called the phantastikon. Their minds are, that is, circumvolved about them like soap-bubbles reflecting sundry patches of the

macrocosmos. And with certain others their consciousness is "germinal." Their thoughts are in them as the thought of the tree is in the seed, or in the grass, or the grain, or the blossom. And these minds are the more poetic, and they affect mind about them, and transmute it as the seed the earth. . . . ("Psy & T" 92-93)

And near Pisa in a "gorilla cage":

and Brother Wasp is building a very neat house
of four rooms, one shaped like a squat indian bottle
La vespa, la vespa, mud, swallow system
so that dreaming of Bracelonde and of Perugia
and the great fountain in the Piazza

.

It comes over me that Mr. Walls must be a ten-strike
with the signorinas
and in the warmth after chill sunrise
an infant, green as new grass,
has stuck its head or tip
out of Madame La Vespa's bottle

mint springs up again

in spite of Jones' rodents
as had the clover by the gorilla cage
with a four-leaf

When the mind swings by a grass-blade
an ant's forefoot shall save you
the clover leaf smells and tastes as its flower

The infant has descended,
 from mud on the tent roof to Tellus,
 like to like colour he goes amid grass-blades
 greeting them that dwell under XTHONOS XΘΟΝΟΣ
 OI XΘΟΝΙΟΙ; to carry the news
 εἰς χθονίους to them that dwell under the earth,
 begotten of air, that shall sing in the bower
 of Kore, Περσεφνεα
 and have speech with Tiresias, Thebae
 Cristo Re, Dio Sole
 in about $\frac{1}{2}$ a day she has made her adobe
 (la vespa) the tiny mud-flask

and that day I wrote no further (C83 532-533)

During the "age of humanism," according to Chastel, the need for communication did not necessarily result in direct communication. There was a conviction that "the most fruitful intellectual operations" were those which were somehow "secret," a conviction which led to a "hermeticism" more than just "the whispered transmission of profitable prescriptions." A belief in enigmas and mysteries gave "unlimited privilege to poetic achievement." Humanism "constantly affirmed" that the Odyssey, the Aeneid, and the Divine Comedy contained universal knowledge and concealed the "key to the universe." Thus there was the widespread

impression that these works, "these masterpieces, these
supreme books required an initiation" (105):

Cloud over mountain, mountain over the cloud
I surrender neither the empire nor the temples

plural

nor the constitution nor yet the city of Dioce
each one in his god's name
as by Terracina rose from the sea Zephyr behind her

and from her manner of walking

as had Anchises

till the shrine be again white with marble

till the stone eyes look again seaward

The wind is part of the process

The rain is part of the process

and the Pleiades set in her mirror

Kuanon, this stone bringeth sleep;

offered the wine bowl

grass nowhere out of place

χθόνια γέα, Μήτηρ,

by thy herbs menthe thyme and basilicum,

from whom and to whom,

will never be more now than at present

being given a new green katydid of a Sunday

emerald, paler than emerald,

minus its right propeller

this tent is to me and TI@NNI
 eater of grape pulp

in coitu inluminatio

Manet painted the bar at La Cigale or at Les Folies in that year
 she did her hair in small ringlets, à la 1880 it might have been
 red, and the dress she wore Drecol of Lanvin

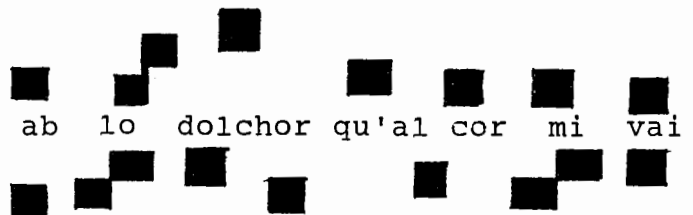
a great goddess, Aeneas knew her forthwith. . . .

(C74 434-435)

Humanism: a "magnificent confusion" metamorphosed into
 a postulate, says Chastel, i.e., "the association of nature,
 virtue, beauty, reason, antiquity and the Christian religion
 in one and the same intuitive apprehension," all purified
 down to their "true essence." It was an attempt to return
 to classical virtue, to the spiritual inspiration of
 Scripture, to the origins of art ("Nature and Antiquity"),
 to the Roman Empire, to the original wisdom of "the sages
 and mythic philosophers, every important discovery
 "presented as a rediscovery." Progress was defined as
 returning to the past. The poet held the "key to glory."
 If heroics were not celebrated in song, then they may just
 as well have never occurred: better to be a so-so warrior
 immortalized in poetry than a hero no one ever heard of (17):

Hence the importance mutually attributed to each
 other by court historians and poets who recounted
 the campaigns of condottieri like Piccinino and
 Sforza as though they were writing of Scipio or
 Hannibal, or honoured in a Sforziad modelled on
 the classical epic the doughty deeds of the Duke
 of Milan. (17)

All of this was classical in its origin, had been forgotten during the Middle Ages, but was "made new" as the "focal point" of the humanists' "whole system." The cult of immortality even inspired a literary genre and an artistic genre. The literary genre was that of the letter; the latter was that of the medal, which almost anyone--condottiere, writer, humanist, lawyer, doctor or man or woman of noble or patrician birth"--could afford to have made. One side bore a portrait, the other an inscription. These medals also often showed virtus and fortuna, fortuna metamorphosed into a destiny which could be avoided through asceticism and was dominated by the virtus, "the capacity for effective action" (17-18). For humanism was "sustained by a conviction of conquest and success," so that the whole show "was based on an illusion--that of every triumphant ideology--the illusion that it is possible to begin again from the beginning" (17):



 ab lo dolchor qu'al cor mi vai

 AB LO DOLCHOR QU'AL COR MI VAI

that the body of light come forth

from the body of fire

And that your eyes come to the surface from

from the deep wherein they were sunken,

Reina--for 300 years,

and now sunken

That your eyes come forth from their caves
 & light then

as the holly-leaf

qui laborat, orat

Thus Undine came to the rock,

by Circeo

and the stone eyes again looking seaward (C91 610)

In his early prose work, The Spirit of Romance, that work tinged with humor and innocence, Pound speaks of Villon's greatness as deriving from his unconsciously proclaiming "man's divine right to be himself, the only one of the so-called 'rights of man' which is not an artificial product" (SR 187). Villon is no theorist, Pound says, "he is an objectivitive fact" (187). In 1922 Pound was fishing around for another "objective fact," still "groping for a design," still "searching both for the means of doing what he wanted to do and for the exact nature of what it was he wanted to do," Miles Slatin says (189). Then in August of 1922 he apparently had found his "objective fact," for he writes to John Quinn:

Am reading up historic background for Canto IX. don't know that it will in any way improve the draft of the canto as it stands; shall probably only get more bewildered; but may avoid a few historical idiocies, or impossibilities.

Authorities differ as to whether Sigismund Malatesta raped a german girl in Verona, with such vigor that she "passed on", or whether it

was an Italian in Pesaro, and the pope says he killed her first and raped her afterwards; also some authorities say it was Farnese and not Malatesta who raped the bishop of Fano, and in fact all the minor points that might aid one in forming an historic rather than a fanciful idea of his character seem "shrouded in mystery" or rather lies.

I suppose one has to "select". If I find he was TOO bloody quiet and orderly it will ruin the canto. Which needs a certain boisterousness and disorder to contrast with his constructive work. (qtd. in Pearlman 302)

What was originally Canto IX grew to the four cantos which now appear as Cantos VIII-XI. Sigismundo Malatesta lived from 1417-1468. He metamorphosed San Francesco in Rimini into the Tempio Malatestiano, a monument to his mistress, Isotta, and to himself, although it was originally a church dedicated to St. Francis. The church was then called a temple and had been rebuilt, Franco Borsi says, "to celebrate the deeds and splendour of a 'new prince'." This was something new which reflected the classical origin of the culture (temple and church being synonymous, Borsi says) and the patron being the "central figure in all architectural enterprises" (127).

Sigismundo was for Pound a man who brought renewal out of chaos, the man with "a will toward order" (J/M 99). Pound thought that "a great age of painting, a renaissance in the arts, comes when there are a few patrons who back their own flair and who buy from unrecognised men." In doing so "the patron then makes himself equal to the artist:

he is building art into the world; he creates" (Let 97). In his memoir of Gaudier-Brzeska, Pound speaks of two opposite ways of thinking of man:

firstly, you may think of him as that toward which perception moves, as the toy of circumstance, as the plastic substance receiving impressions; secondly, you may think of him as directing a certain fluid force against circumstance, as conceiving instead of merely reflecting and observing. (GB 89)

Pound viewed Malatesta as a man "directing a certain fluid force against circumstance," a man proclaiming his divine right to be himself, and the Tempio, another "objective fact," with its "touch of rhetoric" stands as evidence of Malatesta exercising this "divine right":

"and built a temple so full of pagan works"

i.e. Sigismund

and in the style "Past ruin'd Latium"

The filigree hiding the gothic,

with a touch of rhetoric in the whole

And the old sarcophagi,

such as lie, smothered in grass, by San Vitale

(C 41)

Sigismundo Malatesta, the Lord of Rimini, was a man of will and so, said Pound, the Malatesta cantos "are openly volitionist, establishing . . . the effect of the factive personality, Sigismundo, an entire man" (GK 194), the "POLUMETIS" man (C 36). The Tempio Malatestiano was a "cultural high" (GK 159). It was a cultural high and "in



Fig. 20. "you may think of him as directing a certain fluid force against circumstance, as conceiving. . . ." The "Hieratic Head of Ezra Pound" by Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, 1914. Marble. 36 X 24 in. Hirschl and Adler Galleries, New York. Photo in Schiff 67.

verbal sense a monumental failure" (GK 159). But it was built in the world, the European world, "outside the then system . . . against the power that was . . ." (GK 159). Sigismundo, the many-minded man, like Odysseus who "knew the things a man then needed for living" (GK 146), registered a state of mind, registered a state of sensibility, registered a state of "all-roundness and awareness" (GK 159), as Odysseus knew the "bow, the strong stroke in swimming, the how-to-provide and the high hat" (GK 146):

One year floods rose,
 One year they fought in the snows,
 One year hail fell, breaking the trees and walls.
 Down here in the marsh they trapped him
 in one year . . .

.

And he, Sigismundo, was Captain for the Venetians.

And he had sold off small castles

and built the great Rocca to his plan,

And he fought like ten devils at Monteluro

and got nothing but the victory

.

And he began building the TEMPIO

and Polixena, his second wife, died.

(C9 34-35)

Sigismundo was, at first, a local warlord wishing to build a chapel. A bull was issued in 1447 by Nicholas V

authorizing Isotta, Sigimundo's mistress who would later be his third wife, to restore the Cappella degli Angeli.

Sigismundo gained Isotta's promised dowry a year later and on April 7, 1449, he used that newest literary genre, the letter, to inquire about a "master painter" (Borsi 128):

Giovanni of the Medici,
Florence.

Letter received, and in the matter of our Messire Gianozio,
One from him also, sent on in form . . .

.

And tell the Maestro dipentore

That there can be no question of

His painting the walls for the moment

As the mortar is not yet dry . . .

.

I will arrange for him to paint something else

So that both he and I shall

Get as much enjoyment as possible from it . . .

.

I want to arrange with him to give him so much per year

And to assure him that he will get the sum agreed on.

.

And for this I mean to make due provision,

So that he can work as he likes,

Or waste his time as he likes

(affatigandose per suo piacere on no
non gli mancherà la provixione mai)

never lacking provision.

SIGIMUNDUS PANDOLPHUS DE MALATESTIS

In campo Illus. Dimini Venetorum die 7

aprilis 1449 contra Cremonam

(C8 29)

The "master painter" may have been Filippo Lippi, or it may have been Gentile da Gabriano. Piero della Francesca came to Rimini around 1450, but painted only the portrait of Sigimundo praying and the frescoes in the sacristy. The whole idea of decorating the temple with frescoes was abandoned, which Borsi says is surprising, because Piero was friends with Leon Battista Alberti, the architect who arrived in Rimini sometime around the date of Sigismundo's letter to Giovanni de' Medici (128).

Alberti decided the façade would have to stand on its own, for the chapels in the church were of Gothic design and would not be compatible with the classical lines of the façade. The roof of the temple would have to be light because Alberti didn't trust the church's columns. Therefore he planned a ribbed dome not unlike that of Monticello's, and he would, in fact, use the new columns to help support the old ones, so that the exterior of the temple would have been, in effect, an entirely new and independent building built around the old church. And all of it would be built to fundamental ratios: the width of

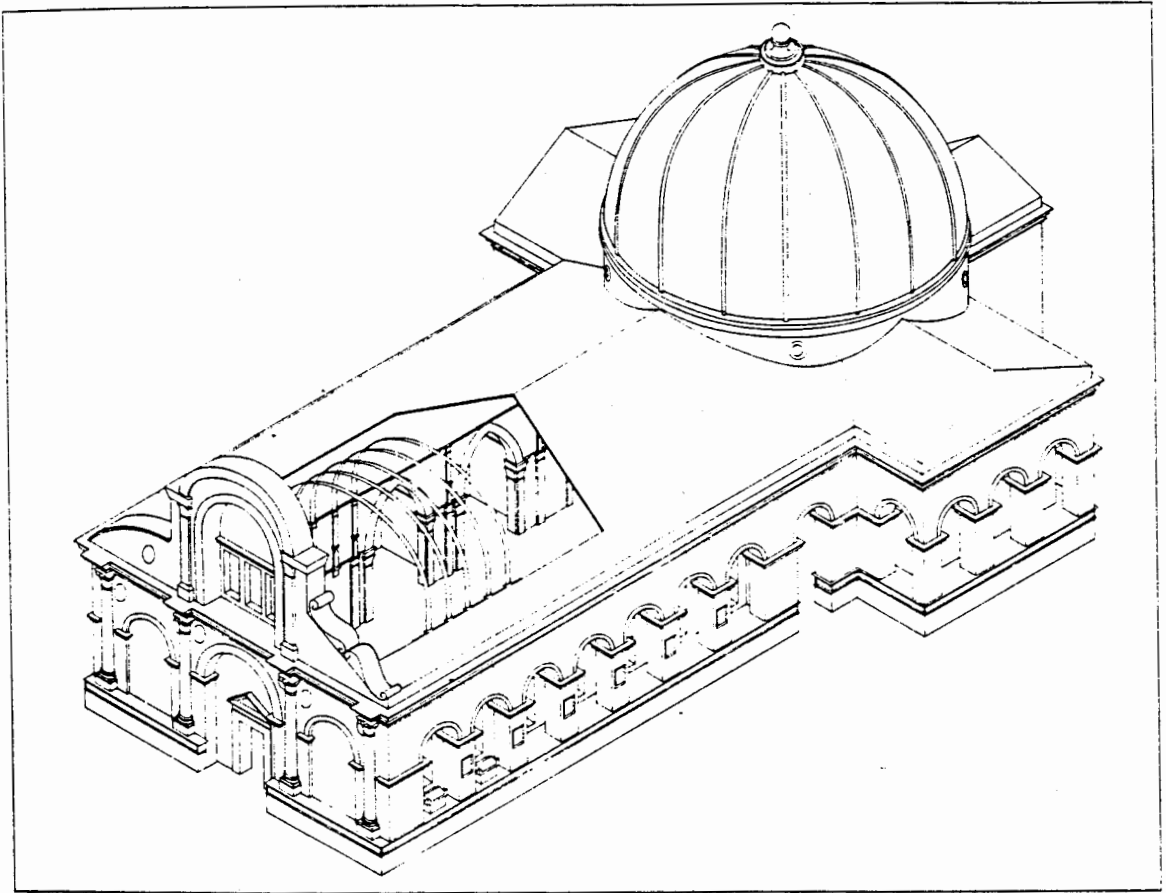


Fig. 21. Axiometric section of the Tempio Malatestiano according to a reconstruction of Alberti's proposed project. Borsi 137.

the columns to the span of the arches is 1:2; the ratio between the span of the arches (under which are located the sarcophagi) and the height of the architrave is 2:3 (135-142). These arches have much in common with those of the entry wall beneath the East Portico at Monticello. William Adams says Jefferson and Alberti both had an obsession with

"meticulous calculation" and detail, and an interest in classical architecture (Monticello 33, 114-115):

It was characteristic of the universal man, as invented by the early Italian Renaissance, to study science, mathematics, and the fine arts as important aspects of his humanistic learning. Leon Battista Alberti was probably the only Florentine to come close to the impossible goals of the ideal man of learning, and Jefferson shared many of Alberti's same aspirations and personal characteristics. (32-33)

Alberti was not unacquainted with hermetic culture. He most likely had some influence in the design of the interior. He preferred reliefs more than frescoes and Matteo dei Pasti and Agostino di Duccio were probably chosen to do the designs through Alberti's influence. The details of the designs, however, were most likely planned by Basinio of Parma and Sigismundo's military advisor Valturius. The chapels of the Tempio are decorated with the signs of the zodiac, symbols from the Egyptian theology of sun-worship, subject matter from Greek theogony, symbols of the Hebrew faith, sibyls and prophets announcing Christ's coming, or possibly announcing Sigismundo's, for in the Cappella di Sigismondo is pictured the radiant sun along with a summary of Christian theology. But Sigismundo is the sun: "dux et moderator luminum reliquorum" (Borsi 128, 130, 132-134). On Isotta's sarcophagus is inscribed the following: "D. ISOTTAE. ARIMINENSI. B.M. SACRUM. MCCCCL" (Makin, Cantos 140). Did that mean "the divine goddess?" Pope Pius II wanted to know (Borsi 127). Sigismundo himself wanted to

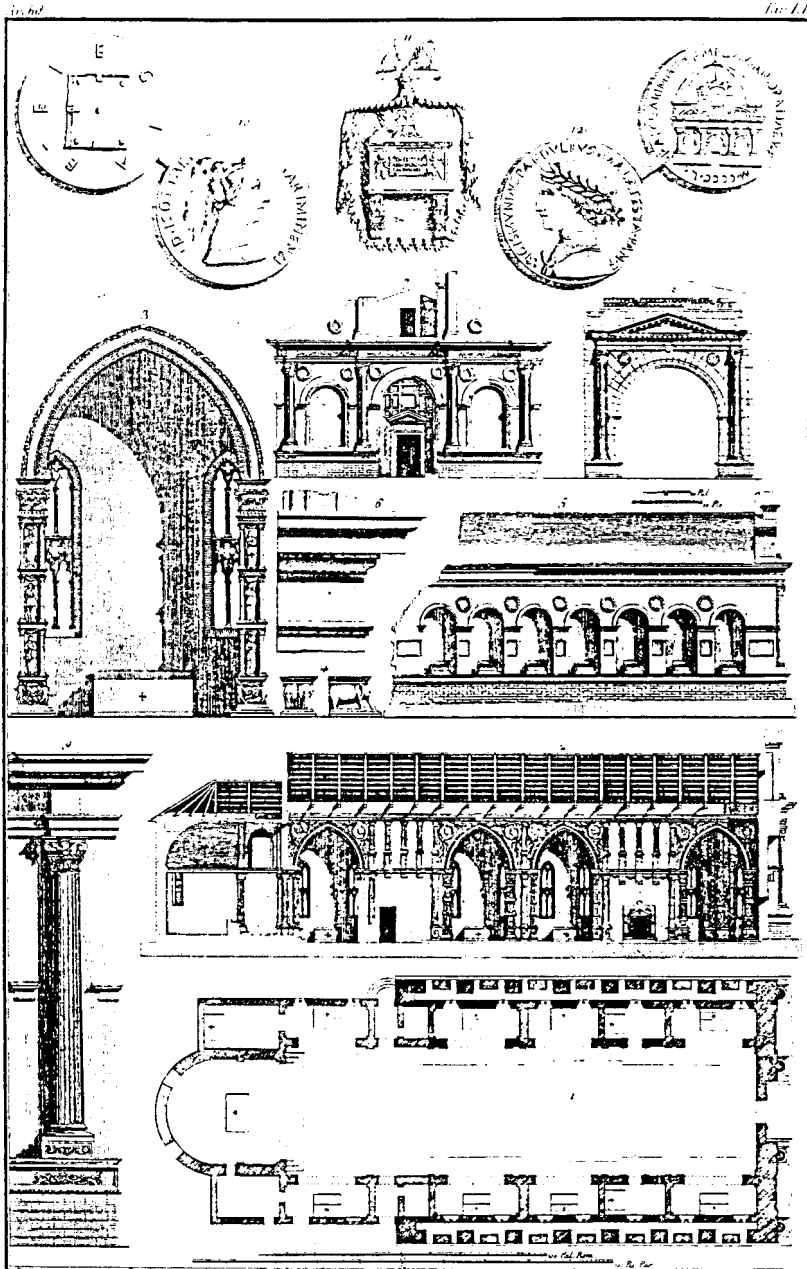


Fig. 22. An engraving of the Tempio Malatestiano by D'Agincourt; rpt. in Borsi 141.

believe he was descended from Hannibal, says Hugh Kenner, "hence more than a dozen stone elephants" ("Hiddenmost Wonder" 4).

The Tempio has been considered pagan and sacred ever since Sigismundo effected the transformation of it, Borsi says, but Sigismundo was a man whose life exemplified the contradictions of his culture and openly paraded them and defended them as being "capable of effecting a theological synthesis of human knowledge and bridging the gap between reason, magic, and religion" (127, 134). Ezra Pound thought there could be "clean and beneficent Christianity restarted in Tempio Malatestiano":

Country priest not the least disturbed that I shd. be making my farewells solo ai elefaniti. Namely that I had come for friendly word with the stone elephants and not for altar furniture. (GK 301)

Someone who was quite disturbed by the Tempio and its pagan aspects was Pope Pius II, who condemned Sigismundo on a host of charges, excommunicated him, and burned him in effigy. Many of the "facts" of Malatesta's life, until recently, have been gleaned by historians from Pius's Commentaries, as Michael F. Harper has shown and, the Commentaries undoubtedly contain exaggerations of Malatesta's crimes, Pius being Sigismundo's enemy. In the Malatesta cantos Pound uses scraps of prose documents to present a "historical" Malatesta of his own, an antidote to what Pound saw as the "fanciful" Sigismundo presented by the professional historians and based on Pius II's account (90-91).

Canto VIII presents Malatesta as a patron of the arts, a poet, and a military man "With the church against him /

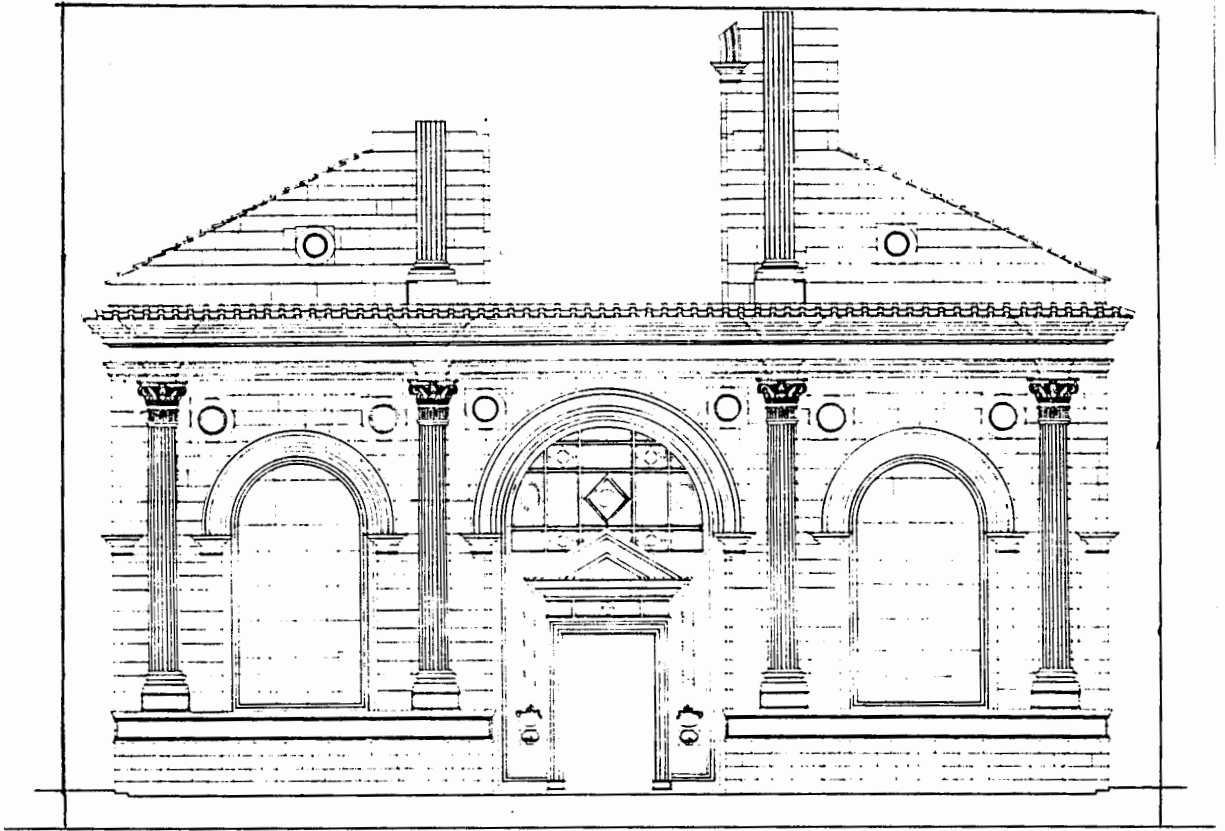


Fig. 23. Sketch of the façade of the Tempio Malatestiano.
Borsi 138.

With Medici bank for itself, / With wattle Sforza against
him" (C8 32). Malatesta is shown as a mercenary who "stood
with the Venetians in November, / With the Milanese in
December" (C8 32). Canto IX gives us details of
Sigismundo's private life through letters from his
"post-bag," which was captured at Sienna, the letters
preserved in the library there, showing him as a man
respected by those in his service, a father who gave his son

a pony, and the builder of the Tempio: "That's what they found in the post-bag / And some more of it to the effect that he 'lived and ruled'" (C9 41): Malatesta as an objective fact. But in a rather disingenuous passage, Pound discusses the rape of the German girl: "And there was the row about the German-Burgundian female" (C9 38).

Canto X contains Pound's condensation of Pope Pius's charges against Malatesta, a condensation which emphasizes what Harper calls the "repetition and rhetorical elaboration" of the papal bull by which Malatesta was excommunicated (96-97). The charges were presented in the bull, the Discipula Veritatis, by Pius's fiscal procurator Andreas Benzi, although Harper suggests that Pius was probably the author (96):

So that in the end that pot-scraping little runt Andreas

Benzi, da Siena

Got up to spout out the bunkum

That that monstrous swollen, swelling s.o.b.

Papa Pio Secundo

Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini

da Siena

Had told him to spout, in their best bear's-greased latinity:

Stupro, caede, adulter,

homocidia, parricidia ac periurus,

presbitericidia, audax, libidinosus,

wives, jew-girls, nuns, necrophiliast, fornicarium, ac sicarium,

proditor, raptor, incestuosus, ac
concubiniarius,

["Ravisher, butcher, adulterer / murderer, parricide,
 and perjurer, / killer of priests, reckless [one],
 lecher, . . . fornicator and assassin, / traitor,
 rapist, committer of incest, arsonist, and keeper
 of concubines" (Terrell 1: 52)]

and that he rejected the whole symbol of the apostles,
 and that he said the monks ought not to own property
 and that he disbelieved in the temporal power,
 neither christin, jew, gentile,

nor any sect pagan, nisi forsitan epicurae.

.

"Whence that his, Sigismundo's, foetor filled the earth
 And stank up through the air and stars to heaven
 Where--save they were immune from sufferings--
 It had made the emparadisèd spirits pewk"
 from their jeweled terrace.

.

and the whole lump lot
 given over to...

I mean after Pio had said, or at least Pio says that he

Said that this was elegant oratory . . . (C10 44-45)

Pound, Harper says, in contrasting the Pope's rhetoric,
 the vague charges "heaped together by someone who does not

trouble to distinguish truth from falsehood," and the letters written by Malatesta, Pound presents to us a Malatesta not found in the histories extant at the time of the writing of these cantos, while at the same time emphasizing the value of discrimination, whether by an artist or someone in power such as Pope Pius II. As Harper says, and as Pound attempts to show here by simply copying the "bear's-greased Latin," Pius's rhetoric "is a jumble that manifests a lack of discrimination, the absence of an ordering intelligence and sensibility." Pound, by showing the Pope's rhetoric, wishes the reader to call into question Pius's judgement of Malatesta (Harper 97).

The Tempio Malatestiano was never completed. Part of the problem lay in the difficulty of securing stone and marble. The abbot of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna sold a portion of that monument so Sigismundo could have stone, or maybe he sold it for the money, or maybe he had no choice. Much stone was lifted from the Roman port of Rimini and other buildings in the city (Borsi 166).

In 1464 the Republic of Venice hired Sigismundo to recover Peloponnesus from the Turks. Malatesta led an army of 7000 against 25,000 Turks, but due to the plague and defeat, he retreated at Lacedaemon and fell ill at quarters north of Sparta, eventually withdrawing from the campaign and returning to Rimini in 1466. Upon his return, Pietro Barbo (Pope Paul II, Pius's successor), awarded Sigismundo

the Golden Rose for being "Champion of Christendom." But later, Paul, who did not want soldiers under the pay of Venice stationed in Rimini (Venice being the Vatican's long-term enemy) argued that Malatesta should exchange Rimini, Sigismundo's inheritance, for the lordships of Spoleto and Foligno. Malatesta, who greatly resented this proposal, rode to Rome with the intention of killing Paul, but the effort was thwarted when the pope learned of the plan. In the end Malatesta signed an agreement with Paul which left him with only 64 men in Rimini and an annual income of only 8000 florins (Terrell 1: 57-58). Pound shows us the last months of the Lord of Rimini who "lived and ruled":

And he with his luck gone out of him
 64 lances in his company, and his pay 8,000 a year
 64 and no more, and he not to try to get any more
 And all of it down on paper
sexaginta quatuor nec tentatur habere plures
 But leave to keep 'em in Rimini
 i.e. to watch the Venetians.

Damn pity he didn't
 (i.e. get the knife into him)
 Little fat squab "Formosus"
 Barbo said "Call me Formosus"

But the conclave wouldn't have it
and they called him Paolo Secundo.

and he left three horses at one gate
and three horses at the other,
and Fatty received him
with a guard of seven cardinals "whom he could trust
And the castelan of Montefiore wrote down,
"You'd better keep him out of the district.
"When he got back here from Sparta, the people
"Lit fires, and turned out yelling: 'PANDOLFO!'"
In the gloom, the gold gathers the light against it.

(C11 51)

Not far from Rimini, at Ravenna, in the Church of St. Nazario Celso, is the mausoleum of the Roman empress Galla Placidia, the mausoleum with its vaulted roof filled with gold stars, the gold that gathered the light against it "under the blue-black roof, Placidia's" (C21 98). Pound wrote:

Of religion it will be enough for me to say, in the style of a literary friend, 'ogni ravennate che si rispetta, viene procreato, o almeno riceve spirito o alito di vita, nel mausoleo di Galla Placidia' (G.B.V.)-- 'every self-respecting Ravennese is procreated, or at least receives spirit or breath of life, in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia'. (SPr 322)

Paradise. A picture of this can be seen in Kenner's Era on page 343. Borsi suggests that Alberti might have derived the idea for the sarcophagi beneath the arches

in the façade from the niches in S. Maria Novella, although another mausoleum near Ravenna, that of Theodoric, might also have been an inspiration (135). Kenner and Pound, however, say that it may have been those that line the road to Ravenna that inspired Alberti: "And the old sarcophagi, / such as lie, smothered in grass, by San Vitale" (C9 41; Era 342). Rows of graves and tombstones lined the roads and greeted the visitor to every Greek and Roman city, Lewis Mumford tells us, for "the city of the dead antedates the city of the living. In one sense . . . the city of the dead is the forerunner, almost the core, of every living city" (7). Even in Pound's beloved Venice, the first working precinct was Torcello, a church and cemetery islet where the Venetian dead were buried (323). That is one way of arriving at Paradise. Trying to build it is another. Returning to the past is often seen as another option. Perhaps when we visit the dead and leave our gift of plastic flowers, we are visiting, however briefly, a paradiso terrestre, for "even in the crowded modern city, the first general exodus to a more desirable dwelling place in the country was the migration of the dead to the romantic Elysium of a suburban cemetery" (7).

Pound came from the suburbs. So did "that stupid suburban antisemitism," he apparently thought. He died on November 1, 1972 and is buried in Venice, not on Torcello, but on the Island of San Michele in a cemetery for

non-Catholics (Wilhelm, American Roots 213). Defeated and ill once more with the fever which struck him near Sparta, Sigismundo Maletesta died on Oct. 7, 1466, three and one-half months after signing the agreement with the pope which limited his power and income. But: "A man's paradise is his good nature," Pound said by way of Kati (C93 623), and Pound ends the Malatesta cantos with another contract Sigismundo entered into near the end of his life, one that shows the gold that shines in the gloom--the indomitable nature of the human spirit:

In the gloom the gold gathers the light against it

And one day he said: Henry, you can have it,

On condition, you can have it: for four months

You'll stand any reasonable joke that I play on you,

And you can joke back

provided you don't get too ornery.

And they put it all down in writing:

For a green cloak wth slver brocade

Actum in Castro Sigismundo, presente Roberto de Valturibus

..sponte et ex certa scienta...to Enricho de Aquabello.

["Executed at the castle of Sigismundo . . .in

the presence of Roberto of Valturio / . . .

freely and in clear understanding . . . to Henry

of Aquabello" (Terrell 1: 58)]

(C11 51-52)

Pound retired from his position as "'poet in residence' at St. Elizabeth's Hospital" in 1958 (Pound, qtd. in Anderson 10). The drafts and fragments which were collected as Drafts and Fragments of Cantos CX-CXVII were most likely written shortly after, probably in 1959 (Makin, Cantos 289-290). At the end of 1961, Makin says, Pound ceased speaking to visitors, entering "an almost unbroken silence," and what was possibly a severe depression (289). In these fragments he sometimes sounds defeated, sometimes sounds as though he has gained some humility (something I think took much longer than the famed "vanity" passage in The Pisan Cantos would indicate) which this might show:

Tho' my errors and wrecks lie about me.

And I am not a demigod,

I cannot make it cohere.

.....

but about that terzo

third heaven,

that Venere,

again is all "paradiso"

a nice quiet paradise

over the shambles,

and some climbing

before the take off,

to "see again,"

the verb is "see," not "walk on"

(C116 796)

And I renew my contract with him nearly each time I read:

PEREGRINATIONS, 1960

Remy de Gourmont wrote the first French acknowledgement of Gaudier's existence, a brief obit labelled "Maçon", which had been Gaudier's answer on the army form re his profession.

The British press commented on his death notice in the second issue of BLAST by remarking that it was carrying a joke too far to print obits of "these invented mad men."

The big bust remained in Violet Hunt's front garden on Camden Hill ["Violet Hunt's very old mother, bedridden, with the door open at the head of the stairs, said fretfully, "Tell him to go away, tell him to go home, he always makes too much noise, that young Mr. Browning" (H.D. 49).], its presence recorded in Douglas Goldring's admirable "South Lodge". As no one could afford a pedestal the slugs and lawnmower left their record. Child, Violet's marvelous old retainer having been asked for pail and scrubbing-brush and interrogated as to the ubicity of the guest and unknown friend for whom the art work was being furbished, reported:

"Mr. Peaound iz ine garrden a-scrubbin his MONUMENT." (end quote.)

Finally there was sufficient cash balance to achieve transfer to the Gulf of Tigullio, and for some years the marble stood by my lunch table, ground floor of Majerna's Albergo Rapallo. (documentation can be furnished if desired.)

After Majerna had reported Abyssinia full of animals, and rejoiced at having ceased vegetation, and then been ousted from proprietorship by one of the dirtiest small wangles that marred the second fascist decennio, one risked the structural firmness of the restored Palazzo Barratti (then No. 12 via Marsala)

stretched some large planks

over what were presumed to be rafters,

and the stone eyes gazed seaward.

(documentation can be furnished if desired)

i.e. it coheres all right

even if my notes do not cohere⁴

Notes to Part 4

¹ I have replaced the Greek script with Terrell's trans. 1: 444.

² Same.

³ Pound's brackets. Spear was the editor of The Pocket Book of Verse, the book Pound found on "the jo-house seat" (Terrell 1: 446).

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